

The Remaking of *Salpuri* Dance between Ritual and Art in Modern Korea

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Introduction

The term “*salpuri*” dance was employed in the *Chosŏn miin togam* (Illustrations of Beautiful Women in Korea) for the first time in 1918. It was a form of dance that allegedly evolved from a ritual dance traditionally performed in village communities in order to pray for good fortune, wish for harmony/reconciliation, or drive out evil spirits. Or it was performed as a pastime activity or communal play⁽¹⁾. *Salpuri* dance is often considered a jewel of Korea’s traditional performing art even though it became a stage art only in modern times. Moreover, it is commonly understood that *salpuri* dance as a traditional Korean art is representative of Koreans’ collective aesthetic values. It is suggested that, when it is performed, it looks almost as if the performer is standing still, using slow and quiet motions, but under the surface it contains vigorous internal energy that features a constant flow of action to nonaction to action⁽²⁾.

The origin of *salpuri* dance is not clear, but scholars in the field mostly agree that the term, which combines two words, *sal* (煞) and *puri* (풀이), implies “annihilating or releasing *sal*” from the object to which it is attached. Here the word *sal* is commonly understood as a negative force that inflicts harm on people or objects. Traditionally, Korean people believed that external forces caused them to get sick or

encounter trouble. In this vein, *sal* is believed to penetrate into one's body from without and cause disease or disorder, so when it is expelled out of or removed from the body through the action of *puri* ("to disperse") the person is believed to recover from the suffering⁽³⁾.

In order to remove *sal* from something/someone, Koreans believed that they needed external help offered by supernatural beings or that *sal* could physically be driven out by a threat (involving a particular form of gestures or bodily motions) or pacified inside first and conjured out later. On the one hand, if supernatural help was sought, then a certain ritual was performed, and it was often called the *salpuri* ritual, designed to amuse, or communicate with, supernatural beings and thereby to invoke their supernatural power of salvation. On the other, a threat designed to get *sal* out of the body or object was performed in an impromptu or casual manner. Or, in some cases, ritual performers employed a more direct threat using magic or mantra, often in combination with the action of throwing beans, rice, or another grain on the ground in order to frighten evil spirits.

Over time, *salpuri* dance evolved from rituals of *salpuri*. Kim Malbok suggests that it took place in a process in which rituals of *salpuri* lost much of their religious vigour in dealing with misfortune in everyday life while their performative elements were appropriated into an artistic dance format. Dance used to be a key component of some religious rituals, but when the component of dance in those rituals lost its religious function it could easily be separated from them and established as an independent performing art. *Salpuri* dance was not an exception to this general trend in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century⁽⁴⁾.

In understanding the history of *salpuri* dance as a traditional Korean dance, three issues deserve special attention. The first issue is its origin, which has spurred much discussion among scholars of Korean dance, an issue that holds a key to examining its Korean cultural traits and functions. The second issue has to do with how it was constructed in the early twentieth century under the circumstances of colonialism and modernism. It was during this period that *salpuri* dance was firmly established as a genre performed on stage for modern audiences. The third issue involves

how *salpuri* dance was further diversified and refined by different groups of professional dancers to the present. In this article, I explore these issues with an aim to clarify how tradition was remade and presented as a cultural reminder of the lost and forgotten tradition.

The Origin of *Salpuri* Dance

Regarding the origin of *salpuri* dance, some scholars find its root in the *todang* (都堂) shamanic ritual popular in Kyōnggi province. *Todang* refers to a worship hall established in each village in order to enshrine its tutelary deity, and traditionally residents of Kyōnggi performed worship rituals at the village shrine dedicated to their village deities in order to ensure a good harvest, safety, and harmony. Sometimes professional shamans performed these rituals in the name of “*todang gut* (*todang* shamanic rituals),” during which they danced and sang. In particular, the dance, performed at the *todang* shamanic rituals and called *todang salpuri*, left a strong impression, for it was believed to be more effective than anything else in expelling misfortune from the village. The “*tadang salpuri* or *tosalpuri*” dance, according to these scholars, gave birth to *salpuri* dance as an independent genre⁽⁵⁾.

The *tosalpuri* dance, however, was more than a ritual measure for ensuring the well-being of the community. It had an element of festivity and entertainment since its origin goes back further to ancient Korea, particularly to the Silla Kingdom, in which kings often celebrated the occasion of relieving the people from hunger and misfortune by singing *tosol* songs. The *tosol*, which refers to a Buddhist paradise, was later associated with the *tosalpuri* dance. In fact, the act of *tosalpuri* dancing in Kyōnggi was more for communal entertainment than for religious activities of prayers⁽⁶⁾. In this vein, Chōng Sōnhŭi suggests that the *to* in *tosalpuri* has cultural meanings such as healing, good governance, and harmony and argues that it must have been a folk art enjoyed in village communities in ancient Korea⁽⁷⁾.

In either case, the *tosalpuri* dance inherited, in one way or another, a tradition of communal well-being nurtured and promoted by Buddhist rituals and folk religion

as well as a culture of communal play and entertainment. Given this, *salpuri* was more than an effort to get rid of evil energies/spirits from the community; it also embraced a spirit of vitality and optimism that enlivened communal life. In the Kyōnggi region, dance with *salpuri* elements was indeed performed as a type of communal play designed to promote the well-being of the community or to enjoy the occasion of a good harvest and harmony.

Not only in Kyōnggi, Chōng Pyōngho suggests, but also in other regions shamans often danced to the *salpuri* beat with the aim to invoke, or to be possessed by, their deities of worship. Later, according to him, courtesans or street entertainers (*sadanp'ae*) inherited this type of shamanic dance as they sought to expand their repertoires of performance in order to cater to various audiences. Courtesans and street entertainers competed to embellish their dance styles in order to attract more patrons for financial gain. Along the way, the *salpuri* dance that they developed was gradually detached from the “magical/shamanic elements” that used to deliver religious meanings or messages⁽⁸⁾.

Sōng Kyōngrin notes that ordinary folks in Chōlla province used to dance to the beat of what was commonly known as a “*salpuri changdan* (*salpuri* rhythm)” nurtured in the tradition of “southern *sinawi*.” Originally, *sinawi* referred to a type of impromptu music mainly employed in shamanic rituals⁽⁹⁾. In other words, the dance performed to the beat of the *salpuri* rhythm popular in Chōlla was grounded in the intersection of impromptu music and shamanism, and it was widely enjoyed by ordinary people. Along this line, Sōng suggests that this type of folkloric dance in Chōlla eventually evolved into another peculiar type of *salpuri* dance in modern times. *Salpuri* dance was rarely performed by social elites. It was an art of “ordinary folks” (*minjung*), who had a strong affinity for impromptu music, which stood at the polar opposite of court music represented by what was called *chōngjae* (程才) or *ch'unaeng* dance. When we see *salpuri* dance from the perspective of communal play, we find that it is deeply rooted in shamanic arts, folk festivals, and street entertainments — an array of folk culture that stood away from social elites.

The Modern Birth of *Salpuri* Dance and Its General Characteristics

From the early twentieth century, *salpuri* dance emerged as a stage performance and eventually was claimed as Korea's traditional dance. *Salpuri* dance was newly constructed as a performing art, but it came to represent Korean cultural and artistic sensitivity. In this process of construction and transformation, different styles of *salpuri* dance took shape, articulating what they represented in terms of aesthetic sensitivity and cultural heritage. These styles were represented by schools of “entertainers” (*chaeinnyu*), “shamans” (*musoknyu*), and “courtesans” (*kisaengnyu*), respectively, but all shared some common characteristics.

First, *salpuri* dance came to be known as an art form expressing feelings related to Korean people's sorrow and resignation. In particular, it was associated with women's *han* (恨, “sorrow”) — a collective emotion associated with their low social status and suffering in traditional society. Over time, *han* was further claimed as a sentiment of the entire Korean people, and thus *salpuri* dance became part of collective Korean sensitivities and aesthetic values, discarding its traditional elements of “spontaneous emotions” and “upbeat feelings” (known as *sinmyōng* 神明). It is interesting that the modern construction of *salpuri* dance converged on the emotional essentialism of Korean ethnicity.

The sentiment of *han*, which *salpuri* dance was claimed to convey, characterized Korean women in the colonial period under the veil of modernity. In retrospect, the collective sentiment of *han* was not so visible or salient in traditional art. Rather, it was a construction promoted under the influence of modernity that pushed for distinctive gender roles in society, for example as seen in the catchphrase “wise mother and good wife.” It is understandable why it happened that way. In most cases, dance performers were women, and they embraced, without much resistance, collective sentiments imposed on them that catered to those who tried to build a modern society organized along the newly segmented roles of gender, power, and social control.

Traditionally, dance, whether performed by men or women, was a divine channel through which people and deities/the cosmos were connected and reconciled. It

was not a channel supposed to express or unleash negative feelings. For this reason, when shamans danced, they pursued union with their deities and thereby tried to invoke supernatural grace and confer it on patrons or villagers. Dance was a channel of liberation from misfortune and harmony with the cosmos, or of the union between subject and object, not a medium for the sentiment of sorrow or sadness. Indeed, dance was closely associated with what Koreans called “divine illumination” (*sinmyǒng*) — a term referring to communion with deities⁽¹⁰⁾. However, when *salpuri* dance was established as stage performance in modern times, it was far removed from the religious or spiritual dimension of traditional dance and instead associated with the modern emotion of *han* assigned to women. It was also caused by the process of secularization.

The invention of *han* as a collective sentiment among Korean women affected performers as well. Traditionally, dance performers, including entertainers (who belonged to *sinchǒng* [神廳] or *chaeinchǒng* [才人廳]), courtesans, and shamans, treasured spontaneity and spirituality in their dances without being hampered by outside influences, and they usually formed their own organizations in order to protect and preserve their artistic autonomy⁽¹¹⁾. In particular, entertainers and shamans who performed music and dance catered to ordinary people who needed upbeat optimism, life energy, and playfulness, not sad emotions, for survival⁽¹²⁾. However, *salpuri* dance as a performing art in modern times subjected the traditional spirit of *sinmyǒng* to feminine beauty and to the expression of sorrowful emotions.

With the rise of modern *salpuri* dance, the previous dance tradition, endowed with a wealth of local characters and tastes, was gradually absorbed into a standard language of art performance. In premodern times, dance with *salpuri* elements belonged in the arena of ordinary people’s entertainment enjoyed in their local communities; it was a form of *minjung* (民衆) play enjoyed in an open space by all villagers, not bound by social status, and open to public participation. However, as it was reborn as stage art, performers and audiences were separated, both spatially and psychologically, and audiences became stratified.

The impact of modernism on Korean dance in colonial Korea came from two

directions. One was a process of organizational restructuring that segregated performers (on the stage) from audiences and, at the same time, forced performers to form a Japanese-style association for control and training. The other was artistic restructuring that pushed for formalism reliant on a set of modern dance techniques while separating traditional ones from the previous context of religious ideas and beliefs — a process of what might be called disenchantment. The previous spirit of creativity and autonomy was mostly lost with the rise of modern artistic formalism⁽¹³⁾.

In 1908, the Chosŏn government, controlled by Japanese imperialists, issued a series of laws designed to regulate courtesans and prostitutes. Under the new laws, female entertainers, who had played an important role in preserving Korean traditional dance, were organized into a new association (called *kwŏnbŏn* 卷番), tightly controlled and supervised by police, and not allowed to perform dances in open, unregulated spaces. Their dance performances were held on stages set up inside buildings⁽¹⁴⁾. Soon modern theatres for performing arts, including Hyŏbyulsa, Wŏngaksa, Tansŏngsa, Yŏnhŭngsa, Kwangmudae, and Chang'ansa, mushroomed in Seoul one after another. These modern theatres that charged entrance fees were a symbol of modern art enormously popular among the public. Female dancers and entertainers competed to offer their dances to modern audiences, and some of them ended up working for high-end restaurants (such as Myŏngwŏlgwan in Seoul) where dances were performed for diners⁽¹⁵⁾.

Most popular dances performed on indoor stages included *salpuri* dance and “monk’s dance” (*sŭngmu*), both of which were considered to represent Korean culture. The patrons of these dances were modern capitalists and businessmen, intellectuals, colonial officials, and Japanese travellers. In order to cater to the tastes of these patrons, well exposed to modern culture, *salpuri* dancers incorporated modern elements into their performances and tried to stay away from what had guided their art in the past — a spirit of liberty, resistance, healing, and spontaneous feeling⁽¹⁶⁾. Their *salpuri* dance followed a neatly organized program rather than a carefree expression of feelings and wishes.

Those who enjoyed and patronized modern *salpuri* dance were people who had

the means to purchase tickets to enjoy the show, sitting in comfortable chairs, and those who performed the dances on stage were obliged to satisfy audiences who remained at a distance from the stage. There was no longer participatory enjoyment. The demarcated space between performers and spectators facilitated further formalization of the *salpuri* dance, and as a result its previous local characters and openness to local tastes gradually dissipated. The rich layers of local characters that blossomed with villagers' carefree emotions thinned out over time as the aesthetics of *salpuri* dance were informed more and more by modernity.

The performers of modern *salpuri* dance paid close attention to how audiences reacted, and thus they often tailored and adjusted it in terms of making new bodily movements and utilizing dance accessories to make it more enjoyable from a distance from the stage. In order to expose their bodily motions more directly to the audience, dancers would be careful not to show their backs too often, and when they moved with a long scarf in hand they waved it in front of the audience. The technical details of *salpuri* dance, popularized in modern times, lacked spontaneity and a free spirit of expression. As Kim Suak, a human treasure of Chinju *salpuri*, suggests, in an ideal sense, dance is not supposed to be what "I" dance but what "my body" dances, and in that sense breathing that naturally inhales and exhales is supposed to lead all of the bodily movements in an unconscious way. In modern *salpuri* dance, however, too many artificial elements were injected into its form as well as into its pattern.

Nevertheless, the formalized style of *salpuri* dance that required dancers to spend a lot of time and energy to master it did not remain static. In the course of training and performing for the dancer, a stylized *salpuri* dance instilled an inner space of subjectivity. Dancers did not remain passive in terms of yielding to a given dance repertoire but exercised some level of their own subjectivities even though much of the spontaneity and communality embedded in traditional dance was lost. In other words, dancers of a set choreography of *salpuri* dance in modern times had to come to terms with how it was stylized within some bounds of formality.

Moreover, modern *salpuri* dance, praised by patrons, whether Korean or Japanese, as the expression of Korean ethnic sensitivity, was not free from a Japanese colo-

nial/imperial perspective. In particular, Imperial Japan's intellectuals and art patrons paid a great deal of attention to their colony's arts, often having sympathy for those who suffered under the colonial tyranny of the time, against a backdrop of antagonism toward Western powers that transmitted modernism to Japan in a relentless manner.

Kawabata Yasunari (1899–1972), who watched Ch'oe Sŭnghŭi's dance performance in Tokyo, commented that “she makes the old into the new and the weak into the strong and revitalizes what had died. All in all, she brings life to what she seeks.”⁽¹⁷⁾ In her dance from a colony of Japan, Kawabata found something that he sought but could not find in Japan. He found solace for his failure of modernism in a colonial woman who often performed *salpuri* dance in Imperial Japan.

From an angle different from that of Kawabata, impressed by Ch'oe's physical vitality, a majority of Japanese intellectuals and art patrons were attracted to the collective Korean sentiment of *han*, which they regarded as being the quintessential element of Korean ethnicity. On the surface, they seemed to be sympathetic to the misfortune of the Korean people, who had fallen victim to Japan's imperialism. It was natural to project feelings of sorrow onto colonialism, but when an imperial overlord did so the story could go in the opposite direction. It could be an expression of their own feelings of despair in confronting the Western powers without much success. It could be another reaction filled with feelings of triumph found and confirmed in the colonized.

Yanagi Muneyoshi (1889–1961) remained sympathetic toward Korean people and their culture, as did many members of the Shirakaba group, while promoting movements of Romanticism⁽¹⁸⁾. From the early twentieth century, some Japanese intellectuals wanted to overcome the limits of traditional aesthetics and thus launched a new art movement in the name of modernism or avant-garde. They were thirsty for modern aesthetics apart from the traditional art of Japan; however, after having been frustrated by their futile search for modern aesthetics in the West, they found themselves returning to the idea of Japanese beauty embedded in the traditional idea of “impermanence” (*mujō*). Their traditional sensitivity deterred them

from being able to carve an autonomous space for their inner selves away from the social groupism that bound their thinking and behavior.

Indeed, Japanese society did not easily allow individuals to free themselves from the yoke of groupism. They were often forced to give up individuality under the growing imposition of nationalism dictated by the impulses of imperialism. Amid this trend, intellectuals and artists often succumbed to frustration and were dragged back into the conventional paradigm of beauty that had to yield individuality to collectivity under the fervor of imperial expansionism and nationalism. Once modernism subsided without much success in Japan, the country itself emerged as the ideal locus of beauty, encouraging Japanese men of culture to extend their appreciation to the traditional arts of colonial Korea — arts that they could enjoy with a sense of superiority and comfort. They were attracted to Korea's ethnic sensitivity that featured the discourse of *han*. Not surprisingly, for them, *salpuri* dance was identified as a traditional performing art that conveyed vividly the aesthetics of sorrow and resignation⁽¹⁹⁾.

The Schools of *Salpuri* Dance in Modern Times

Prior to 1910, dancers in Korea's southern provinces learned *salpuri* dance through private networks that connected them to some eminent "solo performers" (*holch'um* dancers). In the 1930s, some eminent male dancers such as Chŏng Chasŏn, Pak Yŏnggu, Yi Changsŏn, and Kim Paekyong, who used to be "street entertainers" (*kwangdae*), began actively to teach *salpuri* dance to their disciples. In contrast, there were few female *salpuri* dance teachers, who included Cho Aengmu and Kim Kŭmok.

Among these dance teachers, Han Sŏngjun (1875–1941) is probably the best known and most broadly studied⁽²⁰⁾. In order to promote traditional Korean dance in a systematic manner, Han established the Research Institute of Korean Dance (Chosŏn muyong yŏn'guso) in 1934 and the Research Association of Korean Music and Dance (Chosŏn ūmak muyong yŏn'guhoe) in 1937, respectively. He widely col-

lected Korean dances, which included folk dances, professional dances, court dances, and religious dances, created about 100 dance repertoires for stage performance, and taught them to his disciples⁽²¹⁾. Although he was mindful of Western-style modern theatre settings in creating these dances, he also paid a great deal of attention to the centrality of Korean aesthetic values and emotions. It was an effort “to base the dance repertoire in Korean tradition and to additionally appropriate Western elements of skills and functional efficiency to [the] stage.”⁽²²⁾ *Salpuri* dance was one of the Korean dances that Han valued most.

It is well known that Han Sŏngjun taught *salpuri* dance and other Korean traditional dances to Ch’oe Sŭnghŭi. Ch’oe proved to be a quick learner. In 1934, she staged her first solo Korean dance performance, which Ishii Baku choreographed, at Nihon seinen kaikan in Tokyo. It was a great success, and her fame instantly shot up in Japan. Ch’oe was a “modern girl” who pursued “modern dance” (*muyong*) rather than “Korean dance” (*ch’um*) and once looked down on the latter. When in Japan, she strove to refashion a range of premodern Korean dances engrained in her body and senses, and as a modern dancer she did so from a stance different from that of her teacher. Ch’oe was eager to incorporate Western elements of modern dance into her Korean dance while suppressing, if subtly, Korean elements associated with what she considered superstitious and vulgar. She was not free from a perspective of Orientalism informed by Western modernity⁽²³⁾.

In Korea, Han Sŏngjun’s dance was inherited by his granddaughter, Han Yŏngsuk (1920–1989) and then by Yi Aeju (1947–) through Han Yŏngsuk. In order to promote Korean dances, including *salpuri* dance, Han Yŏngsuk established a research institute in 1946, and her lifelong effort later paid off. In 1967, the Korean government designated her as a living cultural treasure of the “monk’s dance” (*sŭngmu*)⁽²⁴⁾. Han also excelled at *salpuri* dance, for which she developed a unique style with the employment of a long scarf (150–180 centimeters) that symbolized a spirit moving back and forth between this world and the other world. In her *salpuri* dance, Han reinterpreted the meaning of death by allowing the dead spirit to travel back and forth through a long white scarf⁽²⁵⁾. She stressed to her disciples that *salpuri*

dance should be able to deliver aesthetic values emerging from one's inner world rather than show the dexterity of dancing skills and techniques⁽²⁶⁾.

Yi Aeju, Han Yöngsuk's student, brought *salpuri* dance back to a public space or plaza open to all spectators. From the 1980s to the 2000s, Yi's *salpuri* dance vividly conveyed the emotions of sorrow and pacification for unfortunate souls who had lost their lives while engaged in democratization movements. It was a fresh reminder that the tradition of Korean art was never separated from the community of ordinary people and was concerned with their well-being and suffering. Yi's *salpuri* dance was a proclamation of liberation and healing to those who fought fearlessly against the tyranny of the military government and the harsh labour conditions of exploitative capitalism⁽²⁷⁾.

Compared with the Han Söngjun school, Kim Sukcha (1927–1991) based her interpretation of *salpuri* dance upon the tradition of shamanism. Her grandfather and father, who had trained her in dance and music, were experts of *todang* shamanic rituals in Kyönggi. Initially, Kim called the stage dance that she choreographed *tosalpuri*, in which the *to* was taken from *todang* shamanic rituals. Kim consciously stressed shamanic elements in her *salpuri* dance by incorporating the *sinawi* music as if rejecting some dancers and scholars who argued that *salpuri* dance had nothing to do with shamanic rituals or shamans⁽²⁸⁾.

When Kim Sukcha started her dance career, shamanism was targeted as a symbol of superstition and premodern stagnation amid a modern economic boom and ongoing social changes. It was in the 1980s that Kim made an effort to uplift the tradition of *todang* shamanic rituals when traditional cultural heritage began to receive some of the spotlight. In 1990, Kim was crowned as the ninety-seventh living cultural treasure of Korea's nonmaterial culture with her *salpuri* dance. From that time on, Kim began to devote her energy fully to revitalizing the *tosalpuri* dance⁽²⁹⁾. She was successful in further refining the *tosalpuri* dance with an emphasis on its religious meanings in which art and shamanism were seamlessly integrated. The *salpuri* dance of the Kim Sukcha school conveys the vitality of ordinary folks and connects their voices to cosmic soteriology⁽³⁰⁾.

Conversely, Yi Maebang's *salpuri* dance, which represented another reinvention in modern times, inherited the tradition of courtesan culture rooted in Chŏlla impromptu music and the idea of feminine beauty. Yi (1927–2015) began to learn dance in the entertainment houses of courtesans when he was young. His character, steeped in feminine sensitivity and recreational art, gradually led him to separate *salpuri* dance from its communal/shamanic character and to develop a dance for entertainment that catered to patrons⁽³¹⁾. Yi was particularly good at expressing coquettish beauty in his *salpuri* dance, in which he tried to bring yin and yang, or female and male energy, into harmony with subtle body movements. A sexual atmosphere infused Yi's *salpuri* dance, and the stage resembled a salon of courtesan culture. Yi always treasured feminine beauty in Korean traditional dance⁽³²⁾.

Conclusion

Salpuri dance offers a window through which we can see how “traditional art” has appropriated its past elements and resources, has tailored a new form of art to cater to new audiences in a new setting, has been laden with new ideas and values, and has played new roles informed by the environments of new time and new space. Without understanding the context in which the past is called out, reconfigured, and refashioned, *salpuri* dance as a traditional art cannot fully be grasped⁽³³⁾. *Salpuri* dance, often regarded as a key carrier of Korean *han*, is interlocked with colonialism, imperialism, and modernism.

No matter how far it has strayed from the traditional sensitivities and body movements that nurtured it, *salpuri* dance still carries elements of traditional aesthetics rooted in shamanic ritual and communal play. A sense of traditional aesthetics is vividly expressed in *salpuri* dance as a traditional art. In that sense, *salpuri* dance serves as a topos of Korean people's sensitivities and aesthetic values. As a whole, the archetypal image of *salpuri* dance associated with religious and/or communal life is much diminished, whereas the artistic values are more stressed. Nevertheless, it would be too hasty to conclude that the modern aesthetic value of *salpuri* dance does

not share any common ground beyond dance performance.

Notes

- (1) Yi Byŏngok, pp. 8–11.
- (2) Song Misuk, p. 131.
- (3) Raising a question regarding the monochromatic characterization of *sal*, Chŏng Sŏnhŭi suggests that it denotes not only evil energy/force but also energy/force that is excessive or lacking, so the action of *puri* also functions to seek balance or harmony of energy by reducing it when excessive or adding it when lacking. For Chŏng, the action of *puri* of *sal* means a Korean way of life of harmony and mutual help. See Wŏn Chunhŭi, p. 28.
- (4) Kim Malbok, p. 36.
- (5) Kim Hŏnsŏn, p. 17.
- (6) For example, a *tosol* song that Wŏlmyŏng, a Buddhist monk in the Silla Kingdom, composed integrated native folk religion and Buddhism into Maitreya worship and Tosol heaven. See Chŏng Sŏnhŭi, pp. 31–33.
- (7) Ibid., p. 176.
- (8) Chŏng Pyŏnggho, p. 24.
- (9) Regarding the origin of *sinawi*, see Kim Haesuk, Paek Taeung, and Ch'oe T'achyŏn, pp. 149–150.
- (10) Chŏng Sŏnhŭi, pp. 116–117.
- (11) No Tongŭn (2003), p. 255; Yi Yŏnggŭm, pp. 297–298.
- (12) No Tongŭn (1995), p. 118.
- (13) Pak Sanghwan, p. 178.
- (14) For a detailed discussion of *kwŏnbŏn*, see Kim Yŏnghŭi, pp. 125–126. For a discussion of a *kwŏnbŏn* example that focuses on Tongnae, see Yi Chuhŭi and Ch'ŭ Chŏnggŭm, p. 3.
- (15) Chŏng Sŏnhŭi, p. 140.
- (16) Song Misuk, p. 168.
- (17) Chŏng Pyŏnggho, p. 148.

- (18) For more discussion of Yanagi Muneyoshi and his “folk art” movement, see Kim Brandt, pp. 27–29.
- (19) See *ibid.*, pp. 31–33.
- (20) Chông Sônhi, p. 6.
- (21) Söng Kisuk (2011), p. 6.
- (22) Söng Kisuk (1999), p. 272.
- (23) Chông Sônhi, p. 151.
- (24) Song Misuk, p. 141.
- (25) Yi Pyöngok, p. 65.
- (26) For more details, see Chông Chaeman, pp. 22–24; Hwang Kyöngsuk, pp. 295–307.
- (27) Hong Söngdam, p. 318; Yi Ihwa, pp. 303–304; and Pak Sanghwan and Ko Hüisön, p. 495.
- (28) Chông Pyönggho and Kim Chöngnyö, p. 4.
- (29) When Kim Sukcha was designated as a living treasure of *salpuri* dance, some panelists of the review committee questioned whether her dance was too close to a shamanic ritual dance. See Ku Hüisö and Chông Pömt’ae, p. 12.
- (30) Kwak Ŭngyöng, pp. 49–50.
- (31) Chölla’s folk music was sharply different from that of Hwanghae and P’yöngan provinces, where the tradition of “spirit-possessed shamanism” (*kangsinmu*) was strong. Folk music in Hwanghae and P’yöngan featured a fast tempo and a vigorous rhythm according to which shamans danced in a fervent manner, jumping up and down. In contrast, folk music in Chölla was mild and spontaneous.
- (32) Chông Söngsuk, pp. 161–162; Yi Miyöng, p. 140.
- (33) For theoretical discussion, see Kaeppler, pp. 183–184 and Moyle, pp. 387–388.

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