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***Hahoe Pyölsin-kut: The oldest extant Korean mask-dance theatre***

**Kim, Deukshin, Ph.D.**

**City University of New York, 1987**

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HAHOE PYŎLSIN-KUT:  
THE OLDEST EXTANT KOREAN MASK-DANCE THEATRE  
by  
DEUKSHIN KIM

A dissertation submitted to the  
Graduate Faculty in Theatre in  
partial fulfillment of the require-  
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I dedicate this dissertation to the memory of my grandmother, Kyong-Bok Shin, as a small reward for her immeasurable love.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to examine one form of Korean mask-dance theatre: hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. Before dealing with specific topic, a brief overview of the different types of Korean theatre will serve to place the subject in proper perspective. Korean theatre is generally divided into six groups: (1) kamyŏngŭk (mask-dance theatre), (2) inhyŏnggŭk (puppet theatre), (3) p'ansori (operatic theatre), (4) ch'anggŭk (singing theatre), (5) sinp'a ("new-wave" theatre), and (6) singŭk (modern theatre). Before 1902 when the first permanent indoor theatre, Hyŏpyulsa, was built in Korea, Korean theatrical forms were limited to the traditional forms: mask-dance theatre, puppet theatre, and operatic theatre. Singing theatre, "new-wave" theatre, and modern theatre have developed since Western-style drama and theatrical conventions were introduced into Korea.

Ch'anggŭk, a version of p'ansori, imitates certain aspects of Western operatic style. P'ansori is a Korean opera; ch'anggŭk is a westernized Korean opera. Sinp'a was originally adapted from the Japanese shimpa style. Sinp'a flourished from 1911 to 1920, just after shimpa declined in popularity in Japan. Singŭk is another offspring of the Western movement. The earliest production in this mode came

in 1908, when Yi In-Jig (1861-1916) dramatized his own novel, Ŭnseggye (The Silver World), at the Wŏngaksa, the second indoor theatrehouse in Korea.

Among the traditional forms, the puppet theatre is similar to the mask-dance theatre in terms of themes and dramatic structure. Although Korean puppet theatre became popularized around the end of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), it is said that "the origin of the puppet play could be traced further back, at the most into the period of the Three Kingdoms [57 B.C.-A.D. 668]."<sup>1</sup> There are two types of puppet play: kkoktugaksi or tŏlmi and mansŏkchung. The puppets, most of them made of wood or gourd, are usually one to three feet high, painted and costumed. They are manipulated with strings, sticks, and hands. In kkoktugaksi there are thirteen puppets in human form and three in animal form; while in mansŏkchung five puppets are used such as a monk, two deer, a carp, and a dragon. Unlike kkoktugaksi, mansŏkchung is a mime play.

P'ansori is a form of opera whose stories are based on Korean narrative literature--the classical novels. The term p'ansori is derived from p'an, gathering place, and sori, vocal music or song. P'ansori has developed since the eighteenth century, but reached its peak in the nineteenth

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<sup>1</sup>Sang-Su Choe, A History of the Korean Puppet Play (Seoul: The Korean Books Publishing Co., 1961), p. 9.

century through the genius of Sin Chae-Hyo (1812-1884). It was Sin who revived, polished, and rewrote six p'ansori texts, of which five are still performed today. The unique characteristics of p'ansori are seen in its simple staging: solo singer, a puk (barrel drum) player, a temporary stage with no scenery, and two hand properties such as a fan and a handkerchief. In the dramatic interpretation, the singer employs singing (ch'ang), speech (aniri), gesture (nŭrŭmsae), and dance movement (pallim), while the drummer plays basic rhythmic patterns, sometimes giving the singer shouts of encouragement (ch'uimsae).

Korean mask-dance theatre is the most theatrical and widely appreciated in Korea among the traditional forms. It is also better known to Westerners, although it has been introduced only partially and sometimes incorrectly. Among the extant Korean mask-dance theatres, thirteen have been selected as Important Intangible Cultural Properties by the Korean government. All masks and certain qualified performers are also presently protected by official decree. However, this special sign of appreciation is of recent origin. During most of its history, Korean mask-dance theatre survived primarily as an oral tradition. It was not until the 1950s that scholars began the textual process of recording and transcribing this art form. The first book on Korean mask-dance theatre was written in Korean, published in 1969, by Lee Duhyun. There is no single book written on Korean

mask-dance theatre in English. Among nine scholars who contributed academic works concerning Korean theatre to the West, and who received doctorates for their research, only one wrote a dissertation about Korean mask-dance theatre in English. She is Lee Meewon,<sup>2</sup> daughter of Lee Duhyun. She dealt with Korean mask-dance theatre as a whole, more or less, concentrating on pongsan t'alch'um. Four others who wrote dissertations about Korean theatre in English are: Cho Oh-Kon, Shin Il-Soo, Kim Ho-Soon, and Kim Woo-Ok.<sup>3</sup> Kim Woo-Ok wrote about p'ansori and the others wrote about the modern Korean theatre.

In my dissertation, I will deal with one typical form of Korean mask-dance theatre: hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, the oldest extant Korean mask-dance theatre. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut serves as the prototype for Korean mask-dance theatre because of its long history, its uniquely preserved eleven masks, and its extremely ritualistic characteristics. In other words, one cannot completely understand Korean mask-

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<sup>2</sup>Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983).

<sup>3</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, "Chi-Jin Yoo: A Patriotic Playwright of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, Michigan State University, 1972). Il-Soo Shin, "A Study of General Cultural Settings of Korea from 1908 to 1968 and Its Impact on the Development of Modern Korean Theatre" (Ph.D. dissertation, Brigham Young University, 1974). Ho-Soon Kim, "The Development of Modern Korean Theatre in South Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1974). Woo-Ok Kim, "P'ansori: An Indigenous Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 1980).

dance theatre without the right appreciation of hahoe pyölsin-kut. Nevertheless, hahoe pyölsin-kut has not been investigated thoroughly by any scholar. The existing research concerning hahoe pyölsin-kut is confined to the study of masks, general outline of history and performance, characteristics of Hahoe Village and its village ritual, records of a text, and analysis of dramatic structure. They are treated briefly in a few publications, mostly articles.

The study of masks has been made concerning a physical description and an artistic evaluation by Yun Byong-Ha, Kim Wŏn-Ryong, Lee Duhyun, Ch'oe Sun-U, and Yu Min-Yŏng.<sup>4</sup> Yun described the physical description of eleven preserved Hahoe masks in detail in relationship with the movements of a mask wearer. Among others, Lee's suggestion would be valuable for a future comparative study of Hahoe masks and Japanese nō and/or bugaku masks.

The characteristics of Hahoe Village are well

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<sup>4</sup>Byong-Ha Yun, "Hahoe Pyölsin Kamyŏn ŭi Hŭi, Ro, Ae, Rak" (Joy, Anger, Grief, and Pleasure of Hahoe Pyölsin Masks: 하회 별신 가면의 희·로·애·락), Wŏlgan Munhwajae (January 1972): 26-31. Wŏn-Ryong Kim, Hanguk Misul Sosa (A Brief History of Korean Arts: 한국 미술 소사) (Seoul: Samsŏngmisulmunhwajaedan, 1973). pp. 159-60. Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk (The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea: 한국의 가면극) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1979), pp. 105-8. Sun-U Ch'oe, "The Masks of Korea--the Case of Hahoe Masks," Korea Journal 19 (April 1979): 45-50. Min-Yŏng Yu, "Hanguk Kamyŏn ŭi Chohyŏngmi" (The Formative Beauty of Korean Masks: 한국가면의 조형미), Sindonga 209 (November 1981): 370-7. \_\_\_\_\_, Hanguk Yŏngŭk ŭi Mihak (The Aesthetics of Korean Theatre: 한국 연극의 미학) (Seoul: Tanguk University, 1982), pp. 16-8.

described with relevant illustrations by Kim Yong-Jik.<sup>5</sup> Hahoe village ritual, which accompanies hahoe pyölsin-kut, has been studied earlier and more than other studies of hahoe pyölsin-kut itself, although it has been discussed as a portion of the general village ritual. The first study was done in 1937 by a Japanese scholar, Tomonori Murayama.<sup>6</sup> Other scholars are: Chang Chu-Kŭn, Kim Yöl-Kyu, Lee Duhyun, Lee Kwang-Kyu, and Kim T'aek-Kyu.<sup>7</sup> Among other publications, Kim T'aek-Kyu's Ssijok Purak ũi Kujo Yöŋku (A Study of the Structure of Clan Villages) contains the most detailed description of Hahoe village ritual.

Concerning records of the text, four different versions are extant.<sup>8</sup> Among them, the transcription by Yu

<sup>5</sup>Yong-Jik Kim, Andong Hahoe Maŭl (Hahoe Village, Andong: 안동 하회 마을) (Seoul: Yöŋhwadang, 1981).

<sup>6</sup>Tomonori Murayama, Burakusai (Village Ritual: 部落祭) (Seoul: Chosöŋch'ongdogpu, 1937; reprint ed., Chöllado: Wongang University, 1971), pp. 29-35.

<sup>7</sup>Chu-Kŭn Chang, "Hanguk ũi Sindang Hyöŋgt'aeko" (A Study on the Shapes of Shrines in Korea: 한국의 신당 형태고) Minjok Munhwa Yöŋku (October 1964): 171-97. Yöl-Kyu Kim, Hanguk Minsok kwa Munhak Yöŋku (The Study of Korean Folk Customs and Literature: 한국 민속과 문학 연구) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1971), p. 268. Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kŭn Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, Hanguk Minsokhak Kaesöl (An Outline of Korean Folklore: 한국 민속학 개설) (Seoul: Minjungsoŋwan, 1974), pp. 171-86. T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ũi Kujo Yöŋku (A Study of the Structure of Clan Villages: 씨족 부락의 구조 연구) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1979), pp. 245-65.

<sup>8</sup>Sang-Su Choe, Hahoe Kamyöŋgŭk ũi Yöŋku (A Study of the Mask Play of Hahoe: 하회 가면극의 연구) (Seoul: Koryö Söjök, 1959), pp. 12-15. Han-Sang Yu, "Hahoe Pyölsin Kamyöŋgŭk Tae-sa" (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyölsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회

Han-Sang is, in my judgment, most reliable.<sup>9</sup> The dramatic structure of hahoe pyölsin-kut seems to be of interest to many scholars. However, there have been published only two articles by Cho Oh-Kon and Sŏ Yŏn-Ho.<sup>10</sup> Sŏ tries to approach hahoe pyölsin-kut, more or less, as a fertility rite, while Cho appreciates it as a comedy. Most publications noted above contain a brief outline of history and performance of hahoe pyölsin-kut. In addition to them, Cho's other article and Yun's two books contain a brief out-

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별신 개명극 대사) Kugŏgukmunhak 20 (February 1959): 191-8. The Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, Hahoe Pyölsin Nori Taesa (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyölsin Play: 하회 별신 놀이 대사) (Kyŏngsangpukdo: The Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, 1978). Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, "Hahoe Pyölsin T'alnori" (Hahoe Pyölsin Mask Play: 하회 별신 탈놀이) Hanguk Minsokhak 12 (August 1980): 89-113. There are also two other texts transcribed by Lee Jae-Ho (1975) and by Kim T'aek-Kyu and Sŏng Byong-Hŭi (1978). Lee's text is almost the same as Yu Han-Sang's version (1959). Sŏng's 1980 text is a new edition of his original work, on which he collaborated with Kim in 1978.

<sup>9</sup>There is a forty-minute videotape by National Movie Production (1982; available from Munyejinhŭngwŏn, Seoul). Produced in Hahoe village (see Fig. 26), it was performed by Lee Ch'ang-Hee, a "preserver" of this art, and his students. It was based on the text of Sŏng Byong-Hŭi in collaboration with Sim U-Sŏng. This dissertation will demonstrate that, in large part, their presentation and interpretation is questionable. In addition to this videotape, television programs have depicted hahoe pyölsin-kut. Unfortunately, at least two, which I viewed, were not authentic productions.

<sup>10</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, "The Comic Effects of Hahoe Pyölsin-kut, a Traditional Korean Festival Mask-Dance Drama," Korea Journal 20 (July 1980): 4-7. Yŏn-Ho Sŏ, "Hahoe T'alch'um ŭi Yŏngŭkchŏk Kujo" (A Dramatic Structure of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 탈춤의 연극적 구조), T'alch'um ŭi Sasang (Phenomena of Mask-Dance Theatre: 탈춤의 사상), ed. Hŭi-Wan Ch'ae (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 1984), pp. 7-39.

line of its history and performance.<sup>11</sup>

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore hahoe pyölsin-kut fully as a complete cultural phenomenon: historical background, general setting relating to village ritual, masks, performers, stage, costumes, properties, music, dance, and dramatic values. Therefore my approach will be both historical and critical. An attempt will be made to cover all aspects of hahoe pyölsin-kut to discover both its unique theatrical quality and dramatic values. At this time, no such complete study exists in any language. In addition, this dissertation will furnish primary reference material for the further study of Korean theatre, especially hahoe pyölsin-kut, as well as for related studies.

The investigation of hahoe pyölsin-kut is divided into six chapters (from chapter 2 to chapter 7). Chapter 2 will deal with the general setting of hahoe pyölsin-kut, concentrating on the relationship with Hahoe village ritual. Since pyölsin-kut is inseparable from village ritual, this investigation is necessary. Chapter 3 will study the masks of hahoe pyölsin-kut by examining other masks used in Korean theatrical entertainment, by discussing the origin and

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<sup>11</sup> Oh-Kon Cho, "The Theatrical Presentation at the Hahoe Village Festival," Korea Journal 20 (December 1980): 49-53. Byong-Ha Yun, Hanguk Muakgo (A Study of Korean Dance and Music: 한국 무악고) (Seoul: Donghakdang, 1979), pp. 170-84. \_\_\_\_\_, Kkogyōjin Mat, Möt, Hūng (The Broken Flavor, Gusto, and Mirth: 깨어진 맛, 멋, 흥) (Seoul: Habtongkihoek, 1982), pp. 333-53.

characteristics of Hahoe masks in comparison with other masks of Korean mask-dance theatre. A brief study of actors and actor training will be included in this chapter. Chapter 4 will discuss the stage, in comparison with those of other Korean mask-dance theatres and the classic Greek theatre in various aspects such as the performing area, the viewing place, the musicians' seats, and the dressing room. In addition, lighting and stage properties will be discussed in this chapter. Chapter 5 will explore the costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is believed to have been formulated in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty during the twelfth century and was performed until 1928. The costumes will be accordingly examined in the historical change in aspects of form, silhouette, material, and color. The hand properties are examined in this chapter, as well. Chapter 6 will deal with the music and the dance, including musical instruments, songs, dance style, and methods of walking for each character. Chapter 7 will provide an analysis of a hahoe pyŏlsin-kut text in order to examine its dramatic values. I will analyze the main episodes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut which operate within a framework of farce. Also ritualistic elements will be explored as they appear in each scene.

Although this dissertation concerns hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, a brief examination of Korean mask-dance theatre is necessary in order to gain a better understanding of the

historical background of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. Thus a separate chapter about Korean mask-dance theatre will be followed by chapters on hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. All mask-dance present in the history of Korean theatre will be dealt with: its early theatrical forms, the long history of development, and the extant Korean mask-dance theatres.

Originally, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was never written down, but was transmitted orally by performers, the majority of whom were illiterate. Also, the performers were allowed to improvise freely on the stage. This theatre of improvisation and oral tradition heightens flexibility in division of scenes and their order of arrangement. The hahoe pyŏlsin-kut which has been recorded in the twentieth century was constructed into five to fourteen scenes. Each scene was assigned a different title and arranged in a different order. Since none of these texts is satisfactory, I have reconstructed the text, mainly based on three texts. This reconstructed text of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut will be translated into English in the appendix in order to provide the reader with a better understanding of this theatre.

This dissertation is the result of a careful investigation of all available written materials and of field work in Hahoe village as well as in Seoul. During a visit to Korea from September 1985 to January 1986, materials and art objects were examined scrupulously, and those which were deemed useful for illustration were either collected or

photographed. Following the text of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, illustrations will be included with relevant descriptions, if needed.

The romanization of Korean in this dissertation is based on the McCune-Reischauer phonetic system. This system has been adopted by various United States government departments because it accurately reflects the pronunciation of the Korean language.<sup>12</sup> Personal names, however, do not follow this system of romanizing but, rather each individual's preference. The names are presented in the Korean manner, having the family name first followed by the given name. The genre name is not capitalized, although it contains a name of place.

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<sup>12</sup>The table of romanization system is illustrated on the following page. The Korean alphabet, called hangŭl, consists of forty letters including compounds: ten pure vowels, eleven compound vowels, fourteen basic consonants, and five double consonants.

TABLE 1  
KOREAN ALPHABET PHONETIC SYSTEM

|                   | Korean Alphabets | McCune-Reischauer | Korean Alphabets | McCune-Reischauer |
|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| Pure Vowels       | ㅏ                | a                 | ㅑ                | ae                |
|                   | ㅓ                | o                 | ㅕ                | e                 |
|                   | ㅗ                | o                 | ㅛ                | oe                |
|                   | ㅜ                | u                 | ㅠ                | wi                |
|                   | ㅡ                | ũ                 | ㅣ                | i                 |
| Compound Vowels   | ㅘ                | ya                | ㅚ                | wa                |
|                   | ㅙ                | yae               | ㅞ                | wae               |
|                   | ㅛ                | yŏ                | ㅟ                | wŏ                |
|                   | ㅜ                | ye                | ㅟ                | we                |
|                   | ㅠ                | yo                | ㅡ                | ũi                |
|                   | ㅠ                | yu                |                  |                   |
| Consonants        | ㄱ                | k, g              | ㅇ                | -ng               |
|                   | ㄴ                | n                 | ㅈ                | ch, j             |
|                   | ㄷ                | t, d              | ㅊ                | ch'               |
|                   | ㄹ                | l, r              | ㅋ                | k'                |
|                   | ㅁ                | m                 | ㅌ                | t'                |
|                   | ㅂ                | p, b              | ㅍ                | p'                |
|                   | ㅅ                | s                 | ㅎ                | h                 |
| Double Consonants | ㄱㄱ               | kk                | ㅅㅅ               | ss                |
|                   | ㄷㄷ               | tt                | ㅈㅈ               | tch               |
|                   | ㅂㅂ               | pp                |                  |                   |

## CHAPTER 1

### ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT

Korean mask-dance theatre has been widely appreciated by many scholars from such varied fields as folklore, anthropology, literature, dance, theatre, and art history. Korean mask-dance theatres have been designated as Important Intangible Cultural Properties by the Korean government. Masks and the most important performers are also protected by the government. However, it was not until the twentieth century that Korean mask-dance theatre was recorded and transcribed into written texts. A first book about the history of Korean theatre was published in 1933: it was titled Chosŏn Yŏngŭksa (The History of Korean Theatre) and written by Kim Jae-Ch'ŏl. Kim describes the origin and development of Korean mask-dance theatre, dividing his study into three periods: (1) from prehistoric times until the Three Kingdoms, (2) the Silla kingdom, and (3) the Koryŏ and Yi dynasties. Kim believes that theatre originated from religious rites and that Korean mask-dance theatre developed from the shaman's ritual in the prehistoric period.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Jae-Ch'ŏl Kim, Chosŏn Yŏngŭksa (The History of Korean Theatre: 조선 연극사) (Seoul: Chosŏnŏmunhakhoe, 1933; reprint ed., Seoul: Minhaksa, 1974), pp. 11-12.

Although many followers and scholars are greatly indebted to Kim's study and efforts, they do not all agree with his theory of the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre.

There are five major theories concerning the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre: (1) the shaman's ritual in the prehistoric period, (2) the giak mask-dance in the Paekche kingdom, (3) the sandae dogam theatrical performances in the Yi dynasty, (4) the farmer's music band in the village ritual from the prehistoric period, and (5) the shamanistic fertility village ritual/festival in the prehistoric period.<sup>2</sup> Before discussing these theories in detail, I will deal with all mask-dances in the history of Korean theatre: their early theatrical forms, the long history of development, and the extant Korean mask-dance theatres. Among other scholars, Lee Duhyun has made the most significant contribution to the historical study of Korean mask-dance theatre. Since this chapter treats the general history of all mask-dances, I am indebted to him for most of the information in this chapter. Now I will discuss them in their chronologic and historic settings: (1) the primitive and tribal societies, (2) the

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<sup>2</sup>(1) Ibid., (2) Hye-Ku Yi, "Sandaegŭk kwa Giak" (Sandae Mask-Dance Theatre and Giak: 산대극과 기악), Yŏnse Ch'unch'u (October 1953): 226-236., (3) Duhyun Lee, Hanguk Kamyŏngŭk (Korean Mask-Dance Theatre: 한국 가면극) (Seoul: Munhwajae kwangriguk, 1969)., (4) Dong-Il Cho, Hanguk Kamyŏngŭk ŭi Mihak (The Aesthetics of Korean Mask-Dance Theatre: 한국 가면극의 미학) (Seoul: Hanguk Ilbosa, 1975)., and (5) Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983).

Three Kingdoms, (3) the Unified Silla, (4) the Koryŏ dynasty, (5) the Yi dynasty, and (6) the twentieth century.

Korea has a long history, starting from the paleolithic age. The evidence discovered so far indicates that human culture was being developed in Korea at least by the later paleolithic age, about thirty thousand years ago:

Until recently, little paleolithic life was thought to have existed in the Korean peninsula, but a series of scientific excavations since 1964 have brought up under the sun again hundreds of thousands of paleolithic tools and other evidence. . . . A piece of charcoal from a site in the Kongju area of Ch'ungch'ŏng province, measured by the carbon 14 method, was found to be 30,690 years old.<sup>3</sup>

Neolithic remains are relatively abundant in Korea. The society in neolithic Korea, called the chŏlmun pottery or comb-marked pottery culture, are conjectured to have appeared in the third millenium B.C. They are believed to be the ancestors of the present Korean people. The agricultural societies in Korea seem to have been established in the later neolithic period:

The fact that most combware has been found on the Korean sea coasts indicates that early neolithic Koreans were primarily fishermen: in the later period, however, we begin to find stone agricultural implements such as plough shares and sickles.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Wanne J. Joe, A History of Korean Civilization, 2 vols. (Seoul: Chungang University Press, 1972), 1:7.

<sup>4</sup>Woo-Keun Han, The History of Korea, trans. Kyung-Shik Lee (Seoul: Eulyoo Publishing Co., 1972), p. 5.

Another approach to Korean history is to examine Korean myths; e.g., the Tan'gun myth or the formation myth of the old Chosŏn kingdom (2333 B.C.-108 B.C.). "The Tan'gun myth is certainly material from which we can grasp the origin of Korea's historical development."<sup>5</sup> According to this myth, Tan'gun Wanggŏm is believed to have established the first kingdom in the peninsula in 2333 B.C. It is recorded in the Samguk Yusa (The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) written in the early 1280s by a Buddhist monk Iryŏn (1206-1289). To quote the Tan'gun myth:

In olden times, there was Hwan Ung, a son of Hwan In, the celestial being. Hwan Ung always desired for earthly power with a view to governing human society. The father, knowing his son's intention, looked down at Mt. T'aebaek, one of three high mountains and trusted that "the mankind is worthy of wide benefits." Thereupon, he gave his son a talismanic seal and let him go. Hwan Ung, leading 3,000 followers, descended to under the trees around the holy altar on the top of Mt. T'aebaek (or Mt. Myohyang) and called the place the Holy City. Commanding the Lord of Wind, the Master of Rain, and the Master of Cloud, he attended to the planting of grains, the regulation of life, sickness, and punishment and judged good and evil. Thus, directing more than 360 affairs, he civilized human society and regulated the workings of nature. At this time, there lived together in a cave a bear and a tiger who always prayed to God Ung that they might be transformed into human beings. Ung casually gave them a stalk of miraculous wormwood and 20 cloves of garlic. He instructed them to eat those to shun the sunlight for 100 days; then they would acquire human form. The bear and the tiger took and ate them and sat in retreat for 3 times 7 days. The bear acquired the body of a woman, but the tiger, unable to shun (the sunlight), failed to

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<sup>5</sup>Nam-Young Lee, "Tan'gun Myth and the Korean Thought," Korea Journal 16 (April 1976): 35.

obtain a human body. Since the bear-woman could find no one to marry, she again prayed under the trees around the altar that she might be with a young man; thereupon, Ung changed his form and married her. She became pregnant and bore a son, and his name was Tan'gun Wanggŏm. In the 50th year after Yao ascended the throne (of China), (that is, 2333 B.C.) Tan'gun Wanggŏm established his capital at P'yongyang and called his kingdom Chosŏn (or Morning Freshness). He ruled Chosŏn for 1,500 years.<sup>6</sup>

This myth supports the fact that the neolithic Koreans, especially the later neolithic Koreans, are the ancestors of the present Korean people. Besides, this myth suggests that religious belief in Korea at first incorporated animism, totemism, nature worship, and worship of the heaven god--the basis from which Korean shamanism was to be developed. The shamanistic belief is also well denoted by the name of the first legendary king. The name Tan'gun Wanggŏm, analyzed etymologically, is a combination of sacerdotal head and secular, political leader. Tan'gun is still one name for the shaman in southern Korea, used together with tanggol or tangol. Tan'gun, as a shamanistic priest in the old Chosŏn kingdom, should have worshiped the god of heaven and nature, judging from its myth.

Concerning the mask-dance in the prehistoric period, neolithic Koreans might have had theatrical performances of mask-dances, since there exists a mask of the neolithic age. It is a shell mask, the oldest extant mask in Korea, which

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<sup>6</sup> Samguk Yusa (The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms: 삼국 유사), quoted in Wanne J. Joe, p. 13.

was excavated from shell-mound diggings near Tongsam-dong, Yŏngdong-ku, Pusan from 1969 to 1977 by the National Museum of Korea. It has three holes for two eyes and a mouth opening. There has been an argument among the scholars concerning the original purpose of this shell mask. However, "it is believed that the shell mask might have been [used] for a primitive religious purpose."<sup>7</sup> And considering the notion that "theatre emerged out of primitive ritual,"<sup>8</sup> it has been conjectured that theatrical presentations with mask-dances were present in neolithic Korea. These presentations should be associated with the shamanistic ritual, worshipping the god of heaven and nature.

The first written records about theatrical performances in Korea appear in the third century A.D. These events are reported in Weichih, an historical record of the Wei dynasty (220-264) of ancient China; Weichih is included in the Sankuochih, or the Annals of the Three Kingdoms (of ancient China), written by Ch'en Chou (223-297). It describes the primitive rituals among the several tribes in the Korean peninsula. Because the records contain only a simple description of the rituals, one cannot ascertain such specific details of these rituals as the contents, the thea-

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<sup>7</sup> Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea, with a Foreword by Duhyun Lee (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1981), p. 5.

<sup>8</sup> Oscar G. Brockett, History of the Theatre, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977), p. 4.

trical presentations with mask-dances, the accompanying music, and other entertainment aspects. However, scholars such as Lee Duhyun believe that the details of these ancient rituals can be conjectured from the extant village rituals--especially in the shamanistic village rituals and pyölsin-kut performed in Hahoe village and the eastern coast.<sup>9</sup>

Although the extant hahoe pyölsin-kut is said to have its origin in ancient times, it is believed to have been firmly established by the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, i.e., in the twelfth century.

Detailed accounts of theatrical presentation are to be found from the time of the Three Kingdoms--Koguryŏ (37 B.C.-A.D. 668), Paekche (18 B.C.-A.D. 660), and Silla (57 B.C.-A.D. 668). Among the Three Kingdoms, Koguryŏ was the first to achieve cultural development. Being located in southern Manchuria and northern Korea--close to mainland China--Koguryŏ was influenced by the civilization and culture of China and the silk-road areas. Koguryŏ adopted the music from the silk-road areas that was predominant in China at that time, assimilated it in its own indigenous way, and developed it into koguryŏ-ak. Ak (樂), literally "entertainment," "enjoyment," or "music," was used to signify all kinds of performance or theatrical presentations: though it

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<sup>9</sup> Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk (Korean Mask-Dance Theatre: 한국의 가면극) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1979), p. 35.

is, today, generally understood and translated as "music."

Koguryō-ak and its masks came to Japan and exerted considerable influence on the formation of bugaku. Bugaku has been regarded as the dance of the imperial court, but it was principally performed "as part of rituals and to entertain guests at banquets."<sup>10</sup> Bugaku dances are divided into two categories: "tōgaku or sa-no-mai (dances of the Left) for pieces from China, India, and Southeast Asia, and komagaku or u-no-mai (dances of the Right) for pieces from the three Korean kingdoms."<sup>11</sup> Korean music, representing the "Right" group, was chiefly koguryō-ak (or komagaku in Japanese):

The bugaku pieces were silent plays except for some recitations in the old-style pieces, but they all excelled in the quality of the accompanying music. The Left music was used for the Left dance, represented chiefly by pieces in T'ang China. . . . The Right music was used for the Right dance, represented chiefly by the komagaku or koraigaku. . . . The Left dance was more cheerful than the Right. The costume differed from piece to piece and from bureau to bureau, but on the whole red was the basic color of the costume for the Left group, and green was for the Right, corresponding to the gay and quiet characters of the two types of dance and music.<sup>12</sup>

Among the bugaku dances, thirty-seven pieces survive from

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<sup>10</sup>Yoshinobu Inoura and Toshio Kawatake, The Traditional Theatre of Japan (New York: John Weatherhill, Inc., 1981), p. 35.

<sup>11</sup>Kyōtarō Nishikawa, Bugaku Masks, trans. Monica Bethe (Tokyo: Kodansha International Ltd. and Shibundo, 1978), p. 26.

<sup>12</sup>Inoura and Kawatake, pp. 35-36.

the Left, and twenty-four from the Right. And twelve out of twenty-four Right pieces are known as mask-dance pieces.<sup>13</sup> These indicate that koguryō-ak was silent and had mask-dance pieces.

The pictorial evidence of mask-dances in Koguryō are the tomb paintings of this period, such as the mural painting of the Anak Tomb. According to most theories, the dancer illustrated in this mural painting is believed to be a masked dancer.<sup>14</sup> Although the details of the mask-dance in Koguryō are not known today, there is no doubt that mask-dances were performed in this period.

Paekche was located in the southwestern part of the peninsula: it was well situated to maintain close relations with southern China and Japan. Paekche had a mask-dance performance, called giak. It is similar to the present Korean mask-dance theatre, especially sandaenori in Kyōngki province, in terms of characters, dramatic structure, contents, order of scenes, etc. Giak was a silent play and was performed for Buddhist ceremonies in temples. Giak is recorded in Nihon Shoki, or Chronicles of Japan (720), under the name of gigaku. Gigaku (伎樂) is the Japanese pronunciation of giak (伎樂). Giak had its origin in Wu, the southern China state, was introduced into Korea, and later came

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<sup>13</sup> Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyōngŭk, p. 40,

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., p. 41.

to Japan with its masks:

Gigaku is said to have been introduced into Japan in 612 by Mimashi of the kingdom of Kudara (Paekche) in southern Korea. The remains of gigaku are found in certain Japanese folk lion dances.<sup>15</sup>

The masks brought by Mimashi still exist at Horyuji temple in Japan, serving as actual proof to support evidence of the introduction of gigaku to Japan.<sup>16</sup>

Unlike giak in Paekche and Wu, gigaku in Japan seemed to be used solely as a formal, religious piece for Buddhist services in temples.

Silla, located in the southeastern part of the peninsula, was the last of the Three Kingdoms to make cultural progress and to communicate with mainland China. As in the other two Kingdoms, theatrical performance in Silla was associated with religious rites. The mask-dance in Silla can be presumed to have existed from the fifth century, judging from an extant mask of that period. This mask is the second oldest mask preserved to date in Korea. It is a lacquered wooden mask, excavated in Ho-U Tomb near Kyŏngju in 1946. The Ho-U Tomb is believed to be for the royal family of the Silla kingdom of the fifth and sixth centuries. And the mask found in this tomb is thought to have been made in the fifth century for a shamanistic ritual.

Another theatrical performance is also associated

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<sup>15</sup>William P. Malm, Japanese Music and Musical Instruments (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Company, 1954), p. 78.

<sup>16</sup>Inoura and Kawatake, p. 24.

with shamanistic rituals, called p'alkwanhoe ("The Eight Commandments Festival"). P'alkwanhoe was first organized in 551 and continued in the Unified Silla and the Koryŏ dynasty. Although p'alkwanhoe was a national ritual, it also included various theatrical entertainments, called kamupaekhŭi (literally, "song-music-hundred-entertainments"). The details of kamupaekhŭi in the Silla kingdom are not known today. However, it is believed to have been a kind of variety show, including the mask-dance pieces. Among the theatrical entertainments of kamupaekhŭi, five pieces were described in the poem "Hyang-Ak-Chap-Yŏng-O-Su," written by Ch'oe Ch'i-Wŏn (857-910) of the late Unified Silla. The five pieces are called ogi, literally "five skills," but generally understood and translated as "five displays." I will explain ogi later in the period of the Unified Silla.

Another theatrical performance with the mask-dance is called hwangch'ang-mu or sword dance. It is based on the historical event of the young general Kwanch'ang, who is also known as general Hwangch'ang. The story of Kwanch'ang is recorded in the Samguk Saki (The Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms), compiled in 1145 by one of the earliest Korean historians, Kim Bu-Shik (1075-1151). The following is the summarized story of Kwanch'ang:

Kwan'chang, a sixteen-year-old general, was appointed the second in command of the Silla army (660). He took part in counter-attack with his Chinese allies, the Tang forces, against the neighboring Paekche. But he was killed by the famous Paekche general Kyepaek and

his head was cut off and sent back to Silla. Kwan-ch'ang's father Pumil, who was also a general, held his son's head, wiping the blood with his sleeve, and said that he had nothing to regret, since his son died in loyalty to the nation. The surviving soldiers were indignant to see this head and made an attack on Paekche. Thus finally Paekche was defeated.<sup>17</sup>

"In order to praise his heroism and loyalty, the people of Silla initiated hwangch'ang-mu."<sup>18</sup> A mask of Kwanch'ang's (Hwangch'ang's) face was made and used in hwangch'ang-mu to soothe the spirit of Kwanch'ang. It was more like a ritual than a theatrical entertainment. This mask-dance continued to be performed until the Yi dynasty.

A late-comer to military power and cultural progress, Silla defeated the other Kingdoms and united the Three Kingdoms in the late seventh century (668). Silla formed an alliance with T'ang China and succeeded in defeating Paekche in 660 and Koguryŏ in 668 respectively, with the help of T'ang's expeditionary force. However, T'ang not only ruled the territories of Paekche and Koguryŏ but also intended to occupy Silla itself. Silla commenced active resistance against Chinese domination in T'ang-controlled territories. The real unification of the Korean peninsula began in 676, when Silla finally drove out the T'ang troops

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<sup>17</sup> Bu-Shik Kim, Samguk Saki (The Historical Records of the Three Kingdoms: 삼국사기), trans. Byong-Do Lee (Seoul: Ulyu Munhwasa, 1977), p. 691.

<sup>18</sup> Peter Lee, Korean Literature: Topics and Themes (Tucson, Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1965), p. 84.

from Pyŏngyang (the old capital of Koguryo).<sup>19</sup> The Unified Silla (668-935) reached its peak of power and prosperity by the middle of the eighth century.

The mask-dance was highly developed in the Unified Silla. Ch'ŏyong-mu was probably the most famous mask-dance in this period. It was handed down to the later periods of the Koryŏ and Yi dynasties, though it underwent many changes until the Yi dynasty. Ch'ŏyong-mu has its origin from the legend, which is recorded in the Samguk Yusa (The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Its main story is as follows:

One day, Hŏngang (875-885), the forty-ninth king of Silla, went to Kaeunpo and took a rest at the seaside. Suddenly a thick cloud and fog came up and they could hardly see and find the way. The king asked his men for the cause of this strangeness, and was told that the Dragon of the East Sea made this happen. He was also advised to do something for the Dragon. Thus the king ordered his men to build a temple for the Dragon, and as soon as this order was given, the clouds and fog cleared away. Thus he named this place Kaeunpo [literally, "Opening-Clouds-Bank"]. The Dragon of the East Sea came out to the king with his seven sons and praised the king's virtue and generosity with dance and music. One of the Dragon's children followed the king to his palace and assisted him in political matters. The king named him Ch'ŏyong, married him to a beautiful girl, and gave him a high position. Since Ch'ŏyong's wife was so beautiful, the evil spirit of smallpox wanted her strongly. The evil spirit transformed his appearance into a human being, sneaked into her room, and slept with her. Ch'ŏyong returned home to find his wife in bed with another man. Faced with this situation, Ch'ŏyong withdrew from them, singing and dancing. [This song, known as ch'ŏyong-ka, will be quoted separately.] The evil spirit was completely moved by the

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<sup>19</sup> T'ae-Sŏb Byŏn, Hanguksa Yoron (The Important Arguments on Korean History: 한국사 요론) (Seoul: Samyŏngsa, 1973), p. 201.

Ch'ŏyong's deed, turned back into its real appearance, knelt down [to] him and apologized. It promised Ch'ŏyong that it would never enter the house if it saw only his picture on the door. Thereafter, all Silla people could expel the evil spirits by posting the picture of Ch'ŏyong on the door.<sup>20</sup>

Ch'ŏyong-ka ("Song of Ch'ŏyong"):

Having caroused far into the night,  
in the moonlit capital,  
I return home and in my bed,  
Behold, four legs,

Two have been mine;  
whose are the other two?  
Two had been mine;  
No, no, they are taken.  
(or "But What now since they are taken?")<sup>21</sup>

As seen above, the legend of Ch'ŏyong is associated with shamanism. Ch'ŏyong can be equated with the shaman, and his wife slept with the evil spirit of small pox, with the patient. "What Ch'ŏyong did to expel the smallpox spirit reminds us of the shaman's dance."<sup>22</sup> Ch'ŏyong-ka was later developed into the mask-dance for the purpose of shamanistic ritual to help expel the evil spirits out of the house. In the Koryŏ dynasty, it was much exploited for shamanistic rituals at the court:

[During the Koryŏ period] ch'ŏyong-ka now became a 45-line song as it adapted for a stage performance calling for a series of elaborate stately dances, a

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<sup>20</sup> Iryŏn, Samguk Yusa, trans. Min-Su Lee (Seoul: Samsŏngmisulmunhwajaedan, 1979), pp. 118-119.

<sup>21</sup> Samguk Yusa, trans. Peter Lee, quoted in Joe, p. 130.

<sup>22</sup> Meewon Lee, p. 24.

little bit of acting, and singing in either aria or chorus accompanied by instruments. It was performed as part of the annual purification ceremony at the court.<sup>23</sup>

The shamanistic function of ch'ŏyong-mu was not changed in the Yi dynasty. Meanwhile, cho'ŏyong-mu has been also presented at court banquets and reception parties for the purpose of entertainment since the Koryŏ dynasty. And its performing style has been constantly changed. It was performed by two dancers in the latter part of the Koryŏ dynasty; by one dancer in the early Yi dynasty; and finally by five dancers from around 1493.<sup>24</sup>

Concerning ogi ("five displays"), they were presented long before the period of the Three Kingdoms. The details of ogi in the Unified Silla can be found from the poem of Ch'oe Ch'i-Wŏn. The five pieces of theatrical entertainment described in the poem are: kŭmhwan ("golden loops"), wŏlchŏn ("fallen moon"), taemyŏn ("great mask"), sokdok ("lump of poison"), and sanye ("lion"). Kŭmhwan is an acrobatic presentation, juggling with golden loops. Wŏlchŏn is a kind of farce with mask, dance, and music. Taemyŏn is a mask-dance for exorcism. Sokdok is a fast tempo mask-dance. Sanye is a lion dance. This poem indicates that the Unified Silla culture had a kind of variety show, including acrobatics, juggling, dance, music, farce, as well

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<sup>23</sup>Joe, p. 204.

<sup>24</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, p. 57.

as mask-dances. All ogi except kumhwan are mask-dances.

The Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), often referred to as "the Middle Ages" of Korea, succeeded in expanding the northern frontier. The border lines of Korea were thus established approximately to where they remain today. Buddhism became the national religion and received special protection from the court. Meanwhile, shamanism and Confucianism were also encouraged. In this era, there were two important national festivals: yŏndŭnghoe ("The Lantern Light Festival") and p'alkwanhoe ("The Eight Commandments Festival"). Yŏndŭnghoe was a Buddhist ceremony and was held on the fifteenth of January or February by the lunar calendar: during the reign of King Kongmin, the last king of the Koryŏ dynasty, it began to be held on the eighth of April [the Buddha's birthday] and this date continues until today today.<sup>25</sup> P'alkwanhoe was the shamanistic ceremony for deities or spirits of heaven, famous mountains, and rivers, which was held in mid-winter (usually in November by the lunar calendar). In fact, p'alkwanhoe has been performed since the Silla Kingdom. "Though both festivals are different in their objects of worship, they are the same kind of national celebration in terms of employing dance, music, and other theatrical entertainments as well as praying for the

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<sup>25</sup>T'ae-Sŏb Pyŏn, p. 268.

peace of the nation and court."<sup>26</sup>

Also, the various theatrical entertainments of the Silla Kingdom, called kamupaekhui, are performed at these festivals. They are now called sandae chapgŭk ("sandae variety show"). "Sandae is the name for a temporary outdoor stage which can be considered the first recorded stage in Korean theatrical history."<sup>27</sup> It is also called ch'aebung or sanbung, meaning a decorated stage or a mountain-like stage. This stage continued to be used in the Yi dynasty. The difference lies in the frequency of using these names: "in the Koryŏ dynasty, ch'aebung is usually used more often, while in the records of the Yi dynasty, ch'aebung, sanbung, and sandae are used interchangeably [to designate this stage]."<sup>28</sup> Sandae chapgŭk is also employed on other occasions such as at the narye ritual, court banquets, reception parties, as well as for court entertainments. Yang Jae-Yŏn describes the repertory of sandae drama in detail in his article "Sandaehŭi e Ch'ihayŏ" (A Study on Sandae Drama). Here, we can see that sandae drama includes dance and music,

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<sup>26</sup> Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, p. 67.

<sup>27</sup> Meewon Lee, p. 26.

<sup>28</sup> Jae-Yŏn Yang, "Sandaehŭi e Ch'ihayŏ" (A Study on Sandae Drama: 산대희에 대하여), Chungang Taehakgyo Samsip-Junyŏn Kinyŏm Nonmunjip (Seoul: Chungang University, 1955), p. 190.

mask-dance drama, acrobatics, magic, improvisation, etc."<sup>29</sup> Among the mask-dance pieces in sandae drama, ch'ŏyong-mu is included.<sup>30</sup>

The narye ritual, in which sandae chapgŭk was also performed, was a mask-dance drama and was traditionally held on the last night of the year by the lunar calendar. It served a dual purpose: to exorcise all the evil spirits of the passing year, for which purpose the performers wore horrifying masks, and to welcome in the new year.<sup>31</sup> Although yŏndŭnghoe and p'alkwanhoe were no longer held in the Yi dynasty, the narye ritual and sandae chapgŭk continued to be performed in the Yi dynasty, together with ch'ŏyong-mu. However, they became less religious, but more theatrical.

The Yi dynasty (1392-1910) replaced Buddhism with Confucianism as the major guideline for almost all aspects of national affairs and personal matters. Other religions such as Buddhism, Taoism, and shamanism were periodically supported throughout the dynasty. From the sixteenth century, the Yi dynasty began to lose control of its government and internal stability was weakened. The three main causes can be described as follows: (1) the factional strife among

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 203-204.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 204.

<sup>31</sup>Jae-Chŏl Kim, pp. 40-41.

the ruling class, called yangban, (2) the six-year war with the Japanese (1592-1598), and (3) two invasions by the Manchus in 1627 and 1636. On the other hand, the common people were increasing in power with the rise of merchants from the seventeenth century forward. The culture of the common people was at its apex in the eighteenth century. It was all made possible by the rise of guilds:

During the latter half of the 17th century, mercantile activities continued to grow with the development of government-licensed supplier guilds, which spread on a nationwide scale as their transactions accounted for 60 percent of the total government revenue. . . . Mercantile activities increased in volume at a rapid rate in the 18th century. There was accumulation of capital through monopoly and wholesaling that expanded through guild organization. Many merchants were concentrated in Seoul.<sup>32</sup>

The rise of guilds was paralleled by the growth of the towns. And the growth of guilds and towns brought a turning point in the history of Korean mask-dance theatre. Being supported by the merchants financially, the art of the common people was highly developed around the towns. And it was during this time that the extant sandae dogam groups of Korean mask-dance theatre or "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre developed as the folk theatre.

Sandae dogam drama in the Yi dynasty was similar to sandae chapgŭk drama in the Koryŏ dynasty. Sandae dogam

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<sup>32</sup> Korean Overseas Information Service, A Handbook of Korea, 3rd ed. (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1979), p. 111.

drama is named after the government board, Sandae Dogam, which controlled and supervised the official performance of theatrical presentations and rituals. This government board is also called Narye Dogam. Like sandae chapgŭk drama in the Koryŏ dynasty, sandae dogam drama was performed extensively for various national events such as court banquets, reception parties, royal entertainments, etc. It included acrobatics, music and dance, mask-dance pieces, magic, a mask parade of animals, improvisation, etc. "The content of the theatrical entertainments [of sandae dogam] was not much different from that of Koryŏ's sandae chapgŭk."<sup>33</sup>

During the reign of King Injo (1623-1649), Sandae Dogam was abolished and the court performers of sandae dogam drama were dismissed. The main reasons for these actions seem to have been: (1) the invasions by the Japanese and the Manchus weakened the economy of the government, and (2) the Confucian bureaucracy oppressed the theatrical performers. The dismissed court performers became strolling performers and gave performances wherever they could find an audience. With the economic rise of the merchants and the towns, the strolling performers could find more audiences in the towns. Finally, they began to settle down in some towns. Their performances underwent many changes to accommodate the tastes of new audiences--the commoners. The rich

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<sup>33</sup> Meewon Lee, p. 30.

merchants, who increased in power from the latter half of the seventeenth century, became the new patrons. Sandae dogam drama for the court was gradually transformed into folk theatre for the commoners--the extant form of sandae dogam group of Korean mask-dance theatre or "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. On the other hand, some strolling performers formed a troupe called sadang-p'ae or namsadang-p'ae and travelled throughout the country performing various entertainments, including the mask-dance drama. To sum up, the development of sandae dogam drama as the folk theatre can be illustrated as follows: (1) the abolishment of Sandae Dogam government board, (2) the economic and political change during the seventeenth century, (3) the formation of guilds and growth of towns, (4) the merchants as the new patrons, and (5) the commoners as the new audiences.

The folk theatre became highly developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Most of extant Korean mask-dance theatres were established and developed during this period. From the end of the nineteenth century, however, the traditional Korean theatre, including the mask-dance theatre, began to decline. It was at this time that Korea began to establish diplomatic relations with Western countries. Soon after the end of Korea's isolation and the fall of the Yi dynasty, Korea had to endure thirty-five years of Japan's control (1910-1945). During this period, Koreans were deprived of their traditional culture and

theatre arts. In addition, the Western-style drama and its theatrical conventions were introduced through Japan. As a result of the close contact with Japan and the Western influence, a new drama was developed and the old drama (the traditional Korean theatre) declined. On the other hand, the political change resulted in a rise of patriotism and the new theatre movement was used for patriotic or anti-Japanese activities. Korea was liberated from Japanese control in 1945, as World War II came to an end. Now, Korea was ready to reestablish its theatre. However, Western thoughts and technology adversely affected a correct understanding and respect for the traditional culture and theatre of Korea. In the 1960s, many traditional cultural properties were eradicated by the modernization movement. The traditional theatre of Korea, which is associated with shamanistic belief, together with ancestral belief and Buddhism, was rejected by Christianity. From the end of the 1960s, people began to be aware of their cultural identity and the traditional theatre began to command respect among the young students and scholars, as well as the government. Korean mask-dance theatre, usually called kamyŏngŭk or t'al-ch'um, has been widely appreciated from that time on.

Now let us discuss the extant Korean mask-dance theatre. It is generally divided into two large categories: the "village-type" and the "town-type." The "village-type" mask-dance theatre is performed only on the occasion of a

village ritual or a village shrine ceremony. This mask-dance theatre includes the following: pyŏlsin-kut dramas of Hahoe and Pyŏngsan (North Kyŏngsang province), pyŏlsin-kut dramas of the east coast, and kwanno t'alnori of the Tano festival in Kangnŭng (Kangwŏn province). The "town-type" mask-dance theatre is also called the sandae dogam group, since this group was formulated after the abolishment of Sandae Dogam board and developed from sandae dogam drama. This group can be classified into four regional sub-groups: (1) t'alch'um in Hwanghae province; (2) sandaenori around Seoul, i.e., in Kyŏngki province; (3) okwangdae and yaryu in South Kyŏngsang province; and (4) sajanorŭm of Pukch'ŏng in South Hamkyŏng province.<sup>34</sup> Some scholars treat the sajanorŭm or lion dance of Pukch'ŏng separately because it has a different origin from other "town-type" mask-dance theatres.

The "village-type" mask-dance theatre is performed in the rural areas--the farming and fishing villages. It is performed as a part of a village ritual, performed as worship to a village tutelary deity in order to pray for fertility and peace. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut drama, which is considered as the oldest Korean mask-dance theatre, is representative of this group. It was performed until 1928 at Hahoe village, P'ungch'ŏn-myŏn, Andong-kun, Kyŏngsangpukdo (North Kyŏngsang province). Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was not presented

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<sup>34</sup>See the map of figure 1 for their locations.

annually, but irregularly. It began on the last day of December and lasted until the fifteenth of January by the lunar calendar. The actors were chosen from the commoners and lodged together until the last day of hahoe pyölsin-kut. Among the masks used here, eleven masks are preserved to this day, with two other masks of pyöngsan pyölsin-kut. Four masks are equipped with moving parts--movable jaws. The Hahoe masks are of particular interest and exceptional artistic merit. Besides, they serve as actual evidence of the formation period of hahoe pyölsin-kut drama. They are believed to have been made in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, i.e., the twelfth century.

Kwanno t'alnori of the Kangnŭng tano festival was performed at the tano festival until the early twentieth century. The tano festival is generally held on the fifth of May by the lunar calendar. It is an intermingling of holiday and ritual:

The Tano holiday was sumptuously observed, especially in the areas north of central Korea, when Ssirum (Korean version of wrestling) and [rope] swing contests were held in daytime and mask dances at night at the same place. Seasonally, it was a time of relief from busy farm work as it was just prior to rice transplanting. The Tano mask dances were folk rituals intended to repulse evil spirits at the beginning of summer, to pray for bumper harvests, and to celebrate the summer solstice.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea, p. 17.

The Kangnŭng tano festival started earlier on the twentieth of March with the brewing of rice wine for the deity.<sup>36</sup> Kwanno t'alnori was performed from the first of May, when the main celebration began, and lasted until the fifth of May. Unlike those of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, the actors were not the commoners, but the outcasts--the slaves in government employ. Kwanno t'alnori was a silent mask-dance drama, composed of three scenes with three actors. The triangle relationship of yangban (aristocrat), kaksi (young woman), and sisittakttagi (intruder) can be compared with that of ch'ŏyong mask-dance drama in the Unified Silla.<sup>37</sup>

Pyŏlsin-kut dramas of the east coast villages are employed as parts of the village rituals, which are also associated with the fertility rites. Unlike other "village-type" dramas, these are performed by shamans. Pyŏlsin-kut of the east coast villages is held annually or irregularly--every three, four, five, seven, or ten years.<sup>38</sup> And not all pyŏlsin-kut contains the mask-dance drama.

The "town-type" mask-dance theatre was performed in the urban areas--the commercial and political towns and cities. This group was developed with the growth of guilds

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<sup>36</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, p. 108.

<sup>37</sup>Jin-T'ae Park, Hanguk Kamyŏngŭk Yŏnku (A Study of Korean Mask-Dance Theatre: 한국 가면극 연구) (Seoul: Saemunsa, 1985), pp. 63-64.

<sup>38</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, p. 109.

and towns during the latter half of the seventeenth century, after the abolishment of Sandae Dogam government board. Since "many merchants were concentrated in Seoul,"<sup>39</sup> at that time, one can guess where the "town-type" mask-dance theatre was first developed. The answer was the areas in and around Seoul: Sachikkol, Nokbŏnri, Noryangjin, T'oegyewŏn, and Ahyŏn.<sup>40</sup> The performances in these areas, called sandaenori are not preserved today, but have been succeeded by the extant pyŏl-sandaenori of Yangju, which is representative of the sandaenori group.

Yangju town, in which the county chief resided, was well located within easy access to Seoul and other smaller towns around Seoul. This geographical setting was beneficial to the growth of this place as a commercial and political town. Yangju pyŏl-sandaenori was said to have been established in the early eighteenth century by Lee Ŭl-Ch'uk who first learned the performances from the ttakttagi troupe of Sachikkol town. Yangju pyŏl-sandaenori was performed on special occasions,<sup>41</sup> such as the eighth of April (the Buddha's birthday), the fifth of May (tano festival), the fifteenth of August (harvest moon festival), etc. The actors,

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<sup>39</sup>See n. 36 above.

<sup>40</sup>Sachikkol was located in Seoul, and others were around Seoul. They are now all included in Seoul. Ahyŏn was also called Aeogae.

<sup>41</sup>All the dates following are by the lunar calendar.

actors, like those of other mask-dance theatres, were not professionals. "The performers were mainly low government officials and husbands of female shamans who had the spare time."<sup>42</sup> The sandaenori dance is more refined and diverse than any other Korean mask-dance theatre. In addition to yangju pyŏl-sandaenori, songpa sandaenori belongs to the sandaenori group.

The mask-dance theatre in Hwanghae province (presently in North Korea) is called t'alch'um. T'alch'um in Hwanghae province also developed in the commercial towns. T'alch'um of Pongsan town has been representative of this regional group since the late nineteenth century. Pongsan t'alch'um is almost same as yangju pyŏl-sandaenori in terms of subjects and characters in the drama. The difference lies in the language. "The speech employed in pongsan t'alch'um adheres to the verse or poetic language, whereas that of yangju pyŏl-sandaenori utilizes common everyday language found in ordinary conversation."<sup>43</sup> Also, pongsan t'alch'um employs more vigorous dance than yangju pyŏl-sandaenori. Pongsan t'alch'um is said to have been reformed and revived by An Jo-Mok, a petty official of Pongsan county, in the eighteenth century. The actors were composed of only the petty government officials. "If a commoner wanted to play a

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<sup>42</sup>Meewon Lee, p. 47.

<sup>43</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, p. 121.

role, he should give a donation of money."<sup>44</sup> Pongsan t'al-ch'um was originally held on the eighth of April but later, from the end of the nineteenth century, was performed on the fifteenth of May. It was also performed on other occasions: the birthday of the county chief, the inauguration ceremony of a new chief, etc. Besides pongsan t'alch'um, kangryŏng and eunyul t'alch'um are also widely known today.

Okwangdae and yaryu are the mask-dance theatres in South Kyŏngsang province. They are sometimes dealt with separately because of their different origins and characteristics as well as their different names. Okwangdae means literally "five performers," but is generally translated as "five buffoneries." Yaryu is also called tŭlnorŭm: both have the same literal meaning of "field play." Geographically speaking, okwangdae was performed in the towns west of the Naktong River, whereas yaryu or tŭlnorŭm, in the towns east of this river. According to an oral legend, okwangdae is said to have had its origin in the taekwangdae troupe's performance in Pammari, located on the banks of the Naktong River; and yaryu is said to be constructed from okwangdae in the 1870s. However, Sim U-Sŏng maintains that yaryu had indigenous mask-dance theatre before the formation of okwangdae, and has been partially influenced by okwangdae

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<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 183.

since the 1870s.<sup>45</sup>

The term okwangdae comes from the philosophy of "Five Primary Substances," which appears in the I Ching (Book of Changes) of ancient China. This philosophy says that the cosmos is composed of five elements: metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. This philosophy dominated the composition of okwangdae drama: there are five direction spirits, five lepers, five yangban, and five colors of mask. Among okwangdae mask-dance theatres, those held in T'ongyŏng, Kosŏng, and Kasan towns are representative of this group. They are said to have been first produced in the 1860s. About the dates of performance, okwangdae dramas were originally performed on the nights of the fourteenth and fifteenth of January in conjunction with a ritual intended to expel evil spirits. Later tongyŏng okwangdae was played for entertainment during field picnics around the fifteenth of March, early in the April, and mid-September; at times, it was also performed as a community ritual praying for rain and continued for several days until the rain came.<sup>46</sup>

Yaryu seems to have originated from the indigenous entertainments employed in village rituals and developed under the influence of okwangdae. As described earlier, Sim

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<sup>45</sup>U-Sŏng Sim, Hanguk ŭi Minsokgŭk (The Folk Theatre of Korea: 한국의 민속극) (Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1975), pp. 22-23.

<sup>46</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏnggŭk, p. 249.

indicates this point. Lee Meewon describes the uniqueness of yaryu clearly:

The yaryu, unlike other "Sande Dogam traditional Kamyŏngŭk," was still performed with the village ritual. Like the Pyŏlsinkut-nori of Hahoe, it also had a long parade before the mask-play. . . . Actually the mask-play is performed as the second part of the event. Judging from its original story and performing structure, the extant form of Yaryu seems to be a mixture of the old village ritual entertainment and the influence of the Taekwangdae troupe of Pammari. In other words, the performing context is closer to the old form of the mask-dance drama (i.e., the "village ritual/festival Kamyŏngŭk") and the play itself is similar to the okwangdae and the other town-type mask-plays.<sup>47</sup>

Yaryu has a performing style of the "village-type" mask-dance theatre, but is similar to the "town-type" mask-dance theatre in its dramatic value. Yaryu seems to be a good example to demonstrate the transition from the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre to that of "town-type."<sup>48</sup> Yaryu in Tongrae and Suyŏng towns are representative of this group.

The last regional group, pukch'ŏng sajanorŭm or Pukch'ŏng Lion Dance in south Hamkyŏng province (presently in North Korea) has a different origin from other "town-type" mask-dance theatres. It was not developed from sandae dogam dramas. The lion dance has a long history from the period of the Three Kingdoms. As discussed previously, there were lion dances in the periods of the Paekche kingdom

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<sup>47</sup>Meewon Lee, pp. 52-53.

<sup>48</sup>Dong-Il Cho, p. 61.

and the Unified Silla. Giak of the Paekche is believed to have had a lion dance piece, judging from the lion dance of gigaku. Ogi of the Unified Silla includes sanye, a lion dance. According to Lee Duhyun, pukch'ŏng sajanorŭm is assumed to have its origin in the lion dance of the Unified Silla, which was influenced by a similar dance in the Asian Continent, especially in northern China.<sup>49</sup> Pukch'ŏng sajanorŭm was performed in all the regions of Pukch'ŏng county. The purpose of its performance was to expel evil spirits and to bring peace to all households in the community. It was performed on the evenings of the fourteenth of January and lasted until dawn of the following day. After that, all performers including lions and musicians made door-to-door visits of the entire community, performing the lion dance to expel evil spirits from the households, and collected a donation of money or grains.

In conclusion, the extant Korean mask-dance theatre is a folk theatre and a community event. There are two groups in the extant Korean mask-dance theatre: the "village-type" and the "town-type." The former was performed in the rural areas, as a part of village ritual. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut of the village group is considered the oldest extant of all Korean mask-dance theatre. The "town-type" was popular in the commercial and political towns and cities.

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<sup>49</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk, pp. 308-309.

It was developed from the court theatrical entertainments after the abolition of Sandae Dogam official board. This transformation from the court theatre to the folk theatre was possible with the growth of guilds and towns. Among the extant Korean mask-dance theatres, thirteen were designated as Important Intangible Cultural Properties by the Korean government. They are illustrated in table 2.

TABLE 2

KOREAN MASK-DANCE THEATRE DESIGNATED AS IMPORTANT  
INTANGIBLE CULTURAL PROPERTIES

| Name of Theatre          | Number | Year |
|--------------------------|--------|------|
| Yangju Pyŏl-Sandaenori   | No. 2  | 1964 |
| Songpa Sandaenori        | No. 49 | 1973 |
| Pongsan T'alch'um        | No. 17 | 1967 |
| Kangryŏng T'alch'um      | No. 34 | 1970 |
| Eunyu T'alch'um          | No. 61 | 1978 |
| T'ongyŏng Okwangdae      | No. 6  | 1964 |
| Kosŏng Okwangdae         | No. 7  | 1970 |
| Kasan Okwangdae          | No. 73 | 1980 |
| Tongrae Yaryu            | No. 18 | 1967 |
| Suyŏng Yaryu             | No. 43 | 1971 |
| Pukch'ŏng Sajanorŭm      | No. 15 | 1967 |
| Kangnŭng Kwanno T'alnori | No. 13 | 1967 |
| Hahoe Pyŏlsin-Kut        | No. 69 | 1981 |

Now, I will discuss the theories about the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre, five of which were described earlier. The first theory was initiated by Kim Jae-Ch'ŏl. As discussed briefly in the beginning of this chapter, he states that Korean mask-dance theatre seems to originate from the shaman's ritual in the prehistoric period. "The shaman's ritual which was originally a simple ceremony to entertain gods after harvests was getting more complex in dance and drama, and finally seemed to develop into the mask-dance theatre."<sup>50</sup>

The second theory is that of Yi Hye-Ku who tries to understand the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre in comparison with the theatres of neighboring countries. He claims that Korean mask-dance theatre originated from giak, a mask-dance piece for a Buddhist ceremony in the Paekche kingdom. Giak is recorded in Nihon Shoki (Chronicles of Japan) under the name of gigaku (a Japanese pronunciation of giak). Giak had its origin in Wu China. It was introduced into Korea and later came to Japan with Buddhism. Yi compared gigaku with yangju pyŏl-sandaenori, one of sandae regional group of "town-type" mask-dance theatre, and points out their similarities in terms of characters, dramatic

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<sup>50</sup>Jae-Ch'ŏl Kim, p. 12.

structure, contents of play, order of scenes, etc.<sup>51</sup>

The third theory is supported by Lee Duhyun. Lee, although giving credence to Yi Hye-Ku's theory, contends that the present "town-type" ("sandae dogam traditional" in his words) Korean mask-dance theatre was formulated from Sandae Dogam theatrical tradition--the court entertainments. Lee also notes that there is another kind of Korean mask-dance theatre which has a different origin from the "town-type" theatre, and that this type was formulated in farming ceremonies, shamanism, and village ritual long before the period of the Three Kingdoms.<sup>52</sup>

The fourth theory is argued by Cho Dong-Il. He says that the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre was rooted in village ritual, led by the farmer's music band, and that this ritual developed into the "village-type" mask-dance theatre and later into the "town-type" one.<sup>53</sup>

Finally, Lee Meewon maintains that Korean mask-dance theatre originated in the shamanistic village fertility rituals. "Kamyŏngŭk originated in the shamanistic

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<sup>51</sup>Yi Hye-Ku, "Giak kwa Sandae Kamyŏngŭk" (Giak and Sandae Mask-Dance Theatre: 기악과 산대 가면극) Hanguk Minsok Yŏnku Nonmunsŏn, 2 vols, ed. T'aek-Kyu Kim and Byong-Hŭi Sŏng (Seoul: Iljogak, 1982), 2: 61-64. This article was first published in Japanese in a periodical Chosŏn Hakbo 51 (1969).

<sup>52</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk Kamyŏngŭk.

<sup>53</sup>Dong-Il Cho, pp. 16 and 58.

village ritual/festivals and gradually became similar to the extant form after absorbing the upper class professional theatrical entertainment, especially the tradition of Sandae Dogam after its abolishment."<sup>54</sup>

All the theories above are important to the study of Korean mask-dance theatre in its origin and development. Any attempt to analyze these theories can be accused of being superficial because of the lack of written records about the history of Korean mask-dance theatre. Another reason is the improvisational nature of Korean mask-dance theatre. Thus, I will simply explain my reactions to the major theories.

The first theory cannot be denied, but Kim Jae-Ch'ŏl does not explain how the shaman's ritual developed into the two types of the extant Korean mask-dance theatre. Yi Hye-Kye, although presenting invaluable research, does not deal with the "village-type" mask-dance theatre. Lee Duhyun, borrowing Lee Meewon's expression, has an "eclectic theory."<sup>55</sup> He deals with two types of Korean mask-dance theatre separately. Cho Dong-Il and Lee Meewon profess the same notion in that they claim that the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre developed into the "town-type" theatre. But Lee Meewon seeks the origin of Korean mask-

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<sup>54</sup>Meewon Lee, p. 38.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p. 36

dance theatre in the shamanistic village ritual/festivals, whereas Cho insists on the village ritual, as led by the farmer's music band, not by the shamans. I agree with Lee Duhyun in dealing with two types of Korean mask-dance theatre separately regarding their origins and development. And I give more credence to Lee Meewon and her theory of a shamanistic village ritual than to that of Cho Dong-Il.

To sum up, the origin of Korean mask-dance theatre can be found in the village rituals, led by shamans and developed into a mask-dance theatre. The one performed in the rural areas remained as the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. The "town-type" theatre was formulated by absorbing the court theatrical entertainments after the abolishment of Sandae Dogam official board, and it developed into a folk theatre with the growth of guilds and towns. In the following chapter, I will deal with hahoe pyölsin-kut, a representative of the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre, in all its aspects.

## CHAPTER II

### VILLAGE RITUAL AND PYŎLSIN-KUT

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is the oldest extant Korean mask-dance theatre. It is one of the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatres, which has a different origin from the "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. The "town-type," also called sandae dogam group, is better known to Westerners and is used as a model for Korean mask-dance theatre. However, the "village-type" group, especially hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, serves as the prototype for Korean mask-dance theatre because of its long history and special characteristics. In other words, one cannot completely appreciate Korean mask-dance theatre without understanding hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. In this chapter, I will discuss the general setting of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, concentrating on its relationship with the Hahoe village ritual. There have been several studies concerning village ritual in general, including the Hahoe village ritual.<sup>1</sup> This chapter will present a synthesis of

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<sup>1</sup>Tomonori Murayama, Burakusai (Village Ritual: 部落祭) (Seoul: Chosŏnch'ongdogpu, 1937; reprint ed., Chŏllado: Wonkang University, 1971), pp. 29-35. Chu-Kŭn Chang, "Hanguk ŭi Sindang Hyŏngt'aeko" (A Study on the Shapes of Shrines in Korea: 한국 의 신당 형태고), Minjok Munhwa Yŏnku (October 1964): 171-197. Yŏl-Kyu Kim, Hanguk Minsok kwa Munhak Yŏnku (A Study of Korean Folk Customs and Literature: 한국민속과 문학연구)

the topic.

Hahoe village, where hahoe pyölsin-kut originated, has specific geographical features (Fig. 2). It is located some fifteen miles west of Andong, a town on the upper reaches of the Nakdong River. The name Hahoe (하회) is a compound word which means literally "river" and "returning." It is named so, since the Nakdong River makes a curve in the shape of "S" around Hahoe village. In other words, the river flows around almost three-fourths of this village. The fourth part is a mountain. These geographical surroundings of Hahoe village tend to shut off the influence of the outside world and to preserve the unique social and cultural character of the village.<sup>2</sup>

Hahoe village is well known as a yangban (aristocrat) village, since it had produced the famous scholar and statesman Yu Söng-Ryong (1542-1601) and his brother, also a famous scholar, Yu Un-Ryong (1539-1610) in the reign of King Sönjo. The Yus had been residing in Hahoe village since the early Yi dynasty (1392-1910). In addition, before the Yus,

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(Seoul: Iljogak, 1971), p. 268. Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kun Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, Hanguk Minsokhak Kaesöl (An Outline of Korean Folklore: 한국 민속학 개설) (Seoul: Minjungsökwon, 1974), pp. 171-86. T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ūi Kujo Yöngu (A Study of the Structure of clan villages: 씨족 부락의 구조연구) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1979), pp. 245-65.

<sup>2</sup>Yong-Jik Kim, Andong Hahoe Maül (Hahoe Village, Andong: 안동 하회마을) (Seoul: Yölhwadang, 1981), pp. 47-48 and 50-51.

other yangban families had lived in this village. According to an oral legend of this place, "the Yus' table [is] in front of the Ans' gate, at the Hŏs' place." Therefore, we know that the Hŏs and the Ans were living there before the Yus. It is believed that the Hŏs settled in Hahoe village until the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) and were replaced by the Ans; finally, the Yus dominated in Hahoe village since the early Yi dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

However, Hahoe village also has lower-class people, mostly farmers, living in poor straw-roofed houses. These contrast strikingly to the beautifully constructed houses occupied by the higher-class people, i.e., yangban. They were not only wealthy, but also had political power and social prestige. The lower-class people were, economically and socio-politically, powerless, although they did all the productive labor. But culturally, they played an important role. As for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, they decide, control, and preside over all aspects of performance. Masked-actors and other minor performers were also selected from among the commoners.<sup>4</sup> Yangban did not participate in hahoe pyŏlsin-

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<sup>3</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Tongjok Purak ŭi Saenghwal Kujo Yŏnku (A Study of Living Structures of Clan Villages: 동족 부락의 생활구조 연구), p. 17, quoted in Duhyun Lee, Hanguk Yŏnguksa (History of Korean Theatre: 한국 연극사) (Seoul: Minjungsŏkwan, 1973), p. 95.

<sup>4</sup>There were also several shamans among the performers. Their social status was even lower than the commoners --the lowest class or outcast.

kut. Whenever it was necessary, however, they could support this activity by making a donation of money or grains and giving permission to perform.<sup>5</sup> Otherwise, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could not be successfully transmitted for centuries. In other words, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is a whole community event as well as a folk theatre.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut drama is believed to have been formulated in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty during the twelfth century and continued to be performed until 1928. The evidence for its origin is eleven Hahoe masks which were made of wood from the alder tree. A legend about a Hahoe mask maker supports this twelfth-century date. The legend says that Hahoe masks were created by a nobleman, called Hŏ doryŏng (an appellation for an unmarried young man of the higher class). Since the Hŏs had lived in Hahoe village since around the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, Hahoe masks were believed to be made during this period. Hahoe masks are of particular interest and exceptional artistic merit. Unlike those of other Korean mask-dance theatre, Hahoe masks were not burned after the performance, but kept in a sacred place and preserved indefinitely. Furthermore, Hahoe masks are very different from other mask-dance theatre masks in terms of aesthetic values, material, color, construction,

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<sup>5</sup>In Hahoe village yangban did not allow any of the villagers to play music and dance or present any theatrical events except hahoe pyŏlsin-kut.

and their importance in the play. I will discuss Hahoe masks in detail in the following chapter.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, like other "village-type" forms of Korean mask-dance theatre, was performed as a part of village ritual. According to Kim T'aek-Kyu, pyŏlsin-kut, which accompanies dongje is an incidental event to entertain gods; pyŏlsin-kut and dongje are not identical.<sup>6</sup> Dongje (同祭) is a compound word of dong, literally "village," and je, which has several meanings such as "memorial service," "festival," and "ritual." Literally, dongje signifies a village service which has both ritualistic and festive elements. But it is generally translated and understood as "village ritual." Village ritual is performed annually, whereas pyŏlsin-kut is held irregularly, every two to ten years, depending on the regional areas and the performance situations. As for Hahoe village, pyŏlsin-kut is said to have been held every three, five, or ten years, as a part of village ritual, worshipping the tutelary goddess, called sŏnang-nim or sŏnghwang-nim.

Pyŏlsin-kut is performed as a part of village ritual. But not all village rituals are accompanied by pyŏlsin-kut. Pyŏlsin-kut is limited to certain parts of Korea: Kangwŏn and Kyŏngsang provinces. They are southeastern areas along the East Sea: farming villages of

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<sup>6</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ŭi Kujo Yŏnku, p.246.

Hahoe, Pyŏngsan, and Jugok; and fishing villages in the counties of Pusan, Ulsan, Wŏlsŏng, Yŏngil, Yŏngdŏk, Uljin, Samch'ŏk, Kangnŭng, Yangyang, and Kosŏng.<sup>7</sup> And mask-dance theatre is not employed in all pyŏlsin-kut. It is performed only in the villages of Hahoe, Pyŏngsan, and Jugok, and those in the counties of Yŏngdŏk and Uljin.<sup>8</sup>

Village ritual and pyŏlsin-kut are inseparable, but they should be appreciated separately in several aspects. In general, village ritual is performed by a priest who is specifically selected by villagers. It is held somewhat under the ceremonial arrangements of Confucianism. However, pyŏlsin-kut operates within the shamanistic atmosphere using actors and/or shamans. Although village ritual contains some Confucian features, it is strictly distinct from the Confucian rites, which are held within blood ties or a kinship society. The Confucian rites were originally formulated during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), in which Confucianism was the major guideline for national affairs and all personal matters including propriety. They are the rituals for the upper classes who are not involved in productive labor. Village ritual, on the contrary, belongs to the common class, the working-class people. It has a much longer history--

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<sup>7</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk (Korean Mask-Dance Theatre: 한국어 가면극) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1979), pp. 100 and 109.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

originating from the times before the Three Kingdoms period (57 B.C.-A.D. 668). It is a ritual and festival of the commoners for their local community.

Village ritual is not only Confucianistic; it also has shamanistic elements. As examined earlier, village ritual has both elements of ritual and festival. Confucianistic features can be found in a ritual-like village ritual, whereas other features, in a festival-like village ritual. Village ritual can be generally divided into three categories, depending on characteristics, performers, the degree of audience participation, and theatrical entertainments. The first group employs many Confucian characteristics. It is performed by a male priest selected by the villagers. He does not play music nor dance, nor sing a song, but recites a written prayer. It is held with the attendance of a small group, largely consisting of older men. The second group is more shamanistic. It is performed by professional shamans, employing shaman music, dance, singing, and stories. All villagers can participate as audience and enjoy this shamanistic festival. The third group seems to stand between these two groups. It is presided over by an elected priest. A theatrical performance is done by non-professional actors, also selected from the villagers. They play farmer's music, dance, sing, as well as act with lines. Professional shamans can be hired as minor performers. Villagers participate as a more active audience than in the

second group. Pyölsin-kut drama is performed in the second and the third group. Pyölsin-kut in East Coast fishing villages are in the second group of village ritual, while those in Hahoe, Pyöngsan, and Jugok villages belong to the third group.

Among the third group, hahoe pyölsin-kut had been performed until 1928 and its drama became known in the late 1950s with eleven preserved masks. However, pyöngsan and jugok pyölsin-kut dramas are not preserved today, except two Pyöngsan masks. Although hahoe pyölsin-kut has a priest and professional shamans as in the first and the second group, it is uniquely centralized on the villagers themselves. In other words, villagers themselves take the initiative in every aspect of hahoe pyölsin-kut. Sŏ Yŏn-Ho states that the principal role of hahoe pyölsin-kut is taken by the villagers, not by the shamans.<sup>9</sup> Kim T'aek-Kyu adds to Sŏ's statements:

Villagers elect a priest. That means villagers themselves participate in the village ritual. Professional shamans and actors seem to take the initiative. However, actors are selected among the villagers who can play the instruments of nongak [farmer's music] by the priest. Professional shamans are to assist the entertainment. Pyölsin-kut is a kind of accompanying event of village ritual and its principal axis is the

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<sup>9</sup>Yŏn-Ho Sŏ, "Hahoe T'alch'um ūi Yŏngŭkjŏk Kujo. (A Dramatic Structure of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회탈춤의 연극적 구조), T'alch'um ūi Sasang (Phenomena of Mask-Dance-Theatre: 탈춤의 사상), ed. Hŭi-Wan Ch'ae (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 1984), p. 9.

villagers themselves.<sup>10</sup>

Let us now discuss the village ritual itself: the shrine, the objects of worship, performing dates and time, functions, priest, and taboos. The shrines are the sacred places for the tutelary deity to rest in, not for the congregation and their meeting. They have different names according to their provincial locations: sanje-dang or samsin-dang in Kyŏngki and Ch'unghnam province; sŏnang-dang in Kangwŏn province; dangsan in Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang province; bonhyang-dang or p'ojedan in Cheju Island.<sup>11</sup> The shrine can be only one big tree, believed to be a sacred being. It can be a built house, usually roughly constructed, to keep a sacred pole, pictures, bell, memorial tablets, etc.

Concerning the shrine of Hahoe village ritual, it is called sang-tang or sŏnang-tang (Fig. 3), since it is for the deity, called sŏnang-nim. Although sŏnang-tang is the principal shrine of Hahoe village ritual, there are two other minor shrines for other deities: ha-tang or kuksi-tang (Fig. 4), and samsin-tang (Figs. 5 and 6). Sŏnang-tang and ha-tang have the form of a house, but each is actually a small room with a roof and three walls. They are no bigger than one hundred square feet. Samsin-tang is just one big

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<sup>10</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ŭi Kujo Yŏnku, p. 251.

<sup>11</sup>Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kŭn Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, p. 172.

old elm tree. "A sacred tree, usually tall, could be usually a pine, elm, or camphor tree."<sup>12</sup> A sacred tree is believed to possess a supernatural power and a living soul. The idea stems from an animistic belief.

The object of worship is primarily a female deity. As for that of Hahoe village ritual, it is of course a female deity, called sŏnang-nim or sŏnghwang-nim (nim is an honorary title). Sŏnghwang (城隍) means literally "a boundary or a dry ditch, dug around a castle." It is a ditch, not filled with water, or a barrier which is made round a castle to protect the people inside against an invasion of the enemy. We may perceive now why sŏnghwang-nim represents a deity to protect the village. She also has a secular name: Grandma Kim (Kim is her maiden name), who became a widow a few days after her marriage at the age of fifteen. Chang Chu-Kŭn believes that a female deity has been an object to worship as the symbol of fertility and prosperity.<sup>13</sup> However, Grandma Kim had no children at all and no experience of pregnancy. She is, in fact, far from the symbolic figure of fertility and prosperity. I think Hahoe

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<sup>12</sup>Chu-Kŭn Chang, p. 184.

<sup>13</sup>Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kŭn Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, p. 172. According to M. Eliade, the sacrality of woman depends on the holiness of the earth, which expresses ideas of fecundity and abundance. See Mircea Eliade, The Sacred and the Profane, trans. by William R. Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1959), pp. 144 and 147.

village ritual is held to soothe the deity's anger and to entertain her in praying for fertility and prosperity, because villagers have a belief that they will receive the promised fertility and safety by treating the deity with worship and rite, and with offerings. These things will be discussed in detail later in the chapter 7.

In addition to the principal deity, sŏnang-nim, there are two other minor deities for Hahoe village ritual who reside in two minor shrines such as the ha-tang and samsin-tang. Unfortunately, the deity who occupies ha-tang is not remembered by the villagers. Nothing is known about the deity of ha-tang, except that it is a female deity. The deity of samsin-tang is called Grandma Samsin. Although samsin is commonly believed to be the goddess governing childbirth in Korea, there are two opinions to argue the number of samsin. One theory maintains that samsin represent three goddesses governing childbirth. The other theory argues that samsin has nothing to do with three goddesses, and the idea of three goddesses (三神) comes from a confusion with its homonym, samsin (産神).

According to folk custom in Korea, "when a woman is pregnant, she prepares three bowls of rice and three bowls of soup on a table as offering to samsin."<sup>14</sup> The offering

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<sup>14</sup>Jai-Yŏn Yang et al, eds. Hanguk P'ungsokji (A Record of Korean Customs: 한국 풍속지) (Seoul: Ulyu Munko, 1971), p. 194.

of three bowls of rice and soup comes from a belief that samsin means three goddesses governing childbirth. However, this folk custom is not observed throughout Korea, but differs from locality to locality, or family to family. Im Dong-Kwŏn describes it in Hanguk Ŭi Minsok (The Folk Customs of Korea):

Samsin is said to be one, two, three, depending on locality and a family. People offer one bowl of rice and soup, if they believe there is only one samsin; they offer two bowls, if they believe in two samsin; and they offer three bowls, for a belief of three samsin. The idea of samsin as three goddesses might come from a confusion with its homonym, samsin as a fetus god.<sup>15</sup>

Whether samsin is one or three in number, samsin is related to childbirth. In other words, it is not far-fetched to translate samsin as a fetus goddess, a guardian of childbirth or offspring. In Hahoe village ritual, a service to samsin is thus related to praying for an abundant harvest. A belief that the fetus is related to offspring seems universal. Interestingly, the English word "fetus" comes from the Latin fetus which has the same meaning.

Let us now turn to the date of the village ritual. It is most often held at midnight on the fifteenth of January by the lunar calendar:

According to a survey done in 1969 for 6000 villagers, 30 percent of village rituals were held early in January;

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<sup>15</sup> Dong-Kwŏn Im, Hanguk Ŭi Minsok (The Folk Customs of Korea: 한국어 민속) (Seoul: Sejongtaewangkinyŏmsaŏbho, 1975), pp. 215-16.

40 percent of them were done on the fifteenth of January; and the rest 30 percent to October and other months. The major performing dates were the fifteenth of January, and more than 90 percent of village rituals were performed at midnight.<sup>16</sup>

Chang notes that the highest point on the night of the first full moon upholds the principle of fertility and prosperity: the full moon--a female deity--earth is the principle of fertility as against that of the sun--a male deity--heaven.<sup>17</sup> As for Hahoe village ritual, it used to be held twice a year: on the fifteenth of January and the eighth of April by the lunar calendar. Since the eighth of April by the lunar calendar is the birthday of Buddha, this ritual date gives an important suggestion that Hahoe village ritual has undergone a Buddhist influence. We might guess that Hahoe villagers celebrated Buddhist ceremonies including village ritual on the date of Buddha's birthday, until the Yus dominated in this village--the early Yi dynasty. Hahoe village ritual has been held only on the fifteenth of January by the lunar calendar since that period. This fact should be understood within a socio-political context. During the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1391) Buddhism became the national religion and received special protection from the court; during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) Buddhism was

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<sup>16</sup>Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kŭn Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, p. 173. All the dates here are by the lunar calendar.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid.

suppressed, and Confucianism was highly supported and respected, especially by the upper class, called yangban. Accordingly, Hahoe village ritual was not allowed to be performed on the Buddhist ceremonial date during the Yi dynasty.

Village ritual has many functions. First, it is religious--it makes the village a sacred precinct. Once a village ritual is proposed, many taboos must be kept. For example, no outsider is allowed to visit or come into the village, and most residents cannot leave. Pregnant women, however, must leave the village. If the necessity for mourning happens, a village ritual cannot be continued. Sacred straw ropes and red earth are suspended and sprinkled at the entrance to the village, and also around the sacred tree or shrine, as well as at the house of the priest.

Second, village ritual creates a unity of village people by their sharing of the sacred foods and drinks after the ceremony. This activity is called ŭmbok (飲福), which means literally "drink blessing." Ŭmbok is believed to induce a sacred deity's blessing. After this sacred activity villagers discuss any events of the community, assigning responsibility and discussing mutual help for the future of the community. This is an original form of politics in ancient tribal society, the priest exercising a political authority.

Last, village ritual has functions of festival and entertainment. It is an important holiday which provides

all village people a cultural event in which to participate and enjoy themselves. The lower-class people or working-class people can be free from labor and enjoy themselves with music, dance, and singing.

The priest who presides over the village ritual is elected by the villagers after a critical screening. "A priest should be over forty years old and a sincere male, and free from a state of impurity, related to mourning, pregnancy, and childbirth [in the past year]." <sup>18</sup> His function as a priest is quite different from that of Roman Catholicism or Buddhism. Because he is neither a religious leader nor a preacher, he does not have disciplined ascetic practice. Once being elected, he is subject to many taboos to keep. First, he secludes his place by suspending a sacred straw rope, twisted left-handedly, and bathes himself; then, he avoids profane and impure things, which are related with mourning, pregnancy, and childbirth, as quoted above. Interestingly, the priest of Hahoe village ritual, called sanju, is believed to be selected by a deity's will:

A sanju is elected on the fifteenth of January in village ritual by the blessing of sŏnang-nim, after the former sanju was dead. Villagers decide three candidates who are free from impurity among different families; and give the names and birthdays of three candidates to the deity. Two yusa [assistants of sanju] hold a sŏnang-tae [pole of sŏnang goddess] and call a list of each candidate. And the pole is shaking at the

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<sup>18</sup> Ibid.

time of calling a future sanju.<sup>19</sup>

Now let us discuss the taboos for a village ritual. As mentioned above, a village prohibits outsiders from entering by suspending a sacred straw rope, called kŭmjul or in-jul, and by sprinkling red earth (loess) at the entrance to the village. These objects are also placed around sacred trees, shrines, and at the house of the priest. Red earth is simply used because of a belief that the color red fends off the demons. Concerning the kŭmjul, it needs more explanation. Literally, kŭm implies "to forbid" and jul means "cord" or "rope," thus kŭmjul signifies "a rope for forbidding." Kŭmjul is made of clean rice straw, twisted left-handedly. It has some accessories, depending on the purpose of its use: white rice-paper, charcoal, pine tree branch, or dried red peppers. Kŭmjul is believed to have a function of protection by prohibiting impurity. This sacred straw rope is also found in Japan with the same function. Takashi Akiba indicates this point: "[it is] a mark or symbol of a sacred place which is occupied by some divine being, consequently prohibited and tabooed to enter the place beyond it."<sup>20</sup> In fact, Korean kŭmjul and Japanese sacred straw rope, called shimenawa (a rope symbolizing divine occupa-

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<sup>19</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ūi Kujo Yŏnku, p. 249.

<sup>20</sup>Takashi Akiba, Chosen Minzokushi (Korean Folkways: 朝鮮民俗誌. (Tokyo: Daisanshoin, 1954), p. 11.

tion) have common elements. Both are made of rice straw, twisted left-handedly; both employ white rice-paper for accessories; both function as a protection against impurity.

Kŭmjul is also used for other occasions, in addition to the village ritual. It is frequently used at the gate of a new born baby's house. In this case, different accessories are used to announce a specific sex. "Generally, if a baby is a girl, white rice-paper and charcoal are attached to kŭmjul; and for a baby boy, dried red peppers and charcoal are used instead."<sup>21</sup> Kŭmjul, used in case of a childbirth, can be appreciated for its similar functions as in the village ritual. First, it has a spiritual function: it is to bar the demons from entering into the house, because kŭmjul is believed to have a power of prohibiting impurity. Second, it is for a sanitary purpose. In Korea, it is a common custom not to visit a new born baby's house without permission from the baby's guardians, usually parents or grandparents. Any outsiders, if not related to that family by blood or marriage, could not enter into the house, because they might bring the baby and/or mother infection or disease, or they might cause unsanitary conditions. In other words, kŭmjul is a kind of "No" sign in a Western concept, saying: "Keep Out," "Not

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<sup>21</sup>Duhyun Lee, Chu-Kŭn Chang, and Kwang-Kyu Lee, p. 209.

Allowed," "No Admission," or "Authorized Personnel Only."

In Korea the sacred ropes are made of clean rice straw, neatly preserved after a harvest. It might be related to the rice planting culture and prayer for a rich harvest. And almost all sacred ropes are twisted left-handedly, an item of some interest. Lee Duhyun says that "left is related with the function of avoiding evil."<sup>22</sup> Kim Yŏl-Kyu states: "left is considered as divine."<sup>23</sup> Neither of these, however, gives any proper explanation to prove their statements.

Now I will examine the "left" hand power in the folk customs in Korea. Usually the story is related to demons. Story 1: In order to drive away the demons, if you stamp your left foot strongly three times, cough loudly, and spit on the ground, the demons will then be frightened and run away. And demons are believed to exist or work in a dark place or at night; the stories are usually placed in certain rooms such as an outhouse<sup>24</sup> or a barn. Story 2: When you enter an outhouse, step in first with the left foot forward, then the demon will not do any harm to you. As seen from these two stories, "left" is believed to have a

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>Yŏl-Kyu Kim, p. 268.

<sup>24</sup>A traditional Korean toilet room is not placed within a main house. It is built separately some distance away from the house.

power of prohibiting the demons.

However, taking into consideration the other part of this folk belief, "right" is considered the strong side. The "right" represents what is good, while the "left" is believed to represent that which is weak, evil, and malicious. If that is so, why is the left-handedly twisted rope believed to have a power of avoiding malice or to be a divine being? I think that question can be answered by applying a principle of affinity between two opposite forces. The world consists of dualism--the positive and the negative. And two different natures have characteristics of affinity to make harmony. It can be also explained in physics. A negative or positive electricity has no affinity to the same nature of electricity. Also in chemistry, it is described as a force of attraction by which the atoms of certain elements unite with those of certain others to form compounds. In other words, "left" has a nature of malice; however, "left" has a function of forbidding malice, another kind of "left." When "left" performs its function, it can be a divine being--a sacred object.

There are also other taboos to keep in performing a village ritual. They are taboos concerning death and blood. If mourning or childbirth should occur in any village after a ritual date is decided, the village ritual will be cancelled or postponed because such events are considered impure. Kim Yŏl-Kyu says:

Woman and death are not allowed to participate in a village ritual. They are regarded to be impure and without doubt typical beings of the secular world. Since childbirth is related with a female nature, it is prohibited under taboo, despite that childbirth is an opposite symbol of death.<sup>25</sup>

But I think that childbirth is considered as a taboo because it is related with blood, not with a female nature. Childbirth is a symbol of fertility and productivity, for that a female deity has been an object of worship. Since a woman in labor is expected to bleed, she will not be allowed to participate in a village ritual. A village ritual in Kangnŭng city performed on the fifth of May (tano festival) does not allow a woman in her period to participate in this ritual, although this ritual is more like a festival, rather than a ceremonial ritual. "A chief mourner, a woman in her period, someone who has eaten dog meat or chicken, and a murderer should not participate in tano festival."<sup>26</sup>

In addition, pregnancy can be also an impure thing. Therefore, when villagers select a priest for a village ritual, he will not be elected if he has a pregnant woman in his house. She could be his wife, daughter, or daughter-in-law. Besides, since a priest is believed to be in a sacred status, he is not expected to have sexual activity for a

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<sup>25</sup>Yŏl-Kyu Kim, p. 268.

<sup>26</sup>Ch'ŏl Ch'oe, Yŏngdong Minsokji (Records of Folk Customs in Yŏngdong: 영동 민속지) (Seoul: Tongmunkwan, 1972), p. 143.

certain period--before and during a ritual. Actors selected for the performance of the mask-dance play are also forbidden sexual activities. Actors do not sleep with their wives when they participate in the performance. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut actors lodge together in tongsa (Village Hall) for fifteen days, from the last day of December to the fifteenth of January by the lunar calendar.

In fact, the priest has to keep more taboos than any other villagers or performers. He needs to be purified in several ways. First, he should go through purification by water. He should wash his hair and bathe himself in a clean stream, no matter how cold it is. It is not just a bathing, but a religious process of purification, which is called mokyokjaekye (沐浴齋戒). Second, he should not eat certain foods--meat and fish. This rule seems to be influenced by Buddhistic practices, because a Buddhist monk in Korea is not allowed to eat meat and fish. Third, he should not meet any outsiders. Last, as mentioned above, he should not have sexual relationships with women, including his wife. The priest is usually requested to keep these taboos at least for a week before the ritual date. These taboos are strictly important for the priest to keep, because they are believed to elevate a layman to the status of a priest. Kim Yŏl-Kyu describes these taboos as a transitional ritual through which a priest can transfer from a secular world to

a sacred world.<sup>27</sup>

We have examined Hahoe village ritual in every aspect from its shrine to its taboos. This examination is valuable in studying hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, since pyŏlsin-kut is inseparable from village ritual. Pyŏlsin-kut accompanies village ritual, by which the village is transformed into a sacred precinct, for that hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has ritualistic characteristics; and the villagers are solidified and provided a break in arduous work, for that hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has an element of festival. Now, before going to the study of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, I would like to discuss its formalities briefly.

Pyŏlsin-kut is an incidental event of a village ritual. Literally, pyŏl (別: 別) means "separate," "different," or "special"; sin (神: 神) implies "god"; and kut (굿) is generally translated as "ritual." Thus pyŏlsin-kut is usually understood as "a special religious ritual." Pyŏlsin-kut is held irregularly, every two to ten years, whereas village ritual is performed annually. As for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, it was held every three, five, or ten years, depending on the financial situation or other circumstances. For example, it might be cancelled or postponed if something impure such as mourning and childbirth would happen in a scheduled year. It cannot be scheduled if an oracle is not

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<sup>27</sup>Yŏl-Kyu, p. 268.

received. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has not been performed since 1928. Kim T'aek-Kyu provides us with a reasonable explanation: (1) a village could not afford the expenses required, (2) absence of purpose to seek after a common belief, (3) independence of each household fails cooperative feeling of solidarity, and (4) new trend of thought takes over a belief in the old customs.<sup>28</sup>

The hahoe pyŏlsin-kut performance lasts for sixteen days. It starts on the last day of December by the lunar calendar and continues until the fifteenth of January. First, sacred straw ropes are suspended and drawn at the entrance of the village, sacred shrines, and at the house of the priest. Red earth is also strewn around these places. The priest selects a carpenter, free from impurity, and assigns him to make a pole, called naerim-tae, in the nearby mountain. This pole is used to induce the deity to descend into. Also actors are nominated by the priest and the sacred offerings are prepared by the volunteers.

On the second of January, around eight o'clock in the morning, the priest, his two assistants, pole carriers, a mask-keeper, all actors, and several volunteers go up to the sŏnang-tang (shrine of sŏnang goddess), located at the foot of the nearby mountain. There, they present the sacrificial offerings and place the sŏnang-tae (pole of sŏnang

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<sup>28</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ūi Kujo Yŏnku, p. 260.

goddess) draped with five cloth pieces of five colors and a naerim-tae (pole of epiphany) with a sacred bell on top of it. Naerim-tae, also called sŏngju-tae, must be new-built, whereas sŏnang-tae is a permanent property, not constructed for each performance of pyŏlsin-kut.<sup>29</sup> The tutelary deity is supposed to descend into naerim-tae. The priest holds the naerim-tae and prays for the descent of the tutelary deity. When the deity descends shaking the pole and thus causing the bell to ring, the priest switches the ringing bell to the sŏnang-tae. Then, they proceed to other minor shrines, ha-tang and samsin-tang, carrying the sŏnang-tae on the shoulders and lifting up the naerim-tae, and playing a nong-ak (farmer's music). Finally, they arrive at the village square in front of tongsa (Village Hall), plant the sŏnang-tae in the square, and start performing the mask-dance drama.

The performance continues until the fifteenth of January. At midnight of that day, all participants go up to the sŏnang-tang, present the sacrificial offerings again, and begin performing the shrine service. The purpose of this service is to pray for the village's safety from all kinds of calamities, for prosperity and fertility in farm produce, and for peace and luck to all villagers. After performing the service at the sŏnang-tang, they also proceed

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<sup>29</sup> Sŏnang-tae is approximately 10 feet (3 m) long and naerim-tae, 8 feet (2.4 m) long.

to the ha-tang and the samsin-tang, where they also perform the service. Then, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is concluded, and the priest, all actors, pole carriers, and mask keeper can go home after sixteen days' and fifteen nights' absence, during which they have lived together in the tongsa.

## CHAPTER III

### MASKS

The masks used in Korea can be traced as far back as the neolithic period. The oldest extant mask of the neolithic age is a shell mask which was excavated from shell-mound diggings in Yŏngdong-ku, Pusan. It would be desirable to explore the primitive roots of masking practices and to trace their development in Korea. However, in this chapter I will concentrate on the masks in one group of Korean mask-dance theatre--hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. The masks of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut have been widely appreciated and studied by scholars and craftsmen,<sup>1</sup> although as yet there has been no single book about them. Previous studies of the masks of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut have been concerned with their physical description and artistic value. This chapter, on the other

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<sup>1</sup>Byong-Ha Yun, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Kamyŏn ŭi Hŭi, Ro, Ae, Rak" (Joy, Anger, Grief, and Pleasure of Hahoe Pyŏlsin Masks: 하회 별신 가면의 희-로-애-락), Wŏlgan Munhwajae (January 1972): 26-31. Wŏn-Ryong Kim, Hanguk Misul Sosa (A Brief History of Korean Arts: 한국 미술 소사) (Seoul: Samsŏngmisul-munhwajaedan, 1973), pp. 159-60. Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk (The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea: 한국의 가면극) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1979), pp. 105-108. Sun-U Ch'oe, "The Masks of Korea--the Case of Hahoe Masks," Korea Journal 19 (April 1979): 45-50. Min-Yŏng Yu, "Hanguk Kamyŏn ŭi Chohyŏngmi" (The Formative Beauty of Korean Masks: 한국 가면의 조형미), Sindonga 209 (November 1981): 370-77.

hand, will try to establish the special characteristics of the Hahoe masks as compared to the masks used in other forms of Korean mask-dance theatre.

Korean mask-dance theatre is generally called, in Korean, kamyŏngŭk or t'alch'um. Kamyŏngŭk is a compound word, meaning "mask theatre"; t'alch'um, also a compound word, designates "mask-dance." As can be deduced from the transliterations, the masks are very important in Korean mask-dance theatre. Virtually, the masks can be said to be the most powerful element of all the components. All the actors wear masks; however, not all employ all the other elements. For example, some characters do not speak nor do they sing a song; only a few characters use hand properties.

The word "mask," by Webster's definition, has several meanings. Among others, they are: (1) a representation of a face worn in dances and rituals among primitive peoples, especially for identification with supernatural powers or beings; (2) a quality, trait, appearance, or posture that serves to conceal or disguise; (3) a protective coverage, especially for the face; and (4) the head or face of an animal.<sup>2</sup> From these definitions, we might conclude that the purpose for which the mask is used is concealment, disguise, or protection and that the part of the body which

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<sup>2</sup>Webster's Third New International Dictionary, 1981 ed., s.v. "Mask."

the mask covers is the face; but in primitive rituals, masks are concerned with the transformation of a person into a being which has a power greater than that of the mask wearer. Thus, masks were only used by someone in authority in ancient times, as Lindley Spencer points out:

Man conceived of a mask as a potent object of efficacy. It is also apparent that even in those distant days the wearing of masks was confined to a privileged few who increased in power and importance. It is not far-fetched to propose that this authority evolved or derived from the uncanny power the mask seems to bestow on the wearer over the observer.<sup>3</sup>

This practice is also found in ancient Korea. In Korea, masks are used in several ways--largely classified into two categories: masks of religion and masks of theatre or performing arts. Before the use of masks began in drama, their use was confined to a spiritual purpose, i.e., ritual. Shamans were authorized to wear masks. Although shamans were considered members of an outcast group from the time of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), nevertheless, they were members of the privileged class and had power and importance until the time of the Unified Silla (668-935).

Now let us discuss the masks in the theatre or the performing arts. The extant theatre masks are as follows: (1) ch'ŏyong mask, (2) pyŏlsin-kut masks, and (3) sandae dogam group or "town-type" mask-dance theatre masks. The

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<sup>3</sup>Lindley P. Spencer, "Masks in Theatre" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), p. 10.

ch'öyong mask originated in the Unified Silla period and continued in the Koryŏ and Yi dynasties. It was originally a demon mask functioning in rites of exorcism--to expel the plague and evil spirits. Later, during the Koryŏ dynasty, though its shamanistic function was not changed, the demon mask was changed into an old man mask:

A simple exorcism to expel the evil is derived into ch'öyong ceremony to entertain the evil spirits with music and dance. The original ch'öyong mask, a demon mask, is developed into a mask with white beard, that is, an old man mask, symbolizing "a virtuous god."<sup>4</sup>

Lee Duhyun emphasizes that the ch'öyong mask is an example indicating an important moment in Korean mask history: the transformation from a demon mask to an old man mask.<sup>5</sup>

The masks of pyölsin-kut and sandae dogam group or the "town-type" mask-dance theatre are those used in mask-dance theatre. Extant pyölsin-kut masks are those employed in pyölsin-kut dramas of Hahoe and Pyŏngsan villages in North Kyŏngsang province in the Southwest. There are eleven Hahoe masks and two Pyŏngsan masks preserved to this day. They are believed to have been created during the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, i.e., in the twelfth century. Yun Byong-Ha contends that pyŏngsan pyölsin-kut originated earlier than hahoe pyölsin-kut and so Pyŏngsan masks were

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<sup>4</sup>Duhyun Lee, P. 53.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 57.

an earlier creation than Hahoe masks.<sup>6</sup> However, he has not yet proven his theory in a logical way.

Sandae dogam group masks are the product of the Yi dynasty. They are usually divided into four regional groups, varying in different localities in terms of technique, size, shape, stylization of design, color, material, model, social character, etc. In each region, the mask-dance theatre has a different name: (1) t'alch'um in Hwanghae province in the Northwest Korea, (2) sandaenori in Kyŏngki province in the central region, (3) okwangdae and yaryu in South Kyŏngsang province in the Southwest, and (4) sajanorŭm of Pukch'ŏng in South Hamkyŏng province in the Northwest. There are more than two hundred masks used in the "town-type" mask-dance theatre.

In addition to these four regional groups, ttŏd-boegi (literally, "mask-show") also belongs to the sandae dogam group or the "town-type" mask-dance theatre, formulated in the Yi dynasty. However, it does not have special regional characteristics because its performing group, called namsadang-p'ae, was a travelling group of entertainers. "Namsadang-p'ae travelled extensively all around the country from the southern ports to the northern areas

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<sup>6</sup>Byong-Ha Yun, Kkŏgyŏjin Mat, Mŏt, Hŭng (The Broken Flavor, Gusto, and Mirth: 깨어진 맛. 멋. 흥) (Seoul: Habtongkihoek, 1982), pp. 314-15.

including Manchuria."<sup>7</sup> "Its origin may be traced back to the Silla period."<sup>8</sup> However, because of the scarcity of records and reference about namsadang-p'ae, it is not easy to examine its formation and development in the twentieth century. Namsadang-p'ae generally designates a travelling folk group of variety performers originating probably in the late Yi dynasty. Kim Young-Ja said:

It has been generally accepted that the Namsadang might have been organized around the late Yi dynasty, along with other groups, when the traditional folk art began to be taken over exclusively by the lower classes. However, the constituents of the variety entertainment which was given by Namsadang such as farmer's band music, spinning a bowl on a pole, acrobatic arts, rope walking, mask dance and the puppet play can be traced from quite an earlier period.<sup>9</sup>

Tŏdboegi is one of variety entertainments of namsadang-p'ae: eleven masks are employed here.

As indicated above, the majority of extant Korean masks in the theatre are those employed in sandae dogam group or the "town-type" mask-dance theatre. I think it is necessary to talk about common features of sandae dogam group masks before examining the characteristics of Hahoe

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<sup>7</sup>U-Sŏng Sim, Namsadang-p'ae Yŏnku (A Study of Namsadang Troup: 남사당패 연구) (Seoul: Tonghwa Ch'ulp'an Kongsŏ, 1974), p. 53.

<sup>8</sup>Idem., ed. Hanguk Ŭi Minsokgŭk (The Korean Folk Theatre: 한국의 민속극) (Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1975), p. 65.

<sup>9</sup>Young-Ja Kim, "Namsadang: An Indigenous Traveling Performer Group Existing Until 1920 in Korea" (M.A. thesis, New York University, 1981), p. 7.

masks. We will later find the different characteristics between them in many aspects. Sandae dogam group masks vary with each regional sub-group, but they have several features in common. They can be broken down as follows. First, the materials are mostly gourd and paper. Some original masks of sandae dogam group plays have been said to be made of wood. But the mask-burning practice after each performance makes gourd and paper more economical than the use of wood.

Second, the colors are loud and bright, and mostly consist of five such as red, blue, yellow, black, and white. The use of five colors derives from the Chinese philosophy (Taoism) of the Five Primary Substances. That is, the cosmos is believed to consist of five elements: metal, wood, water, fire, and earth. These are dealt with in conjunction with all constituents of human life. The table 3 illustrates some examples to which each element corresponds.

TABLE 3

## FIVE PRIMARY SUBSTANCES

|              | Metal   | Wood        | Water  | Fire     | Earth    |
|--------------|---------|-------------|--------|----------|----------|
| Direction    | West    | East        | North  | South    | Center   |
| Color        | White   | Blue        | Black  | Red      | Yellow   |
| Propriety    | Justice | Benevolence | Wisdom | Courtesy | Fidelity |
| Human Organs | Lung    | Liver       | Kidney | Heart    | Stomach  |

NOTE: The relationship of these elements is presented in many disparate writings in Korean folklore and medicine.

Third, many masks are exaggerated to create laughter: distorted mouth or nose, uneven eyes, a cleft lip, etc. Masks are also deformed or marked by disease such as leprosy, small pox, scabies, syphilis, etc. Some characters appear as cripples or blind people. Usually the characters whose masks belong to this category are the privileged class such as nobles and monks. They become comic objects to create laughter. This is the case because Korean mask-dance theatre is the product of the lower class who can make them ridiculous only in the drama. In other words, distorted and deformed masks heighten the effect on the commoner's mind of ridicule of the privileged class. Yu Min-Yŏng understands the masks deformed by disease in another way. He states that disease and physical deformation caused by disease are associated with shamanistic exorcism to expel the plague and evil spirits.<sup>10</sup>

Fourth, an apparent contrast between male and female masks can be found. Male masks are generally constructed with exaggeration and there are greater differences of depth between hollow parts and protuberant points. On the other hand, female masks are comparatively flat. Fifth, concerning the mask makers, they are not identified. They are not professional artisans, but commoners who have no

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<sup>10</sup> Min-Yŏng Yu, Hanguk Yŏngŭk ŭi Mihak (The Aesthetics of Korean Theatre: 한국 연극의 미학) (Seoul: Tanguk University Press, 1982), p. 14.

training in arts and crafts. Sixth, most of sandae dogam group masks are ugly and roughly made. They are simply constructed, that is, not complicated nor refined. Seventh, they have hoods to cover the whole head. The hoods are usually made of black hemp-cloth or cotton. Their colors are sometimes matched to those of masks. The hoods are stitched to the holes on the edges of masks.

Finally, sandae dogam masks are burned after each performance. This mask burning practice tells that sandae dogam group masks are not considered as sacred objects. However, the burning of masks is believed to have two functions: exorcism and prosperity. People believe that the burning of masks helps expel the evil spirits and insure a prosperity for the coming year. Lee Meewon explains the power of fire or burning clearly. "Fire has purificatory properties and serves to consume evil and noxious influences. Burning the Old anticipates room for the New."<sup>11</sup>

Now let us examine Hahoe masks. As indicated previously, Hahoe masks have a different origin from sandae dogam group masks. Hahoe masks were made during the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392), while all sandae dogam masks were the product of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910). An interesting legend about Hahoe mask maker (a young nobleman,

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<sup>11</sup>Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983), p. 83.

called Hǒ doryǒng) supports the original date of Hahoe masks. Hahoe village was a strongly knit clan society. It is believed that a clan with the family name of Hǒ settled in Hahoe village until the middle of the Koryǒ dynasty and was replaced by another clan named An. After the beginning of the Yi dynasty the Yu family has dominated in this village. The following is the summarized story about Hǒ doryǒng:

. . . Hǒ doryǒng one night had a dream in which he received a divine oracle directing him to make the masks to be used in the religious rites. Thereupon, Hǒ doryǒng washed himself thoroughly with clean water in the traditional ceremonial way and after that locked himself in a secluded room barred by kǔmjul [sacred straw rope] to keep away the approach of any secular being or thing. He then plunged himself body and soul into the making of the masks ordained by the divine revelation in his dream.

In the meantime, there was a pretty girl in the same village who was passionately in love with Hǒ doryǒng. When she could neither see him nor hear his voice over a period of many months, she could not contain herself any longer. She broke into the forbidden boundary even forgetting the fear and danger of daring the religious taboo, and made a hole through the paper screen door.

After this bold step, she finally looked into the room by putting one eye to the hole she just made in the paper door. Sure enough, there sat the beloved form of Hǒ doryǒng raptly bent on the heaven-blessed but also fate-bound job of making the masks. As a matter of fact, at this very moment the young artist was putting the finishing touch to the imae mask. Actually he was working on the chin so as to complete it. But it was not destined for him to finish this last of his masks because at the same instant as the girl's love-sick eye took a glimpse of the young man, he fell forward spitting blood from his mouth and life departed from him. It is said that too much love from the girl caused the death of the young artist and made the last of his twelve masks the chinless one that we see now.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Sun-U Ch'oe, pp. 48-49.

Concerning the number of Hahoe masks, eleven of them are preserved to this day. But they were originally fourteen: three were missing. Among the fourteen, twelve are human figures and two are animal ones. Some theories maintain that two animal masks called chuji were not the creation of Hŏ doryŏng.<sup>13</sup> The masks are as follows: 2 chuji (imaginary animal), kaksi (young woman), pune (dancing girl), halmi (old woman), chung (monk), yangban (aristocrat), sŏnbi (scholar), ch'oraengi (servant of yangban), imae (servant of sŏnbi), paekchŏng (butcher), and the missing ones such as pyŏlch'ae (low-ranking official), ch'onggak (young man), and ttŏktari (old man). From now on, I will concentrate on the existing eleven masks.

They are made of wood from the alder tree. The colors are mostly medium brown, dark brown, and burgundy. "Coloring was made, as in the case with lacquerware, by plastering paper on wooden masks and painting it with lacquer and pigments repeatedly."<sup>14</sup>

All male masks, except ch'oraengi and imae, consist of two pieces, the jaw being attached to the main part of the face with a string at both sides. They are designed to

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<sup>13</sup>Ibid. Ch'oe notes twelve Hahoe masks without consideration of two chuji masks. He thinks that the chuji masks were not made by Hŏ doryŏng.

<sup>14</sup>Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1981), p. 11.

move their jaws. Imae, a chinless figure, might have been originally designed to add a jaw piece. All female masks are one piece. Another difference between male and female masks are, as found also in sandae dogam group masks, an apparent contrast in the three-dimensional effect. While female masks are comparatively flat, male masks are mostly constructed with exaggeration of the difference of depth between the hollow parts and protuberant points. The expressions they make are accordingly different. Yu Min-Yŏng says: Hahoe masks express well the emotions of Koreans in several social groups. Especially the male and female masks represent the dualism of the Korean mind--humor and pathos.<sup>15</sup>

The three-dimensional effect and the exaggerated expression of the male masks can encourage another theory. Kim Wŏn-Ryong, an art historian, argued that Hahoe masks had Westerners as their models:

The highly three-dimensional effect and the exaggerated expressions of the male masks, which could not found to this day in the history of Korean sculpture, show an obvious fact that they were born out of a contact of Western style. . . . They should be a foreign tradition imported through China. That must be a sculpture tradition of blue-eyes-red-hair-people, which came in Northern China through Central Asia. That tradition became a Manchurian mode, which has been later introduced [in Korea] since the Tang dynasty. However, female masks, though in the same principle of emphasizing the liveliness such as with the protuberant cheek bones, are Korean in appearance and adds the female nature in its nonseparated jaws.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>Min-Yŏng Yu, "Hanguk Kamyŏn ŭi Chohyŏngmi," p. 377.

<sup>16</sup>Wŏn-Ryong Kim, pp. 159-60.

However, other theories maintain that Hahoe masks are not adapted from foreign tradition or models. It is likely that Hahoe masks, considering the isolated location of Hahoe village, were not produced through contact with the imported foreign mode. According to Kim Dong-P'yo, a Hahoe mask-maker, Hahoe masks were cut in an exaggerated manner to elevate the aesthetic value and theatrical effect.<sup>17</sup>

Hahoe masks were not created by the commoners, but by a nobleman. Nothing is known about his career in craftsmanship and his training. Besides, he was a member of the upper class which was not supposed to be involved with artisan's work. Anyhow, Hahoe masks are refined and skillfully constructed. This beauty is another characteristics of Hahoe masks. When we look at sandae dogam group masks, we notice that most of them are ugly and roughly made. But this is not the case in Hahoe masks. For their superior artistic value, Hahoe masks are often compared with Noh masks:

In the case of Hahoe masks, we seem to confront a significant, if somewhat slight, difference in aesthetic standard and the mastery of craftsmanship. The higher aesthetic standard and superior value of Hahoe masks are often compared to the Japanese masks such as Noh masks which are themselves known for their superior artistic value.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Interview with Dong-P'yo Kim, Hahoe, Andong,  
15 January 1986.

<sup>18</sup>Sun-U Ch'oe, p. 47.

Hahoe masks were made to be able to express the gamut of emotions depending on the mastery of their wearers.

They are appreciated as follows:

Hahoe masks were meticulously carved so as to produce very realistic expressions, and to bring about changes in expression according to movement.<sup>19</sup>

They appear to change their expression when one looks at them from different angles. When one looks at them straight on, for example, they have a fixed expression. But then they face downward, their expressions bear gloomy, somber, and dark feelings, while they express some degree of exuberance when they face upward. Thus the characteristics of the Hahoe masks are extremely rich and fluid, even metamorphic.<sup>20</sup>

This fluid expression is called "median expression" or "limitless expression," for which Hahoe masks were constructed with half-open-half-closed eyes and lip. Since the median expression is also found in Noh masks, Lee Duhyun contends that the median expression of Hahoe masks had an influence on the perfection of the median expression of Noh masks.<sup>21</sup>

Concerning the hoods, Hahoe masks originally had no hoods to cover the head. Sometimes, we can see the hooded Hahoe masks in the contemporary version of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. Hahoe masks were originally fastened around the head with

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<sup>19</sup>Korean Overseas Information Service, p. 11.

<sup>20</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, "The Theatrical Presentation at the Hahoe Village Ritual," Korean Journal 20 (December 1980): 51-52.

<sup>21</sup>Duhyun Lee, p. 107.

the strings tied in the holes at both sides.

Finally, the mask-burning practice is exceptional to Hahoe masks. They could be thus preserved to this day. Hahoe masks are considered as sacred objects and means for making the wearer sacred. They are accordingly treated with a special handling. They were kept in a sacred place in tongsa (Village Hall) after each performance; during the performance they were assigned to a certain person for taking care of them. They can be worn or seen only during the performance of hahoe pyölsin-kut. If one must see them at other times, he should prepare the sacred offerings for a deity before seeing them. Otherwise, it is believed that misfortune or plague might occur to that person or in the village.<sup>22</sup> This fact fortifies that Hahoe masks are regarded as sacred objects of efficacy in spite of being dealt in the category of theatre masks. In other words, Hahoe masks represent a transitional example of evolution from the ritual to the theatre. Hahoe masks are designated as National Treasure No. 121 with two Pyöngsan masks (taegam and yangban) and are entrusted to National Museum of Korea in Seoul.

As examined above, Hahoe masks have different characteristics from sandae dogam group masks in several aspects. They can be summed up as illustrated in table 4.

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<sup>22</sup>Yön-Hwa Hwang, "Hahoe Pyölsin Kamyöngük ūi Yönku" (A Study of Hahoe Pyölsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가면극의 연구) (M.A. thesis, Koryo University, 1980), p. 14.

TABLE 4  
COMPARISON OF HAHOE MASKS WITH  
SANDAE DOGAM GROUP MASKS

|                     | Hahoe Masks                        | <u>Sandae Dogam</u> Masks          |
|---------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Material            | wood from the alder tree           | gourd, paper                       |
| Color               | medium and dark brown,<br>burgundy | red, blue, yellow,<br>black, white |
| Male Masks          | two pieces<br>three-dimensional    | one piece<br>three-dimensional     |
| Female Masks        | one piece<br>flat                  | one piece<br>flat                  |
| Mask Maker          | a nobleman, called<br>Hŏ doryŏng   | unidentified<br>commoners          |
| Craftmanship        | refined, skillful                  | simple, rough                      |
| Expression          | median expression                  | create laughter                    |
| Hoods               | no hoods                           | hoods to cover head                |
| Burning<br>Practice | not burned                         | burned after<br>each performance   |

Hahoe masks consist of two animal masks (one male, one female) and nine human masks (three females, six males). Concerning two animal masks called chujŭ, many theorists have argued on their identity. Since these two animal masks do not look like any real animal in the world, they bring different opinions and interpretations about their identity: lion, demon, bird, butterfly shaped monster, etc. However, many scholars argue that chujŭ is a lion. Ch'oe Nam-Sŏn first defined chujŭ as a lion in his book Chosŏn Sangsik Muntab Sokp'yŏn (A Sequel to the Questions and Answers about

Korean Common Sense), published in 1947.<sup>23</sup> Scholars such as Lee Duhyun, Sŏng Byong-Hŭi, and Sŏ Yŏn-Ho agreed with Ch'oe Nam-Sŏn.<sup>24</sup> Other scholars such as Yu Han-Sang and Cho Dong-Il maintain that chujj is a dreadful demon to eat tigers.<sup>25</sup> A mask maker Yun Byong-Ha sees chujj a condensed form of three different kinds of animal such as a beast, a bird, and a fish.<sup>26</sup> Hwang Yŏn-Hwa interprets it as a butterfly.<sup>27</sup> I have no objection to Ch'oe Nam-Sŏn and his followers. In this dissertation, however, chujj has been translated into an imaginary animal. Because, whether it is a lion or not, it does not have a realistic form of lion.

The picture of each Hahoe mask is included separate-

<sup>23</sup>Nam-Sŏn Ch'oe, Chosŏn Sangsik Muntab Sokp'yŏn (A Sequel to the Questions and Answers about Korean Common Sense: 조선 상식 문답 속편) (Seoul: Tongmyŏngsa, 1947; reprinted ed., Seoul: Samsŏngmisulmunhwajaedan, 1972), pp. 215-16.

<sup>24</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk Yŏngŭksa (History of Korean Theatre: 한국 연극사) (Seoul: Minjungsŏkwan, 1973), p. 94. Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin T'alnori" (Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mask Play: 하회 별신 탈놀이), Hanguk Minsokhak 12 (August 1980): 107-108. Yŏn-Ho Sŏ, "Hahoe T'alch'um ŭi Yŏngŭkchŏk Kujo" (A Dramatic Structure of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 탈춤의 연극적 구조), T'alch'um ŭi Sasang (Phenomena of Mask-Dance Theatre: 탈춤의 사상), ed. Hŭi-Wan Ch'ae (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 1984), p. 15.

<sup>25</sup>Han-Sang Yu, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Kamyŏnmugŭk Taesa" (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가면무극 대사), Kugŏgukmunhak 20 (February 1959): 191. Dong-Il Cho, T'alch'um ŭi Yŏksa wa Wŏnri (The History and Principles of Mask-Dance Theatre: 탈춤의 역사와 원리) (Seoul: Hongiksa, 1979), p. 57.

<sup>26</sup>Byong-Ha Yun, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Kamyŏn ŭi," p. 345.

<sup>27</sup>Yŏn-Hwa Hwang, pp. 60-63.

ly in the illustrations. The table 5 illustrates the size of each Hahoe mask and Pyŏngsan mask.

TABLE 5  
SIZE OF HAHOE AND PYŎNGSAN MASKS

| Hahoe Masks                  | Height          | Width           |
|------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Female <u>Chuji</u> (Fig. 7) | 3.9" (10.0 cm)  | 15.6" (40.0 cm) |
| Male <u>Chuji</u> (Fig. 8)   | 3.9" (10.0 cm)  | 13.8" (35.0 cm) |
| <u>Kaksi</u> (Fig. 9)        | 11.7" (29.6 cm) | 10.6" (26.8 cm) |
| <u>Pune</u> (Fig. 10)        | 9.7" (24.6 cm)  | 6.8" (17.3 cm)  |
| <u>Halmi</u> (Fig. 11)       | 8.0" (20.5 cm)  | 5.2" (13.1 cm)  |
| <u>Chung</u> (Fig. 12)       | 8.6" (21.9 cm)  | 6.4" (16.2 cm)  |
| <u>Yangban</u> (Fig. 13)     | 9.7" (24.6 cm)  | 6.8" (17.3 cm)  |
| <u>Sŏnbi</u> (Fig. 14)       | 8.1" (20.5 cm)  | 5.2" (13.1 cm)  |
| <u>Paekchŏng</u> (Fig. 15)   | 10.0" (25.5 cm) | 6.4" (16.3 cm)  |
| <u>Ch'oraengi</u> (Fig. 16)  | 8.0" (20.3 cm)  | 5.8" (14.8 cm)  |
| <u>Imae</u> (Fig. 17)        | 7.4" (18.9 cm)  | 6.5" (16.6 cm)  |
| Pyŏngsan Masks               | Height          | Width           |
| <u>Yangban</u> (Fig. 18)     | 8.3" (21.2 cm)  | 6.6" (16.7 cm)  |
| <u>Taegam</u> (Fig. 19)      | 8.8" (22.4 cm)  | 7.4" (18.7 cm)  |

SOURCE: Yong-Hun Sin, ed., Kukbo (The National Treasure of Korea: 국보) (Seoul: Yekyong Publications Co., Ltd., 1985), p. 252.

Since the effectiveness of the masks depends on the skill of the actor, I will now briefly discuss actors and

training. Hahoe pyölsin-kut was performed by non-professional actors, who were chosen for certain requirements. First, they must be members of the common class. The upper-class people and the outcasts were excluded to perform hahoe pyölsin-kut. The shamans were hired to play two scenes and to play music, even if they were considered the outcasts. They remained minor performers and had no initiatives.

Second, the actors were chosen only from the males. Ordinary women were not allowed on the stage until the early twentieth century in Korea. Prostitutes, courtesans, and female shamans were sometimes trained as entertainers. Therefore actresses and prostitutes were people whom the ordinary public consider as the same breed in Korea. Since the actress and the prostitute were synonymous in the public's mind, their public appearances frequently resulted in a decree by the government to banish all women from the stage for the interests of public order. As a result, female impersonation became established. This phenomenon is common to the Asian theatre, as A. C. Scott points out:

The social segregation of ordinary women and the professional training of the courtesan as an entertainer made the theatre a forbidden area for the first and a natural habitat of the second. . . . the public appearances of the actress-courtesan frequently resulted in repressive measures by the governing authorities concerned about public order. As a result of these circumstances the theatre was constantly starved of actresses, a situation that affected the trend of theatrical entertainments until very recent times. The catamite served as a substitute and became increasingly important to the development of stage techniques. The acting of women's roles by men was in many ways a

gesture of self-defence on the part of the theatrical profession.<sup>28</sup>

Third, the actors had to be free from the state of impurity in that year. Mourning, pregnancy, and childbirth should not happen in their house or their family members. Even if these had occurred to a domestic animal recently, its owner was excluded from acting.

Finally, they should be able to manage at least the farmer's musical instruments such as kkwaenggwari (small gong), ching (large gong), changgo (hourglass drum), puk (barrel drum), and sogo (hand drum). In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut there is no separate room for the musicians. The actors themselves are the musicians: they play music when they are free from acting throughout the performance.

In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, sanju (village ritual priest) was authorized to cast a play. Once one was named as an actor and cast for a part, he could not refuse the call, since it was believed the deity's will. "If he goes against the deity's will, he believes that he would suffer from the curse of the sŏnghwang-nim."<sup>29</sup> Sanju cast the actors on the last day of December by the lunar calendar. They were secluded and lodged together in tongsa (Village Hall) from

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<sup>28</sup>A. C. Scott, The Theatre in Asia (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 8.

<sup>29</sup>Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, p. 93.

that night until the fifteenth of January. They could not even participate in the traditional rite for ancestors held on the first day of January.

In addition to all the actors, sanju (priest), k'ŭn-kwangdae (literally, "chief-actor"), two pole-carriers, and a mask keeper were also lodged in tongsa. Tongsa was burned out around 1940, but it is said to have been a big house to accommodate all actors and participants. According to Sŏng Byong-Hŭi's records, all used one large bedroom, except for sanju, who used a smaller room separately.<sup>30</sup> When they were sleeping, there was a special arrangement of their beds. K'ŭn-kwangdae, whose position is equivalent to the director of the Western theatre, was given a place of honor which is that the closest to the fireplace, or the warmest place on the floor. In Korea the bedroom has an under-floor heating system, and the warmest spot is that one closest to the fireplace which is set outside the room.

According to Sŏng, next to k'ŭn-kwangdae, the following three actors were lying in order: kaksi (young woman), yangban (aristocrat), and sŏnbi (scholar). The rest were decided by the order of aging--the older one takes a better place, that is, next to the actor of sŏnbi.<sup>31</sup> This order might be differently arranged depending on the social

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p. 94.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

structure of the period. In the Yi dynasty Confucianism had the greatest impact on social values, while Buddhism did in the Koryŏ dynasty. Buddhist monks were included among the lowest class in the Yi dynasty, but they were highly esteemed during the Koryŏ dynasty. Accordingly, the person who took the role of chung (monk) might have had his bed next to that of kaksi in the Koryŏ period. Since kaksi was considered as a symbolic figure of the sŏnghwang-nim, the actor who took the role of kaksi had a privilege to take the best spot among the actors.

The shamans did not stay in the actor's lodging house. "The shamans took lodging at a private house of the villagers and joined the actors at a day break for rehearsal."<sup>32</sup> The shamans, usually consisting of both sex members and being related by marriage, could not join the actors in lodging, since all actors were male.

K'ŭn-kwangdae took the role of director. He supervised all actors and trained them in a sense. He was chosen from the experienced actors who had a vast knowledge of the play, that is, the nature of the characters, the main lines, the outline of the episodes, as well as the dance and movements and the rhythmic patterns of the music. The training of the actors seemed to be simple. The actors could even exchange the assigned roles, if the original role proved

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid.

unsuitable for them. But they could not quit under any circumstances. During the sixteen days of lodging the actors were considered to be separated from their own personalities and transformed into their character role. Therefore they were not allowed to call each other by personal names, but by the character names.<sup>33</sup> K'ŭn-kwangdae helped the actors practice their roles. He could give directions and advise about the characters, the lines, the dance forms, the music, etc. However, the actors were given much freedom in performance, because they were allowed to improvise their lines and nonverbal expressions. Although they were free in performance, they had to keep many taboos in lodging. They should not gossip nor criticize anything which occurred on the day, including the effect of the performance. They were not allowed to have sexual relationships even with their wives.

Concerning the meals, the volunteers among the villagers sent the meals for the actors and other participants. People believed that they would be blessed by offering foods to the actors.

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<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

## CHAPTER IV

### STAGE

There is no study of Korean mask-dance theatre which deals solely with the stage. One chapter in Hanguk Chŏnt'ong Yŏngŭk kwa Kŭ Koyumutae (The Traditional Theatre of Korea and Its Original Stage) by Kim Woo-Tack discusses the stage of Korean mask-dance theatre in general.<sup>1</sup> In that chapter, Kim devotes two pages to the stage of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, giving it the same features as other groups of Korean mask-dance theatre. In this chapter, I will treat all phases of the stage of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut such as its shape, the musicians' seats, the dressing room, the performing place, the viewing place, the performing hour, the lighting, and scenery or permanent properties. In treating them, an attempt will be made to show its unique features while at the same time comparing it with the stages of other Korean mask-dance theatre and the classic Greek theatre.

Korean mask-dance theatre is performed in an open outdoor area. Thus Korean mask-dance theatre is often

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<sup>1</sup>Woo-Tack Kim, Hanguk Chŏnt'ong Yŏngŭk kwa Kŭ Koyumutae (The Traditional Theatre of Korea and Its Original Stage: 한국 전통 연극과 그 고유의무대) (Seoul: Kaemunsa, 1978), pp. 117-42.

called madang nori. Madang means outdoor area, courtyard or ground; and nori means game or play. Madang nori includes, in a broader sense, all kinds of folk arts that were performed out in an open outdoor area surrounded by a largely unsophisticated audience of the commoners.

Theatre building as a permanent structure for public entertainment was unknown until the turn of the twentieth century. The first permanent theatre architecture with the proscenium stage was built in 1902 in Seoul.<sup>2</sup> Prior to that time, all folk theatre performances were held outdoors surrounded by the audience who were standing, sitting, or squatting on rush mats, called mōngsōk, placed on the ground. On the other hand, court music and dance was generally performed in the courtyards or banquet halls of the palace.

The stage of Korean mask-dance theatre is basically an open outdoor arena stage in village squares, market places, or near populated areas. The stage varies depending on the geographical location. It may be the same level as the viewing place, a raised ground on the hillside, or is set at the foot of a mountain. In this sense, the stage of Korean mask-dance theatre can be compared with that of the

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<sup>2</sup>Nam-Sŏn Ch'oe, Chosŏn Sangsik Muntab Sokp'yŏn (A Sequel to the Questions and Answers about Korean Common Sense: 조선 상식 문답 속편) (Seoul: Tongmyŏngsa, 1947; reprinted ed., Seoul: Samsŏngmisulmunhwajaedan, 1972), p. 222.

classic Greek theatre and the medieval theatre. Both of them were performed on open air sites. "The classical Greek theatres were normally located near a populated area at the bottom of or cut out of a carefully selected, sloping hill-sides."<sup>3</sup> "The favorite and natural open-air site for drama in most medieval communities seems traditionally to have been a public place or town square."<sup>4</sup>

The shape of stage of Korean mask-dance theatre is circular. However, it varies with the lie of the land, the local conditions, and the size of the audience. This circular shape indicates a similarity with the classic Greek theatre--its orchestra.

The dancing place or orchestra was simply a large level place cleared at the foot of a rise from which the maximum number of spectators could have a good view. Its circular shape was dictated by the lie of the land. . . . Probably the circular form was ideal, but varied with local conditions and the time and money available for construction.<sup>5</sup>

The circular stage of Korean mask-dance theatre has no scenery or permanent stage properties: it is nothing but a bare ground. Sometimes rush mats are laid on it for the scenes where actors are supposed to sit on the stage while

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<sup>3</sup>James Butler, The Theatre and Drama of Greek and Rome (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Company, 1972), p. 29.

<sup>4</sup>William Tydeman, The Theatre in the Middle Ages (London: Cambridge University Press, 1978), p. 138.

<sup>5</sup>Peter Arnott, An Introduction to the Greek Theatre (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959), p. 32.

acting.

The natural, open outdoor area is common to the performance of Korean mask-dance theatre. However, the original sandaenori drama, from which the extant pyŏl-sandaenori of Yangju was born, was performed on a temporary structure of a raised stage, called sandae. Sandae (山臺) means literally "high-like-a-mountain" stage. This stage was first recorded in the Koryŏ dynasty: it was used to present sandae chapgŭk ("sandae variety show"), whose name was adopted from it. Sandae was also called ch'aebung or sanbung in the Koryŏ dynasty, whereas sandae became a common name for this stage in the Yi dynasty.<sup>6</sup>

Concerning the structure of sandae, its frame was made of tall bamboo poles: three taller ones at front and six at rear. They were supported with many connectors of wood. The stage floor was laid higher from the ground within this frame. It was all covered with broad white cloth: back, both sides, and ceiling. The size of this stage varied with the period and the size of production. The height of front poles was about fifty feet in the Koryŏ dynasty. It became higher in the Yi dynasty, but was generally sixty feet high. "For a larger structure, it was seventy-five feet wide and sixty feet deep; for a medium

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<sup>6</sup>Jae-Yŏn Yang, "Sandaehŭi e Ch'ihayŏ" (A Study on Sandae Drama: 산대희에 대하여), Chungang Taehakgyŏ Samsipju-nyŏn Kinyŏm Nonmunjip (Seoul: Chungang University, 1955): 190.

size structure, it was sixty feet wide and forty feet deep [in the Yi dynasty]." <sup>7</sup> The height of the stage floor is not known today. By these figures, we know that sandae was a very large scale structure which required long working hours for construction. This temporary stage was not like the old Chinese stage, which was "erected overnight, and as quickly taken down." <sup>8</sup>

Sandaenori, however, has not always performed on this stage, sandae. The extant sandaenori group has performed on the natural, ground level like other groups of Korean mask-dance theatre. Concerning the viewing place, Korean mask-dance theatre does not accommodate its audience with a built structure of auditorium. But an exception to this viewing place is found in pongsan t'alch'um. It was originally performed in Pongsan town in Hwanghae province. In the early twentieth century, when the performance moved to Sariwŏn (a railroad station near Pongsan town), a temporary scaffold in a semi-circular shape was built for the audience. This temporary structure of auditorium was called tarak, meaning "a loft." It had a special upper row of seats divided into small boxes, in which the audience sat on

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<sup>7</sup> Won-Kyong Cho, "Narye wa Kamyŏngŭk" (Narye Ritual and Mask-Dance Theatre: 나리제와 가면극), Hakrim 4 (1955), quoted in Woo-Tack Kim, p. 121.

<sup>8</sup> A. C. Scott, The Theatre in Asia (New York: Mac-Millan Publishing Co., Inc., 1972), p. 158.

mats. "This semi-circular upper story auditorium was reserved for the merchants who paid the expenses of production."<sup>9</sup> The free seats, called "general seating," were open to the general public. This general seating was between the stage area and the upper story auditorium: it was nothing but the ground with rush mats placed around the stage. Tarak, the temporary structure of auditorium, is now no longer constructed for pongsan t'alch'um.

Now let us discuss the musicians' seats and the dressing room. In the "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre, the musicians sit upstage in a thrust stage or at one side of the stage in an arena in full view throughout the performance. The rush mats are placed on their seats. And there is a dressing room or a tent for changing, called kaebokch'ŏng, at one side of the viewing place or the stage. Since most actors have double roles, they need a place for changing their costumes and masks. Kaebokch'ŏng is a simple room, made of poles and connectors, and covered with broadcloth.

On the other hand, in the performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, there is no special seat for musicians. Since they play music standing, walking, or even dancing, they seem to need no specific seating place. The musicians play

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<sup>9</sup> Duhyun Lee, Hanguk Yŏngŭksa (History of Korean Theatre: 한국의 연극사) (Seoul: Minjungŏkwon, 1973), p. 121.

music in a convenient place for each scene. And there is no dressing room for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, because each actor has just one role to play and appears on the performing areas in full costumes.

In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the performing area is quite extended. The main part of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut drama is performed on the village square (Fig. 20) in front of tongsa<sup>10</sup> (Village Hall). Since hahoe pyŏlsin-kut should be appreciated in the context of ritual, a sacrificial service to village deities or a pilgrimage to the shrines should be also considered as part of performance. Accordingly, the sites of shrines (Figs. 3, 4, and 5) and the roads for this pilgrimage (Figs. 21, 22, and 23) should be considered as performing areas. The pilgrimage is performed before and after the major performance, i.e., in the opening scene ("The Epiphany") and the closing scene ("The Shrine Service"),<sup>11</sup>

The pilgrimage can be compared with the opening procession, called kilnori ("road-play"), which is performed before the major performance in the "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. Lee Meewon calls this opening

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<sup>10</sup>Unfortunately, tongsa does not exist any more. It burned down in 1940.

<sup>11</sup>The author has personally walked the route of performance in the present village which has changed little from earlier days.

procession "a costume parade."<sup>12</sup> The opening procession is performed by all participants, i.e., all mask players and musicians, for two reasons: "to announce [to the audience] that the play is about to begin, and to create a festive mood at the performing area."<sup>13</sup> The pilgrimage in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is performed for sacred purposes--to announce to the deities instead of the audience, and to offer a religious prayer rather than to create a festive mood.

In addition to the pilgrimage, there is another scene which is not performed in the village square. This scene called hŏtch'ŏn-kut or hŏtch'ŏn kŏri-kut ("The Shaman Ritual") takes place in the main road which runs at the entrance of Hahoe village (Fig. 24) on the last day of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut performance. Besides, the major performance may not take place in the village square. It is sometimes performed in the courtyards of yangban's houses (Figs. 25 and 26) with the permission of house owners. Also, a praying with music and dance is performed in front of common-class villagers' houses (Fig. 27). "Every morning during the performing days, the actors, guarding the sŏnang-tae, visit each house in the village and perform a praying to exorcise

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<sup>12</sup>Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983), p. 170.

<sup>13</sup>Korea-U.S.A. Centennial Program Committee, Traditional Performing Arts of Korea (Seoul: Korea-U.S.A. Centennial Program Committee, 1982), p. 14.

the evil spirits."<sup>14</sup> To sum up, the performing areas of hahoe pyölsin-kut are, in a broader sense, the whole village.

As for the stage, if it is taken to be the area where the major episodes of hahoe pyölsin-kut are performed, it is the village square in front of tongsa. On the second of January by the lunar calendar, after the pilgrimage, all participants arrive at the village square and begin to perform the mask-dance drama. But before that, the actors plant the sönanng-tae (pole of sönanng goddess) in the square.

As the stage of hahoe pyölsin-kut can be compared with the orchestra of the classic Greek theatre, the sönanng-tae can be compared with a thymele (altar of Dionysus). The thymele is often translated as "an altar" or "sacrificial table." According to A. M. Nagler, it is "a sort of eminence or altar."<sup>15</sup> The thymele is usually located in the center of the orchestra; and it is rectangular and made of stone. The sönanng-tae is a round, tall pole, made of wood. It has flexible setting: it is located in the middle or to one side of the stage. In fact, this flexibility is also seen in the setting of the thymele. James Butler states: "a thymele (altar) was usually located in the middle of the

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<sup>14</sup>Yong-Kwön Kang, "Hahoe Pyölsin-kut Nori" (Hahoe Pyölsin-kut Play: 하회 병신굿 놀이), Hanguk ūi Minsok Yesul (The Folk Arts of Korea: 한국위 민속 예술) (Seoul: Hanguk Munhwayesul Chinhungwön, 1978), p. 178.

<sup>15</sup>A. M. Nagler, A Source Book in Theatrical History (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1952), p. 8.

orchestra; however, it could be placed to one side of the orchestra, as it was in the theatre of Thorikos in the later Hellenistic Theatre of Priene."<sup>16</sup> The fact that the thymele and the sŏnang-tae are located on the stage implies that these theatres have ritualistic elements, because the thymele and the sŏnang-tae symbolize the presence of a god or a deity.

Concerning the viewing place in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, the audience views the stage from three sides or all around it making a circle. The audience takes their seats on rush mats or rice-straw mats, placed on the ground around the performing area. They may sit, stand, or squat. And there is no barrier between the performing area and the viewing place. According to Kim Woo-Tack, the stage was floored with several rush mats and straw rope was drawn around the stage.<sup>17</sup> But there is no evidence of straw ropes used to determine the performing area. I believe that there is no physical separation between the performing area and the viewing place, and thus no aesthetic distance between the performers and the audience.

The performing hour of Korean mask-dance theatre is flexible: it varies with the weather conditions and the mood or reaction of the audience. As for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut,

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<sup>16</sup>Butler, p. 31.

<sup>17</sup>Woo-Tack Kim, p. 132.

the praying performance for each household starts early in the morning, while the major performance starts late in the afternoon. One theory says that the major performance is given at sunset until late at night.<sup>18</sup> But the hour is also flexible here. Since the audience enjoys an active participation in the performance, it exercises an important effect upon the quality of acting as well as the performing hour. If the audience expects to enjoy more dance of a certain actor, he may be given more time for dancing. As a result, the performing hour may last longer than expected. I think the important position of the audience in theatre is universal without regard to time and place. Vera M. Roberts asserts the important function of the audience in theatre, as she places the equal value on both of the actor and the audience in theatre:

In the final analysis, however, the audience determines the theatre. Whether it be the wondering astonishment of the primitive at his campfire, the omnivorous curiosity of the virile Elizabethan, or the elegant detachment of a Louis XIV courtier, the composition, desires, and capacities of the spectators have always determined not only the performance of the actor, but practically all aspects of theatre as well.<sup>19</sup>

Concerning the lighting, no artificial lighting was used in Korean traditional theatre, until the first permanent indoor theatre was built in 1902. Alan Heyman states

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<sup>18</sup>Yong-Kwŏn Kang, p. 178.

<sup>19</sup>Vera M. Roberts, On Stage: A History of Theatre (New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1962), p. 490.

that "mask-dance dramas, farmers festival music and dances, and other forms of folk art were performed out in the open . . . 'neath oil-burning torchlights, as in the case of the mask dance-dramas or puppet dramas. . . ." <sup>20</sup> According to his statement, the lighting seemed to function as a spot lighting. Since the current version of Korean mask-dance theatre is usually performed beneath the torchlight of cotton tipped sticks dipped in kerosene oil, its lighting source and effects are sometimes incorrectly evaluated, especially to the Western eyes. The lighting effects of Korean mask-dance theatre, including hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, originally depended on a bonfire set on the ground near the performing area. Thus it worked like a foot lighting and served to provide a grotesqueness of masks in movement.

Korean mask-dance theatre has a bare stage--no scenery. However, there are generally some stage properties which have been irregularly and temporarily used to aid acting and theatrical realism. They vary with regional groups and availability. They are seldom constructed for the production, but are borrowed from or donated by people. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, however, has permanent stage properties, which are located on the stage all the time during the performance. They are a sŏnang-tae (pole of sŏnang goddess)

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<sup>20</sup> Alan Heyman, "Madang Nori," Korea Journal 19 (July 1979): 64.

and a naerim-tae (pole of epiphany). There are also several stage properties used for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. They are: (1) a hempcloth loom in the scene of "Halmi," (2) two hourglass drums and a mat in the scene of "The Wedding," (3) a wooden chest in the scene of "The Bridal Chamber," and (4) special utensils used in religious rites and sacrificial offerings in the scenes of "The Epiphany," "The Shaman Ritual," and "The Shrine Service." All stage properties are representational, except two hourglass drums, called changgo. They are laid together to serve a ceremonial table. Concerning the hempcloth loom, it is believed to have been used until 1890, judging from Yu Han-Sang's statement written in 1959. "The weaving scene has been excluded from the performance for last seventy years."<sup>21</sup>

The sacrificial offerings are usually rice, soup, meat, vegetables, soy sauce, rice-cakes, fruits, and rice-wine. They are, except fruits and soy sauce, cooked and seasoned in a special way. For example, no hot-pepper and less salt are used. Some fruits are wholly or partially peeled in a certain direction and shape. The number of sacrificial offerings vary with the budget of the production. The utensils are a low table, bowls, plates, cups, spoons, and chopsticks. Candles and candleholders, incense sticks

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<sup>21</sup>Han-Sang Yu, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Kamyŏnmugŭk-Taesa" (The Dialogues of Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가연무극 대사) Kugŏkugmunhak 20 (February 1959): 194.

and an incense burner, and white rice-paper are also used. Many sheets of paper are used to pray for peace and luck to all villagers. One sheet of paper represents each household: all family names of a household are written on the paper. The paper is finally burned individually, while praying.

In addition to the stage properties, hand properties are also employed in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. I will discuss them in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER V

### COSTUMES

The costumes used for Korean mask-dance theatre are neither flashy nor elaborate, unlike those used for the Chinese and Japanese theatres. Korean costumes seem to vary, depending on the regional group and the financial budget of a given production. They are, however, prescribed to each character according to sex, age, marital status, occupation, economic status, and social class and rank through design, silhouette, color, material, and accessories.

The costumes for hahoe pyŏlsin-kut were neither specially designed nor constructed for the sake of its production, but are just picked up from the clothing of the period when its production was performed. As has been explained previously, the hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was established in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty and continued to be performed until 1928. Therefore, its costumes have changed through the centuries because traditional Korean clothing has changed through the years.

In this chapter, I will examine the costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut from the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty to the early twentieth century in the aspect of form, silhou-

ette, material, and color. Nobody carried out a study of the historical range of costumes of hahoe pyölsin-kut nor other groups of Korean mask-dance theatre. Study regarding the costumes of hahoe pyölsin-kut was merely confined to the physical description of costumes worn in its last production.<sup>1</sup>

The costumes will be discussed, classifying them into five categories: (1) body garments such as jacket, skirt, and pants; (2) outer garments such as coat and mantle; (3) headgear such as hat, veil, and headband; (4) footwear such as shoes and socks; and (5) undergarments such as slips and drawers. In addition, hairstyle and hand properties will also be described. First, I will analyze each character by its name and role in the play and break down all characters into five groups: (1) gender, (2) age, (3) marital status, (4) occupation, and (5) social class and rank. These are the most important factors which determine one's habit of dress. In fact, economic status is also an important factor; however, it will not be classified separately. Economic status was closely related to social

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<sup>1</sup>Han-Sang Yu, "Hahoe Pyölsin Kamyönmugük Taesa" (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyölsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가면무극 대사), Kugögukmunhak 20 (February 1959): 197. Sang-Su Choe, Hahoe Kamyöngük ūi Yöngu (A Study of the Mask Play of Hahoe: 하회 가면극의 연구) (Seoul: Koryö Söchök, 1959), pp. 11-12. Byong-Hŭi Söng, "Hahoe Pyölsin T'alnori" (Hahoe Pyölsin Mask Play: 하회 별신 탈놀이) Hanguk Minsokhak 12 (August 1980): 96.

class and rank in Korea until its long history of bureaucratic, hierarchical society was replaced by a democratic society.

In analyzing the characters according to the above five groups, the masks, especially their names, play an important role. The masks are called by the social positions they represent or socially approved names. In hahoe-pyŏlsin-kut, mask wearers are the principal actors. However, we cannot omit considering other minor performers such as sanju (priest), his assistants, the pole-carriers, the mask-keeper, k'ŭn-kwangdae (equivalent to director), shamans, and village volunteers of the aged. Because they also wear prescribed costumes to perform hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, they will be dealt with following the principal performers.

Gender differentiation is an easy task. All characters are male, except kaksi (young woman), pune (dancing girl), and halmi (old woman). One thing to remember is that we should not confuse the sex of the characters with the fact that all performers are male.

Concerning the age and marital status of male characters, except for ttŏktari (old man) and ch'onggak (young man), they all belong to a so-called "middle-aged" group, judging from the facial wrinkles on the masks and their lascivious behavior in the play. They look neither young nor old. Because, until the early twentieth century, Koreans were married in their teens and their spouses were

selected by parents or senior members of the family, we can assume that most characters are married. Chung (monk), however, is not married because monks are precluded from marriage and procreation. Ttöktari is an old man and is usually considered to be the husband of halmi. Ch'onggak literally means an unmarried young man. He must be in his teens. He gets married to kaksi in the Wedding scene.

The female characters represent three different age groups: the young, the older, and the oldest. kaksi, by the Dong-A Korean Dictionary's definitions, has several meanings: (1) a bride, (2) a lady, (3) a doll, and (4) a young girl or woman.<sup>2</sup> Among others, kaksi is generally translated into "a young woman." Other theories state that kaksi is "a virgin," or "a new bride who is just married, but does not experience the bridal night yet."<sup>4</sup> In the play kaksi experiences three stages: in the scene of "The Apostate Monk" she appears an unmarried female; in "The Wedding" she is getting married; and in the following scene ("The Bridal Chamber") she goes through the first bridal night--

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<sup>2</sup>Dong-A Sae Kugŏsajon (Dong-A New Korean Dictionary: 동아 새 국어사전), 1978 ed., s.v. "Kaksi (각시)."

<sup>3</sup>Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1981), p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>Byong-Ha Yun, Kkŏgyŏjin Mat, Mŏt, Hŭng (The Broken Flavor, Gusto, and Mirth: 깨어진 맛. 멋. 흥) (Seoul: Habtongki-hoek, 1982), p. 347.

she has sexual intercourse with the bridegroom, ch'onggak. Judging from her three different states in the play, I think it is more likely that kaksi must be translated into "a young woman" rather than "a virgin" or "a new bride."

In hahoe pyölsin-kut, kaksi is considered as a symbolic figure of a tutelary deity, called sönghwang-nim "who married at the age of fifteen and became a widow a few days after marriage."<sup>5</sup> According to Söng Byong-Hŭi's records, however, kaksi is believed to be a seventeen-year-old young female. "Traditionally a seventeen-year-old boy who had a pigtail took the role of kaksi."<sup>6</sup> About the inconsistency of kaksi's age, I would like to note that a fifteen-year-old in the Western manner of age counting is the same as a seventeen-year-old in the Korean way of age counting. When a baby is born, he or she is considered to be one year old in Korea, while the baby's age starts from zero in Western countries. And every January, people became one year older in Korea. For example, if someone was born on December 1, 1981, he is now (January 1, 1987) five years old in the Western sense, but is seven years old to the Korean mind. Lee Ch'ang-Hee (b. 1913), who was designated as the preserver of artistry of hahoe pyölsin-kut, was the performer of

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<sup>5</sup>Tomonori Murayama, Burakusai (Village Ritual: 部落祭) (Seoul: Chosönch'ongdogbu, 1937; reprint ed., Chöllado: Wonkang University, 1971), p. 29.

<sup>6</sup>Byong-Hŭi Söng, p. 111.

kaksi in the last production of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut (1928). He was chosen to play the role of kaksi, because he was seventeen years old in January 1928. His age was only fifteen in the Western way at that time. In other words, kaksi must be fifteen year old.

As I said previously, kaksi appears on the stage as a single female. This point is established by a pigtail hair style. In Korea during the Koryŏ and Yi dynasties, it was customary for single males and females to wear long braided hair, tied with a streamer. Since the pigtail wearer took the role of kaksi, kaksi was taken to be a single female. Also, the hair part of kaksi mask shows long braided hair, twirling and placing on top of head.

As for pune, she is older than kaksi, but she is still in her youth, far from middle aged. She is sometimes considered as a concubine, but appears actually an entertaining woman in the play. She must be a professional entertainer, called kisaeng or a dancing girl, who was trained in dancing, singing, and playing music to work for the official or private parties of the upper-class people or the rich. Halmi is generally translated as "an old woman," although halmi means literally "a grandmother." She appears as an old, married woman in the play.

Now let us discuss the occupation and social class and rank of all characters. First of all, I would like to discuss the social structure of the Koryŏ and the Yi dynas-

ties briefly. The Koryŏ society was a three-tiered structure: the ruling class at the top, the commoners in the middle, and the outcasts or the lowest class at the bottom. The bureaucracy was divided into two broad categories: munban (civil group) and muban (military group), forming what was then known as yangban (literally, "two groups"). The Yi dynasty was even more rigidly stratified than that of the Koryŏ. At the top were the yangban, the civil and military bureaucracy. Below yangban was a group known as chungin (literally, "middle people"), minor civil and military officials such as accountants, geographers, interpreters, copymen, and law enforcement officers. Lower in social standing than chungin were sangmin (commoners) such as peasants, fishermen, and merchants. At the lowest rung were ch'ŏnmin (outcasts) such as public and private slaves, actors, shamans, butchers, and kisaeng (female entertainer or dancing girl).<sup>7</sup>

As for the occupation of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut characters, their names, except kaksi, halmi, ttŏktari, and ch'onggak, indicate clearly what they were. Interestingly, these four character exceptions were all commoners: two farmers, a housewife of a farmer, and a daughter of a farmer.

Yangban, sŏnbi, and pyŏlch'ae were in a social

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<sup>7</sup>Nena Vreeland, Area Handbook for South Korea, 2nd ed. (Washington, D.C.: The American University, 1975), p. 78.

standing higher than the commoners: they were the ruling-class people. Yangban means literally the two groups of nobility, that is, munban and muban. "Most yangban were landowners and bourgeoisie. They were endowed with tax exempt and public-labor exempt privileges, and with the monopolistic opportunities to get learning and knowledge. Thus they could be the men in power--the ruling class."<sup>8</sup> Yangban was a man of noble birth, of good knowledge, and of bureaucracy both in the Koryŏ and in the Yi dynasty. Cho Oh-Kon states that during the Koryŏ period, the titles (yangban and sŏnbi) did not exist; they were rather the creation of the Chosŏn (Yi) dynasty.<sup>9</sup> This statement does not seem to be accurate because the bureaucracy of the Koryŏ dynasty was also divided into two groups, known as yangban. According to historian Pyŏn T'ae-Sŏb, the aristocracy of the Koryŏ period was composed of yangban--munban and muban.<sup>10</sup> And sŏnbi is not the title of a person, but an old language to describe a man of learning.

Among the two groups of yangban, munban (civil group) officials were often more highly regarded than their

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<sup>8</sup>T'ae-Sŏb Pyŏn, Hanguksa Yoron (The Important Arguments on Korean History: 한국사 요론) (Seoul: Samyŏngsa, 1973), p. 411.

<sup>9</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, "The Theatrical Presentation at the Hahoe Village Festival," Korea Journal 20 (December 1980): 51.

<sup>10</sup>T'ae-Sŏb Pyŏn, p. 306.

military counterparts, because munban had more scholarly qualifications which were thought to be essential to be the ideal bureaucracy. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, yangban seems to represent a civil official because he tries to show off his scholarly qualifications in the play. Besides, if the play is to criticize and satirize the ruling class, the higher in social standing the ruler is, the more comic effects it can create.

Sŏnbi is generally translated as a scholar. A learned man was usually from a privileged upper class, while the commoners and the lowest-class people were illiterate. In other words, sŏnbi is the upper class: he is as high as yangban in social standing.

Pyŏlch'ae is a government official of low rank. He is in charge of collecting government loans from the people in the play. "Pyŏlch'ae is believed to adopt from a government post called pyŏlch'a of the Koryŏ period."<sup>11</sup> He might be a law enforcement officer, judging from his act in the play. He was in a low rank of the ruling class in the Koryŏ dynasty; however, in the Yi dynasty he was included among the middle people group--the group higher than the commoners, but lower than yangban.

Other characters were the outcasts or the lowest-

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<sup>11</sup>T'aek-Kyu Kim, Ssijok Purak ŭi Kujo Yŏnku (A Study of the Structure of Clan Villages: 씨족 부락의 구조 연구) (Seoul: Iljogak, 1979), p. 253.

class people. Pune is kisaeng or a dancing girl. Imae and ch'oraengi are servants of upper-class people. They are practically private slaves. Paekchǒng is commonly translated into a butcher. However, paekchǒng means, in a broader sense, a member of the outcasts who engaged chiefly in executions, grave digging, butchery, leatherwork, and wickerwork. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, paekchǒng had an old name, called hŭikwangi. This character might be a servant of the sheriff, who engaged in beating or executing a human criminal. "The Butcher scene is said to have originally shown the execution of a man, but it has been softened with the passing of time."<sup>12</sup> Dancing girls, private slaves, and butchers or servants of the sheriff were all regarded as outcasts during the Koryŏ and Yi periods. They were even formally designated as degraded professions in the Yi dynasty: private slaves were excluded from them.

Seven degraded professions, said to have been formally designated as such about 1450, are: (1) servants of the sheriff who beat men, (2) buffons or traveling singers, (3) butchers, (4) basket makers and bark peelers, (5) female sorcerers (shamans), (6) dancing girls (kisaeng), and (7) makers of leather shoes.<sup>13</sup>

Concerning the social standing of chung (monk), he was included among the lowest class in the Yi dynasty, while

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<sup>12</sup>Duhyun Lee, "Korean Folk Play," Folk Culture in Korea, ed. International Cultural Foundation (Seoul: The Si-Sa-Yong-O-Sa Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 114.

<sup>13</sup>Cornelius Osgood, The Koreans and Their Culture (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951), pp. 241-42.

he was the dominating ruling class in the Koryŏ dynasty. This fact must be understood within the religious context, because "religion and social values are entwined in Korean social structure."<sup>14</sup> In the Koryŏ dynasty Buddhism was recognized as the national religion and gradually grew in power with monks who were then periodically dominating the rulers. The king even asked advice of the highest rank of priest in political affairs. The edict of 1036 and 1058 showed the high value and power of Buddhism and monks:

It was decreed [in 1036] that if a man had four sons one must become a monk and the death penalty was banished in deference to the religious ban on bloodshed . . . . In 1048, the king fed and housed ten thousand monks in the palace--or at least more than one could count. A decade later he decreed that one of every three sons must become a monk and nails made for monastery construction from metal intended for arms. He thus initiated the period of great religious building. He also took many of the best lay homes and gave them to the priests.<sup>15</sup>

Buddhism, which held its sway over the rulers in the Koryŏ dynasty, fell in 1392 with the rise of a new dynasty. Confucianism replaced Buddhism as a national belief or an official national doctrine. The social standing of monks fell to the bottom. "Monks and nuns were included among the ch'ŏnmin (an outcaste group) because their celibacy precluded procreation, one of the principal elements of the

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<sup>14</sup>Vreeland, p. 102.

<sup>15</sup>Osgood, pp. 247-48.

path of filial piety (hyō-dō)."<sup>16</sup> The concept of filial piety is central to Confucianist ethics and is the basis of all social relations, because Confucianism recognizes the family as the foundation of society. The most important expression of filial piety toward one's parents and ancestors was the procreation of one's own sons, who would continue to carry on the family name.

Now let us analyze other minor performers such as sanju, his assistants, k'ŭn-kwangdae, mask-keeper, pole-carriers, shamans, and village volunteers. Concerning the gender, they are all males except the shaman. The shaman group was usually composed of both sex members. The size of the shaman group was flexible depending on the financial budget of production. The age and marital status of minor performers were not known exactly except those of sanju and village volunteers.

Sanju, the officiating man, must have enough qualifications to be selected. He is at least over forty years old.<sup>17</sup> Sanju seemed to be much older than forty in the last production of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, since he was known as an old man in his seventies, called the old Park.<sup>18</sup> Sanju must

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<sup>16</sup>Vreeland, p. 81.

<sup>17</sup>Chu-Kŭn Chang, Hanguk Minsokhak Kaesŏl (An Outline of Korean Folklore: 한국 민속학 개설) (Seoul: Minchungsŏkwan, 1974), p. 172.

<sup>18</sup>Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, p. 95.

be married, because he would not be chosen to be a priest, if he was not procreative. This fact can be understood on two grounds. As I noted previously in Chapter 2, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut employed a Confucian feature in celebrating the village ritual. And procreation is the most important expression of filial piety, whose concept is central to Confucian ethics. In addition, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was bound up with the fertility rite. Its officiating man was supposed to be a fertile man: he would have many sons or at least more than one.

Village volunteers were among the aged members. They were all married men and usually considered leading figures of the village commoners who had worked for the good of community. Like other performers, they were the common people in reality. The upper-class people were excluded from the performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut as performers, although they were actual leading figures of the village. In fact, all minor performers, except shamans, were all commoners in reality; however, they seemed to have higher status on the stage, judging from their costumes worn in the last production.<sup>19</sup> They, except pole-carriers, wore dop'o (long, loose outer coat with wide sleeves), which was an exclusive apparel for upper-class people during the Yi dynasty. "Wide sleeved robes such as dop'o and chungch'imak were

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<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 96.

not permitted apparel for the common people."<sup>20</sup> Shamans were the lowest-class people in reality. However, they did not wear poor street clothes for the performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut; instead they wore ceremonial shaman costumes to perform their roles.

Now let us turn to the costumes of each performer, based on gender, age, marital status, occupation, and social class and rank of the characters to be played. The costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut have changed from its first production to its last one--from the middle of the Koryŏ period to the early twentieth century. Both the Koryŏ and the Yi periods were rigidly hierarchical societies. Each period had its own social structure, economic system, and political and cultural contact with neighboring countries, which affected the costumes in terms of design, silhouette, material, color, accessories, etc. Toward the close of the Yi dynasty in 1894, a renovation for modernization, named kapokyŏngchang, brought about enormous changes in many aspects of Korean society. "It was, though not voluntarily driven, the first reform for modernization of the Yi dynasty."<sup>21</sup> The class distinctions were dissolved and values have undergone a process of change. "The social change resulted in destruction

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<sup>20</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, "Korean Costume: An Historical Analysis" (Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Wisconsin--Madison, 1977), p. 143.

<sup>21</sup>T'ae-Sŏb Pyŏn, p. 518.

of feudalistic system of social class and abolition of slavery."<sup>22</sup> In the following year (1895), the second reform was enforced. The most influencing reform was an edict to bob the hair, that is, to cut off the topknot which was the traditional hairstyle of married man in Korea, and to adopt the Western hairstyle. These reforms exerted important effects upon the history of Korean costumes. The costumes became simplified, economized, and democratized. Thus I will discuss the historical change of costumes by each character, classifying into three periods: (1) from the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty to the end of this period (1392), (2) the Yi dynasty until 1894, and (3) from 1894 to the early twentieth century. In the last group of period, I will not discuss three characters--pyŏlch'ae, ch'onggak, and ttŏktari. Their masks were lost around 1900. And these characters did not appear on the stage since then.

In the Koryŏ period the basic body garments worn under the outer garment or without it were loose jacket and loose pants for male, and loose jacket and gathered long skirt for female.<sup>23</sup> They were worn by all performers in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut; their material, color, and silhouette were, however, different depending on the social status of

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<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 521.

<sup>23</sup>Ju-Sŏn Sŏk, Hanguk Poksiksa (History of Korean Clothes and Ornaments: 한국복식사) (Seoul: Pojinjae, 1978), p. 30.

characters being personated.

The outer garment was a loose, wider outer coat with wider sleeves: this coat was called p'o (Fig. 28). It was worn by people of all classes: however, the poor people could not afford it because of its high cost. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, yangban (aristocrat) and sŏnbi (scholar) wore this coat. Among the unmasked performers, sanju (priest), k'ŭn-kwangdae (chief-actor), and mask-keeper also seemed to wear this coat. Chung (monk) wore a robe, called changsam, and a kasa wrapped around the left shoulder over the robe.<sup>24</sup> Kasa is a long rectangle cope made of patches. Pyŏlch'ae (low ranking government official) might wear an official robe because he is doing his official job in the play.

Men wore various headgear depending on their social standing. Women wore veils, called mongsu, to conceal their faces<sup>25</sup>: the manner of wearing, color, and material varied with the wearer's social class and rank, and economic status. Concerning hairstyle, married men wore topnots. Married women also wore knots or chignons. "Women had long hair and wore knots at the nape of the neck and used hair pins to

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<sup>24</sup>Yŏng-Ja Ryu, "Sŭngpok" (Clerical Garments: 승복), Hanguk ŭi Poksik (The Clothes and Ornaments of Korea: 한국의 복식), ed. Hangukmunhwajae Pohohyŏbhoe (Seoul: Hangukmunhwajae Pohohyŏbhoe, 1982), pp. 323, 328, and 331.

<sup>25</sup>Ju-Sŏn Sŏk, p. 32.

secure the knots."<sup>26</sup> Single men and women had no knots. They had pigtails or long hair tied with strings or streamers.

The male performers of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut would wear headgear. The characters in high social standing wore a brimless black silk hat, called pokdu. Since the commoners were allowed to wear this hat,<sup>27</sup> ttŏktari (old man) wore this hat, probably in hemp. Later the servants of the higher class were also allowed to wear pokdu.<sup>28</sup> Ch'onggak is an unmarried young man: thus he wore no hat. He had long hair, tied with a black string, while other male characters wore topknots. Kaksi (young woman) and pune (dancing girl) might wear mongsu, when they were outdoors. Halmi (old woman) wore no veils. She had a hairstyle of chignon at the nape of neck. Kaksi performer, as discussed earlier, had a hairstyle of an unmarried young female, although kaksi mask includes its hairstyle. Pune would have a typical hairstyle of a dancing girl. She might have two braids or long hair divided into two, twirled and placed on each side behind ears, judging from pune mask.

People wore footwear of various materials:

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<sup>26</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, p. 122.

<sup>27</sup>Dong-Uk Kim, "Koryŏdokyŏng e Nat'an'an Kak Poksik" (The Clothes and Ornaments Illustrated in Koryŏdokyŏng: 고려도경에 나타난 각복식), Hanguk ŭi Poksik, pp. 106-107.

<sup>28</sup>Ju-Sŏn Sŏk, p. 33.

leather, silk, hemp, straw, wood, etc. The male characters in high social standing wore leather shoes. Other characters might wear shoes of either hemp cord or straw.

Women wore more undergarments than men; women of the higher class wore more undergarments than those of the lower class. Women wore pants and slips under the body garments. These undergarments affected the silhouette: they made the bottom half fuller and wider.

Concerning the material, silk, hemp, ramie, and wool were used for the garments, until "cotton seeds were introduced from China by the end of the Koryŏ dynasty [in 1363].<sup>29</sup> The manufacturing of cotton has been encouraged by the government since then, and cotton became widely used among all classes. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the characters in high social standing would wear costumes in silk, while other characters would wear costumes in hemp-cloth. Pune, though one of the outcasts, might wear more expensive clothes than kaksi and halmi: she might wear costumes in coarse silk. After 1363, the characters of the commoners and outcasts would wear costumes in cotton.

Throughout the history of Korea, white seems to have been the prominent color in costumes of all classes and both sexes. The white referred to include off-white, un-

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<sup>29</sup>Byong-Do Lee, Hanguksa Taekwan (An Outline of Korean History: 한국사 대관) (Seoul: Pomungak, 1969), p. 647.

bleached hemp-cloth color, and tint color. Nevertheless, color was used as a status symbol in costumes. Red and green were exclusive to the upper class: red for the people in higher rank and green, in lower rank. Blue-green or jade green and black were fashionable in the later Koryŏ period. "During the Mongol conquest of the thirteenth century, official impetus was given to the adoption of their favorite blue-green color, and in the following century, black was substituted as fashionable."<sup>30</sup>

Based on the above materials it is safe to assume that in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut most characters would wear the white clothing, including shades varying from that of yellowish hemp-cloth color to light sky blue or light jade green. Although the officials in higher rank were entitled to wear red robes, yangban and sŏnbi would not wear the red because they did not wear official costumes, but everyday outdoor clothes. Pyŏlch'ae wore official costumes in green, because he is doing his official job in the play. The color of chung's robes and cope would be grey and brown in many tones. Monks did not wear the five fundamental colors: the clerical robes were regulated to dye with colors exclusive of blue, yellow, red, white, and black.<sup>31</sup> Because the use of

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<sup>30</sup>Osgood, p. 232.

<sup>31</sup>Pulkyo Sajŏn (Dictionary of Buddhism: 불교 사전), 1961 ed., s.v. "Kasa" (가사).

these five colors is related to the philosophy of the Five Primary Substances, which is the central concept of Taoism together with the Cosmic Dual Principles of the negative and the positive. Pune and kaksi might wear dyed costumes in solid colors excluding red because "only the queen could be dressed in red."<sup>32</sup> Black was used for headgear of male characters. Black was also used in strings to tie hair for male, while red was used for female.<sup>33</sup> As for footwear, their natural color was kept.

Concerning the silhouette of garments, the general silhouette of those of the higher class was fuller, wider, and longer than those of the lower class, because higher-class people could afford more fabric for their clothes than lower-class people. Even the high-ranking officials wore much fuller costumes than the lower-ranking officials. Yang-ban and sŏnbi wore much looser garments than pyŏlch'ae. The characters of outcasts wore tightly fitted costumes, while those of the common class wore loosely fitted costumes. Among the female characters, pune would wear a jacket with wider sleeves and a fuller, longer skirt than kaksi and halmi. Halmi's costumes would be nonfashionable and shabby.

Now let us turn to the following period. The basic lines of the Yi dynasty were the same as those of the Koryŏ

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<sup>32</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, p. 121.

<sup>33</sup>Dong-Uk Kim, p. 105.

period, or at least similar. However, the general silhouette of the male costumes and female skirt became wider and fuller, while female jacket became shorter and tighter. The official outfit of court and government officials became more elaborate and diverse.

The basic garments for male were jacket, called chŏgori (Fig. 29), and pants, called paji (Fig. 30); for female, chŏgori (Fig. 31) and skirt, called ch'ima (Fig. 32). Chŏgori is a lined jacket with long, loose sleeves, tied with a set of long ribbons on the upper side of breast. Man's chŏgori is almost hip length, while woman's chŏgori is above the waistline and much tighter. The sleeve lines and hemline of bodice of woman's chŏgori are curvier than those of man's chŏgori. The front ties of woman's chŏgori are arranged on the left side of breast, while they are tied on the right side in man's chŏgori. Paji is lined loose pants: it is fastened at the waist with a sash, called hŏrittŭ (Fig. 30), and at the ankles with tapes, called taenim (Fig. 30). Instead of taenim, for the commoners and outcasts, puttees, called haengchŏn (Fig. 33), were wrapped around the lower parts of pants. Ch'ima is a high waisted wrap skirt with a full shirring: it has an opening at either side of the back. Dancing girls, courtesans, and concubines had this opening at the left back; while other women had at the right back. Ch'ima is fastened at the breast with two ties that are attached to each side of the wide waistband. All performers

of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut wore these body garments. Ch'oraengi and imae might wear a black vest over their jackets, judging from Kim Jin-Goo's statement: "the male slaves wore a kind of black vest or jumper over their jackets and trousers."<sup>34</sup>

In the Yi dynasty men wore various coats according to their social status and formal occasions. A high-ranking government official, whether civil or military, wore elaborate coats on special occasions. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, yangban is not in a special occasion. Thus he would wear ordinary street coats: top'o and turumagi. Top'o (Fig. 34) is a very loose, long coat with very wide sleeves and openings at side seams and center back. Turumagi (Fig. 35)<sup>35</sup> is another coat worn under top'o. It is a loose, long coat, but not so much as top'o; it has narrower sleeves and no openings. A Confucianist like sonbi wore ch'angŭi (Fig. 36) instead of turumagi and top'o. Ch'angŭi is similar to turumagi in shape, but has borders in different color all around the edges. Outcasts were not allowed to wear coats, while commoners could wear coats.<sup>36</sup> In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, ttŏktari might wear only one coat--turumagi. Among the unmasked performers, sanju, k'ŭn-kwangdae, mask-keeper, and village

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<sup>34</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, p. 155.

<sup>35</sup>In fact, its original name was chungch'imak.

<sup>36</sup>Chŏng-Hŭi Cho, Hanbok (Korean Clothes: 한복) (Seoul: Hyŏngsŏl Ch'ulp'ansa, 1984), p. 34.

volunteers would wear both outer coats. Pyŏlch'ae, a low-ranking government official, wore an official robe suited to his rank. However, his outfit is not known exactly. A monk wore a clerical robe, called changsam (Fig. 37) and a patched rectangle cope, called kasa (Fig. 38). In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut chung might not wear kasa, since it was worn in special formal occasions. Changsam is a loose coat with very wide sleeves, almost reaching to the hemline of bodice.

As for women's outer garments, upper-class women wore, on formal occasions, a wide sleeved robe, called wŏnsam and/or elaborate ceremonial dress with water sleeves, called hwalot. Hwalot was one of the most colorfully designed and richly embroidered robes. Wŏnsam and hwalot were permitted to common-class women for an exceptional case--the wedding ceremony.<sup>37</sup> In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, kaksi might wear these robes or at least wŏnsam (Fig. 39) over her jacket in the Wedding scene. But there is no evidence in existing sources that kaksi wore outer garments. Other female characters did not wear outer garments. However, female shamans wore military outer garments: a robe and a sleeveless cover. (Fig. 40).

Married men wore a variety of hats, while single men did not. Outcasts wore no hats. "The lowest class in the Yi dynasty were not allowed hats, wide sleeved costumes,

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<sup>37</sup> Chŏng-Hŭi Cho, pp. 236 and 238.

or sashes."<sup>38</sup> Women wore veils instead of hats to conceal their faces. There are two types of veils: (1) a long veil, called changot in a similar shape of turumagi (a coat); (2) a short veil, called ssugae-ch'ima whose shape was similar to ch'ima (skirt).<sup>39</sup> The long veil was used by the higher-class women, while the short one was used by the lower-class women. Among the outcasts dancing girls and courtesans were allowed to wear the short veil. As for hairstyle, married men had topknots, called sangt'u, while single men and women had pigtails tied with tapes or streamers. Married men wore manggŏn, a headband used to keep topknots in place, and a black horsehair hat with a wide brim, called kat, over the manggŏn. Kat (Fig. 41) was exclusively used by the upper class. Married women had chignons tied with a dark red tape and placed with a long hair pin.

In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, according to Choe Sang-Su, Yu Han-Sang, and Sŏng Byong-Hŭi, yangban wore chŏngchakwan (Fig. 42), a four-pointed, brimless, horsehair hat with open top. As for sŏnbi's hat, there is a disagreement. Choe and Sŏng said that he wore yukŏn (Fig. 43), a Confucian's ceremonial hat made of black hemp-cloth, while Yu argued it was kat.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, p. 143.

<sup>39</sup>This categorization is made based on three references. Ju-Sŏn Sŏk, p. 64. Jin-Goo Kim, p. 133. Chŏng-Hŭi Cho, pp. 37-38.

<sup>40</sup>See n. 1 above.

Other minor performers, wearing top'o, wore kat. Monks had their hair shaved and wore kokkal (Fig. 44), a peaked hat. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut chung performer kept his hair in a topknot. Pyŏlch'ae wore ch'orip (Fig. 45), a straw brimmed hat decorated with peacock feathers. Female shamans also wore this hat. Ch'onggak had a pigtail tied with black tape in the beginning of the play. But he might have a topknot in the Wedding scene and afterwards to indicate his new marital status. Ttŏktari would not wear a hat, since he is indoors in the play. The lowest-class characters such as paekchŏng, ch'oraengi, and imae wore a headband or a headscarf instead of a hat. All female characters did not wear hats nor veils. Kaksi and pune, however, might wear a short type of veils, called ssugae-ch'ima (Fig. 46), when they were outdoors.

Concerning the footwear, upper-class men wore leather shoes, embroidered at center back and on toes, while upper-class women wore embroidered silk shoes. The hemp-cord shoes, called mit'uri were widely used by all classes. The commoners and outcasts wore straw shoes, called chipsin, clogs, and mit'uri as well. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut yangban and sŏnbi might wear leather shoes or mit'uri (Fig. 47). Other characters wore chipsin (Fig. 48) or mit'uri. As for socks, all classes wore white socks with upturned toes, called pŏsŏn (Fig. 49).

In the Yi dynasty women wore more undergarments than in the previous period. Generally, they wore two inner

jackets, sokchŏgori and sokchŏksam; two inner skirts, sokch'ima (Fig. 50) and tansokot (Fig. 51); and two pairs of inner pants, paji (Fig. 52) and soksokkot (Fig. 53).<sup>41</sup>

Sokchŏgori and sokchŏksam are in a similar shape of chŏgori (jacket), except that they are smaller and shorter than chŏgori. Sokch'ima is a long slip, while tansokot is a long, pleated dividing skirt. Paji is calf-length drawers worn between soksokkot and tansokkot, while soksokkot, another drawers, is a little shorter than paji and worn next to the skin. Men also wore undergarments such as an inner jacket and inner pants. They are in a similar shape of body garments. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut female characters might not wear all undergarments, but at least one inner jacket, one inner skirt, and one inner pants. Halmi might wear fewer undergarments than kaksi and pune.

As for the material, cotton was increasingly used during the Yi dynasty and became one of the major materials used for garments. Hemp, ramie, and a variety of silk were also used for garments. In addition, fur, leather, rush, straw, wood, bamboo, paper, horsehair, and feathers were used for trimmings, interfacings, shoes, hats, and accessories. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the characters of the higher class wore silk and finer cotton, while others wore less fine cotton

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<sup>41</sup>Hŭi-Kyŏng Yu, "Chŏgori wa Ch'inŭiryu" (Jackets and Undergarments: 저고리와 친의류), Hanguk ŭi Poksik, pp.212-16.

and hemp. Pune might wear plain woven inexpensive silk, since dancing girls were allowed to wear silks. Paekchŏng might wear hemp. Since ramie was used for summer clothes, it was not used in the costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut.

Concerning the color, white was still the predominant color in all classes and both sexes. Since 1670s blue has been encouraged for use in clothing of all classes by the government.<sup>42</sup> In spite of the government order, the white color never disappeared among the people. "By 1800 the white color had regained the prominent role it plays in the dress of Korean adults to this day."<sup>43</sup> Purple was monopolized by the king and his royal family. Monks wore grey, but their clerical cope was brown or its shades. Yellow was used in common-class women's jackets, while gold was used only for the king's robes. Green was used in higher-class women's formal dresses and veils, and in low-ranking officials' robes.

The higher-class characters of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut wore blue; however, they never gave up wearing white and shades of sky blue or light jade green. Pyŏlch'ae wore a green official robe. Chung wore grey. Kaksi wore a yellow jacket and a blue skirt. Pune wore a blue or indigo skirt and a yellow jacket with borders in blue or maroon on the

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<sup>42</sup>Ju-Sŏn Sŏk, p. 157.

<sup>43</sup>Osgood, p. 233.

edges of the sleeves and around the collar. This jacket with borders in different color is called ban-hoejang chŏgori (literally, "jacket of half-ornamental edgings") (Fig. 54). If a woman's jacket has another ornamental edging on the sections of underarms, it is called sam-hoejang chŏgori ("jacket of three-ornamental edgings") (Fig. 55). In both cases, the tie-ribbons attached to the front bodice are usually made of the fabric used in borders, but sometimes of a different fabric in contrasting color. Kim Jin-Goo describes a limitation on dancing girl's costumes:

Dancing girls were allowed to wear silks and luxurious costumes; however, they were not allowed to wear the decorative jacket called the samhoejang chŏgori, or lined skirts. They were allowed to wear unlined skirts with the less decorated jacket called the banhoejang chŏgori.<sup>44</sup>

Other characters wore white including various shades from yellowish hemp-cloth color to sky blue to light jade green.

The general silhouette of the Yi dynasty until 1894 was much fuller and wider than that of the Koryŏ dynasty. However, women's jackets became shorter and tighter: they could not even cover the wide waistband of skirt well enough. Dancing girls during the later Yi dynasty wore a very short jacket to show the waistband of skirt to increase the erotic appeal. They had her skirt opened at the left back and wore sokch'ima (slip) longer than a skirt to show their profes-

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<sup>44</sup>Jin-Goo Kim, p. 155.

sion.<sup>45</sup> In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the upper-class characters had a fuller and wider silhouette than the lower-class characters. As for the silhouette of female characters' costumes, halmi had a pencil-shaped contour, while pune had a bell-shaped contour. Kaksi had a contour between that of halmi and pune. A bell-shaped contour was achieved by wearing several layers of undergarments and by using more fabric both in inner skirts and an outer skirt.

Korean costume has been changed enormously since kapokyŏngchang, the renovation for modernization, happened in 1894. The clothing became simplified, economized, and democratized. The wide sleeved robe was prohibited: instead, the robe with less wide sleeves was encouraged. Thus the upper class wore only one outer garment, that is, turumagi which was originally worn under dop'o. Class differentiation in the clothing was gradually diminished. The outcasts were allowed to wear hats, big sleeves, and sashes. Women began to wear a coat, turumagi. And women's veils declined in use.<sup>46</sup>

The basic garment after kapokyŏngchang remained the same as in the earlier period. However, men began to wear more body garments over chŏgori (jacket), especially in

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<sup>45</sup>Chŏng-Hŭi Cho, p. 36.

<sup>46</sup>Kyŏng-Ja Son, "Kaehwaki ŭi Yŏpok" (Female Clothing in the Period of Modernization: 개화기의 여복), Hanguk ŭi Poksik, p. 432,

winter: chokki (vest) (Fig. 56) and magoja (over jacket) (Fig. 57). This new manner of wearing three-piece upper garments by men can be explained as a result of cultural influence from the Western countries. With the aid of modern technology and Western influence, buttons and pockets were introduced and attached to chokki and magoja. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the upper-class characters would wear three-piece upper garments, while other male characters did not.

Concerning the outer garment, top'o was not worn any more, but turumagi was widely used as an outer garment. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, however, the upper-class characters seemed to wear top'o, according to the records by Yu, Choe, and Sŏng.<sup>47</sup> The female characters did not wear an outer garment.

Hats were widely used among all classes. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, yangban and sŏnbi seemed to wear the same hat as in the earlier period. Other higher-class characters might wear kat (black horsehair hat with wide brim). The lowest-class characters wore various headgear. Two servants such as ch'oraengi and imae wore pŏnggŏji (Fig. 58). It is a felt hat, originally worn by soldiers and official servants in the late nineteenth century. Paekchŏng (butcher) wore p'yŏngryanglip, also called p'aeraengi (Fig. 59), made of

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<sup>47</sup>See n. 1 above.

bamboo splits. Chung (monk) wore kokkal as in the earlier period. All male characters might not wear topknots, since the edict was issued to cut off topknot and adopt the Western hairstyle in 1895. The female characters did not wear hats nor veils. Halmi is said to wear a white headscarf. It is actually a towel or cloth-piece used to cover the head when one is working.

The footwear seemed to be changed little. Yangban and sŏnbi might wear leather shoes or hemp-cord shoes, called mit'uri. Other male characters wore mit'uri. All female characters wore straw shoes, called chipsin. As for the undergarments, there was little change in both sexes. but women wore fewer undergarments than in the earlier period.

Concerning the material, with the introduction of man-made fibers into Korea, synthetic fabrics began to be manufactured and widely used for clothing in the twentieth century. Rubber was used for making shoes. Female rubber shoes had upturned toes, while those of men had flat tops. Nevertheless, synthetic fabrics and rubber shoes were very expensive items in the early twentieth century. Thus they were not frequently used in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut until its last production in 1928. From the end of the 1950s, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut began to be recognized as one of traditional theatres and has been reproduced at times by amateur groups since then. In the reproductions of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, most

characters wore synthetic fabrics instead of silk, cotton, or hemp-cloth. One of the Western influence was also seen in socks. The male characters did not wear pŏsŏn, the traditional Korean socks, but the modern Western style socks.

Concerning the color, the same color was still kept as was used in the earlier period. White was still the dominant color for clothing. The lower class were allowed to wear more colors. Young women preferred a red or crimson skirt. A bride wore a green or yellow-green jacket and a red or crimson skirt. Sometimes kaksi wore these bride costumes in the reproduction of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, since she was mistaken for a bride.

The silhouette has been changed constantly, especially in young women's clothing. The tight, short jacket showing the wide waistband of skirt became loose and long enough to cover the waistband.<sup>48</sup> Besides, the waistband of skirt became narrower. The sleeves of women's and men's jackets became curvier, providing more rooms inside. The proportion of ornamental edgings to the bodice and sleeves in women's jackets such as ban-hoejang chŏgori and sam-hoejang chŏgori was aesthetically developed. Halmi wore a longer jacket and a less full skirt than other female characters.

Let us now discuss chujŏ (imaginary animal) perform-

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<sup>48</sup> Kyŏng-Ja Son, p. 427.

er's costumes briefly, before turning to the hand properties. There are two chuji masks, representing one female and one male. According to Yu Han-Sang, actors were covered with red clothes.<sup>49</sup> He did not indicate whether the cloth piece had seams or not. Sŏng Byong-Hŭi had a different opinion. He said: "actors were clad in hemp-cloth sacks with a small opening on the top, so that they could stick their hands out to hold chuji mask."<sup>50</sup> I agree with Sŏng. Hemp-cloth sacks were widely used in rural areas to keep dry agricultural products such as grains, potatos, dried peppers, etc. Thus these sacks could easily came to the hands of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut performers. Even if chuji performers were originally covered with other kinds of clothes, they could substitute the hemp-cloth sacks for other kinds. Concerning the color, the natural hemp-cloth color seemed to be kept. Two male actors wore these hemp-cloth sacks to cover whole bodies from their head to calves. Under the hemp-cloth sacks, they wore men's body garments, that is, jacket and pants, although their masks represent one male and one female.

Among the fourteen masked performers, five actors seemed to employ hand properties on the stage: yangban, sŏnbi, chung, paekchŏng, and halmi. The table 6 illustrates the hand properties for each role.

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<sup>49</sup>See n. 1 above.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

TABLE 6  
HAND PROPERTIES

| Role                 | Hand Properties                |
|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| Yangban (Aristocrat) | a folding fan                  |
| Sŏnbi (Scholar)      | a long pipe, a folding fan     |
| Chung (Monk)         | a cane, a long Buddhist rosary |
| Paekchŏng (Butcher)  | a mesh bag, an ax, a knife     |
| Halmi (Old Woman)    | a small gourd dipper           |

SOURCE: The Bureau of Cultural Property Preservation, Hahoe Pyŏlsin-Kut T'alnori (Hahoe Pyŏlsin-Kut Mask Play: 하회 별신굿 탈놀이), by Duhyun Lee and U-Sŏng Sim, A Report Paper 133 to Designate as an Intangible Cultural Property (Seoul: The Bureau of Cultural Property Preservation, 1980), pp. 29-31.

About the mesh bag, it was a shoulder bag, plaited with hemp-cord or rush. The ax and knife were made of wood. The gourd dipper was made of a half-gourd. Among the minor performers, shamans could use hand properties, since they usually use one or two folding fans and a small bell tree in performing the shaman ritual.

To sum up, the costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut were more realistic than those of the Chinese or Japanese theatres, and even more realistic than other Korean mask-dance theatre groups. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was carefully costumed to indicate the character's differences in sex, age, marital status, occupation, and social class and rank. Korean clothing styles have been constantly changed: likewise, the

costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut have undergone a long process of change from its first production to its last, since they were adopted from the clothing worn in the same period.

The court dress and upper-class official dress of Korea were elaborate, many-colored, decorative, and rich in the material. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, however, we cannot see the elaborate and decorative garments. It may be explained as follows. First, most characters are common-class and lowest-class people; and the upper-class characters are not in official, formal occasions in the play. Second, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, like other Korean mask-dance theatre groups, was not a theatre for aristocrats. It was performed by the commoners for the commoners themselves, although other class people were welcomed as spectators and sponsors. Third, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, unlike other Korean mask-dance theatre groups, was not produced under the auspices of rich merchants. It was a theatre of peasants, a theatre in a farm village or a rural community, while other groups were mostly theatres of merchants, theatres in towns or urban communities. As a result, the costumes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could not be rich in materials, decoration, and design.

In the reproduction of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, actors wore the costumes which followed the lines of the later Yi period. But the costumes cannot be exactly the same style as those worn in the original hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, as long as we use new fabric, new technology of dyeing and cutting, new

aesthetic sense in proportion and contour, and new actors whose physical size and proportion differ from those of old performers.

## CHAPTER VI

### MUSIC AND DANCE

In all groups of Korean mask-dance theatre, music and dance are indispensable. In some cases, actors depend on music and dance more than they do on dialogue. However, the music and dance of Korean mask-dance theatre have not been the subjects of special studies; rather, they have been summarily treated as a part of general studies of Korean music and dance such as those by Chang Sa-Hun, Yi Hye-Ku, and Sung Kyong-Rin.<sup>1</sup> In this chapter, however, I will discuss, from the theatrical point of view, the music and dance of hahoe pyölsin-kut in comparison with other groups of Korean mask-dance theatre, i.e., the "town-type" groups. The significant differences between them will be invaluable to a proper understanding of hahoe pyölsin-kut.

Korean mask-dance theatre is accompanied by music.

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<sup>1</sup>Sa-Hun Chang, Kugak ūi Yöksa (History of Korean Music: 국악의 역사) (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyöom Saöbhoe, 1977). Hye-Ku Yi, Essays on Korean Traditional Music, trans. and ed. Robert C. Province (Seoul: Computer Press, 1981).  
Hanguk Ūmak Sösöl (An Introduction of Korean Music: 한국 음악 서설) (Seoul: Seoul National University, 1967).  
Hanguk Ūmak Yöнку (A Study of Korean Music: 한국 음악 연구) (Seoul: Kugminūmak Yöнкуhoe, 1957). Kyong-Rin Sung, Hanguk ūi Muyong (The Dance of Korea: 한국무용) (Seoul: Sejong Taewang Kinyöom Saöbhoe, 1976).

There are two types of music played for Korean mask-dance theatre. They differ in terms of accompanying instruments, performing postures, and performing styles. One is nongak (農樂), meaning "farmer's music"; and the other is samhyŏnyukgak (三絃大角), which means literally "three-winds-six-horns." Nongak is used in the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre and one regional group of the "town-type" one such as yaryu and okwangdae in South Kyŏngsang province, while samhyŏnyukgak is played for all the other "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. In the case of yaryu and okwangdae, samhyŏnyukgak was originally played; however, in recent times percussion instruments, of which nongak orchestra is composed, began to be used.<sup>2</sup>

The nongak orchestra consists of kkwaenggwari (small gong), ching (large gong), changgo (hourglass drum), puk (barrel drum), and sogo (small drum). The small gong player, called sangsoe, has the function of leader in the orchestra: he establishes the time and provides various rhythmic patterns. Sometimes t'aep'yŏngso (conical oboe) and nabal (trumpet) complete the orchestra. T'aep'yŏngso and nabal are wind instruments, while the others are percussion instruments. And t'aep'yŏngso is the only melodic instrument in nongak.

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<sup>2</sup>Duhyun Lee, Hanguk ŭi Kamyŏngŭk (The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea: 한국 가면극) (Seoul: Iljisa, 1979), p. 251.

Concerning the number of instruments of samhyŏnyukgak, there are many different opinions. According to the pictorial evidence painted by the great painters in the Yi dynasty such as Kim Hong-Do and Sin Yun-Bok, samhyŏnyukgak are composed of two hyang-p'iri (bamboo oboe), one taegum (large transverse flute), one haegum (two-stringed fiddle), one changgo (hourglass drum), and one puk (barrel drum).<sup>3</sup> Samhyŏnyukgak has more melodic instruments in contrast with nongak. Another difference is found in a posture of musicians. The musicians of samhyŏnyukgak play music sitting on the stage, while nongak players perform in a standing position.

Although samhyŏnyukgak has more melodic instruments such as wind and string than percussion instruments, rhythm is more important than melody in the music of Korean mask-dance theatre. Likewise, percussion instruments are more important than other kinds of instruments. Lee Meewon states that "though there are melodic instruments, changgo, a percussion instrument, is the basic instrument of all kamyŏngŭk [Korean mask-dance theatre], and any kamyŏngŭk can be performed to the rhythm of the changgo alone."<sup>4</sup> Her statement must be confined to the "town-type" mask-dance

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<sup>3</sup>Sa-Hun Chang, p. 150.

<sup>4</sup>Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983), p. 177.

theatre, because in the music of the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre, kkwaenggwari (small gong) leads the orchestra and accentuates the rhythm.

Since this paper concerns hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, I will discuss its accompanying music, nongak. First I will examine its history briefly. The origin of nongak is said to derive from the ancient times when the agricultural society of Korea was established. Nongak has been developed mainly by peasants since that time. It has been changed and influenced by association with the military and with Buddhism. However, as seen from the literal meaning of farmer's music, nongak is closely related with the agricultural society and its culture. Nongak can be divided into five categories according to its nature, purpose, and different period of development: (1) labor nongak, (2) prayer nongak, (3) military nongak, (4) collection nongak, and (5) entertainment nongak.<sup>5</sup>

Labor nongak was played to help the farmers increase their efficiency at work. The farmers of a village worked in collaboration and with a perfect unity to the accompaniment of nongak--to its rhythm. It was performed for the rice-planting and for the weeding of rice fields. This type of nongak is believed the oldest form of nongak.

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<sup>5</sup>Mu-Yŏl Ryu, ed. Hanguk ŭi Nongak (The Farmer's Music of Korea: 한국의 농악) (Kangwŏndo: Kangwŏn Ilbosa, 1983), p. 10.

Prayer nongak was also related to farming. It is, in a broader sense, a ritual, i.e., a praying to gods for prosperity and fertility in agricultural products and for peace and luck in the households. This type of nongak was performed in the harvest time and the seedtime. It was also played in a ritual service to pray for rain. Another ritual whose music belongs to the category of prayer nongak was a village ritual to worship a tutelary deity.

Military nongak was used in military training and during war time. It had the purpose of raising the martial spirit of one's own forces and dispiriting the enemy. In addition to the military nongak, there is a separate category of military music. It is called the royal military music, since its band accompanies a king's procession. "The royal military music was mainly performed by two groups of bands: a louder band leading the procession of a king, and a softer band to follow the king's procession."<sup>6</sup> The front band is called taech'wit'a and consists of more nongak instruments than the rear band, called ch'iwit'a.

Collection nongak derived from the Buddhist monks' collecting contributions during the Yi dynasty, when Buddhism was officially rejected and replaced by Confucianism as a national religion or doctrine. As Buddhism descended

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<sup>6</sup>Bang-Song Song, "Introduction to the Traditional Music of Korea," Korean Music and Dance (Seoul: Foundation for the Preservation of Cultural Properties, 1981), p. 14.

in power, the monks lost their financial resources. "Laws were made prohibiting women from visiting monasteries, monks were stopped from congregating to pray for rain, and land was taken from them and restored to the people."<sup>7</sup> In the last half of the fifteenth century, there was an edict against monks attending or praying at funerals. In other words, the monks were deprived of any financial resources both from the court and from the common people. This kind of situation lasted until 1895. "Antagonism reached a high point in 1472 when all monks were finally driven out of the capital and the city prohibited to them. With the exception of a few intervals, this rule seems to have remained in effect until 1895."<sup>8</sup>

As a result, the monks in a group traveled around the villages in the countryside and tried to get some donations from the village people. Usually the donation was grains such as rice, barley, wheat, etc. Therefore this activity was called kŏlrip, meaning "to beg for grains." The monks played music with the praying in a simple singing style as a reward for the grain, as well as to appeal to villagers' concerns. When they set out to collect donations, they wore colorful paper flowers, symbolizing Buddha's head,

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<sup>7</sup>Cornelius Osgood, The Koreans and Their Culture (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1951), p. 248.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 249.

on their peaked hats. Their custom of wearing flower head-dresses in playing music for the collection remains in the customs of today's nongak players. The collection nongak has also been played by villagers later, in imitation of Buddhist monks, to raise funds for expenses for village benefits.

Entertainment nongak has been established last and performed by a group of professional players. The entertainment includes dance, acrobatics, and singing, as well as music. The players give a variety of entertainment in a group and by an individual. The most spectacular part of the performance is an acrobatic-like dance: spinning a long paper streamer suspended from the tip of a hat. It is performed by the sogo (small drum) player. The long streamer varies in length, and the longest streamer is twelve fathoms long, measuring about twenty-seven feet. This long streamer dancer, called sangmu, gives various kinds of amusement to the spectator by using his head and neck. He can spin his twelve-fathoms-long streamer in huge circles above and below him and around either side of his body, and then skip in and out of the spinning circles. When the music becomes quicker and louder, he spins faster and faster.<sup>9</sup>

As examined above, nongak has been played for

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<sup>9</sup>Alan Heyman, Dances of the Three-Thousand-League Land (Seoul: Computer Press, 1981), pp. 30-33. He describes the dance of the entertainment nongak in detail.

several purposes, but has been mainly related with farming and farmers. This fact is clear in today's nongak. The nongak orchestra of today is generally led by a flag-bearer, who carries long standard suspended from a tall bamboo pole. The inscription on the standard always reads as follows: Farmers are the Principals of the World. Nongak has been also developed and changed in association with the military and Buddhism. As for the music of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, it belongs to the category of prayer nongak.

Let us now discuss the musical instruments of nongak in detail. Kkwaenggwari (small gong) (Fig. 60) is, except for its size, exactly the same as ching (large gong) in shape. Both of them are made of metal and look like round, shallow basins. To a Westerner, they appear to be no more than "common kitchen utensils."<sup>10</sup> Kkwaenggwari is played with a wooden mallet and its sound is very high and sharp in contrast to that of ching. In the nongak orchestra the kkwaenggwari player is a leader. He controls other players and initiates changes in dance forms and rhythmic patterns by means of his instrument. Kkwaenggwari is also called soe, meaning "metal." Thus its rhythmic pattern is called soe-karag (karag means "rhythm"). Its other name is sogŭm, meaning "small metal." "In the royal ancestral shrine music,

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<sup>10</sup> Alan Heyman, "Korean Folk Music and Dance," Folk Culture in Korea, ed. International Cultural Foundation (Seoul: The Si-Sa-Yong-O-Sa Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 95.

in which it is no longer played, it was called the sogŭm."<sup>11</sup>

Ching (large gong) (Fig. 61) is also struck with a wooden mallet, but whose tip has a cloth or deerskin wrapping. Thus its sound is not so high as the sound of kkwaenggari. Both ching and kkwaenggari have two holes at the top, through which a cord is suspended. In nongak ching provides only the fundamental punctuation or beats of a certain rhythmic cycle, called changdan, in contrast to kkwaenggari, which produces various rhythmic patterns.<sup>12</sup> Ching is also called na, meaning "metal," or taegŭm, meaning "large metal." Ching was originally used in the military and later introduced into the farmer's music. "The large gong was used by the army together with the drum, the former being a signal for retreat and the latter for advance. Later it came to be used in the military processional band, farmer's band, shamanist and Buddhist music, and royal ancestral shrine music."<sup>13</sup>

Changgo or changgu (Fig. 62) is usually translated as an hourglass drum because of its hourglass shape. It is a double-headed drum pinched in at the middle. Thus its

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<sup>11</sup>Hye-Ku Yi, ed. Korean Musical Instruments, trans. Alan C. Heyman (Seoul: National Classical Music Institute of Korea, 1982), p. 13.

<sup>12</sup>Bang-Song Song, "Music Instruments of Korea," Korean Music and Dance, pp. 46-47.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 46.

other name is seyoko, which means literally "slender-waist-drum." Today changgo is used most frequently for almost all kinds of music in Korea. Song Bang-Song gives a brief history of changgo from the period of Three Kingdoms until today:

The hourglass drum is the Korean counterpart of the Chinese chang-ku and the Japanese san no tsuzumi in the gagaku performance. The Korean changgo is larger than those of Japan and China. Ancient pictures of the instrument are found in mural painting in Koguryō tombs and inscribed on the body of various Buddhist bells of the Unified Silla kingdom. According to the History of Koryō (Koryōsa), the record of the hour-glass drum can be traced to the reign of King Munjong (1047-1082). Since the early period of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) the changgo has been used in court music performance, and today it is the most frequently used accompaniment instrument for almost all kinds of Korean music.<sup>14</sup>

Changgo has two heads made of leather. The left head is called pukp'yŏn and is usually made of the thicker skin such as white-horse skin or oxhide, while the right head, called ch'aep'yŏn, is made of regular horse skin.<sup>15</sup> The center-pitched body is made of ceramics, tile, or wood. Wood, however, especially paulownia, is used mostly because of its quality of sound. The left head, made of the thicker skin, is played with a palm, and thus sounds are soft and low. The right head, made of the thinner skin, is played with bamboo stick, called yŏlch'ae (Fig. 62); thus sounds are hard and high in contrast to those of the left head.

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>15</sup>Mu-Yŏl Ryu, p. 59.

The sound can be controlled in tone by sliding the belts that encircle the V-shaped laces to the right or to the left side. The belt is called ch'uksu or chorigae and has the function of tightening or loosening the tension of the drum heads. There are eight belts for changgo. Kalgo (Fig. 63), another type of hourglass drum, is similar to changgo in terms of shape and size. Kalgo, however, differs from changgo in the following points: (1) kalgo has thin skins on both heads, (2) both heads are struck with bamboo sticks, and (3) it is braced with belts on both sides and thus there are sixteen belts. "Kalgo is believed to have been used from the eighteenth century, according to the literary source on the reign of King Yŏngjo (1725-1776)."<sup>16</sup> Kalgo is no longer in use, whereas changgo is used widely for almost all traditional Korean music.

Changgo varies in its performing styles, depending on the nature of the music. In the case of farmer's music and shaman music, the left head is struck with a wooden mallet, called kunggurich'ae or pangmangi, while the right head is struck with a bamboo stick.<sup>17</sup> Kunggurich'ae is made of bamboo and in its tip is stuck a round ball made of birch

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<sup>16</sup> Bang-Song Song, "Music Instruments of Korea," p. 56.

<sup>17</sup> Yong-Jin Kim, Kugakki Haesŏl (Comments on the Korean Musical Instruments: 국악기 해설) (Seoul: Kugminumak Yonkuhoe, 1976), p. 140.

wood. In nongak changgo is hung from the player's one shoulder across the back and tied at the waist, so that it is placed close to his body. Since a performer plays changgo in a standing position in nongak (he can even walk or dance playing changgo), his performing style is called sŏl-changgo, implying standing-changgo.

Puk (Fig. 64) is a barrel shaped drum with two leather heads. In the military processional band this drum is called yonggo, meaning literally "dragon drum." At this time this drum is slung over the shoulder of the player with a string, passing through the metal rings at both sides of the rim. It is played with two soft-headed mallets with one head facing upward like a snare drum. On the other hand, in nongak it is carried vertically with the rim facing upward, suspended on a string around the left shoulder. It is played with one mallet for the right head, while the left head is held with the left hand. Puk is the only accompanying instrument in p'ansori, the operatic traditional theatre of Korea, which was developed in the eighteenth century. Here this drum is called soripuk. A musician plays soripuk sitting in front of it. The right head is struck with a mallet, while the left head is struck with the left palm. Now we can see that the names of Korean musical instruments vary according to the type of music in which they are used.

Sogo (small drum) (Fig. 65) is another leather-made membrano-phone in nongak. This small drum has a stick

handle. The player holds the handle with the left hand, while he plays either side of drum heads with a wooden rod. "This small drum can be compared with the Western tambourine, but it has a handle and is struck by a wooden rod, while the tambourine is without a handle and is struck by hand."<sup>18</sup> Sogo has another popular name--maegupuk. Its physical size and performing styles vary in various localities.

T'aep'yŏngso (conical oboe) (Fig. 66), also called saenab, hojŏk, and nallari, is the only melodic instrument in nongak. "T'aep'yŏngso, literally meaning Great Piece Oboe, is of the same family as the Chinese sona, Persian zurna, and Indian surna. . . . It is thought to have been introduced into Korea from Yuan dynasty of China around the thirteenth or the fourteenth century."<sup>19</sup> It has seven finger holes on the front and one hole on the back. Its tube is made of wood, while its conical end is made of metal. T'aep'yŏngso has a high, penetrating tone and has a range of one and half octaves. It has been used in the military processional music and other court occasions, and introduced later into nongak during the Yi dynasty.

Nabal (Fig. 67) is usually translated as clarion, but it can be compared with the Western trumpet. Nabal is

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<sup>18</sup>Bang-Song Song, "Music Instruments of Korea," p. 57.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 34.

the only brass-wind instrument among the Korean musical instruments. It has no finger holes nor valves; and it sounds only one sustained tone. According to Song Bang-Song, "it is now played exclusively in the military processional band where its one-tone drone alternates with the conch shell horn."<sup>20</sup> On the other hand, Ryu Mu-Yŏl and Lee Meewon state that nabal is used in nongak.<sup>21</sup> In the present nongak, however, nabal is rarely used. In the case of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, nabal is excluded and t'aep'yŏngso was sometimes used. In its last performance in 1928, however, only four kinds of percussion instruments were used: kkwaenggwari, ching, chang-go, and puk.<sup>22</sup>

As seen above, the nongak orchestra is largely composed of percussion instruments. In other words, rhythm is more important than melody in nongak. The rhythmic pattern of nongak varies according to locality and performing groups. And there are numbers of regional styles. Each regional style has its own organization, costumes, techniques, dance, and acrobatics, as well as rhythmic patterns.

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., pp. 34-35.

<sup>21</sup>See Mu-Yŏl Ryu, p. 12 and Meewon Lee, p. 177.

<sup>22</sup>Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin T'alnori" (Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mask Play: 하회 별신 탈놀이), Hanguk Minsokhak 12 (August 1980): 97. Since his record was based on the memory and experience of Lee Ch'ang-Hee who played the role of kaksi in the last performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut in 1928, we may conjecture that hahoe pyŏlsin-kut employed four kinds of percussion instruments in the early twentieth century.

As for the music of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, its rhythmic pattern follows the style of Kyŏngsang-province nongak.

Although Korean mask-dance theatre is not a musical theatre, it has songs. They provide the atmosphere of the scenes, reveal the situation of the singers (characters), and add to the theatricality of the drama. Lee Meewon states that the song mainly aims to enhance the merry mood rather than to directly help the development of plot:

According to a performer's statement, the nature of songs performed during any show are dependent upon the actor's ability. If an actor sings well, the actor's role tends to have more songs. In other words, the insertion of songs in kamyŏngŭk is flexible. This flexibility is further proof that songs are present for enjoyment rather than plot development in kamyŏngŭk.<sup>23</sup>

This statement does not apply to hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. As in other mask-dance theatre, in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the song does not help the development of plot, and neither does the song enhance the merry mood.

According to the transcription by Yu Han-Sang, there are three songs in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. The first song is sung by halmi (old woman). The content of her song is about the life-long sufferings of her life as a housewife. The second song is about the landscape of Hahoe village and is sung by ttŏktari, the husband of halmi. About the last song, its contents and the singers are not indicated. It is just noted that the players sang and danced. According to

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<sup>23</sup>Meewon Lee, p. 190.

other transcribers such as Sŏng Byong-Hŭi and The Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, there is only one song by halmi and it has the same content as that of Yu Han-Sang's transcription. In other words, the song has nothing to do with the merry mood, but provides the atmosphere of the scene and reveals the situation of the singer. The theatricality of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut depends on music and dance rather than on song.

Now let us discuss the dance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut in detail. Unlike the "town-type" mask-dance theatre, the dance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is not elaborate, vigorous, nor diverse, but confined to the style of Korean folk dance. In looking at the dances of the "town-type" groups, we can divide them into three types: (1) the t'alch'um style of Hwanghae province, (2) the sandae style of Kyŏngki province, and (3) the tŏtpoegi style of Kyŏngsang province. The characteristics of three types are as follows:

The T'alch'um-dance and the Sandae-dance are especially contrasting. While the Sandae-dance is generally elaborate and has various and delicate movements, the T'alch'um-dance is basically vigorous and manly. Thus the Sandae-dance makes small movements and little jumps, while the T'alch'um-dance has many jumps and big movements. Tŏtpoegi-dance stands between the two dances.<sup>24</sup>

The common feature of dance in Korean mask-dance theatre is to show the characteristics and sentiments of the dancers (characters). The dance is employed to fit the mood

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 173.

of the performing place and the atmosphere of the scenes. In fact, like other Oriental theatres, all stage movements are related to dance, since they are rhythmical and mimetic. The stage gestures, however, have not been codified: they are rather realistic and improvisatory.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut does not employ a specific dance for each role, while other "town-type" groups have many dance styles played by each character. Instead, the methods of walking are very important in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. They vary with each role and can be guidelines of action for each role. The methods of walking are illustrated in table 7.

TABLE 7  
METHODS OF WALKING

| Role                 | Methods of Walking                     |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------|
| Kaksi (Young Woman)  | with a soft and light-pressed step     |
| Yangban (Aristocrat) | in large strides like gaits of a stork |
| Sŏnbi (Scholar)      | same as above                          |
| Chung (Monk)         | in swinging walk                       |
| Pune (Dancing Girl)  | with a smart and coquettish step       |
| Halmi (Old Woman)    | with swaying hips                      |
| Paekchŏng (Butcher)  | with a mean and perverse step          |
| Ch'oraengi (Servant) | in a frivolous walk                    |
| Imae (Servant)       | with an unsteady and tottering step    |

NOTE: They are based on many records and the dance interpretation of Yun Byong-Ha, a dancer and mask-maker, with whom I learned them in 1975.

Although the dance style of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is not specific, at least two dances are believed to have been employed. They are the okŭm-dance for pune (dancing girl) and the mongduri-dance for yangban (aristocrat) and sŏnbi (scholar). Both dances were originated in North-Kyŏngsang province, to which Hahoe village belongs. In the mongduri-dance a dancer throws his arms downward from above; and in the okŭm-dance a dancer walks as if he rubs the insides of his knees together. In the last performance in 1928, however, these two dances were not performed, judging from a word by Lee Ch'ang-Hee, the only surviving performer of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. He said that the dance was based on ordinary movements, but added some rhythm to them.<sup>25</sup>

Generally, the dance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is improvisatory. Since hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was held at a deity's command, the dance and stage movements were believed to be played spontaneously as the actors were told to do by the deity. They were dancing freely and joyously as mirth led them. Thus Lee Jae-Ho states that Hahoe dance is not a dance, but a mirth.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, Korean folk dance, on which the dance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is based, reflects freedom of expression and improvisation, and leads to joy and pleasure.

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<sup>25</sup>Quoted in Byong-Hŭi Sŏng, p. 112.

<sup>26</sup>Jae-Ho Lee, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mugŭk Taesa Haesŏl" (Comments on the Dialogue of Hahoe Pyŏlsin Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 무극 대사 해설), Hanguk Munhak 20 (1975): 81.

Korean folk dance, in contrast to the refined grace, controlled elegance, and disciplined restraint of the court dance, is emotional and free in expression and movement. It has developed among the common people; and it is an expression of the simple sentiments of the common people. It is not known exactly when the present form of folk dance was established. We can conjecture, however, Korean folk dance was formulated in ancient times and has changed and developed as the common people developed their consciousness in creating arts and expressing sentiments.

The unique characteristics of Korean folk dance are shoulder movement, hip movement, dancing with bended knees, dancing on heels, economy of movement, and improvisation.

Sung Kyong-Rin describes them in detail:

(1) Shoulder movement--the dancer moving his or her shoulders up and down, left to right, as the mood of the dance heightens; (2) Raising the body lightly and slowly up and down on bended knees; (3) Hip movement in which the body undergoes slight vibration from the hips up; (4) The Heels--the dance starts from the heels rather than from the toes; and (5) Economy of movement which governs all folk dances with one exception, the "nongakch'um" or farm dance. Another characteristics is the art of improvisation and nowhere is this better preserved than in the folk dance.<sup>27</sup>

To Western eyes, like Alan Heyman, the shoulder movement and economy of movement are mostly appreciated. "A discussion of Korean folk dance would be incomplete without mention of

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<sup>27</sup>Kyong-Rin Sung, "Korean Classic Dance," Korea Journal 3 (February 1963): 8.

the dispensation of the concept of time wherein the dancer remains motionless except for the rhythmic motion of the shoulders."<sup>28</sup>

Finally, I would like to talk about the dance of shamans, who are also engaged in performing hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. They are closely involved in two scenes of the drama: "Samsŏk Play" and "The Shaman Ritual." In the scene of "Samsŏk Play" a female shaman, who wears a rabbit-like mask with long ears, is believed to have performed a variety of dances. Since there is no shaman living today, who performed the role or participated in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, it is almost impossible to figure out the details of the dances. In the scene of "The Shaman Ritual" the shaman performs a shamanistic ritual to drive away evil spirits. Concerning the dance, I believe, they performed the shaman dance. Although the shaman dance is performed as a part of ritual, it is very entertaining. "It is probably the freest dance form in Korea and it tends to be quite lively."<sup>29</sup> The shaman dance varies according to locality and performing group or family.<sup>30</sup> However, it shares at least the follow-

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<sup>28</sup>Heyman, "Korean Folk Music and Dance," p. 110.

<sup>29</sup>Byong-Won Lee, "Korean Dance," Korean Music and Dance, p. 74.

<sup>30</sup>In Korea one type of shaman or shamaness, called tanggol or tangol, has a lineal transmission.

ing characteristics: (1) the leaping dance, in which a shaman jumps upward with stretching knees and gets faster and faster in a trance; (2) improvisation, because the shaman dance is considered as an action of god's will.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Kyong-Rin Sung, Hanguk ŭi Muyong, pp. 159 and 186.

## CHAPTER VII

### PLAY

Korean mask-dance theatre has several characteristics of dramatic structure which cannot be found in or compared with Western dramas, if one uses Aristotelian principles. All groups of Korean mask-dance theatre are composed of series of independent scenes or episodes. In fact, it is difficult to divide them into acts or scenes, such as are typical of Western dramas. Each scene is called madang, which means outdoor area or ground. Each scene is independent and there is little causal relationship between successive scenes. This characteristic leads to another one--no consistency of plot throughout the play. Thus Korean mask-dance theatre seems to have either no plot or multiple plots if one takes each scene independently.

Korean mask-dance theatre has been orally transmitted; thus, in a strict sense, it has been rearranged at each production, since its performers improvise their verbal and nonverbal stage expressions. This theatre of improvisation adds flexibility to division of scenes and their arrangement in order. As a result, each of the Korean mask-dance theatre groups can be transcribed in several different ways depending on its recorders. For

example, hahoe pyölsin-kut has been recorded and constructed into five to fourteen scenes under different titles of scenes and arranged in a different order. The table 8 illustrates its different numbers, titles, and orders of scenes by different recorders.<sup>1</sup>

I have reconstructed the text of hahoe pyölsin-kut based on three transcriptions by Yu Han-Sang, by the Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, and by Söng Byong-Hŭi.<sup>2</sup> I translated the reconstruction and appended it to this dissertation. In my reconstruction the scenes are all twelve and are ordered as follows: (1) The Epiphany, (2) Chuji, (3) Samsök Play, (4) Paekchöng, (5) Halmi, (6) The Apostate Monk, (7) Yangban and Sönbi, (8) Pyölch'ae, (9) The Wedding, (10) The Bridal Chamber, (11) The Shaman Ritual, and (12) The Shrine Service. When citing dialogues or monologues, I will use the text of my reconstruction.

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<sup>1</sup>Sang-Su Choe, Hahoe Kamyöngŭk ũi Yöŋku (A Study of Mask Play of Hahoe: 하회 가면극의 연구) (Seoul: Koryö Söjök, 1959, pp. 12-15. Han-Sang Yu, "Hahoe Pyölsin Kamyönmuŋŭk Taesa" (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyölsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가면무극 대사) Kugögukmunhak 20 (February 1959): 191-8. The Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, Hahoe Pyölsin Nori Taesa (The Dialogue of Hahoe Pyölsin Play: 하회 별신 놀이 대사) (Kyöngsangpukdo: The Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong, 1978). Byong-Hŭi Söng, "Hahoe Pyölsin T'alnori" (Hahoe Pyölsin Mask Play: 하회 별신 탈놀이) Hanguk Minsokhak 12 (August 1980): 89-113.

<sup>2</sup>See n. 1 above.

TABLE 8

## THE DIFFERENT NUMBERS, TITLES, AND ORDERS OF SCENES

| Choe Sang-Su<br>(1959)                                          | Yu Han-Sang<br>(1959)               | The Research Assn.<br>of Hahoe Mask-<br>Dance Theatre in<br>Andong (1978) | Sŏng Byong-Hŭi<br>(1980) |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Monk and<br>Young Woman                                      | 1. Epiphany                         | 1. Epiphany                                                               | 1. Epiphany              |
| 2. Nobleman and<br>His Servant;<br>Scholar and<br>His Concubine | 2. Chuji                            | 2. Dancing Boy                                                            | 2. Dancing Boy           |
|                                                                 | 3. Samsŏk Play                      | 3. Chuji                                                                  | 3. Chuji                 |
| 3. Old Lady and<br>Old Man                                      | 4. Apostate Monk                    | 4. Paekchŏng                                                              | 4. Paekchŏng             |
| 4. Fighting<br>Lions                                            | 5. Yangban and<br>Sŏnbi             | 5. Housekeeping                                                           | 5. Halmi                 |
| 5. Butchering<br>of an Ox                                       | 6. Housekeeping                     | 6. Apostate Monk                                                          | 6. Apostate Monk         |
|                                                                 | 7. Slaughtering                     | 7. Yangban and<br>Sŏnbi                                                   | 7. Yangban and<br>Sŏnbi  |
|                                                                 | 8. Repayment of<br>Government Grain | 8. Wedding                                                                | 8. Shrine Service        |
|                                                                 | 9. Wedding                          | 9. Bridal Chamber                                                         | 9. Wedding               |
|                                                                 | 10. Bridal Chamber                  |                                                                           | 10. Bridal Chamber       |
|                                                                 | 11. Hŏtchŏn-kut                     |                                                                           | 11. Hŏtchŏn-kŏri-kut     |
|                                                                 | 12. Shrine Service                  |                                                                           |                          |

In this chapter I will examine the dramatic values of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. It has been mostly appreciated as a comedy--especially scene 6 ("The Apostate Monk") and scene 7 ("Yangban and Sŏnbi"). These two scenes create laughter by ridiculing the people of the ruling class, who are called "the absentminded and inelastic male comic characters."<sup>3</sup> But I will examine hahoe pyŏlsin-kut within a framework of farce. The distinction between farce and comedy seems to be very subjective, because "in most farces moments of comedy (reality) intervene, and some comedies glide into and out of farce. During the transitions from one to the other, a play may be both comic and farcical, the degree of either being determined by the eye of the beholder."<sup>4</sup> Albert Bermel determines the distinction between farce and comedy as follows:

The distinction between the physical and the verbal, and between wit and humor, offer two unreliable ways of separating comedy from farce. A third, no more reliable distinction has to do with the dramatic situations of the work. If these seem normal or lifelike, the work is comedy; if they seem abnormal or unreal, chances are the work is a farce. . . . One more distinction, which is pretty clear-cut, is the acting. . . . Comic actors try to be natural. A wise director reminds his cast in a comedy to "play the character," not the situation, or else they will seem to be pushing for laughs and will lose them. . . . The farce actor doesn't play the character; he "plays the situation," for all it's worth. . . . Farce, in other words, takes

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<sup>3</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, "The Comic Effects of Hahoe Pyŏlsin-kut," Korea Journal 20 (July 1980): 7.

<sup>4</sup>Albert Bermel, Farce (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1982), pp. 55-56.

leave of comedy not only in its written material but also, and more manifestly, in its enactment. It is primarily a performer's art, not a writer's.<sup>5</sup>

Most of all, farce, as Bermel says, is an actor's art, not a writer's. Wherever a performer can create his art freely and spontaneously, there we can find similarities with hahoe pyölsin-kut. In this chapter I will compare hahoe pyölsin-kut with the Greek satyr play, kyōgen, and commedia dell'arte.

Before examining the dramatic values of hahoe pyölsin-kut, I will discuss its functions and its ritualistic elements. Most scholars accept the proposition that theatre originally was religious ritual. Korean mask-dance theatre is not an exception to this proposition. It has been intertwined with religious rite, shamanistic ceremony, and community festivity. Hahoe pyölsin-kut, the oldest form of Korean mask-dance theatre, may be the purest example of the proposition that theatre originally was religious ritual, because it has characteristics of more sacred ritual and less theatrical expression in comparison with other Korean mask-dance theatre forms. A. C. Scott observes that in Asian theatres, when the rituals became more secularized, they became more theatrical:

The development of [theatrical styles] in Asian society would have to be sought through an intermingling of religious rites, court ceremonies and the season

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

festivities of country people. Within the framework of these activities song, dance, recitative, puppetry were first used as the accessories to sacred ritual and religious instruction. As they were gradually diverted to secular purposes they provided a structural basis for theatrical expression.<sup>6</sup>

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was an intermingling of fertility rite, exorcism for safety and prosperity, as well as community festivity, all of which are based on a religious worship of a village tutelary goddess, called a sŏnghwang-nim or sŏnang-nim. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has been believed to be performed under the guidance of sŏnghwang-nim. The production intervals, appointment of sanju (priest) and actors, and even the contents of dramatic episodes and actor's dancing and movements are believed to be determined by the sŏnghwang-nim. Villagers also believed that they would make an abundant harvest and could avoid all calamities such as epidemic disease, drought and flood which might cause starvation, psychosis or psychological disorders among villagers, and much more by pleasing the sŏnghwang-nim with the proper presentation.

The people thought that psychological disorders were caused by evil spirits who inhabited the person. The evil spirits had to be coaxed out of the person and exorcised. One way of treatment was to perform hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, since one of its purposes was to exorcise evil spirits

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<sup>6</sup>A. C. Scott, The Theatre in Asia (New York: Mac-Millan Publishing Co., Inc, 1972), pp. 8-9.

out of the performing area, which could be the whole village. During the performing days of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, patients made dramatic recoveries and were able to return to normal life. The appearance of psychological disorders was a sign for villagers to receive an oracle. "Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is held at the time of receiving an oracle which is generally revealed as a strange feeling that something might happen in the village, a tiger's lurking, psychopath's coming into existence among villagers, or when sanju received an oracle in his dream."<sup>7</sup>

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut which became a psycho-therapy for mental patients could also provide a sociological outlet from the tensions of a stratified society, a psychological relief from the rigors of survival and from calamities, and a physical release from arduous manual labor. Korea was a society of hierarchy, where a person's social status was ascribed on grounds of ancestry and the status was a life-long one. Although people could exceptionally change their status by making money or by marrying someone of a different status, they could not really change the status conferred at birth. The people from the upper class were free from productive labor and could enjoy wealth, while the commoners and the lowest-class people had to work hard but lived poor-

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<sup>7</sup>Yŏn-Hwa Hwang, "Hahoe Pyŏlsin Kamyŏngŭk ŭi Yŏnku" (A Study of Hahoe Pyŏlsin Mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 별신 가면극의 연구) (M.A. thesis, Koryo University, 1980), p. 11.

ly. They needed a special occasion in which they could protest against the inequality of the social system and the oppression and wrongdoing of authorities.

In Hahoe village, villagers were not allowed to play music and to dance, nor to present any theatrical events except hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. In other words, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was the only community entertainment for Hahoe villagers. Moreover, they could make fun of the privileged upper-class people in the drama. For example, in the scene of "Apostate Monk" a Buddhist monk, who was among the upper class in the Koryŏ dynasty, was brought into ridicule. Kaksi (young woman), after dancing for a while, urinates on the ground. A Buddhist monk peeps at her and is sexually stimulated. He gathers a handful of soil on which kaksi has urinated and smells it. He surrenders himself to sexual desires and dances with kaksi. At the entrance of yangban (aristocrat), sŏnbi (scholar), and their servants, the monk runs away carrying kaksi on his back. The servants embrace each other, being amused at the monk's transgression, while yangban and sŏnbi make disdainful expressions over it.

The aristocrat and the scholar, who deplore the immorality of the monk in a previous scene, struggle with each other over having pune (dancing girl) in the scene of "Yangban and Sŏnbi." Now they become the characters being ridiculed. Being tempted by pune's seductive dance, these two noble men become jealous of each other and try to

possess pune. They argue using puns which create laughter as to who has the higher social standing, "the implication being that the person with the higher social status should have the woman."<sup>8</sup> This scene creates more laughter at the entrance of paekchǒng (butcher), who tries to sell ox testicles. At first, the two nobles are angry at being interrupted by the uncivilized butcher and his ox balls. However, as soon as they are told that ox balls are good for sexual stamina, they start fighting each other to buy ox balls and pull them in opposite directions, getting them broken. Halmi (old woman) enters and picks up the pieces showing contempt for this fighting over ox balls:

Fighting for ox balls! Yangban claims these are his balls, sǒnbi also claims his balls, and paekchǒng claims his balls, too. Whose balls are these, then? In all my life of sixty years, I've never seen fighting for ox balls before. I've never seen it before.<sup>9</sup>

As seen in both scenes, the commoners and the lowest-class people make fun of ruling-class people. It was a convenient outlet for their social pressure. Because people believed that hahoe pyǒlsin-kut was held upon the request of the tutelary deity and the contents of the drama were composed by actors spontaneously as the deity led them, villagers did not have to take any responsibilities for the contents of the drama.

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<sup>8</sup> Oh-Kon Cho, p. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Text of Hahoe Pyǒlsin-kut, sc. 7, lines 209-14.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut also provided a psychological relief from the hardships of survival. This kind of relief can also be found in other Oriental theatre for open-air performances such as in the earlier Noh. "These occasions [open-air Noh performances] provided relief from the repression of a daily existence where war, famine, and sudden death were common hazards."<sup>10</sup> In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut this relief comes from believing in the effect of correct treatment which a deity finds pleasing. Villagers believed that hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could promise an abundant harvest and village safety by pleasing a tutelary deity, sŏnghwang-nim.

Sŏnghwang-nim, once called Grandma Kim during her life time, was a common-class female who had a miserable life. She became a widow at the age of fifteen, several days after her marriage, and died childless. She became, as seen in folk beliefs, a malevolent ghost--a spirit of no affinity. If one dies with no descendants to accord the nourishing worship, one becomes a discontented ghost which will attack people in a variety of harmful ways. This ghost is starved and desperate of hope for rest and peace. Borrowing from words of Carmen Blacker in her book The Catalpa Bow, a study of shamanistic practices in Japan, Grandma Kim

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<sup>10</sup>Scott, p. 183.

became "a homeless hungry ghost."<sup>11</sup> Thus villagers built a shrine to provide her rest and peace, and treated her as an ancestor of all villagers by offering foods, wines, clothes, and other necessary nourishments.

Grandma Kim thus became a dead ancestral spirit to all villagers and was elevated to the status of village tutelary deity. Villagers believed that if the ancestral spirit were not correctly treated and worshipped, the spirit would turn in an instant into a capricious and spiteful ghost, punishing the neglectful family with curses. Likewise, if the tutelary deity was not correctly treated, villagers would suffer from sterility, sickness, and sudden disaster. Blacker explained this characteristic of a deity as an essential amorality:

His nature is ambivalent; it is neither good nor bad, but can manifest itself as benign or destructive to human interests according to the treatment it receives. Treat him correctly with the proper worship and cult attention and with the right and appropriate offerings, and the kami [deity] can reasonably be expected to bless, protect and succour the village, to see that the harvest ripens, to ward off flood and drought, to forestall fire and pest. Offend him, on the other hand, either by neglect or by exposure to the pollutions of blood and death, and at once his benevolence will turn to rage which will smite with fire, sterility and sickness.<sup>12</sup>

Hahoe villagers treated the sŏnghwang-nim with worship and

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<sup>11</sup>Carmen Blacker, The Catalpa Bow (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1975), p. 48.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 41.

rite, offerings, and entertainments, so that they could expect blessing, protection, and succour from her. This positive expectation was a psychological relief from unpredictable afflictions. This psychological relief results from the promising of fertility--a rich harvest.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut also provides a physical release from arduous manual labor. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was a festival in which people could celebrate special observances, rest from work, and enjoy entertainments. This point is observed as a framework of Asian theatre by A. C. Scott:

Theatre was an affirmation of solidarity, a recognized need in the life of the community and a break in the arduous work pattern of the people in feudal society. It was a festival whose ceremonial was helped by the deep sense of ritual that was always present in Asian everyday life and given expression in theatrical style.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut was a ritual, a theatre, and a festival.

As examined above, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut provides a psycho-therapy, a sociological outlet, a psychological relief, and a physical release. In other words, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is functional and is thus considered as ritualistic theatre. Now I will discuss the relationship between ritual and theatre briefly. The distinction between ritual and theatre lies in the function of a performance. According to Richard Schechner, ritual is for efficacy, while

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<sup>13</sup>Scott, p. 21.

theatre is for entertainment: "whether one calls a specific performance ritual or theatre depends on the degree to which the performance tends toward efficacy or entertainment."<sup>14</sup> Ritual is functional and aims to bring about effects or results, whereas theatre is primarily for fun.

According to Schechner, in ritual the performers are possessed in trance; and the audience believes in the efficacy of the performance, participates in it, and accepts it without any criticism.<sup>15</sup> Applying these characteristics of ritual to hahoe pyölsin-kut, it is a ritual. Because actors are possessed in a sense, as they create improvisation as a deity leads them. There is frequent participation of the audience. And any criticism is forbidden on the contents of the episodes, since the actors are believed to play their roles under the guidance of the deity. Villagers also believe that they would receive fertility and safety as reward for performing hahoe pyölsin-kut.

Concerning the theatre's origin in ritual, there are generally two different approaches: fertility rites and shamanistic ritual. Scholars such as Benjamin Hunningher believed that fertility rites or the combat between winter

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<sup>14</sup>Richard Schechner, Essays on Performance Theory: 1970-1976 (New York: Drama Book Specialists Publishers, 1977), p. 75.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid. Extracted from the list of distinctions between ritual and theatre.

and summer is of primary importance in the development of primitive religion as well as of the theatre.<sup>16</sup> This type of theory is widely used to ascertain the origins of tragedy and comedy in ancient Greece, to trace the English mummers and their plays,<sup>17</sup> and to explain the theatrical traditions in Asia and Africa. The second approach is the shamanistic origin, as E. T. Kirby states in Ur-Drama:

It is shamanism as it is most rigorously defined which has almost invariably been the antecedent of established theatre forms. It is on this basis then that we may speak of the shamanistic origins of theatre. That shamanistic performance may be considered the ur-theatre or prototheatre implies a very important distinction. Shamanistic ritual is unlike rites-of-passage or other forms of what may be called ceremonial ritual in that it depends upon the immediate and direct manifestation to the audience of supernatural presence, rather than its symbolization. All ritual and ceremony can be theatrical, but the theatricality of shamanistic ritual is related to its function in a particular way.<sup>18</sup>

Although fertility rite and shamanistic ritual are not identical, they become synthesized in Korean mask-dance theatre, including hahoe pyölsin-kut. Lee Meewon points out both elements of fertility rite and shamanistic ritual

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<sup>16</sup> Benjamin Hunningher, The Origin of the Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1955), pp. 18 and 25.

<sup>17</sup> According to Alan Brody, the term "mummer" means "men's dramatic ceremony," that is a personal performance in which are enacted the death and resurrection of one or more of the characters. See Alan Brody, The English Mummers and Their Plays (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1969), pp. 4-5.

<sup>18</sup> E. T. Kirby, Ur-Drama: The Origin of Theatre (New York: New York University Press, 1975), p. 2.

in Korean mask-dance theatre:

Kamyŏngŭk, the traditional folk theatre of Korea, is closely connected with its origin in folk ritual. Interestingly, both elements of the "fertility rite" and the "shamanistic ceremony," considered as the two most probable ritual origin of theatre, are found in kamyŏngŭk.<sup>19</sup>

Now I will examine the text of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut to explore its ritualistic elements. The first scene ("The Epiphany") is performed in shrines, where the last scene ("The Shrine Service") is also played. Both scenes are presided over by the sanju (priest), who is selected from among villagers of the common class. Although he performs a service and reads a prayer in the manner of a Confucian rite, he functions as a medium between the tutelary deity and the community. In the first scene it is he who holds naerim-tae (pole of epiphany), which is used to induce the deity's descent, and who prays for the deity's descent. When the deity descends shaking the pole and thus causing the bell to ring, sanju switches the ringing bell to sŏnang-tae (pole of sŏnang goddess). The deity is then offered foods and rice-wines, and later clothes too. The function of sanju as a medium, the offering ceremony to a deity, and the symbolic meaning of the poles can be understood in a religious context. The poles symbolize temporary vessels for a deity,

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<sup>19</sup>Meewon Lee, "Kamyŏngŭk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1983), p. 62.

according to Blacker. Naerim-tae represents an object to induce a deity's descent, while sŏnang-tae is a deity's temporary seat, where the deity can temporarily reside for the duration of the ritual. Although Blacker does not describe temporary vessels in Korean shamanistic practices, they appear in similar functions in two different countries. Blacker observes them in the Japanese Shinto cult:

In the early cult a kami [a deity or a supernatural being] had no shape of his own, his occasional visionary appearances being temporary disguises only. In order to manifest himself in our world he must rather be provided with a suitable vessel or vehicle. . . . The term yorishiro also describes a wide variety of objects used as temporary vessels for the kami. Many yorishiro were long and thin in shape--as a tree, a banner, a wand--as though the numinous presence, like lightning streaking down a conductor, could be induced by such means to descend from his higher plane to ours.<sup>20</sup>

As Blacker calls the Japanese ancient cult Japanese shamanism or Shinto, I would like to call the early cult in Korea Korean shamanism. Although it is difficult to determine the origin of Korean shamanism,<sup>21</sup> Korean shamanism and Japanese shamanism are similar in several aspects. Both of them are of mixed origin and have two broad regional types:

Though Korean shamanism has been influenced by Buddhism, Taoism, Confucianism and other religions, the structure of shamanism is clearly indigenous. Actually the fundamental concept of the supernatural is founded on

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<sup>20</sup>Blacker, p. 38.

<sup>21</sup>Mircea Eliade, Shamanism: Archaic Technique of Ecstasy, trans. William R. Trask (New York: Bollingen Foundation, 1964), p. 462.

primitive beliefs and folk customs. . . . Shamanism has been spread all over the Korean peninsula with some modification and variation. In general, the shamanism of northern Korea is typically founded on elements of ecstasy, conversely southern shamanism has not become fully acculturated into folk society, because of its lineal transmission by priests and priestesses, Tanggol. . . . It seems to me that the southern Tanggol might be related to the Okinawa priest and the northern shamanism might be historically tied to northern Siberia, Tungus and Manchuria.<sup>22</sup>

They [the phenomena of shamanism in Japan] do not derive from a single homogeneous source, . . . Japanese ethnologists usually relate the instances of shamanism in their country to two broad streams of culture which intermingled in prehistoric times. A northern stream, deriving from Altaic or Tungusic practices on the Asian continent and spreading throughout Korea, Hokkaido and the Ryūkyū Islands, mingled with another stream deriving from a southerly source, Polynesia or Melanesia.<sup>23</sup>

Korean shamanism, in its mixed origin, is an intermingling of many religious practices such as nature worship, phallic worship, sacrificial offering, exorcism, ecstasy, fertility rite, ancestor worship, and many folk beliefs. Thus it might be a far-fetched attempt to single out fertility rite from Korean shamanistic ritual. Nevertheless, this attempt can obtain two results: (1) it ensures the ritualistic elements of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut; (2) it synthesizes two different theories about the ritual origin of theatre.

The second scene ("Chuji") is a good example of the intermingling of fertility rite and shamanism. Two chuji

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<sup>22</sup>Kil-Sung Choi, Hanguk Musok ūi Yŏnku (A Study of Korean Shamanism: 한국 무속의 연구) (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1978), p. 341. Cited from his English abstract.

<sup>23</sup>Blacker, p. 27.

(imaginary animals) move around the audience and dance facing each other. It is a kind of opening exorcising dance, together with the following scene. "This is a part designed to expel evils in connection with the holding of the ritual."<sup>24</sup> This exorcising dance is the ritualistic element of shamanism. Two chuji, representing one female and one male, are also engaged in fighting and simulate sexual intercourse until one collapses from exhaustion. Villagers believe that they will have a rich harvest if the female chuji wins the fighting. The combat between two conflicting forces such as female and male, their simulated sexual intercourse, and the symbolic meaning of the female's victory represent the characteristics of fertility rite.

The following scene ("Samsŏk Play") and the eleventh scene ("The Shaman Ritual") are performed by the professional shamans. In the former scene a female shaman, wearing a rabbit-like mask with long ears, employs a variety of dances. Unfortunately there are no records concerning the style of her dancing and no physical evidence of her mask. I think this scene aims at exorcism to expel the evil spirits from the performing area in expectation of a successful performance. Borrowing from words of Lee Duhyun,

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<sup>24</sup>Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea (Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1981), p. 9.

this scene is still "a kind of prologue."<sup>25</sup> The prologue of exorcism is one of the general characteristics of Korean mask-dance theatre. Lee Meewon notes that "shamans dance into a trance-like state for exorcism in the Samsŏk episode [scene]."<sup>26</sup> But I believe a slow dance instead of a trance-like fast dance is performed, as in the prologue of exorcism of other Korean mask-dance theatre groups.

The Shaman Ritual scene is held on the last day of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut performance. Villagers prepare the sacrificial offerings to feed the minor demons and evil spirits which have thronged the village during the past fifteen days of performance; shamans perform exorcism to expel these minor demons and evil spirits after feeding them. In this scene shamans do not perform the slow dance, but an ecstatic fast dance. When they enter a state of trance, they perform a leaping dance, jumping upward with stretching knees and getting faster and faster.

In the fourth scene ("Paekchŏng") another trance-state dance is employed by paekchŏng (butcher) who slaughters an ox to sell its heart and testicles. The ox is a sacrificial offering to the tutelary deity. Long ago the paekchŏng mask was called hŭikwangi, a name for a servant of

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<sup>25</sup>Duhyun Lee, "Korean Folk Play," Folk Culture in Korea, ed. International Cultural Foundation (Seoul: The Si-Sa-Yong-O-Sa Publishers, Inc., 1982), p. 113.

<sup>26</sup>Meewon Lee, p. 103.

the sheriff, who engaged in beating or executing persons. Hũikwangi might pantomime the execution of a man, supposedly a criminal, instead of an ox. "This act is said to have originally shown the execution of a man, but it has been softened with the passing of time."<sup>27</sup> Sacrificial offering of a human was also found in the early cult of the Dionysian rites, through which Dionysian worshippers sought a mystical union and promotion of fertility:

At first the cult met considerable resistance because of its ecstatic nature: its celebration often involved intoxication, sexual orgy, and the rending and devouring of sacrificial victims (frequently human). . . . Through their rites, dionysian worshippers sought a mystical union with the primal creative urge. On a more practical level, they sought to promote fertility: to guarantee the return of spring, the productivity of both human beings and the land, and ample harvest.<sup>28</sup>

The ox is sacrificed for fertility: to promote the productivity of human beings. The butcher tries to sell ox testicles, symbols of fertility:

Buy ox balls, they are very good for your sexual stamina.<sup>29</sup>

The symbols of fertility can be also found in the following scene ("Halmi"). Halmi (old woman) weaves hemp-cloth on a loom, singing a song about life-long sufferings

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<sup>27</sup>Duhyun Lee, p. 114.

<sup>28</sup>Oscar Brockett, History of the Theatre, 3rd ed. (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1977), pp. 18-19.

<sup>29</sup>Hahoe Pyŏlsin-kut, sc. 4, lines 17-8.

of her housekeeping. However, the song also contains the symbolism of sexual intercourse between the old woman and her husband. Two front legs of the loom are symbolized as her husband's legs; and the movement and sound of the beating-up of reeds are symbolized as those of phallus' penetration:

|                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| Loom's legs    | Two legs                |
| Husband's legs | Two legs                |
| A pair of legs | My legs                 |
| Catching reeds | Pushing sound           |
| My husband     | Voice is. <sup>30</sup> |

Besides, ttŏktari, the name of halmi's husband, is used as slang, implying a middle leg, i.e., a penis. Ttŏktari is a compound word of ttŏk, derived from tŏt, representing "additional," and tari, meaning "leg." Halmi's husband thus becomes a symbol of fertility, as ox testicles do in the former scene.

The next two scenes, "The Apostate Monk" and "Yangban and Sŏnbi," through which the common-class and lowest-class villagers can have a sociological outlet from the tension of a stratified society, as explained previously, also employ the symbolism of fertility: sacred marriage, sexual intercourse, combat structure, and again ox testicles, all of which express fertility. In the Apostate Monk scene chung (monk) is sexually stimulated by the sight of kaksi (young woman) urinating and by smell of her urine; and he

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<sup>30</sup>Ibid., sc. 5, lines 10-4.

runs away carrying her on his back. They are assumed to have a secret marriage. The secret marriage in the secular world becomes a sacred marriage, when kaksi is substituted by her symbolic figure, the tutelary goddess. And the monk's status is elevated to the god. In the scene of "Yangban and Sŏnbi" two higher-class gentlemen create the combat structure to monopolize fertility. First, they try to possess pune (dancing girl), who appears as a sensuous woman; later, they fight each other to buy ox testicles in order to have sexual stamina. Both cases imply the sexual intercourse which brings fertility.

The sacred marriage and sexual intercourse are prominent in the scene of "The Wedding" and its following scene, "The Bridal Chamber." Unlike other scenes, these two scenes are consistent in plot: kaksi (young woman) and ch'onggak (young man) are getting married in the former scene and they have the first night as a married couple in the later scene. They simulate sexual intercourse; after ch'onggak has fallen asleep, kaksi opens the wooden chest; chung (monk) gets out of the chest and kills ch'onggak. Cho Dong-Il interprets ch'onggak's death as a tragedy of reversal:

A young, hopeful man is murdered by a wicked monk. This development can be seen as summer's being defeated in the battle between summer and winter. This battle should result in summer's victory. However, the issue is not that optimistic. A reversal could happen, although not admittable. This reversal can be truly

seen as tragic.<sup>31</sup>

Sŏ Yŏn-Ho contradicts Cho's interpretation: Sŏ does not think ch'onggak's death is a defeat, but a severe battle for productivity. Sŏ sees the conflict between new bridegroom and monk as one of passage rites, i.e., marriage. Arnold van Gennep distinguishes three phases in a rite of passage: "separation, transition, and incorporation."<sup>32</sup> He observes that "rites of incorporation are prominent at marriage."<sup>33</sup> However, Sŏ believes that both rites of separation and incorporation and the conflict between them exist in marriage. He interprets the conflict between the new bridegroom and monk as the battle between the taker and the taken.<sup>34</sup> I agree with Sŏ in his view of ch'onggak's death for productivity. But I do not think it is appropriate to apply this scene to the passage rite, because that application has the tendency of lowering the sacredness of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. The Wedding and Bridal Chamber scenes, like

<sup>31</sup>Dong-Il Cho, T'alch'um ŭi Yŏksa wa Wŏnri (The History and Principles of Mask-Dance: 탈춤의 역사와 원리) (Seoul: Hongiksa, 1979), p. 64.

<sup>32</sup>Arnold van Gennep, The Rites of Passage, quoted in Victor Turner, From Ritual to Theatre (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), p. 24.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>34</sup>Yŏn-Ho Sŏ, "Hahoe T'alch'um ŭi Yŏngŭkjŏk Kuchŏ" (A Dramatic Structure of Hahoe mask-Dance Theatre: 하회 탈춤의 연극적 구조), T'alch'um ŭi Sasang (Phenomena of Mask-Dance Theatre: 탈춤의 사상), ed. Hŭi-Wan Ch'ae (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 1984), p. 33.

the Apostate Monk scene, must be understood as a pattern of sacred marriage. The secular marriage between kaksi and ch'onggak is elevated to the level of sacred marriage between kaksi and monk by killing a secular man, ch'onggak. As the ox is sacrificed for fertility in the scene of "Paek-chŏng," ch'onggak becomes a sacrificial victim. The monk replaces ch'onggak and unites with kaksi. In their sacred level of union, they are elevated to the status of god and goddess, as in the scene of "The Apostate Monk."

The last two scenes, "The Shaman Ritual" and "The Shrine Service," are a kind of concluding scene, as the first three scenes are a kind of prologue. The former scene, as discussed previously, employs shamanistic elements: shamans as performers, exorcism, and trance-state dance of shamans. The last scene is presided over by sanju (priest) who prays for the villager's safety from all calamities, for prosperity and fertility in farm produce, and for the well-being and productivity of all villagers. The tutelary deity is also offered foods and rice-wines again as in the first scene. After the service at sŏnang-tang (shrine of the sŏnang goddess) sanju detaches the sacred bell from sŏnang-tae (pole of the sŏnang goddess) and hangs the pole horizontally from the eaves of this shrine. The goddess can now rest in peace in this shrine until the next performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. Sanju and all other performers also perform the service at other minor shrines. The shamanistic

characteristics are dominant in the last scene, as in the first scene: the function of sanju as a medium between the deity and villagers, the offering to the deity, and the symbolic treatment of sŏnang-tae.

As examined above, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is ritualistic theatre, which includes both elements of fertility rite and shamanism. Now I will examine the dramatic values of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut within the framework of farce. As discussed previously, farce is physical, not verbal; it has humor, rather than wit; it has abnormal or unreal dramatic situations, not normal nor real ones; and, above all, it is an actor's art, not a writer's art.

Among the twelve scenes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, three scenes contain the most dramatic effects: "Halmi," "The Apostate Monk," and "Yangban and Sŏnbi." Unlike other scenes, they have dialogues and independent plot development in each scene. They may represent the main episodes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, in which its main themes can be found. Interestingly, the "town-type" Korean mask-dance theatre employs almost the same main themes as hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, which is one of the "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatre. To cite Lee Duhyun:

The main themes of sandaedogam mask-dance play are disgust with the ruling yangban (noble) class who are insulted openly by commoner actors and antipathy for depraved Buddhist monks, who are satirized severely. Often the tragic triangle--husband, wife and concubine--love affair and the miserable daily life of the

commoner people are portrayed.<sup>35</sup>

In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the tragic triangle--husband, wife, and concubine--love affair is not portrayed. Instead, the triangle relationship between yangban and sŏnbi for pune exists in the scene of "Yangban and Sŏnbi." Now I will examine the three scenes mentioned above, focusing on their farcical elements.

In the scene of "Halmi," the miserable daily life of the commoners is well portrayed through the song which depicts the life-long suffering of halmi's (old woman's) housekeeping. Halmi sings:

|                |                           |
|----------------|---------------------------|
| How's my       | Housekeeping              |
| Oh my, oh dear | Don't ask                 |
| Wedding day    | Wedding gown              |
| Pink Skirt     | Tears wiper               |
| Red skirt      | Apron skirt               |
| Catching reeds | Striking sound            |
| A dammed life  | Flows well. <sup>36</sup> |

The old woman used her pink skirt and red skirt, which were worn on her wedding day or brought when married, as tears wiper (hankerchief) and apron. It depicts well enough how hard her married life was. It also alludes to her economic status: she has lived in poverty. She has never worn new clothes since her wedding day. In the dialogues with her husband she tells what she thinks of her poor, miserable

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<sup>35</sup>Duhyun Lee, "Korean Mask and Mask-Dance Plays," Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society 42 (September 1966): 49-50.

<sup>36</sup>Hahoe Pyŏlsin-kut, sc. 5, lines 15-21.

life.

Hahoe villagers believe that they will receive a fortune if they hang their clothes on sŏnang-tae during the performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut. However, halmi believes that her poverty is her fate and beyond her will:

TTŎKTARI: You've been weaving all your life. But you've never worn new clothes and never had a chance to hang clothes on sŏnang-tae.

HALMI: It is all due to my fate. What else can I do?

TTŎKTARI: Try to hang your clothes on sŏnang-tae. Then you'll receive a fortune easily.

HALMI: That's beyond my will: I am under the unlucky sign. TTŎKTARI, you are noisy.<sup>37</sup>

Halmi's strong belief in her fateful misery implies that the miserable life of the commoners could not be changed for the better, since it is their ascribed social status.

The gloomy situation of the drama is transformed into a sudden unreal dramatic situation:

TTŎKTARI: You finished all the herrings I bought at the market yesterday, didn't you?

HALMI: Last night I ate nine and you had one. This morning I ate nine and you had one. We finished two strings of herrings.

TTŎKTARI: Ha, ha. You eat too much. That's why you don't have any teeth left. (They begin dancing.)<sup>38</sup>

This transformation is so sudden that it heightens the loss

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<sup>37</sup>Ibid., lines 23-33.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., lines 35-43.

of normality and reality, which can be a farcical dramatic situation. The audience can laugh at this sudden change. The contents of the dialogues between halmi and ttöktari also provide a good reason for laughter. First, herrings are expensive fish and it does not make sense that ttöktari can afford two strings of herrings, judging from his poor economic status. Second, halmi as a heavy feeder, who eats nine herrings at one meal, does not match her earlier image as a miserable housewife, who has never worn new clothes in her life. Third, her great capacity of eating cannot be a good reason to lose her teeth. We know from the above dialogues that halmi and ttöktari are not witty characters: they do not throw off clever remarks. Besides, they deliver the lines in seriousness without meaning to be funny: they are not intentionally amusing. The laughter originates from the improbable situation of buying two strings of herrings and the eating of eighteen of them for two meals by one person, and the irrational reason to lose the teeth of the great eater. The laughter also originates from halmi's dancing to sway her hips.<sup>39</sup>

The laughter, of course, is indispensable for the health of the community because laughter can help free the audience from the unchangeable force of fate which is associated with their ascribed social status. The audience laugh

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<sup>39</sup>See table 6 above.

away anger, rigors, tensions, fears, and other problems: "it [laughter] can help us free ourselves from conformity, the sometimes absurd dictates of morality, inferiority, the tyranny of reason, the deceptions of language, naivete, redundancy, seriousness, and egotism."<sup>40</sup> Laughter can release the tension of the poor, miserable, hard life of commoners. This kind of laughter, which can be called a farcical laughter, is distinguished from a comic laughter. Bermel contends that "laughter is not the motive behind farce, only its principal by-product."<sup>41</sup> Farce does not intend to endanger the social framework nor to produce social criticism. In farce there is obviously no moral causation for laughter. In comedy, however, a moral flaw in individual character becomes ridiculous by its opposition to normal social standards. "Comic laughter is distinguished from all kinds of laughter by its stimulus, which is a combination of an emotion of superiority and a perception of contrast, springing from the display of an individual character flaw against a normal social background."<sup>42</sup>

The next scene, "The Apostate Monk," also produces farcical laughter, not comic laughter. Chung (monk) is

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<sup>40</sup>Bermel, p. 43.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Willard Smith, The Nature of Comedy (Boston: The Gorham Press, 1969), p. 179.

aroused sexually by the sight of kaksi (young woman) urinating and is stimulated sexually by the smell of urinated soil. Kaksi, at first astonished, does not reject him, but dances together with him. Fearing to be interrupted by someone, the monk runs away carrying the young woman on his back. In this scene the monk is ridiculed for his commitment of transgression. Thus he might be seen as a comic figure, because he shows a moral flaw against the norms of a clergyman. Cho Oh-Kon contends that chung is a comic character for his lack of attention to his social milieu created by his absentmindedness:

Because he has ignored his professional norm, that is, the priesthood, the monk is a comic character. He goes his own way satisfying his sensual desires without troubling himself over his fellow-monks. It is one aspect of comedy to rebuke his absentmindedness and to make him realize that he has transgressed. Like any member of society, he must be attentive to his social milieu and must compromise his behavior according to his environment. His lack of attention to his surroundings created by his absentmindedness is a source of comedy.<sup>43</sup>

According to Cho, laughter is induced by the monk's moral faults against social standards. I do not agree with him at all, because the audience does not laugh at the monk's moral flaw in violating a Buddhist commandment. The laughter originates in his abnormal or unreal behavior as a human being. Humans are unlikely to be stimulated by the smell of urinated earth. The picture in which the monk

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<sup>43</sup>Oh-Kon Cho, p. 5.

sniffs the urinated, wet dirt reminds us of an animal. This scene can be compared with a Greek satyr play, which is full of "animal spirits and earthy humor."<sup>44</sup> Like a satyr play, the Apostate Monk scene gives the audience a humorous relief, not a social comment nor a moral instruction. This scene must be considered as pure entertainment creating farcical laughter. As Peter Arnott points out the distinction of tragedy, comedy, and satyr play, "tragedy had moral purpose, comedy was a medium of social comment, but satyr play was pure entertainment."<sup>45</sup>

Much as the satyr play was played as an afterpiece to a trilogy or an antidote to the solemnity which preceded it, kyōgen was played as an antidote to the solemn Noh plays. Kyōgen (狂言) is often translated as "crazy words" or "wild words." It provides the humorous relief between the heavier Noh plays and has many of the characteristics of farce. Kyōgen can be paralleled with the three farcical scenes of hahoe pyōlsin-kut in several aspects. First, as kyōgen is played as interludes between quasi-religious Noh plays, the three scenes ("Halmi," "The Apostate Monk," and "Yangban and Sōnbi") are inserted between, if I can call them so, quasi-religious scenes, which are not expected to provide laughter.

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<sup>44</sup>Peter D. Arnott, An Introduction to the Greek Theatre (Bloomington: Indiana University press, 1959), p. 120.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 114.

Second, kyōgen and the three scenes of hahoe pyōlsin-kut are farcical and provide humorous relief. Third, they deal with the noble class being ridiculed by the servants and the mockery of a Buddhist monk. Among the present repertoire (257 plays) of kyōgen plays,<sup>46</sup> two thirds of them have those subjects, as do two out of three farcical scenes of the hahoe pyōlsin-kut play. To cite Faubion Bowers:

A third of them [kyōgen plays] involve the characters of a feudal lord (daimyo, literally "great name") and his servant who is always named tarō-kaja. If a second servant is required as an additional foil, he is called jirō-kaja. The lord is invariably made ridiculous, but usually turns out to be right in the end. In the 15th century this was a theatrical necessity. Noble spectators could laugh at themselves while knowing full well that all would end without embarrassment. Meanwhile the commoners could laugh at the nobles without fear of consequence. Another third of the kyōgen mock Buddhism, the religion at that time almost universal among nobles and the upper classes.<sup>47</sup>

Fourth, the characters are never wise in both theatres. Especially the servants of kyōgen plays show similar characteristics with those of the hahoe pyōlsin-kut play. They appear stupid, cunning, and innocent. Last, both theatres are, in fact, transmitted orally. Kyōgen had two centuries of oral transmission. Not until the seventeenth century

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<sup>46</sup>There are two schools of kyōgen in existence at the present time: the Izumi (知泉) School and the Okura (大蔵) School. The present repertoire of the Izumi School includes 254 plays, while the Okura School has 180. See Don Kenny, A Guide to Kyōgen (Tokyo: Hinoki Shoten, 1968), pp. 11-2.

<sup>47</sup>Faubion Bowers, Japanese Theatre (New York: Hill and Wang, 1959), p. 27.

were kyōgen recorded on paper:

. . . the kyōgen actors were not greatly concerned with actually writing them down, and if they were recorded by some chance, they were in the form of memoranda and never a complete text of any one play.

It was Toraaki Ōkura who first took pains to write the texts of two hundred and three kyōgen in 1638. . . . An ambitious publisher in Edo in 1660 printed the first texts of one hundred and fifty kyōgen in five small volumes.<sup>48</sup>

The scene of "Yangban and Sōnbi" has the most lines of dialogue and provides the most farcical elements. The first laughter is aroused by ch'oraengi, a servant of yangban (aristocrat), who intervenes between two nobles, yangban and sōnbi (scholar):

(YANGBAN and SŌNBI make a bow toward each other politely. CH'ORAENGI quickly steps in between them and sits; his back faces to YANGBAN's head, to receive the SŌNBI's bow.)

CH'ORAENGI (imitating YANGBAN's voice): Is that you?<sup>49</sup>  
Ch'oraengi is a chief plotweaver, whose main function is to rouse laughter. He has much in common with tarō-kaja in making fun of his master. The way he behaves to yangban and sōnbi tells us that he is a kind of combined character of cunning rascal and innocent dupes. In a kyōgen play like Keiryū (Does a Cock Crow or Sing?), tarō-kaja tricks his master like a cunning and innocent ch'oraengi:

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<sup>48</sup>Shio Sakanishi, Kyōgen: Comic Interludes of Japan (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1938), pp. 15-6.

<sup>49</sup>Hahoe Pyōlsin-kut, sc. 7, lines 14-9.

The Master orders Taro Kaja to wake him when the cock "sings." Taro Kaja oversleeps, so in order to get out of his predicament, he wakes his Master, and tells him it is already daylight, and that the cock had "crowed," but has not "sung" yet. The Master scolds him saying, of course he meant when the cock crowed.<sup>50</sup>

Tarō-kaja and ch'oraengi are never "wise guys." The antics are spontaneous: they do not plan to make fun of their masters and do not intend to make the audience laugh. In other words, they produce no witty laughter, but humorous relief instead.

Much as ch'oraengi is paralleled with tarō-kaja, there is in the Italian Renaissance theatre another type of servant character in the commedia dell'arte. It is called zanni, the term which is applied to stage servants in general. In the commedia dell'arte there are two zanni who represent one clever character and the other stupid. Arlecchino or Harlequin represents the stupid, lying type of zanni; astute, clever Brighella is the other type. Brighella is "a cruel, libidinous, cynically witty servant."<sup>51</sup> Arlecchino is described as follows:

He [Arlecchino] presents himself as a clown, a clown who is somewhat rough and uncouth. He delights in cheating others, but himself is easily cheated.<sup>52</sup>

He [Arlecchino] swindles the Capitano and steals

<sup>50</sup>Kenny, p. 139.

<sup>51</sup>Brockett, p. 154.

<sup>52</sup>Allardyce Nicoll, The World of Harlequin (London: The Cambridge University Press, 1963), p. 84.

jewelry from the Doctor. Credulous, greedy, always in love, always in trouble, his absurd gesticulations, quick movements and sudden somersaults make his audience laugh. Arlecchino is the most disorderly mask of the commedia dell'arte and most resembles the mountebanks.<sup>53</sup>

The mixture of cunning and stupidity in the Arlecchino is similar to ch'oraengi. They are not witty, cruel, intelligent, nor astute servants.

Ch'oraengi is the chief plotweaver to rouse laughter. However, yangban and sŏnbi, who are being ridiculed by ch'oraengi, also arouse laughter. They are engaged in a verbal argument as to who has the higher social standing in order to prove the right to have a woman--pune (dancing girl). And the laughter is increased by the mimicry of non-verbal expressions--gestures, postures, movements--of the two nobles. This mimicry or mechanical repetition is created by two servants, ch'oraengi (servant of yangban) and imae (servant of sŏnbi). Imae is all dumb and stupid: he is never cunning at all. In the recent reproduction in 1982 imae appears as a cripple.<sup>54</sup> His function is to assist ch'oraengi and to reinforce his stupidity. The mimicry of nonverbal expression, which is a physical and visual business, is one of the characteristics of farce as it differs from comedy. Bermel differentiates between farce and comedy

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<sup>53</sup> Joseph Spencer Kennard, Masks and Marionettes (New York: Kennikat Press, Inc., 1967), p. 73.

<sup>54</sup> It is a forty-minute videotape produced by National Movie Production of Korea.

by explaining the distinction between wit and humor:

In order to differentiate between farce and comedy, we should start by looking at the distinction between wit and humor. Wit is usually verbal, while humor is generally physical and visual. It's true that most characters in comedy get their laughs from their lines, while characters in farce generally get theirs from their antics.<sup>55</sup>

In the scene of "Yangban and Sŏnbi" the main stream of laughter comes from the puns used by two nobles in their display of power. Yangban says that he is a descendant of a sa-taebu meaning a man of noble birth. Sŏnbi responds to yangban declaring that he is a descendant of p'altaebu. Sa has two literal meanings of noble/scholar and four, while p'al means eight literally. Since eight (p'al) is two times four (sa), sŏnbi uses the word p'altaebu to insist that he is twice as noble as yangban. But there exists no word of social status designating twice as noble as sa-taebu. P'al-taebu is just a nonsense word, born from the misuse of homonyms. These kinds of word-plays are continuously employed by the two nobles. The puns are used as follows:

YANGBAN: I am a descendant of a sa-taebu....

SŌNBI: What, sa-taebu? I am a descendant of a p'al-taebu.

YANGBAN: What the hell is p'altaebu?

SŌNBI: P'altaebu is double your sa-taebu.

YANGBAN: My grandfather was a munha-sijung.

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<sup>55</sup>Bermel, p. 53.

SŎNBI: Bah, munha-sijung? Is that all? My father is a munsang-sitae.

YANGBAN: Munsang-sitae? What the hell is that again?

SŎNBI: Munsang is higher than munha and sitae is bigger than sijung.

YANGBAN: That is the funniest thing that I have ever heard of.<sup>56</sup>

Munha-sijung (門下侍中) is the name of the position of a prime minister. Literally, ha means below or beneath and jung means middle or medium. To yangban's display of himself as a grandson of munha-sijung, sŏnbi responds by saying that his father is a munsang-sitae (門上侍大). Sang means above and tae means big literally, implying that his father has a higher and bigger official title than yangban's grandfather. But there is, of course, no such official title at all.

This kind of nonsensical verbal play mounts to the summit of laughter, when after ch'oraengi intervenes, the two nobles proclaim their learning. Sŏnbi says that he has read all sasŏ-samkyŏng (四書三經). This means the Four Books and the Three Classics of ancient China: The Analects of Confucius, The Works of Mencius, The Doctrine of the Mean, and The Great Learning; The Book of Odes, The Canon of History, and The Book of Changes. Sŏnbi competes with yangban in the level of learning. Now yangban confronts sŏnbi with

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<sup>56</sup> Hahoe Pyŏlsin-kut, sc. 7, lines 111-34.

the amount of his reading by saying that he has read p'alsǒ-yukkyǒng (八書大經). Literally, sa means four and sam means three, while p'al means eight and yuk means six. Yangban uses a nonsensical word to boast that he has read twice as many books and classics. This ridiculous situation is increased by ch'oraengi who explains yukkyǒng. He describes yukkyǒng with six words which rhyme with it: taechang-kyǒng, para-kyǒng, an-kyǒng, chil-kyǒng, wǒl-kyǒng, and swae-kyǒng. But all these six words do not designate the name of any books: they are nothing but inventions to rhyme with yuk-kyǒng. The funniest thing is imae and yangban assent to ch'oraengi's nonsensical description of yukkyǒng.

SŎNBI: Nothing can beat a man of learning. I've read all of the sasǒ-samkyǒng.

YANGBAN: What, sasǒ-samkyǒng? Who would bother with that kind of thing? I have read the p'alsǒ-yukkyǒng.

SŎNBI: What the hell is the p'alsǒ-yukkyǒng? What on earth is yukkyǒng?

CH'ORAENGI: Even I know the yukkyǒng! How come you don't know that? I'm telling you. They are: the eighty thousand volumes of the Buddhist sutras, the cymbals of the monks, the eye-glasses of the blind, the rampion tree in the apothecary, the menstruation of the virgin, and the annual pay of the farm hand.

IMAE: That's right, you're correct.

YANGBAN: Even these two know about the yukkyǒng. You, so-called scholar, don't know that?<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Hahoe Pyǒlsin-kut, sc. 7, lines 141-60.

The audience laugh at the nonsensical words of the characters. The nonsensical words or puns are nothing but mimicry. In other words, two nobles imitate each other's language pattern, changing some letters into others which turn out nonsensical and ridiculous. Ch'oraengi's playing with rhymes and imae's assenting to them are also considered as mimicry. The mimicry, although done in verbal expression, gets physical effects of words in sounds and rhythms. It is not verbal wit. I will call it verbal antics, from which characters in farce generally get their laughs.

The farcical effects are increased by the object--ox testicles. Paekchōng (butcher) tries to sell ox testicles to yangban and sōnbi. As described previously, the fight for ox testicles creates laughter. Here the ox testicles turn into significant objects as important as the social status. Earlier the two nobles compete with each other to prove who has the higher social standing, since they believe that the one with higher standing should have the woman. Now they fight for the ownership of ox testicles, since they believe the one with higher sexual stamina should have the woman. The ox testicles, good stuff for sexual stamina, become thematic objects. According to Bermel, "the objects in most farces play a continuing role. They are thematic and wind into and out of the action, much as the

characters do."<sup>58</sup> The ox testicles in this scene play a role to expose and reinforce the purpose of the two nobles' display of power--competition for a woman or a sexual desire. In other words, the argument as to who has the higher social standing turns into a much funnier fighting over who could have the higher sexual stamina.

As examined above, the three scenes represent the main episodes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut and contain farcical elements creating humorous laughter. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut can be compared with many other dramatic forms, if they are farcical in nature. In this chapter an effort has been made to compare hahoe pyŏlsin-kut with the Greek satyr play, kyōgen, and commedia dell'arte. Now I would like to conclude this chapter by discussing the last but the most important characteristics of farce in hahoe pyŏlsin-kut: farce is a performer's art, not a writer's art. In this category fall many theatres, in which theatrical improvisations are used. The theatre of improvisation is either orally transmitted like the original kyōgen and Korean mask-dance theatre, or has only the outline like commedia dell'arte. What is thus most needful to a performer in the theatre of improvisation is "the peculiar theatrical intuition which enables him to know how to support or feed, whether by words or by actions, the other actors in the

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<sup>58</sup>Bermel, p. 28.

drama."<sup>59</sup> Performers improvise their lines and nonverbal expressions afresh at each performance. As a result, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could have many different versions of production and several different texts depending on the version being recorded.

Much of the essential element of the theatre of improvisation lies in its spontaneity. But "improvisation is not wholly spontaneous."<sup>60</sup> Bermel explains: "improvisation doesn't mean invention of new material from scratch, verbal and physical free association. It implies the rearrangement of material that has already been worked out."<sup>61</sup> The rearrangement of material is, in fact, planned before the performance by the actors and the director. In hahoe pyŏlsin-kut the kŭn-kwangdae ("chief-actor") has the function of director, who sets out or at least advises on all necessary lines and nonverbal stage expressions suitable for the characters and dramatic situations. But as long as the actors improvise the rest, the theatre of improvisation is a performer's art. In this respect hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could be explored in comparison with other theatres of improvisation, in which the actors are extemporary creators, not interpre-

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<sup>59</sup>Giacomo Oreglia, The Commedia dell'Arte, trans. Lovett F. Edwards (New York: Hill and Wang, 1964), p. 12.

<sup>60</sup>Bermel, p. 85.

<sup>61</sup>*Ibid.*

ters of the script. In other words, if all farcical dramas are not improvisational theatres, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut can be explored in comparison with both farcical dramas and improvisational theatres.

## CONCLUSION

Korean mask-dance theatre has a long history of development, starting from the prehistoric period. Its origin can be found in the shamanistic village ritual, which developed into the mask-dance theatre. The extant Korean mask-dance theatre is generally divided into two large categories: the "village-type" and the "town-type." The "village-type" is performed only at the time of village ritual. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is representative of this group. The "town-type," also called sandae dogam group, was formulated by absorbing the court theatrical entertainments after the abolishment of Sandae Dogam, an official board to control and supervise the court ritual and entertainments, and developed into a folk theatre with the growth of guilds and towns.

Although hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has been written about since 1937, real appreciation of this art did not develop until the 1970s when Korea began its economic growth. But very little scholarly work has been done in this area. The longest article concerning hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is only thirty-three pages long. Moreover, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut received the least attention among other Korean traditional theatres or the extant Korean mask-dance theatre, and was the last to

be designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Property among thirteen designated groups of Korean mask-dance theatre despite its longest history and unique characteristics. In this dissertation I have attempted to explore all aspects of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut to discover its theatrical quality and dramatic values. They can be summarized as follows.

The extant hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, although having its origin in ancient times, is believed to have been firmly established in the middle of the Koryŏ dynasty, i.e., during the twelfth century, and continued to be performed until 1928. It was held every three, five, or ten years, as a part of Hahoe village ritual, worshipping the tutelary goddess, called sŏnang-nim or sŏnghwang-nim. The village ritual has many functions. It makes the village a sacred precinct, unifies the villagers, and provides them a respite from arduous work. For these reasons hahoe pyŏlsin-kut has elements of both ritual and festival.

The masks of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut have been preserved up to date, while those of the sandae dogam group are burned after each performance. Other characteristics of Hahoe masks in comparison with sandae dogam masks are: (1) the material is wood, not paper or gourd as those of most sandae dogam masks; (2) the colors are subdued, not loud and bright; (3) the mask maker was a noble man, called Hŏ doryŏng, not a commoner; (4) the masks are refined and

skillfully constructed, whereas the sandae dogam masks are ugly and roughly made; and (5) the hoods were not originally used. Among the eleven preserved Hahoe masks, four masks consist of two pieces, the jaw being attached to the main part of the face with a string at both sides. Hahoe masks are carved to keep the median expression on them, so that they can bring about changes in facial expression according to the movements of their wearers.

The stage of Korean mask-dance theatre is basically an open outdoor arena stage in village squares, market places, or near populated areas. It has no scenery or permanent stage properties: it is nothing but a bare ground. The stage of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut can be compared with that of the classic Greek theatre; and sŏnang-tae (pole of sŏnang goddess), with a thymele (altar of Dionysus). The major portion of the performance of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is done in the village square in front of the tong-sa (Village Hall). However, the performing areas of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut are, in a broader sense, the whole village. The audience views the stage from three sides or all around it, making a circle. There is no physical separation between performing area and viewing place, and thus no aesthetic distance between performers and audience. Concerning the lighting, a bonfire is set on the ground. It works similarly to footlights. Several stage properties are used: two poles (sŏnang-tae and naerim-tae), a hempcloth loom, a

mat and two hourglass drums, a wooden chest, and special utensils for sacrificial offerings.

The costumes of Korean mask-dance theatre are not flashy nor elaborate, unlike the Chinese and the Japanese theatres. The costumes of hahoe pyölsin-kut are not specially designed nor constructed for the sake of its production, but are picked up from the clothing of the period when its production is performed. They are more realistic than those of Chinese and Japanese theatres; and even more realistic than other Korean mask-dance theatres. Hahoe pyölsin-kut was carefully costumed to indicate the character's differences in gender, age, marital status, occupation, and social class and rank. Concerning the hand properties, five characters use them in a realistic way.

Hahoe pyölsin-kut owes much to music and dance for its theatricality. Concerning the music, hahoe pyölsin-kut and other "village-type" Korean mask-dance theatres are accompanied with nongak (farmer's music), while the "town-type" originally employs samhyönyukgak, which has more melodic instruments in contrast with nongak. Nongak has been developed mainly by peasants and is closely related to the agricultural society and its culture. It is played by actors and shamans in hahoe pyölsin-kut. The nongak orchestra consists mostly of percussion instruments. Concerning the song, it does not function to enhance the merry mood, as it does in other Korean mask-dance theatres. The song

provides the atmosphere of the scene, the situation of the character, and adds somewhat to the theatricality of the drama.

Unlike other Korean mask-dance theatres, the dance of hahoe pyölsin-kut is not elaborate, vigorous, nor diverse, but confined to traditional Korean folk dance. It is an expression of the simple and pure sentiments of common people. It is an art of improvisation. The dance and movement are believed to be played spontaneously at a deity's will. In fact, like other Oriental theatres, all stage movements are related to dance, since they are rhythmical and mimetic. The stage gestures, unlike in the Chinese and Indian theatres, have not been codified: they are rather realistic and improvisatory. Although hahoe pyölsin-kut does not employ a specific dance for each role, the methods of walking for each role are strongly stressed and they could be guidelines in acting.

Hahoe pyölsin-kut provides a psycho-therapy for mental patients, a sociological outlet from the tensions of a stratified society, a psychological relief from the hardships of survival and from calamities, and a physical release from arduous manual labor. Since people believe that hahoe pyölsin-kut is held upon the request of the tutelary deity, the contents of the drama are composed and developed by actors who play their roles spontaneously as the deity leads them. Villagers believe that hahoe pyölsin-

kut can promise an abundant harvest and village safety by pleasing the tutelary deity, sŏnghwang-nim. Also, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is a festival, in which people can celebrate special observances, rest from work, and enjoy entertainments. Indeed, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is a theatre, a ritual, and a festival.

Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, the oldest form of Korean mask-dance theatre, is the purest example of the proposition that theatre originally was religious ritual, because it has characteristics of more sacred ritual and less theatrical expression in comparison with other forms of Korean mask-dance theatre. Hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is functional; it is a ritualistic theatre, which includes both elements of fertility rite and shamanism.

Among the twelve scenes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, three scenes contain the most dramatic effects: "Halmi," "The Apostate Monk," and "Yangban and Sŏnbi." Unlike other scenes, they have dialogues and independent plot development in each scene. They may represent the main episodes of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, in which its main themes can be found. Concerning the dramatic values of these main episodes, they have been mostly appreciated as comedy. But they can be examined within a framework of farce. According to Albert Bermel, farce is physical; it has humor; it has abnormal or unreal dramatic situations; and, above all, it is an actor's art. As examined following Bermel, the main episodes of

hahoe pyŏlsin-kut contain farcical elements creating humorous laughter. In this dissertation, an effort has been made to compare hahoe pyŏlsin-kut with the Greek satyr play, kyōgen, and commedia dell'arte within a farcical framework.

As summarized above, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut shares common features with other groups of Korean mask-dance theatre and other Oriental theatres, or even with some Western theatres. But most of all, it should be profitable for others to compare hahoe pyŏlsin-kut to other theatrical forms which are improvisational in nature. For hahoe pyŏlsin-kut is first of all a theatre of improvisation. It has been orally transmitted; thus in a strict sense, it has been rearranged at each production since its performers improvise their verbal and nonverbal stage expressions. Although improvisation is not wholly spontaneous, but implies the rearrangement of material that has been already worked out, the theatre of improvisation is without doubt a performer's art. In this respect, hahoe pyŏlsin-kut could be explored in comparison with other theatres of improvisation, in which a performer can create his art freely. For the future study of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut, it will be desirable to compare it with the ritualistic theatre, the farcical theatre, as well as the improvisational theatre.

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APPENDIX I:  
TEXT OF HAHOE PYŎLSIN-KUT

Reconstructed and Translated by  
Deukshin Kim

In the reconstruction of this play, I depend on three texts which were recorded by Yu Han-Sang in 1959, by the Research Association of Hahoe Mask-Dance Theatre in Andong in 1978, and by Sŏng Byong-Hŭi in 1980. The table 9 indicates on which part of the texts I depend mostly and to which part of the texts I give more credence in my construction of hahoe pyŏlsin-kut.

TABLE 9  
FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HAHOE PYŎLSIN-KUT

| Scenes \ Transcribers  | Yu  | Assn. | Sŏng |
|------------------------|-----|-------|------|
| 1. The Epiphany        | X   |       | (X)  |
| 2. Chuji               | (X) | (X)   | X    |
| 3. Samsŏk Play         | X   |       |      |
| 4. Paekchŏng           |     | (X)   | X    |
| 5. Halmi               | X   | X     |      |
| 6. The Apostate Monk   | X   |       | (X)  |
| 7. Yangban and Sŏnbi   | (X) | X     | (X)  |
| 8. Pyŏlch'ae           | X   |       | X    |
| 9. The Wedding         | (X) | X     |      |
| 10. The Bridal Chamber | X   |       |      |
| 11. The Shaman Ritual  | X   |       |      |
| 12. The Shrine Service | X   |       |      |

NOTE: Mark "X" shows more reliable materials in comparison with mark "(X)."

# CHARACTERS

## Masked Actors

|            |                        |
|------------|------------------------|
| Chuji (2)  | (Imaginary Animals)    |
| Kaksi      | (Young Woman)          |
| Chung      | (Monk)                 |
| Ch'oraengi | (Servant of Yangban)   |
| Yangban    | (Aristocrat)           |
| Sŏnbi      | (Scholar)              |
| Imae       | (Servant of Sŏnbi)     |
| Pune       | (Dancing Girl)         |
| Paekchŏng  | (Butcher)              |
| Halmi      | (Old Woman)            |
| Ttŏktari   | (Old Man)              |
| Pyŏlch'ae  | (Low-Ranking Official) |
| Ch'onggak  | (Young Man)            |

## Other Performers

|                                      |                             |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Sanju                                | (Priest or Officiating Man) |
| His Assistants (2)                   |                             |
| Pole-Carriers (2)                    |                             |
| Mask-Keeper                          |                             |
| K'ŭn-Kwangdae                        | (Chief-Actor or Director)   |
| Shamans (5-6)                        |                             |
| Village Volunteers of The Aged (2-3) |                             |

## 1. THE EPIPHANY

On the second of January by the lunar calendar, around 8:00 a.m., all characters go up to sōnang-tang (shrine of sōnang goddess), located at the foot of a nearby mountain of Hahoe village. There they place a sōnang-tae (pole of sōnang goddess)<sup>1</sup> draped with five cloth pieces of five colors<sup>2</sup> and a naerim-tae (pole of epiphany)<sup>3</sup> with a sacred bell on top of it.

SANJU holds the naerim-tae and prays for the descent of a tutelary deity, called sōnang-nim or sōnghwang-nim. When the deity descends shaking the pole and thus causing the bell to ring, SANJU switches the ringing bell to the sōnang-tae. Now they are ready to go down to the village.

Two pole-carriers carry the sōnang-tae and actors play the farmer's music. They march through the village, pass by the ha-tang<sup>4</sup> and the samsin-tang<sup>5</sup>, and arrive at the village square in front of the tongsa (Village Hall).

They plant the sōnang-tae in the square where the mask-dance drama will be performed. The villagers begin crowding around the pole to hang their clothes on it because they believe that they will be blessed by doing that. The actors continue playing the farmer's music.

<sup>1</sup>Sōnang-tae is a symbol of the tutelary deity. It is approximately 10 feet (3 m) long.

<sup>2</sup>Five colors are red, white, blue, black, and yellow.

<sup>3</sup>Naerim-tae is approximately 8 feet (2.4 m) long. Its other name is sōngju-tae. The deity is supposed to descend into this pole.

<sup>4</sup>Ha-tang means the shrine of the below. Its other name is kuksi-tang. Nothing is known about the deity of this shrine, except that it is a female deity.

<sup>5</sup>Samsin-tang is the shrine of the offspring deity. This shrine is just a big, old elm tree.

## 2. CHUJI

Two actors whose heads and bodies are clad in hemp-cloth sacks enter, dancing to the music. Each actor is holding a chui<sup>1</sup> mask decorated with pheasant feathers in both hands. Two masks represent a male and a female.

CHUJI: (They dance to the rhythm of the music and move around the stage facing each other. Then they start fighting each other, as they are jumping around the stage.)

CH'ORAENGI (entering with a frivolous walk and seeing two CHUJI fighting): Hu-i, hu-i-i.<sup>2</sup> (He tries to chase them away.)

CHUJI: (They keep fighting until one CHUJI collapses from exhaustion. Finally, another CHUJI also falls on the ground in an opposite direction.)

CH'ORAENGI: (He dances moving up and down flippantly for a while and leaves.)

## 3. SAMSŎK PLAY<sup>3</sup>

This scene is not played by the actors, but by a female shaman. She is wearing a rabbit-like mask with long ears. It is said that she performed a variety of dances. Since there is no shaman living today who performed the role or participated in this scene, it is almost impossible to figure out the details of the dance. This mask does not exist today.

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<sup>1</sup>Concerning the chui, there are many contradictions in meaning. According to most theorists, chui is understood as a lion. However, it is translated into an imaginary animal. Because whether it is a lion or not, it does not have a realistic form of lion.

<sup>2</sup>Hu-i is an onomatopoeic word.

<sup>3</sup>The meaning of samsŏk is not clear. It might be a short word of sampul-chesŏk (三佛帝釋), implying three principal Buddhas and the king of the heaven.

## 4. PAEKCHŎNG

PAEKCHŎNG<sup>1</sup> enters carrying a mesh bag containing a wooden knife and ax, and begins to dance. Now an ox, covered with cloth and supported by two actors inside, is entering.

PAEKCHŎNG: (He discovers the ox and dances around it. He takes an ax out of his bag and slaughters the ox. The ox falls down. He takes out the knife and cuts out cloth-covered ox testicles and ox heart. He puts them into the bag. He dances in a trance with a vigorous movement and laughs delightedly with great satisfaction. He holds ox testicles and ox heart and shouts at the audience.) Buy ox balls, buy ox heart! Buy ox balls, buy ox heart!

(If nobody buys them, he thrusts out the ox testicles in front of the audience.) Buy ox balls, they are very good for your sexual stamina.

(He tries to sell ox balls and ox heart to the audience, while he keeps dancing around the stage.)

(The audience members actually pay money for the ox balls or the ox heart. The money will be used for the production of this pyŏlsin-kut.)

---

<sup>1</sup>PAEKCHŎNG means literally butcher, which was regarded as one of the outcasts in Korea. This scene is said to have originally shown the execution of a man. The profession whose job is to beat or to execute men was also one of the degraded professions--the outcasts.

## 5. HALMI

HALMI is sitting at a loom and weaving a hempcloth. She sings a song about life-long sufferings of her housekeeping.

HALMI sings:

|                |                |
|----------------|----------------|
| Catching reeds | Striking sound |
| My life-long   | Married life   |
| How unlucky    | My fate        |
| Loom's legs    | Two legs       |
| Husband's legs | Two legs       |
| A pair of legs | My legs        |
| Catching reeds | Striking sound |
| My husband     | Voice is       |
| How's my       | Housekeeping   |
| Oh my, oh dear | Don't ask      |
| Wedding day    | Wedding gown   |
| Pink skirt     | Tears wiper    |
| Red skirt      | Apron skirt    |
| Catching reeds | Striking sound |
| A dammed life  | flows well     |

TTÖKTARI (entering): You've been weaving all your life. but you've never worn new clothes and never hang clothes on the sōnang-tae.

HALMI: It is all due to my fate. What else can I do?

TTÖKTARI: Try to hang your clothes on the sōnang-tae. Then you'll receive a fortune easily.

HALMI: That's beyond my will: I am under the unlucky sign. TTÖKTARI, you are noisy.

TTÖKTARI: You finished all the herrings I bought at the market yesterday, didn't you?

HALMI: Last night I ate nine and you had one. This morning I ate nine and you had one. We finished two strings of herrings.

TTÖKTARI: Ha, ha. You eat too much. That's why you don't have any teeth left. (They begin dancing.)

## 6. THE APOSTATE MONK

KAKSI (entering, dancing to the music. She keeps dancing for a while.)

CHUNG (entering): (He sees KAKSI dancing and makes a wondering expression.)

KAKSI: (She looks around and squats, raising her skirt a little, to urinate. Then she continues to dance.)

CHUNG: (He peeps at her and joins his palms in prayer, fingering the beads of Buddhist rosary. He then proceeds to where KAKSI has urinated and gathers a handful of soil from the spot to smell it. He makes a weird smile as if he felt a sexual desire.)

KAKSI: (She now notices CHUNG's presence, and expresses astonishment. After a brief time of conflict, they dance together around the stage.)

CH'ORAENGI (entering): (He sees a young woman and a monk dancing together. He jumps up and down frivolously to show his surprise.)

CHUNG: (He at last runs away carrying KAKSI on his back.)

CH'ORAENGI: (He looks back and waves someone to come quickly.)

YANGBAN (entering): (He walks in large strides with his chest out.)

CH'ORAENGI: (He goes to YANGBAN and whispers something in his ear.)

YANGBAN: (He clicks his tongue as an extremely unpleasant expression.)

SŎNBI (entering, accompanied by his servant IMAE): (He makes a disdainful expression, as he gazes in the direction where CHUNG ran away.)

YANGBAN: Huh, huh, what a disorderly world!

SŎNBI: Damm it, how nasty it is!

(CH'ORAENGI and IMAE embrace each other with joy.)

YANGBAN (seeing that): (He beats them with his fan.)

## 7. YANGBAN AND SÖNBI

YANGBAN, SÖNBI, CH'ORAENGI, and IMAE remain on the stage. PUNE enters dancing coquettishly, looking at YANGBAN and SÖNBI alternately, as if captivating them. CH'ORAENGI comes and goes between YANGBAN and SÖNBI.

CH'ORAENGI (to YANGBAN): Master, why don't you introduce yourself to him?

YANGBAN (looking at SÖNBI): How about exchanging names of each other?

SÖNBI: Yes, that's a good idea.

(YANGBAN and SÖNBI make a bow toward each other politely. CH'ORAENGI quickly steps in between them and sits; his back faces to YANGBAN's head, to receive the SÖNBI's bow.)

CH'ORAENGI (imitating YANGBAN's voice): Is that you?

YANGBAN: (He becomes angry and beats CH'ORAENGI's back with fan.) Damm, you darn bastard!

SÖNBI: Huh-uh, that CH'ORAENGI is not disciplined at all.

YANGBAN: He is impossible no matter how hard I teach him.

CH'ORAENGI: (After being scolded, he goes to PUNE and whispers in her ear.) He bows, I bow. Bows are all the same; and what does it matter?

PUNE: (She nods her head in assent.)

SÖNBI: Hey, hey, PUNE.

PUNE: (She goes to SÖNBI and shouts loudly in his ear.)  
Po-o-ok!<sup>1</sup>

SÖNBI: Ouch! I am startled.... Oh, yes, it's you, PUNE.

(He gestures PUNE to massage his shoulders. She moves to his back and starts to massage his shoulders and arms, catching lice in his hair at times.)

---

<sup>1</sup>. Po-o-ok is an onomatopoeic word.

CH'ORAENGI (to YANGBAN): Master, may I massage your shoulders?

(YANGBAN nods his head with a pleasant expression. CH'ORAENGI seems to massage him but he plays with YANGBAN by pressing his shoulders roughly with his knee.)

YANGBAN: Ouch, damm you! My shoulders will be broken. Hey, CH'ORAENGI, stop it. Get PUNE and bring her to me.

(SÖNBI hears this and, making an unpleasant expression, smokes his long pipe intermittently.)

CH'ORAENGI: (He brings PUNE to YANGBAN.) PUNE is here.

PUNE: (She goes to YANGBAN and shouts in his ear.) Po-ok!

YANGBAN: Ouch, I got a start. You are almost deafening me.

PUNE: (She massages YANGBAN's shoulders and catches lice in his hair.)

CH'ORAENGI: Oh, no. I can't believe this. YANGBAN has lice, too.

YANGBAN: Oh, yes, PUNE.

PUNE: (She twists her body lasciviously.) Po-o-ok.

SÖNBI: (He clears his throat unpleasantly.) Damm it, what a wicked guy!

PUNE: (She goes to SÖNBI and makes a gesture, saying "I am here.")

SÖNBI: Oh, yes, it's you, PUNE.

PUNE: (She comes close to SÖNBI's ear and shouts in with a lascivious movement.) Po-o-ok.

SÖNBI: Ouch, what a start!

YANGBAN: Oh, hell, that bastard SÖNBI! Huh, that wretched bitch! Ahem!

PUNE: (She goes to YANGBAN again without the knowledge of SÖNBI.)

YANGBAN: Yes, yes, PUNE.

PUNE: Po-o-ok.

SŎNBI: Dear me, that fickle whore! A-hem!

PUNE: (She now goes to SŎNBI.)

YANGBAN (suddenly being angry at SŎNBI): How dare you do this in front of me?

SŎNBI: How could you do this to me?

YANGBAN: Well, do you mean your lineage<sup>1</sup> is as noble as mine?

(CH'ORAENGI and IMAE mimic their masters' display of power in pantomime.)

YANGBAN: Of course, mine is superior to yours.

SŎNBI: Which one is superior? Tell me.

YANGBAN: I am a descendant of a sa-taebu<sup>2</sup>....

SŎNBI: What, sa-taebu? I am a descendant of a p'al-taebu.<sup>3</sup>

YANGBAN: What the hell is the p'al-taebu?

SŎNBI: P'al-taebu is double your sa-taebu.

YANGBAN: My grandfather was a munha-sijung.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Lineage is called in Korean as chich'e (지체). Chich'e has other meaning: body and limbs. This word is employed to make puns.

<sup>2</sup>Sa-taebu is written in chinese as 四大夫, meaning a man of noble birth. Here, sa means four.

<sup>3</sup>P'al-taebu is just an invention for the comic effect. P'al means eight (八).

<sup>4</sup>Munha-sijung (門下侍中) is a prime minister. Here, ha is literally below, while jung is literally middle or medium.

SŎNBI: Bah, munha-sijung? is that all? My father is a munsang-sitae.<sup>1</sup>

YANGBAN: Munsang-sitae? What the hell is that again?

SŎNBI: Munsang is higher than munha and sitae is bigger than sijung.

YANGBAN: That is the funniest thing that I have ever heard of.

SŎNBI: Do you think the noble lineage is the best thing in the world?

YANGBAN: What can be more important?

SŎNBI: Nothing can beat a man of learning. I've read all of the sasŏ-samkyŏng.<sup>2</sup>

YANGBAN: What, sasŏ-samkyŏng? Who would bother with that kind of thing? I have read the p'alsŏ-yukkyŏng.<sup>3</sup>

SŎNBI: What the hell is the p'alsŏ-yukkyŏng? What on earth is yukkyŏng?

CH'ORAENGI: Even I know the yukkyŏng! How come you don't know that? I'm telling you. They are: the eighty thousand volumes of the Buddhist sutras, the cymbals of the monks, the eyeglasses of the blind, the rampion tree in the apothecary, the menstruation of the virgin, and the annual pay of the farm hand.<sup>4</sup>

IMAE: That's right, you're correct.

<sup>1</sup>Munsang-sitae (門上侍大) is an invention to make puns. Sang means literally above, while tae means literally big or great.

<sup>2</sup>Sasŏ-samkyŏng (四書三經) means the Four Books and the Three Classics of ancient China. They are: the Analects of Confucius, the Works of Mencius, the Doctrine of the Mean, and the Great Learning; the Book of Odes, the Canon of History, and the Book of Changes.

<sup>3</sup>P'alsŏ-yukkyŏng is an invention to make puns. P'al (八) means literally eight, while yuk (久) means six.

<sup>4</sup>These rhyme with yuk-kyŏng. They are taechang-kyŏng, para-kyŏng, an-kyŏng, chil-kyŏng, wŏl-kyŏng, and swae-kyŏng.

YANGBAN: Even these two know about the yukkyŏng. You, so-called scholar, don't know that?

SŎNBI (clicking his tongue): We are much the same. Let's stop arguing. How about calling PUNE and enjoy dancing together?

YANGBAN: Okay, good! Very well. Hello, PUNE.

PUNE (entering dancing): (She comes to YANGBAN and SŎNBI.)

(YANGBAN and SŎNBI dance merrily with PUNE, and each is trying to monopolize her.)

PAEKCHŎNG (entering): (He carries ox testicles in the mesh bag.) Buy the balls, gentlemen.

YANGBAN: Damn you! Why do you interrupt us with your damn balls, while we are dancing in high spirits?

PAEKCHŎNG: The balls. Don't you know the balls?

CH'ORAENGI: Chicken eggs. Eye balls. Bird eggs. And your excellency's balls.

PAEKCHŎNG: That's right, you're correct. The balls.

SŎNBI: Damn you! What do mean by the balls?

PAEKCHŎNG: Don't you know ox balls?

YANGBAN: Damn you! It is so uncivilized to mention ox testicles. I don't want to buy them. Get out quickly.

PAEKCHŎNG: Ox balls are very good for sexual stamina. They are the best.

SŎNBI: What, good for sexual stamina? If so, I will buy them.

YANGBAN: No, he asked me to buy them first. So they're my balls.

SŎNBI: NO! They're absolutely mine.

(YANGBAN and SŎNBI pull out the ox testicles in different directions.)

PAEKCHŎNG: Good heavens! You're breaking my balls.

HALMI (entering and picking up the ox testicles which have just fallen): Fighting for ox balls! YANGBAN claims these are his balls, SŎNBI also claims his balls, and PAEKCHŎNG claims his balls, too. Whose balls are these, then? In all my life of sixty years, I've never seen fighting for ox balls before. I've never seen it before.

## 8. PYŎLCH'AE<sup>1</sup>

While all actors are dancing, PYŎLCH'AE enters.

PYŎLCH'AE (shouting): Pay off your debt, pay off government loan, pay off government grains.

(Everybody is frightened and bewildered; they then tremble from fear; and finally they run away in a flurry.)

---

<sup>1</sup>This scene is usually entitled "Hwanjae." It means "Pay Off the Loan," or "Pay Off the Government Grains." This system was originally to help the farmers by loaning out the government grains at low interest during the spring and collecting them with interest in the fall. However, this system was later used for corrupt officials to take their advantages.

## 9. THE WEDDING

CH'ORAENGI enters and places two changgo<sup>1</sup> with their heads upward in the center of the stage. YANGBAN enters and stands behind the changgo.

YANGBAN: (He starts to read loudly the order of the marriage ceremony for CH'ONGGAK and KAKSI.)

CH'ONGGAK: (He enters from the right side and walks to the right side of changgo as CH'ORAENGI guides him.)

KAKSI: (She enters from the left side and walks to the left side of changgo as HALMI guides her.)

CH'ONGGAK: (He turns toward the changgo and gives a nod to KAKSI.)

KAKSI: (She makes a ceremonial bow twice to CH'ONGGAK.)

CH'ONGGAK: (He returns KAKSI's greeting by doing one ceremonial bow.)

KAKSI: (She makes another ceremonial bow, then twice again.)

CH'ONGGAK: (He again returns the bow once. Now they take seats on the mat.)

(CH'ORAENGI, HALMI, and YANGBAN: Exit)

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<sup>1</sup>Changgo is a double-headed drum pinched in at the middle. It is usually translated into an hourglass drum because of its hourglass shape. Here, two changgo serve as a ceremonial table.

## 10. THE BRIDAL CHAMBER

CH'ONGGAK and KAKSI simulate the first night's sexual intercourse.

After CH'ONGGAK has fallen asleep, KAKSI opens the wooden chest. CHUNG, her paramour, gets out of the chest and kills CH'ONGGAK.

11. THE SHAMAN RITUAL<sup>1</sup>

This scene is performed by shamans. It is held in the main road which runs at the entrance of village on the last day of this pyŏlsin-kut (on the fifteenth of January by the lunar calendar.)

The villagers prepare the sacrificial offerings to feed the minor demons and evil spirits which thronged the village during the past fifteen days performance.

When the shaman is in the trance, the shaman performs a leaping dance: he or she jumps upward with stretching knees and gets faster and faster. The actors participate in this ritual by dancing.

---

<sup>1</sup>This scene is originally titled "Hŏtch'ŏn-kut," or "Hŏtch'ŏn-kŏri-kut."

## 12. THE SHRINE SERVICE

At midnight on the final day of this pyölsin-kut, all participants go up to the sŏnang-tang. They prepare the sacrificial offerings and begin performing the shrine service in the order of burning the incense, requesting the blessing, and burning the sacrificial paper.<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this service is to pray for the village's safety from all kinds of calamities, for prosperity and fertility in the farm produce, and for peace and luck to all villagers.

After performing the service at the sŏnang-tang, SANJU detaches the sacred bell from the sŏnang-tae and consecrates the sŏnang-tang by hanging it horizontally from the eaves of this shrine. The sacred bell and the masks will be enshrined in the chest at the tongsa (Village Hall).

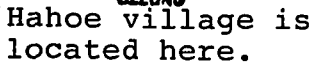
They also proceed to the ha-tang and the samsin-tang, where they also perform the services. Now hahoe pyölsin-kut is over, and the SANJU, all actors, pole-carriers, mask-keeper, and K'ÜN-KWANGDAE can go home after sixteen days' and fifteen nights' absence, during which they have lodged together in the Village Hall.

From this time on, nobody will be allowed to play music until the next production of hahoe pyölsin-kut.

---

<sup>1</sup>White rice-paper is used. One piece of paper is for each household: all family names of a household are written on the paper. Offering this paper by burning means praying in the presence of spirits.

APPENDIX II:  
ILLUSTRATIONS



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Fig. 2. View of Hahoe Village. From Yong-Jik Kim, Andong Hahoe Maul, 1981, pp. 1-2.



Fig. 3. Sang-tang: Side View. (Photographs of Figs. 3, 5, 6, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27 are by Hyong-Shin Kim.)



Fig. 4. Ha-tang. From Yong-Jik Kim, p. 63.

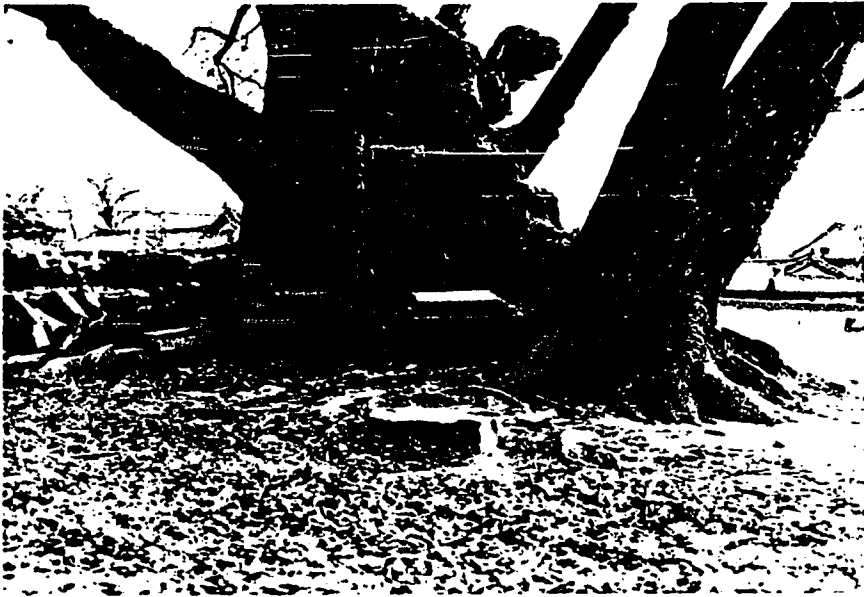


Fig. 5. Samsin-tang: Close View.



Fig. 6. Samsin-tang: Far View.



Fig. 7. Female Chuji Mask. (Figs. 7, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, and 19 are from Yong-Hun Sin, ed., Kukbo, 1985.)

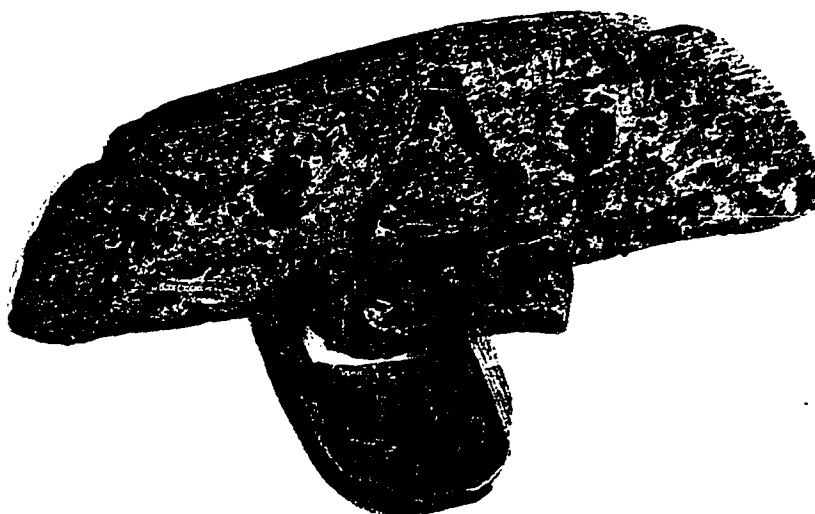


Fig. 8. Male Chuji Mask.



Fig. 9. Kaksi Mask.



Fig. 10. Pune Mask. (Figs. 10 and 16 are from Korean Overseas Information Service, Masks of Korea, 1981.)



Fig. 11. Halmi Mask.



Fig. 12. Chung Mask.



Fig. 13. Yangban Mask.

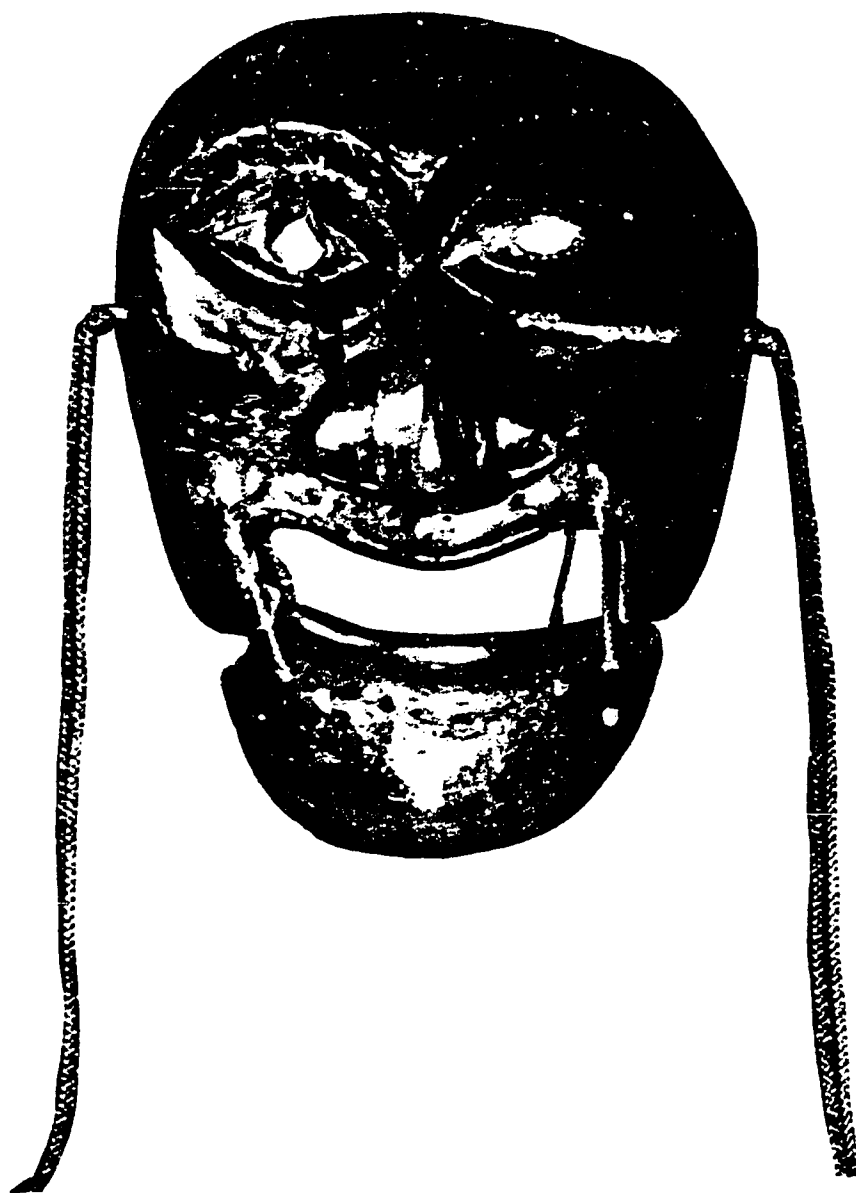


Fig. 14. Sŏnbi Mask.



Fig. 15. Paekchŏng Mask.



Fig. 16. Ch'oraengi Mask.



Fig. 17. Imae Mask.

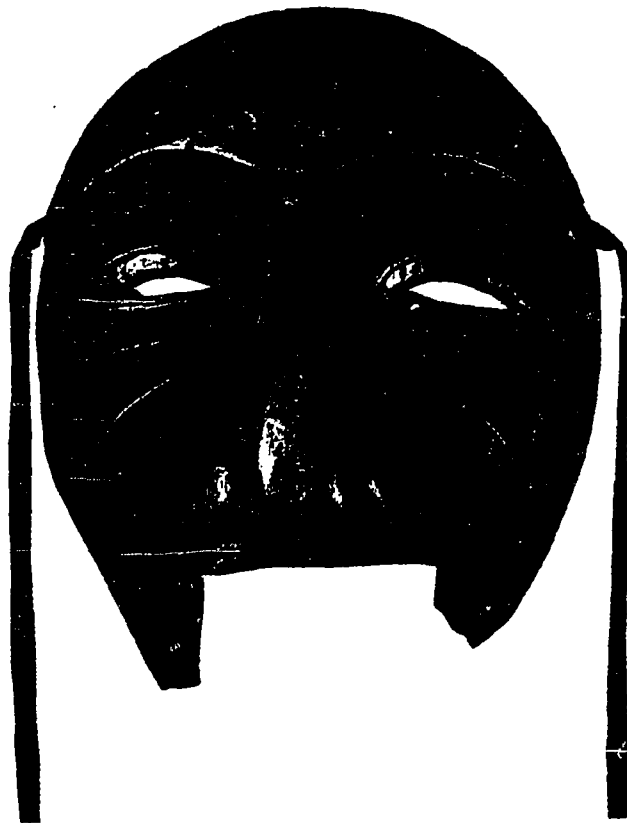


Fig. 18. Pyŏngsan Mask: Yangban.

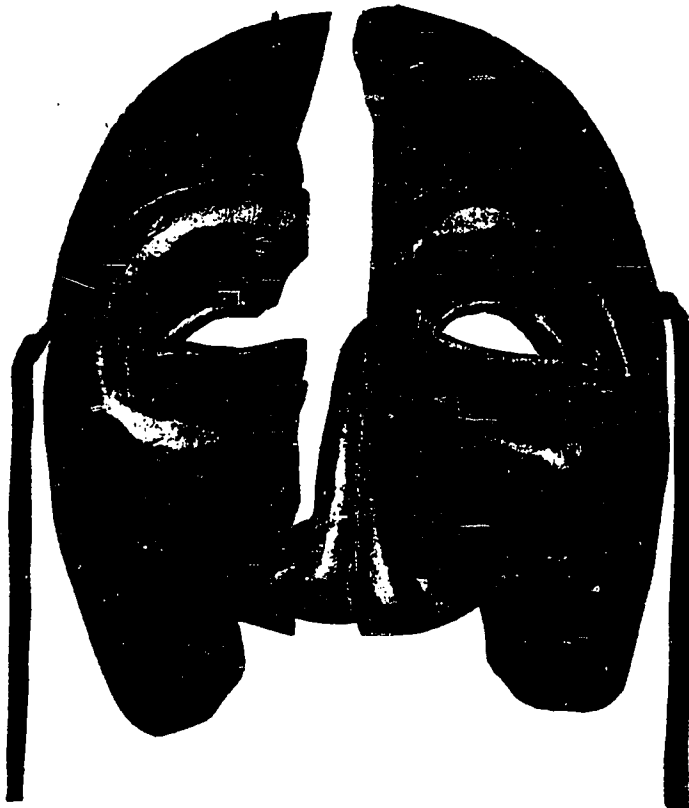


Fig. 19. Pyŏngsan Mask: Taegam.



Fig. 20. Village Square.



Fig. 21. A Road of Hahoe Village (A).



Fig. 22. A Road of Hahoe Village (B).



Fig. 23. A Road of Hahoe Village (C).

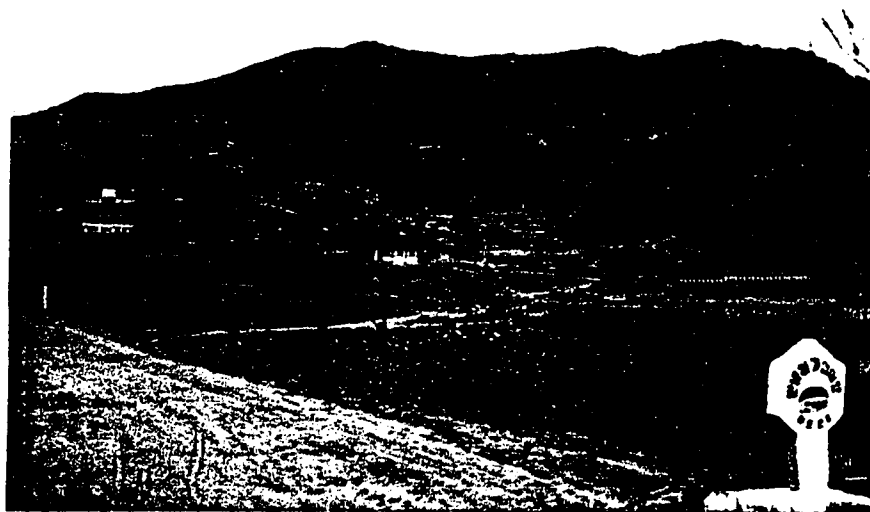


Fig. 24. The Entrance of Hahoe Village.



Fig. 25. A Courtyard of Yangban's House (A).



Fig. 26. A Courtyard of Yangban's House (B).



Fig. 27. A Common-Class Villager's House.

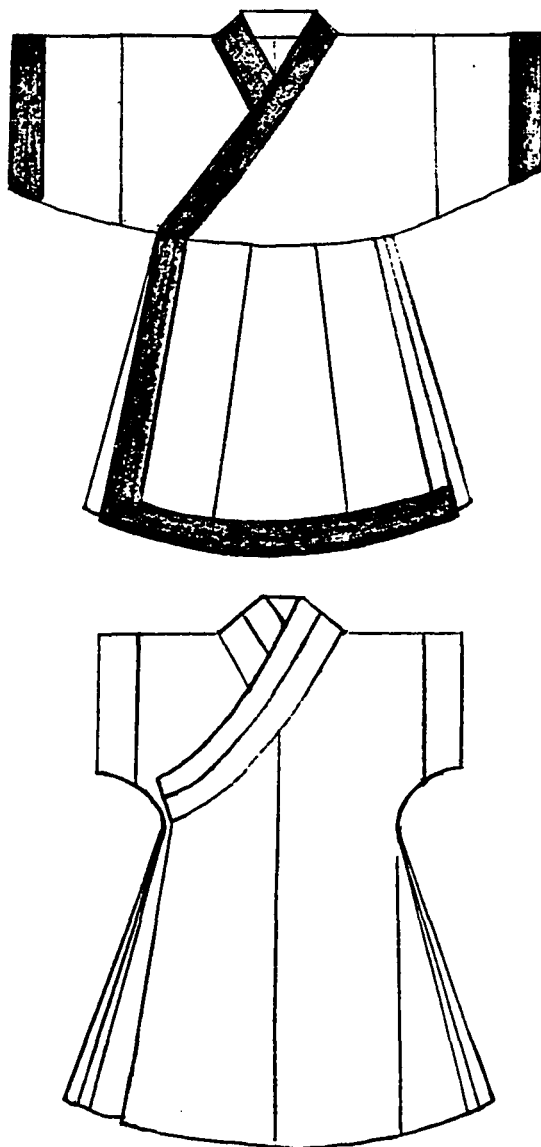


Fig. 28. P'o. (Drawings of Figs. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 43, 44, 45, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, and 59 are by Deukshin Kim.)

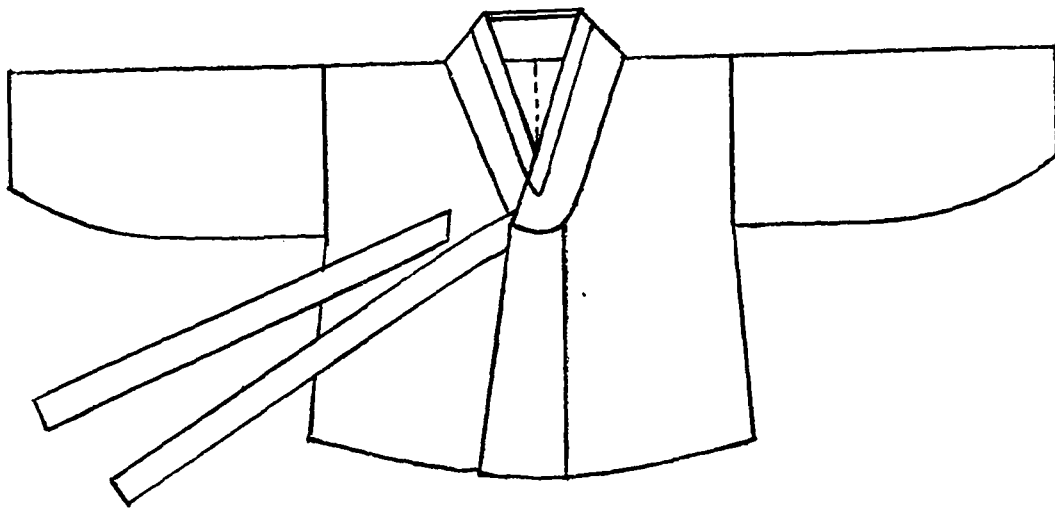


Fig. 29. Man's Chŏgori.

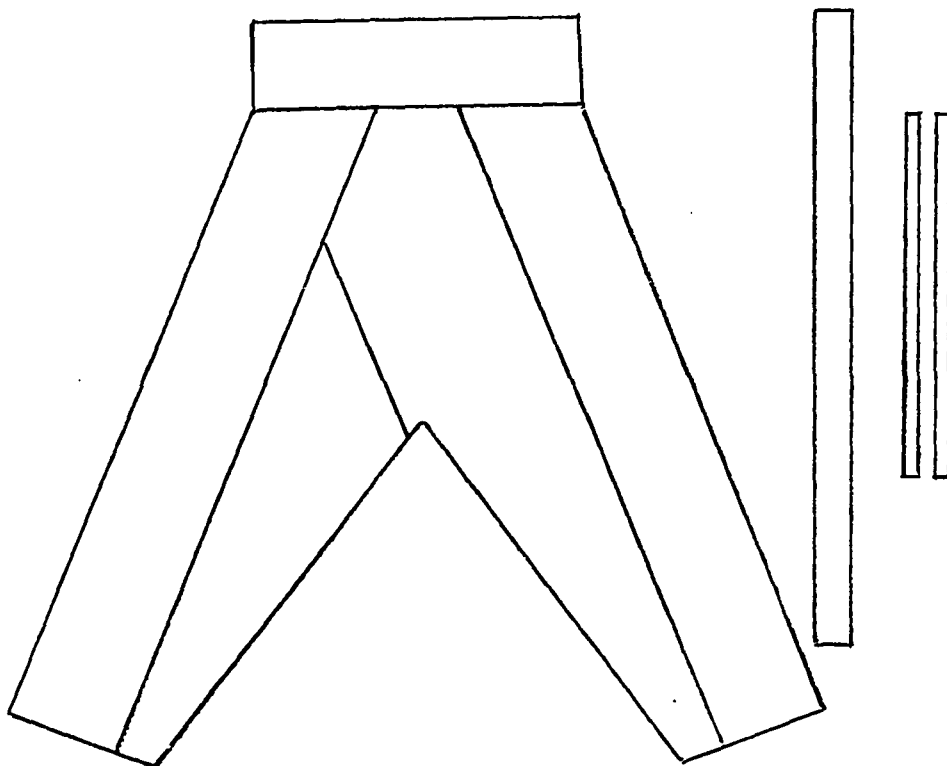


Fig. 30. Paji, Hŏritti, and Taenim.

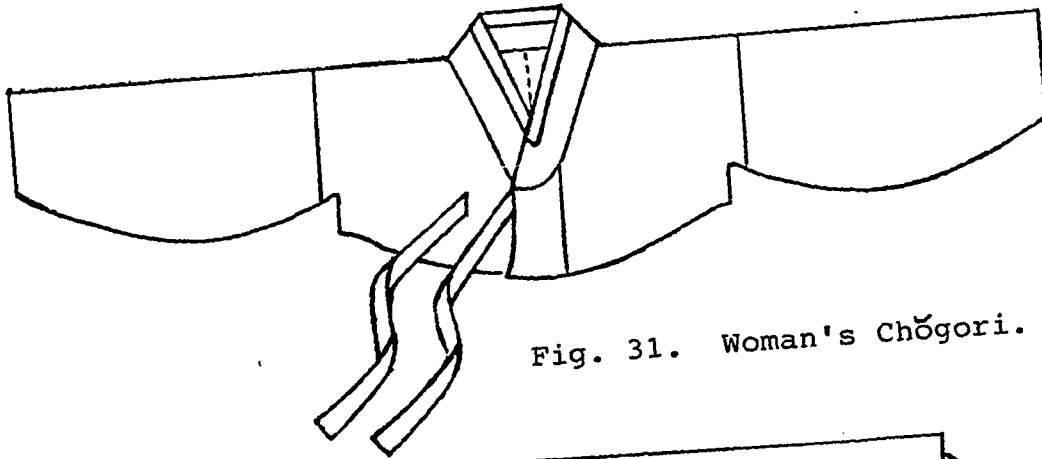


Fig. 31. Woman's Chŏgori.

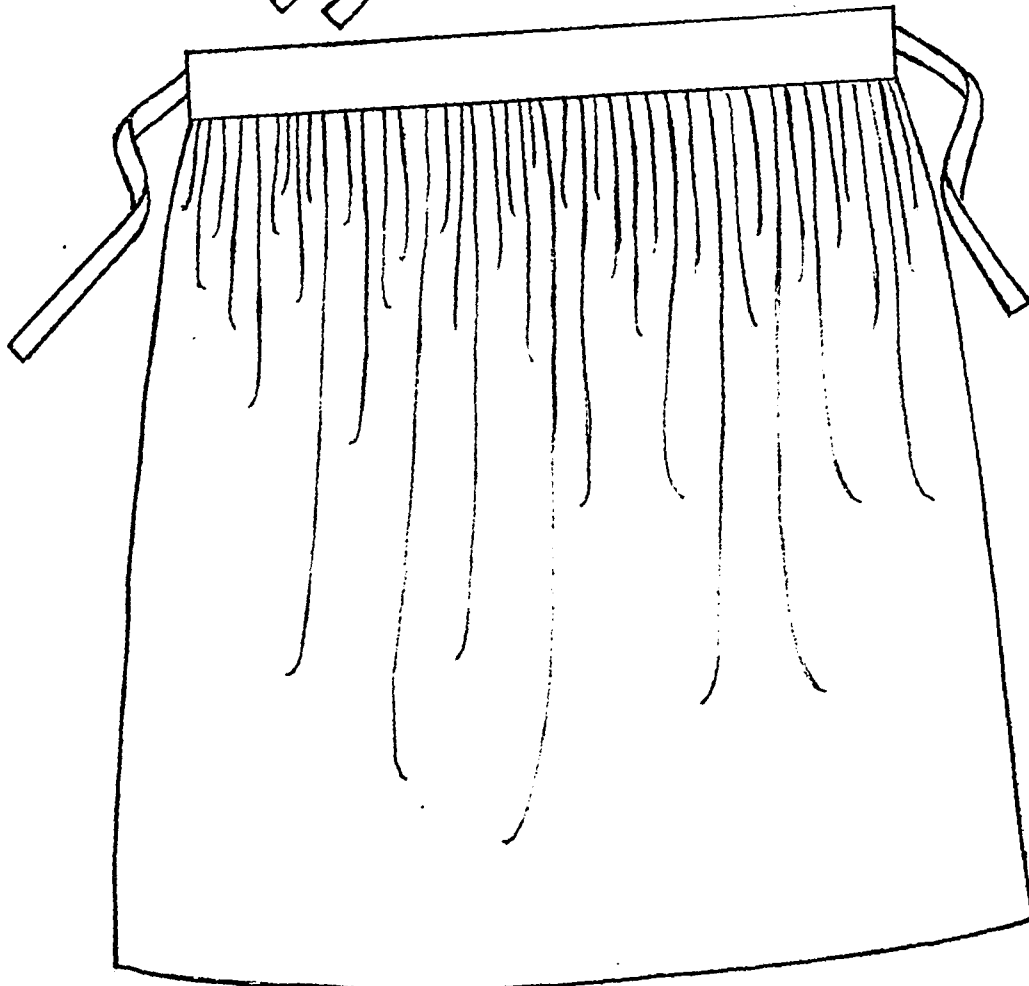


Fig. 32. Ch'ima.

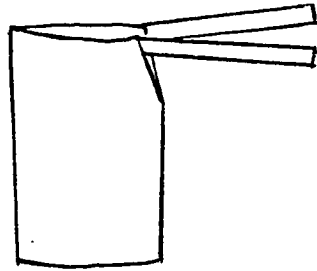


Fig. 33. Haengchŏn.

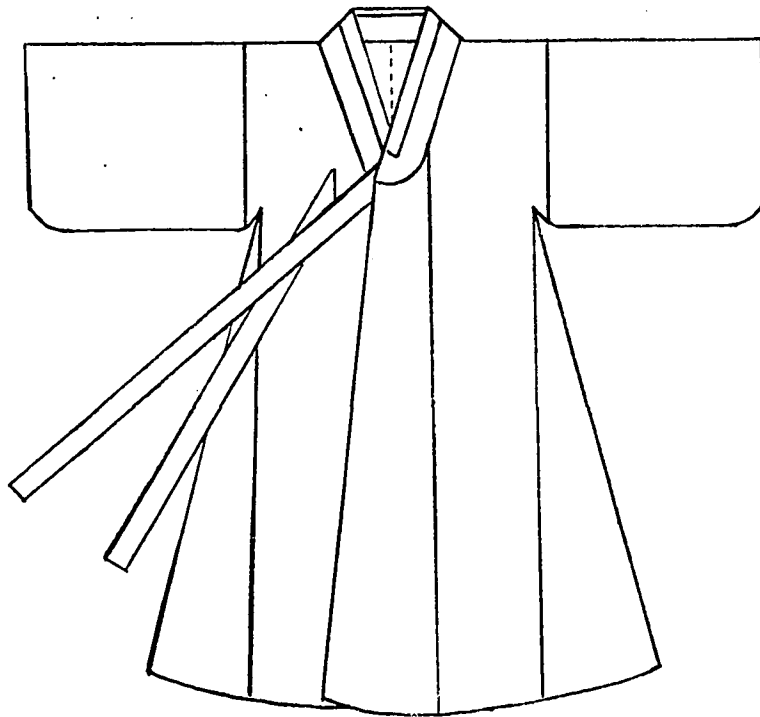


Fig. 34. Top'o.

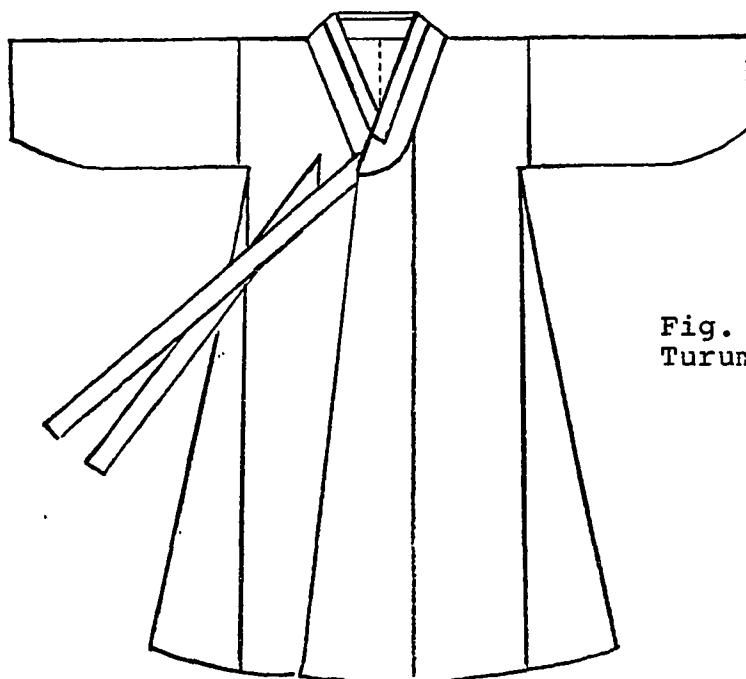


Fig. 35.  
Turumagi.

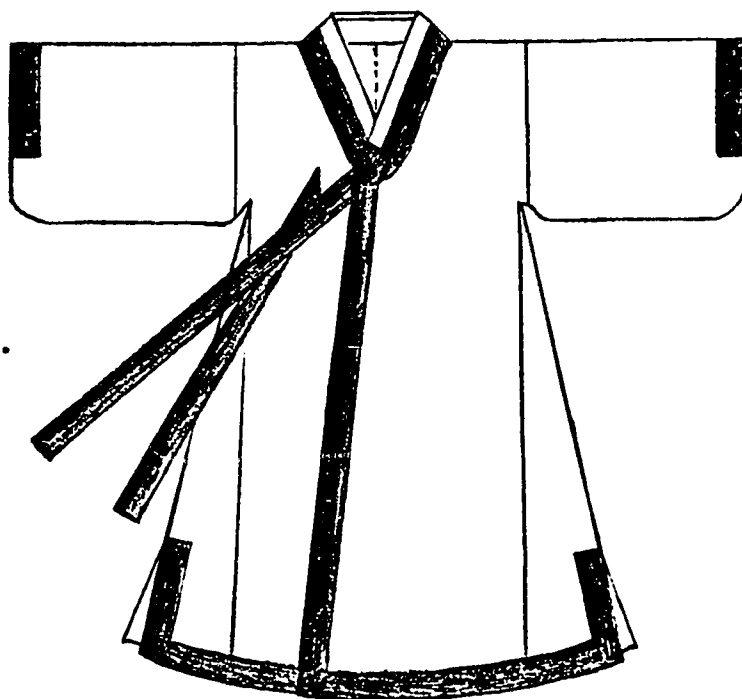


Fig. 36.  
Ch'angŭi.

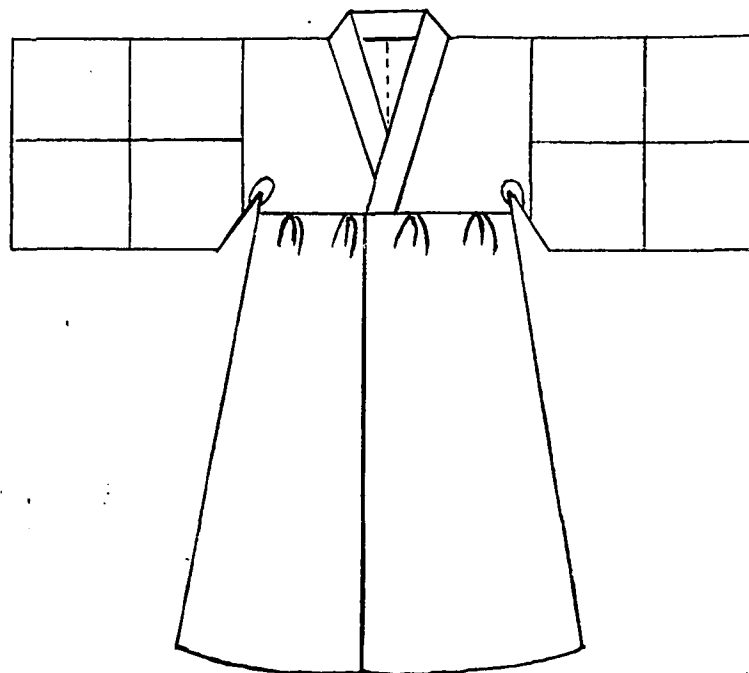


Fig. 37. Changsam.

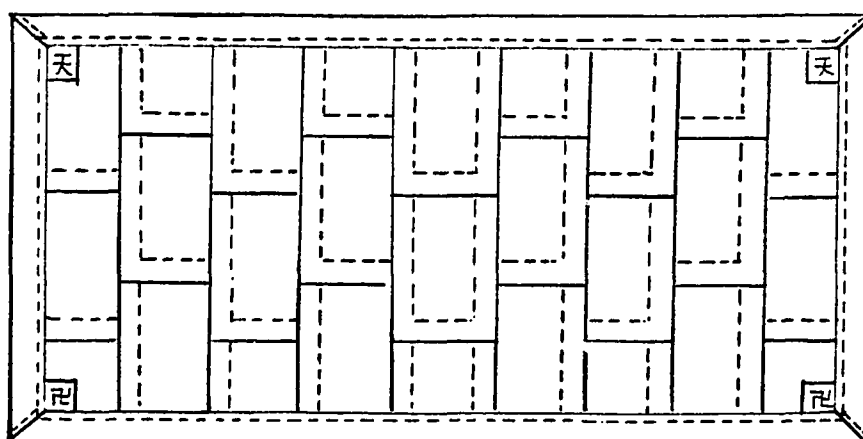


Fig. 38. Kasa.

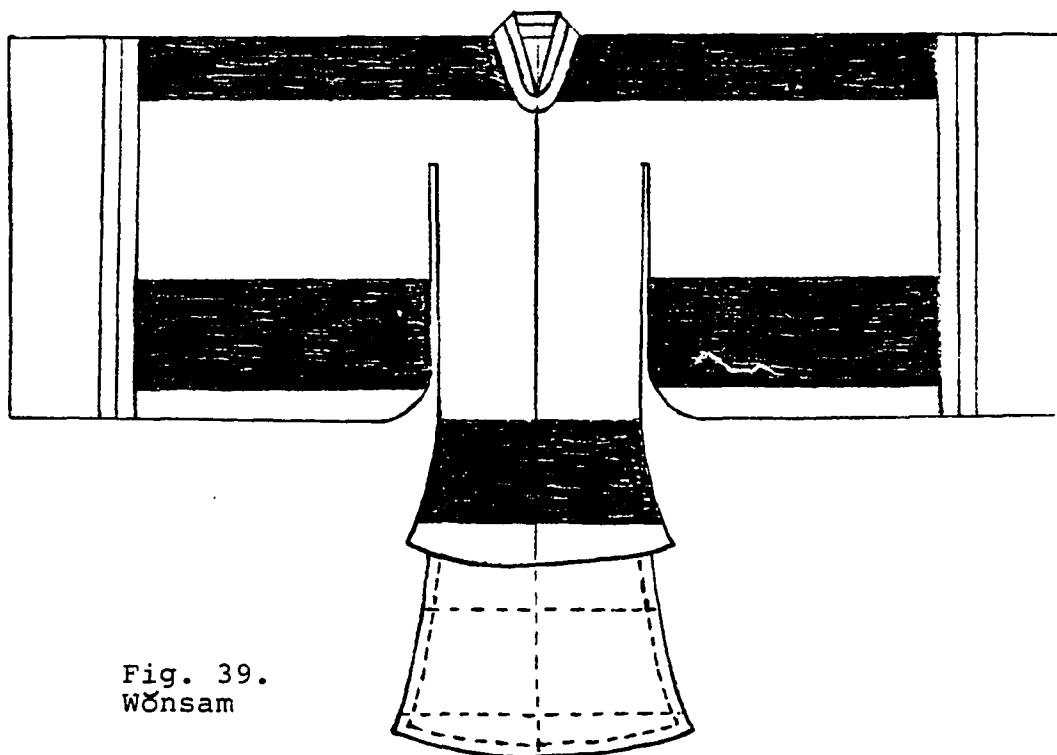


Fig. 39.  
Wŏnsam

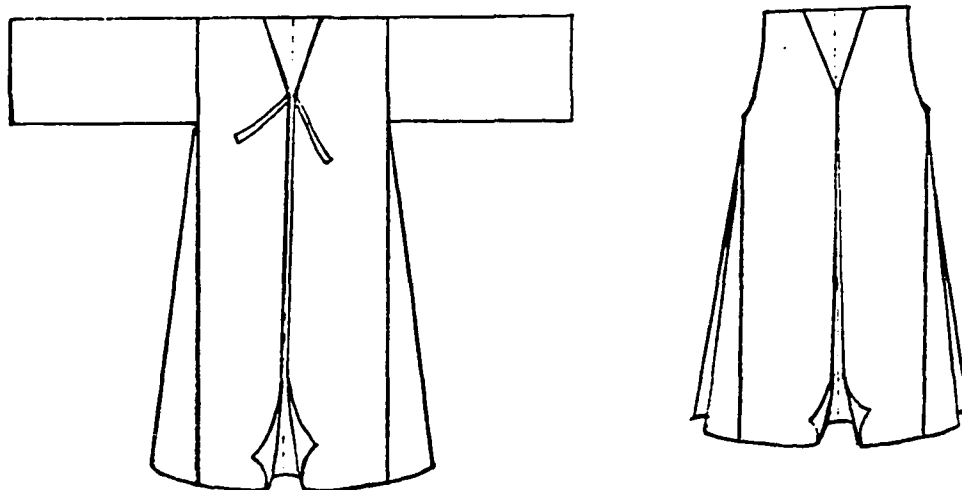


Fig. 40. Shaman's Costumes.

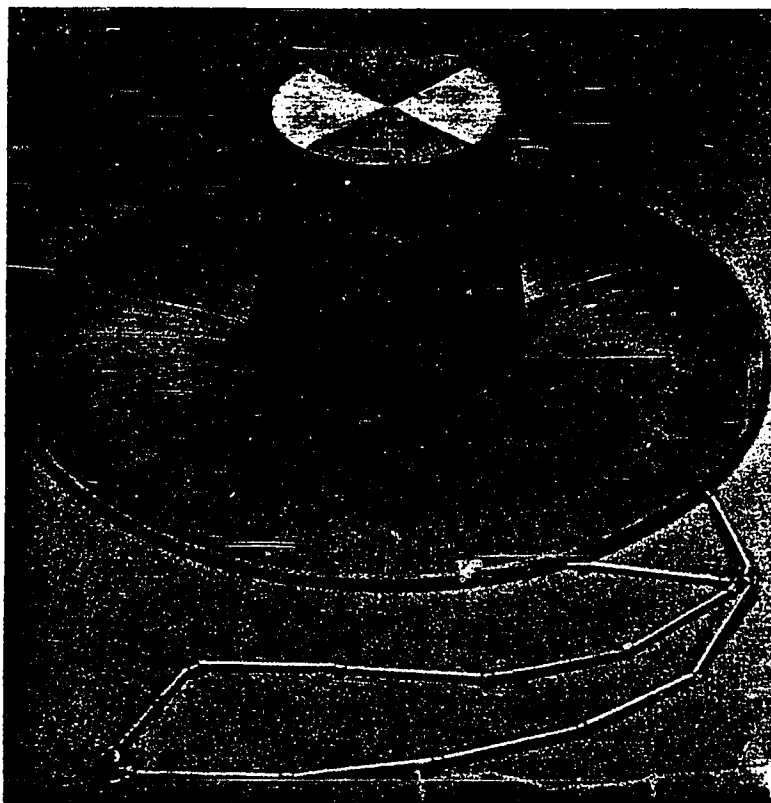


Fig. 41. Kat. From Korean Overseas Information Service, Korean Craftsmen on Parade, 1982.)

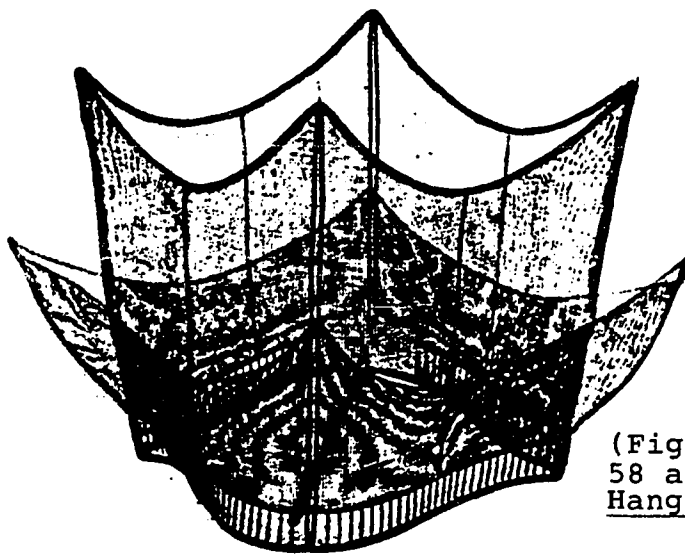


Fig. 42.  
Chongchakwan.  
(Figs. 42, 47, 48, and  
58 are from Ju-Son Sŏk,  
Hanguk Poksiksa, 1978.)

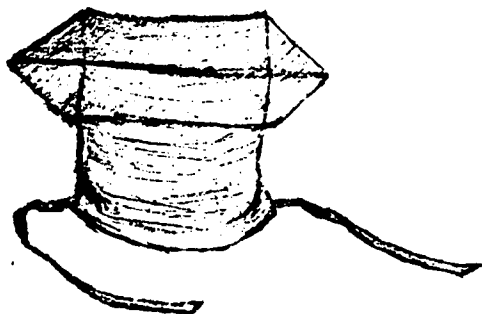


Fig. 43. Yukŏn.

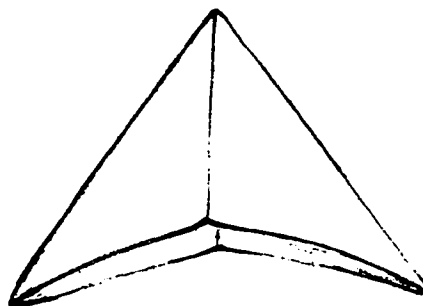


Fig. 44. Kokkal.



Fig. 45. Ch'orip.



Fig. 46. Ssugae-ch'ima.  
From Sin Yun-Bok's (1758 - ?)  
painting.



Fig. 47. Mit'uri.

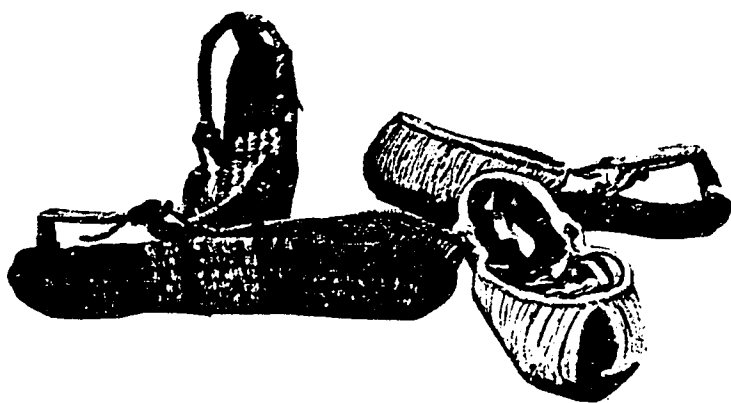


Fig. 48. Chipsin.



Fig. 49. Pōsōn.

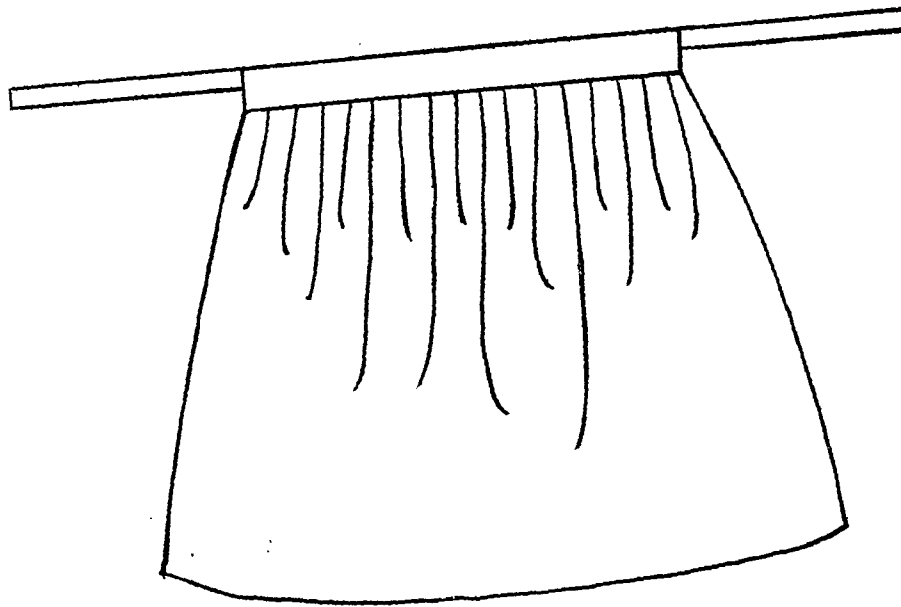


Fig. 50. Sokch'ima.

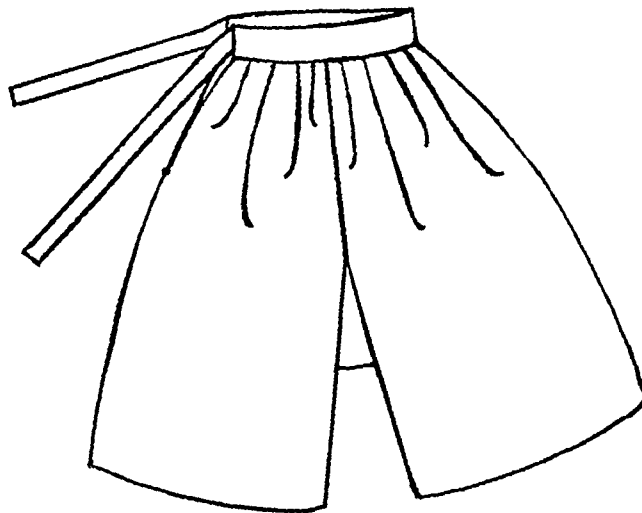


Fig. 51. Tansokot.

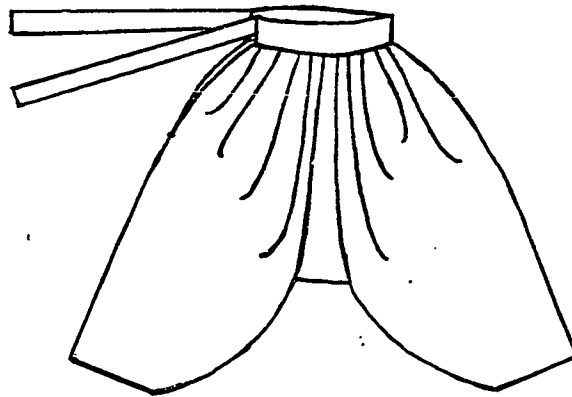


Fig. 52. Paji.  
(Woman's Undergarment)

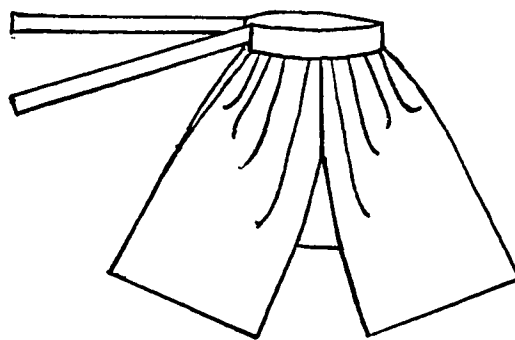


Fig. 53. Soksokkot.

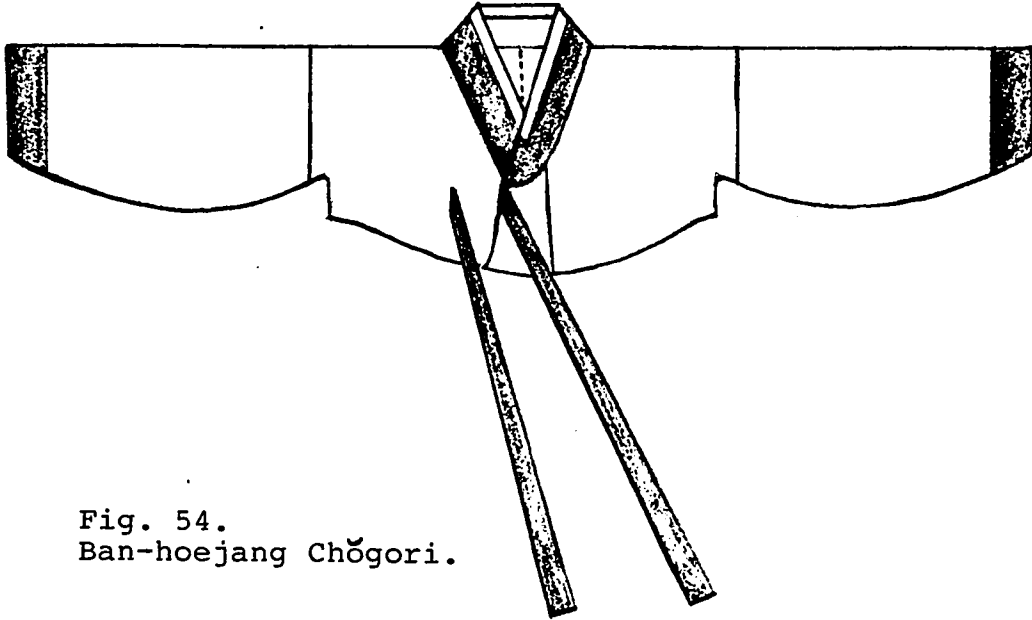


Fig. 54.  
Ban-hoejang Chŏgori.

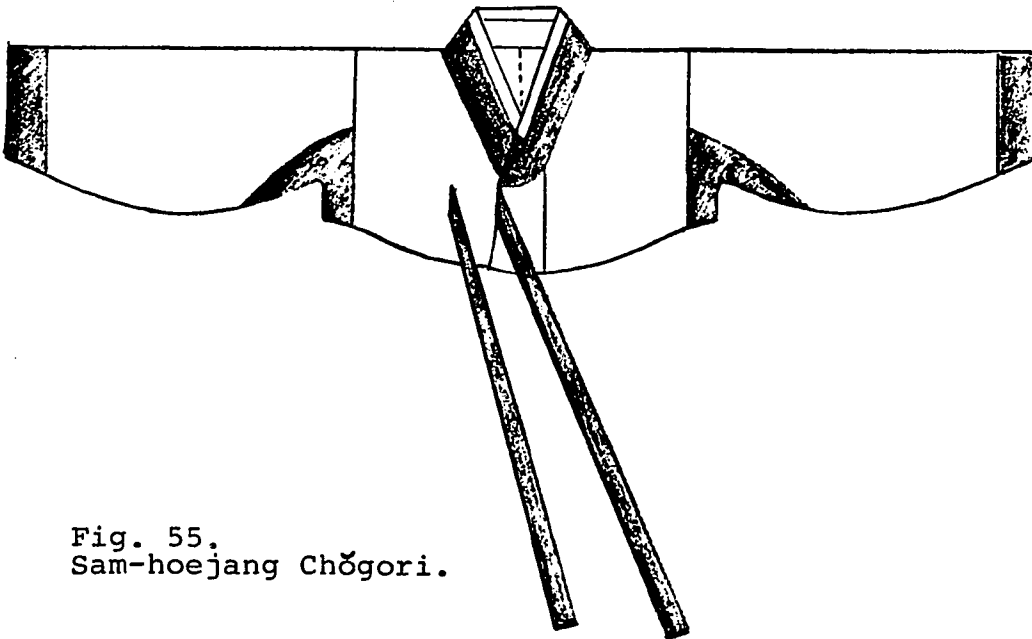


Fig. 55.  
Sam-hoejang Chŏgori.

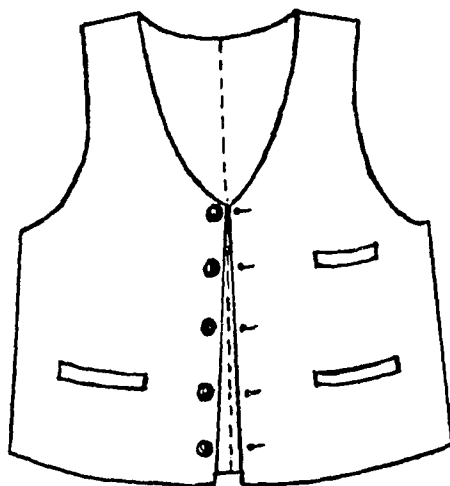


Fig. 56. Chokki.

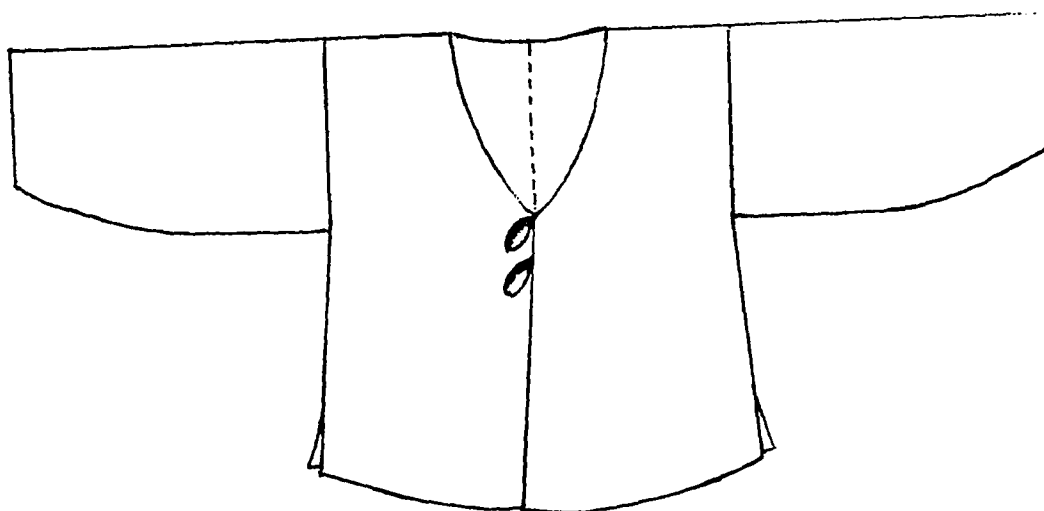


Fig. 57. Magoja.

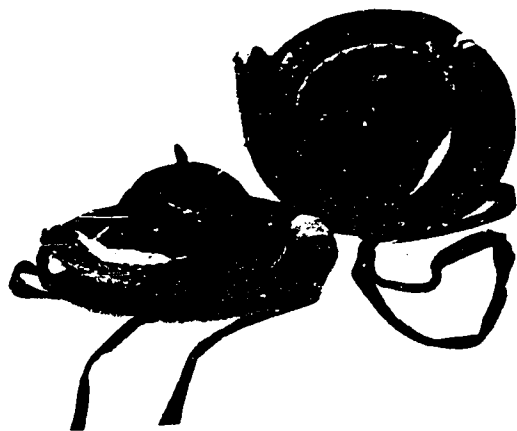


Fig. 58. Pŏnggŏji.



Fig. 59. P'yŏngryanglip.

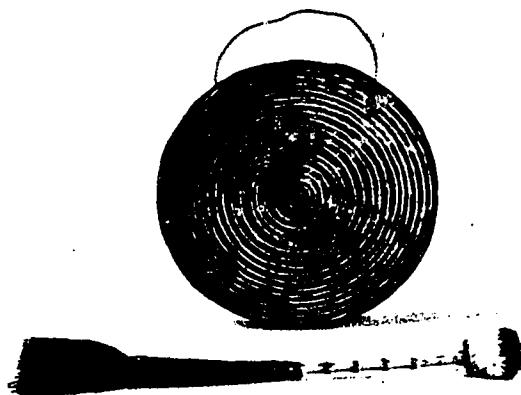


Fig. 60. Kkwaenggari.  
(Figs. 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, and  
67 are from Hye-Ku Yi, ed., Korean  
Musical Instruments, 1982.)



Fig. 61. Ching.

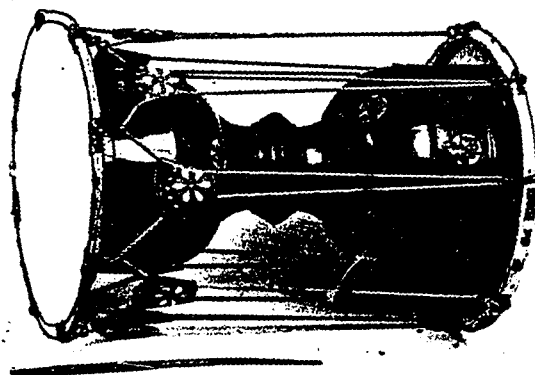


Fig. 62. Changgo and Yölch'ae.

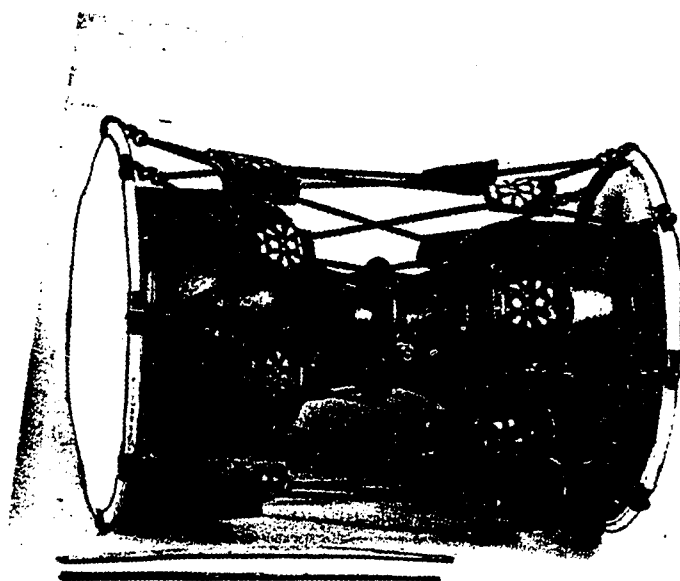


Fig. 63. Kalgo.



Fig. 64. Puk.

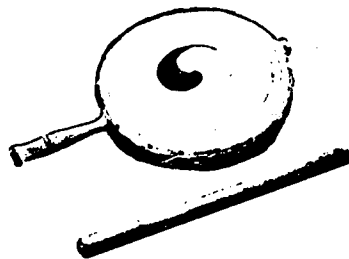


Fig. 65. Sogo. From  
Bang-Song Song, Korean Music  
and Instruments, 1981.)

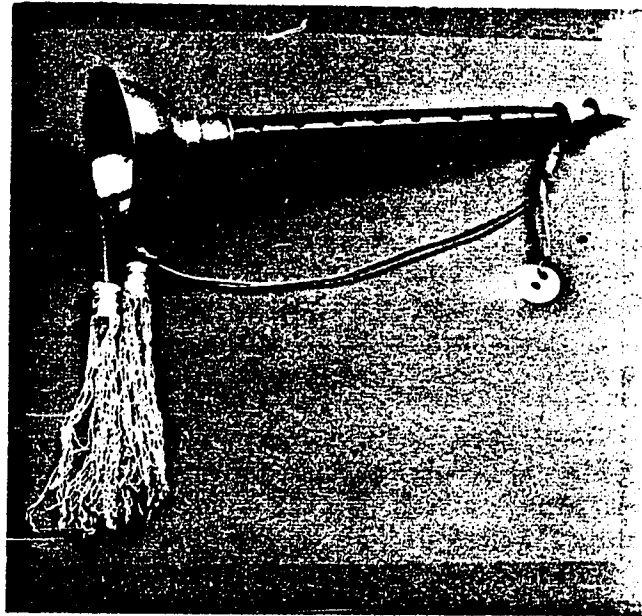


Fig. 66. T'aep'yŏngso.

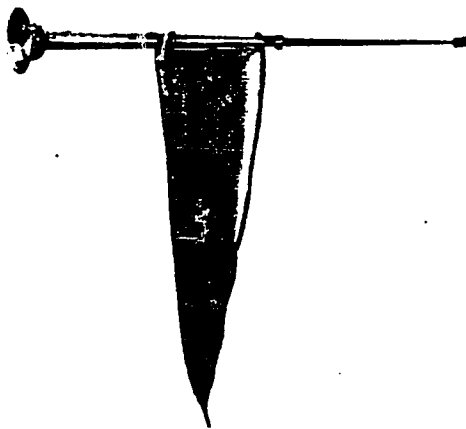


Fig. 67. Nabal.

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