Korean Americans and Their Music: Transcending Ethnic and Geographical Boundaries

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Korean Americans and Their Music: Transcending Ethnic and Geographical Boundaries

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Koreans live not only on the Korean peninsula but also in more than ninety nations on all six inhabited continents including the United States of America.¹ According to the US Immigration and Naturalization Services, 755,940 Koreans emigrated to the United States between 1941 and 1996, most of them after 1965. Including those who came before 1941 and after 1996, The Korean Central Daily estimates that about one million Koreans now live in the States.² In this article, I would like to trace the history of Korean migration, exploring how Korean Americans, as immigrants in the United States, have transplanted, nurtured, and transformed their musical culture in multiethnic America.

Historical Background

At various times in Korea’s history, the peninsula was overrun by neighboring peoples—Mongols, Manchus, Russians, Chinese, and Japanese. Thus Korea had long attempted to isolate itself from contact with other nations. In the early 1800s Korea was known to the West as the “Hermit Kingdom” as a result of failed attempts by America and several European nations to open trade or diplomatic relations (Coleman 1997:29).

China dominated Korea as a tributary state for centuries, relinquishing her power to Japanese forces who won the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). Japan, defeating Russia in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), made Korea her protectorate on November 17, 1905, and ruled Korea from 1910 to 1945. Liberated from Japan after World War II, Korea was divided into
two nation states—the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea). In spite of a five thousand year history of ethnic homogeneity, the two nations were separated at the 38th parallel, torn apart by political ideology.

This article discusses migration of Koreans from the whole Korean peninsula prior to 1945, but focuses on emigration from South Korea to the United States after the nation was divided. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, the Korean government attempted to enlist help from the nations of the West in order to mitigate the aggressive Japanese policy toward Korea. As a result, in 1882, Korea concluded her first treaty with a Western nation (the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States), which provided the legal basis for the immigration of Koreans to America.3 When these formal diplomatic relations between the two nations were established in 1882, about one hundred Korean diplomats and students were living in the United States (Min 1995:200).

Despite the Treaty, Korea prohibited any Korean to emigrate until 1901 when the government changed its policy to allow people to leave the country for economic reasons as the nation was stricken by severe drought and famine (Lyu 1977:33). According to the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization Services, the first Korean to immigrate to the US was Peter Ryu, who landed in Hawaii on January 9, 1901 (Choy 1979:72).

The First Period (1903–1945)

The first wave of Korean immigration to the United States began when about one hundred Koreans landed in Honolulu on January 13, 1903 to work on sugar plantations. From among the Korean laborers in Hawaii, many families gradually moved to the mainland in search of improved working conditions and better economic prospects, settling first on the West Coast. Many worked as farm hands in the vineyards of California or in the canneries of Alaska. Most Koreans living in the Pacific Northwest in the early 20th century were transient workers involved in agriculture or railroad work.
Koreans also began to emigrate to Mexico in 1905, but further emigration was halted by the Korean government that same year after they learned that Korean immigrants were illegally sold to Mexican planters. Despite the fact that the emigration of Korean laborers to Mexico was formally stopped, wives and relatives were permitted to leave for Hawaii to join earlier emigrants. Approximately one thousand Korean picture brides arrived in Hawaii and the mainland after 1910 and before the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 effectively closed the door to all Asians entering the United States (Chang and Kim 1995:39-40).

When Japan annexed Korea in 1910, Koreans living abroad in China, Manchuria, Siberia, and the United States found themselves with no home country to which they could return. Strong national sentiment grew among all Koreans—men, women, and children in Korea and abroad—who were willing to join forces to work toward the national independence of Korea. Several young men in the Korean American community (Syngman Rhee, Pak Yong-man, Ahn Chang-ho, and Philip Jaisohn to name a few) became leaders for the Korean national independence movement, and Koreans struggled for liberation until 1945.

Korean American communities often centered around the churches they organized, where education and socializing as well as faith and worship were provided. As early as 1904, informal Korean language instruction for children began in Korean churches on the sugar plantations in Hawaii, instilling national pride in knowing the Korean language and culture. The first official Korean language schools opened in Hawaii in 1905, in Mexico in 1916, and in Cuba in 1921. In schools established in America, children learned Korean history, language, and traditions. Classes for adults were also held for Korean immigrants wishing to learn to read Korean and to speak English.

In addition to language schools, seven artists in Honolulu—Kim Hong-Sop, Pak Han-Bong, Kim Yong-Un, Ko Kyong-Shik, Pak Sa-Uk, Ch’oe Yong-Son, and Pak Se-Hwan—formed the arts organization “Nam P’ung Sa” on May 20, 1922, to teach Korean traditional songs and dances to children and to promote cultural sharing with mainstream Americans who admired the beauty and grace of Korean performances (Kim 1959:279).

Meanwhile in Korea, there were Western influences on music. As Korea opened her doors to the West in the 1880s,
people from France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America began to arrive, bringing their music with them. The exchange of musical ideas and instruments began to take place among Koreans and Westerners. Initially hymns and band music were introduced from the West. Musical instruments such as organ, piano, string instruments, band instruments were brought to Korea. Karl Wolter, who came to Korea in 1884, opened Sech’angyanghaeng, a store for imported goods including Western musical instruments, in Inch’ŏn, a westcoast harbor city near Seoul (Noh 1995:407).

On the other hand, Mary Crosby Brown, an American art patron, acquired musical instruments from Korea in 1889 and launched the collection of Korean musical instruments as part of a non-Western musical instrument exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum of Art by donating eight Korean musical instruments including tanso (vertical bamboo flute), nallari (conical oboe), and changgu (hourglass-shaped drum) (O’Connor 1983:34).9

Since few Koreans knew any Western languages, missionaries encouraged them to sing hymns with Korean words set to standard Western melodies or Korean folk songs. In the late 18th century, the nogaba tradition began as Korean Catholic priests taught didactic songs to their congregations using Korean folk song melodies. Nogaba is an abbreviation of Norae gasa bakkwoburugi, which refers to the practice of providing new lyrics for well-known melodies (Noh 1995:365). Western art and folk songs were likewise imported. Many writers created Korean lyrics suitable for Western melodies. One such writer is Lee Chang Hei (1902-1979), who came to San Francisco as an immigrant from Korea in 1930 and made Seattle his home for thirty years from 1949. Lee’s lyrics for “Aloha Oe,” “Home on the Range,” “Beautiful Dreamer,” and “The Merry Widow Waltz” are still sung by Koreans today (Kim 1996:72).

About 1896, several Korean musicians composed aegukka (songs expressing love for a nation) to arouse and reinforce love for their country, but Taehanjeguk Kukka, a song composed by the German Franz Eckert (1852-1916), was officially adopted as the national anthem in 1902 by King Kojong (r. 1864-1907) who had changed the name of the country from Chosŏn to Taehanjeguk in 1897 (Noh 1995:711). Singing the Korean national anthem, however, was forbidden in 1910 when Japan annexed Korea, and
the song was gradually forgotten during the thirty-six year Japanese occupation of the country.

Under Japanese rule, Koreans continued the nogaba tradition of singing songs with lyrics translated into Korean from Japanese, English, German, French, and so on. Many melodies, including God Save the King and Auld Lang Syne, were given new Korean lyrics expressing nationalist sentiments. Of these nationalistic songs, the melody of Auld Lang Syne with Korean lyrics was adopted by Koreans as Korea’s symbolic national anthem. In addition, Koreans came to favor the folk song, Arirang, as a national song. Arirang is a Korean folk song with about three hundred regional variants.

The most widely known variant of Arirang is the theme song that accompanied the silent film Arirang, directed by Na Un-Gyu in 1926 (Noh 1995:112). This theme song was not a newly composed song for the film but a folk song of the late Chosôn Dynasty. The song, similar to the Arirang once transcribed in Western notation by H. B. Hulbert in 1896 (Kim 1988:32; Yi 1988:37), was arranged by Kim Yong-Hwan (1898-1936) for the film. The song Arirang gained special meaning for Koreans because of the film’s plot and the emotional impact surrounding the opening of the film under Japanese rule.

In the film Arirang, “a mentally-deranged” Pak Yong-jin lives in a small village with his father and younger sister, Pak Yong-huí. One day O Ki-ho, a secret informant for the Japanese police, attempts to rape Yong-huí. Witnessing the incident, Yong-jin kills Ki-ho with a sickle and the shock of murdering someone brings him back to his senses. As Yong-jin is captured by the Japanese police and taken over a hill away from his house, he bids good-bye to his family and friends, saying that “You say I used to sing Arirang while I was out my senses. But I will be greatly appreciative if you all sing Arirang in unison for me on my departure” (Ahn 1988:49).

Japanese authorities had attempted to stop the performance of the song at the film’s premier, but Yi Chông-Suk, a well-known singer chosen for the occasion, sang Arirang and the audience joined in singing. Japanese authorities also censored the words of the song printed in movie flyers by cutting out sections, which aroused intense curiosity among the moviegoers and the movie became even more popular. Tansôngsa, the movie house which
premiered *Arirang*, was shut down by the Japanese shortly afterwards but “the work of transformation had, by then, been accomplished; to sing the song was to sing of Korea” (McCann 1979:54).

Despite the fact that the lyrics of the song *Arirang* do not explicitly express patriotism, the song aroused national sentiment against Japanese among Koreans and it gradually became the signature tune for the movement for national independence from Japan until 1945; however, Koreans have continued to sing *Arirang* to express their national sentiment at official meetings and informal gatherings around the globe, affirming their national identity and yearning for peace in their homeland.

During the first period of immigration to the United States, Koreans brought traditional folk songs and songs they had learned under Japanese rule. Their musical tradition was greatly enriched in their new home and the younger generations made significant contributions to that development. I would like to describe here the accomplishments of three Korean American musicians (Earl Kim, Donald Sur, and Gregory Pai) who are prominent descendants of the first wave of Korean immigrants to Hawaii.

Earl Kim’s father, Kim Song-Gwôn, came to Hawaii to work on a sugar plantation in 1904, but moved to San Francisco in 1908 after realizing his unsuitability for physical labor. Working as a store clerk, in 1913 he married Hye-Won, whose family had also moved from Hawaii to San Francisco. The couple began to work in the vineyards in Dinuba, California, and later persuaded Mr. Kim’s two younger brothers to join them in the United States (Min 1986:35). One of Earl Kim’s uncles, Kim P’il-Gwôn, was a gifted musician who introduced Korean traditional music to Americans beginning in the 1920s. In 1965, Kim P’il-Gwôn led a parade of Korean Americans in Long Beach, California showing off Korean music, dance, and colorful costumes. He was known as the “changgo harabôji” (drumming grandpa) among Korean Americans for he used to make his own *changgu*, taking about two years to carve one (Min 1986:34-37).

Earl Kim [Korean name: Kim Úl] was born in 1920 in Dinuba, California. Kim, a Korean American *ise* (second generation), studied Western music, majoring in composition at UCLA and UC Berkeley with Arnold Schoenberg and Roger Sessions, respectively. Since 1967, he has been a professor at
Harvard University and conductor of the Ariel Chamber Ensemble in the Boston area. He was awarded the Mark M. Horblit Award by Seiji Ozawa in 1983. His best known works are *Now and Then*, a symphonic work, and a violin concerto written for Itzhak Perlman, which was performed under Zubin Mehta with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in 1979 and under Seiji Ozawa with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1983.

Donald Sur [Korean name: Sŏ ŭng-Se] (1935-1999), another *ise*, was born to first wave immigrant parents who landed in Hawaii in 1903. Sur’s family experiences were similar to those of many Korean immigrants during this period. His grandfather was a sugar cane worker and his father married a picture bride from Korea. The Sur family eventually relocated to the mainland, settling in Los Angeles in 1951. Sur studied ethnomusicology at UCLA (1962-63) and did fieldwork in Korea between 1964 and 1968 focusing on Korean court music. He then earned a Ph.D. in composition from Harvard in 1972. A world-renowned composer and a resident in the Boston area, Sur has taught at various universities including MIT, Harvard, Boston University, Tufts, and Wellesley. His work *Slavery Documents*, a fifty-minute oratorio for large chorus and orchestra that portrays the experiences of African Americans, was premiered in March of 1990 at Symphony Hall in Boston. Two of his works with Korean themes are *Lacrimosa Dies Illa* (Day of Tears, 1991), an orchestral piece commemorating the March 1, 1919 uprising in Korea and recapturing the spirit of the independence movement against Japanese colonization, and *Kkumdori T'ansaeng* (Birth of the Dream-Elf, 1993) for solo violin and orchestra written for violinist Sarah Chang, a Korean *ise*, born in Philadelphia (Dilling 1994:18). Donald Sur and Earl Kim are only two of many noted Korean American composers whose music is appreciated around the world.

Another musician, also a descendant of early Korean immigrants to Hawaii, is Gregory Pai [Korean name: Pai Gi-Yong]. His parents are *ise*, second generation Korean Americans born in Hawaii, while Gregory Pai (b. 1945) is a *samse*, a third generation Korean American born in Washington, DC, where his parents were actively involved in the overseas Korean independence movement. After Korea gained her independence from Japan in 1945, the Pai family returned to Hawaii where Gregory spent his early years. He studied *puk* (barrel-shaped drum)
in Korea for several years under the late master Kim Myông-Hwan and has performed with p’ansori singers Chung Yoojin (legal name, Chung Sung-Sook) and Park Chan-Eung in Korea and America. Although Pai was born and raised in America, he has become truly "bi-musical," mastering both Western and Korean musical traditions (Hood 1960).

The Second Period (1945–1964)

Since 1945, neither government—the Republic of Korea (South Korea) nor the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (North Korea)—has allowed its people to cross the dividing border or even to communicate across it, forcing many families, relatives, and friends to remain in mutual isolation. In recent years, communication between the two Koreas has been re-established through talks among diplomats and the Red Cross. Also, performing artists from South Korea were invited to perform in P’yŏngyang, the capital of North Korea, in 1990 and 1998.

On two occasions (August 15 and November 30, 2000), several selected families and their relatives were able to meet and spend time together in Seoul and P’yŏngyang, as arranged by the South and North Korean authorities. These meetings took place for the first time in half a century. Each family had a unique and compelling tale to share with friends and the international media. Those who were fortunate to participate in these events found the reunion of three to four days to be immensely exciting but too short. The reality of parting again from loved ones made families and observers realize how tragic it is to continue to live separated in the divided homeland.

After the peninsula was divided into two nations, a song called Ach’im ŭn pinnara, with text written by Pak Se-Yong (1902-1989) and music composed by Kim Won-Gyun (b. 1917), was designated as the official anthem of North Korea in 1947, while Aegukka, composed by Ahn Eaktay [An Ik-T’ae] (1906-1965), was accepted as the national anthem of South Korea. Ahn, a Korean musician, heard immigrants in San Francisco singing the Scottish folk song Auld Lang Syne with Korean lyrics in the early 1930s, and he was inspired to compose an original melody for those lyrics. While studying composition and conducting in Berlin
under Richard Strauss, Ahn completed the song *Aegukka* and his *Symphonic Fantasia Korea* in 1936. The lyrics of *Aegukka* were written by Yun Ch’i-Ho (Noh 1995:706).

Because of the political animosity between the two Koreas, neither group of citizens is allowed to sing the other’s anthem. When North Korea occupied parts of South Korea during the Korean War (1950-1953), South Koreans had to learn the North Korean anthem, didactic songs, and songs praising Kim Il-Sung, then Party Leader. After the war, North Korean songs were forbidden in South Korea. Despite the two official anthems, when athletes from both Koreas participate together as one team in world athletic events, *Arirang* is chosen as the team song to express the “one-ness” of the Korean people. Koreans and their descendants, especially those living abroad, continue to sing *Arirang*, a symbolic national folk song, reaffirming their ethnicity.

Some Americans ask if there are any other Korean folk songs besides *Arirang*, as this is usually the Korean song that they hear most often. I can understand why they might ask such a rhetorical question. But if they shared the pain of losing one’s country, and knew how symbolic *Arirang* is of national sentiment, they would appreciate why *Arirang* is sung whenever Koreans gather. In fact, regional variants of *Arirang* such as *Chindo Arirang*, *Ch’ŏngsŏn Arirang*, and *Miryang Arirang* may be musically more appealing than the relatively simple *Arirang*, but no other song has more power to fortify Korean national sentiment than the simple *Arirang*. Other folk songs like *Nodulgangbyŏn*, *Toraji*, and *Ch’ŏnan samgŏri* are especially enjoyed, as indicated by the list of favorite folk songs selected by Korean Canadians (Song 1974:43). Koreans are also fond of songs composed in Western style, such as *Pongsunga* and *Kohyang ūi pom* by Hong Nan-P’a and *Kagop’a* by Kim Tong-Jin.

From North Korea, people emigrated to mainland China and to the former Soviet Union, where the ideals of communism were shared, while about 1.2 million people fled to South Korea after World War II and during the Korean War (1950-1953). When the Asian Exclusion Act was repealed in 1965, many North Korean refugees living in South Korea emigrated to the United States as South Koreans. 17

As part of the second wave of Korean immigrants, 14,027 Koreans emigrated to the United States, including 6,423 war brides
and 5,348 orphans from 1950 to 1964 (Yu 1983:23-24). In addition, physicians, business people, and about one hundred students came to the US to further their studies during this period. Most of the students returned to Korea upon completion of their degree programs, but those who remained in the States were absorbed into mainstream American life, working as artists, scientists, economists, educators, lawyers, physicians, ministers, business people, and so on.

After gaining independence in 1945, Korea was overcome by the desire to catch up with the Western world and modern technology. Anything Korean or traditional was considered backward. Also anxious to disassociate themselves from the Japanese, Koreans were eager to absorb anything Western, including music. Western musical instruments such as the piano and violin became very popular in Korea, and Western music lessons for children became fashionable for those who could afford them, resulting in many world class Korean performers of Western music. To mention a few, there are two pianists, Han Tong-Ill and Paik Kun Woo, who now make their homes in the United States and France, respectively, and singers (Hong Hye-Gyōng, Cho Su-Mi, and Shin Yŏng-Ok) who sing at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City.

The world-renowned Chung family musicians began their training in Western music in Korea where their parents, Mr. and Mrs. Chung Chai-Chung, provided music lessons for all of their seven children from an early age. In 1958, the Chung family musicians gave their first public performance in Seoul and continued their musical activities in the United States after they emigrated to Seattle in 1961. The Chung Trio, made up of sisters Kyung Wha (violin) and Myung Wha (cello), and brother Myung Whun (piano), gave a concert at the White House in 1969 and still performs together. Kyung Wha Chung (b. 1948) studied violin under Ivan Galamian. She won first place in the Edgar M. Leventritt International Competition and made her New York recital debut at Alice Tully Hall in 1970, while Myung Wha Chung (b. 1944) studied cello with Leonard Rose and Gregor Piatigorsky in Los Angeles and won first place at the Geneva International Competition in 1971. Myung Whun Chung (b. 1953) studied piano under Berthe Poncy Jacobson in Seattle, having already made his debut as a pianist in Seoul at age seven. In 1971, he won first prize
at the Chopin International Piano Competition in New York City. After winning second place at the Tchaikovsky International Competition in Moscow in 1974, he was presented with South Korea’s highest civilian award from the government, and Seattle residents honored him by designating August 1, 1974 as “Myung Whun Chung Day.” He also launched his conducting career in 1978 with the Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra. Myung Whun Chung, his wife, and their three sons currently reside in Paris, but his conducting engagements take him all over the world. While the Chung musicians were all born in Korea, they are now internationally acclaimed musicians, loved and respected by people around the world, irrespective of their ancestry or the passports they may carry.

For lesser-known immigrant musicians, however, opportunities to make a living as musicians in the United States are scarce. Many have to work at any job available in order to survive. They often teach music to neighborhood Korean American children and play for churches or community events organized for national holidays or life cycle rituals such as weddings and hwan’gap chanch’i (party celebrating the sixtieth birthday). In 1969, musicians in the greater Los Angeles area formed the Korean Philharmonic, a symphony orchestra that performs four or five concerts a year. Another Korean American orchestra, known as the Nasung Symphony Orchestra, was formed in Los Angeles in 1977 (Riddle 1985:194).

Toward the end of the 1950s and into the early 1960s, Korea’s initial fascination with Western culture and modernization began to wear off. Koreans began to evaluate their own culture and ponder what it means to be Korean. In 1959, Seoul National University added a Korean traditional music department to the College of Music, raising awareness of national music. The university began instruction in traditional vocal and instrumental repertoires, ranging from court to folk musics of diverse regions. The university also began teaching Korean traditional music theory.

In 1962, the Korean government passed Munhwajae poho pŏp (the Cultural Properties Preservation Law) to establish and strengthen Korean identity through the preservation of authentic culture and traditions. In addition to the “tangible” cultural properties preserved in art forms such as paintings and sculptures created from wood, stone, metal, and so on, the government
recognized performing arts and skills held by individuals as “intangible cultural properties” and designated the artists and artisans as poyuya (bearers of the tradition) for the intangible cultural properties. The honor bestowed on these artists elevates their social status and poyuya are often referred to as in'gan munhwaja (human cultural properties or living treasures of the national heritage) despite the fact that the government discourages the use of this term. With their prestigious social position and monthly stipends, these Korean traditional artists are encouraged to teach students to carry on the traditions. Many of these artists lecture and give lessons to university students as well as others, choosing a gifted few to master their arts and to be the next poyuya.


Korean musicians such as Kim Ki-Su (1911-1986) and Hwang Byung-Ki (b.1936) also began to compose music in traditional Korean style for traditional instruments. Hwang Byung-Ki, inspired by diverse musical cultures, has composed many works incorporating the musical idioms of various ethnic groups, and has created innovative performance techniques for Korean traditional instruments, particularly kayagum and changgu. Hwang, the first instructor of kayagum at Seoul National University, was invited to teach kayagum to American students at the University of Washington in Seattle and at Harvard University in 1965 and 1985, respectively. He has been instrumental in introducing and teaching Korean music to Westerners, including Hovhaness and Harrison, from the early 1960s to the present.
The Third Period (1965 to the Present)

The largest wave of Korean immigration to the United States took place after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished discriminatory quotas based on racial or national origin. Many of the earlier immigrants who came to the United States as laborers or political exiles hoped to return home to Korea someday with a better education and occupational or financial success achieved. In contrast, the third wave Korean immigrants made the conscious decision to leave their native land in order to improve their lives in the United States. Hurh refers to the third wave of Korean immigration as the “elite migration,” based on the fact that a majority of newcomers were not underprivileged or politically oppressed by the government, but were well-educated in Korea and left the country of their own free will (1977).

Among the third wave Korean immigrants, approximately 13,000 medical professionals—physicians, nurses, pharmacists, and dentists—entered the United States between 1965 and 1977 (Takaki 1990:438). Some succeeded in obtaining positions in their fields, but those with limited English language skills had to settle for jobs in hospitals as orderlies or nurses’ assistants. The majority of Korean immigrants suffered from “downward job mobility” because former professional and white-collar workers had difficulty finding comparable positions in America (Yu 1983:34). Despite their professional training, Korean immigrants in earlier years made a living in areas where minimal English was required, mostly in the service industry, working long hours as grocers, gardeners, janitors, welders, auto mechanics, gas-station attendants, radio and television repairers, and so on.

With increasing Korean populations in large American cities, businesses catering to Koreans sprang up—Korean grocery stores, beauty parlors, gift shops, travel agencies, video rental shops, and even noraebang (literally “singing room”), where patrons may rent a room and enjoy singing songs to a pre-recorded karaoke accompaniment. In many cities, the services of Korean-speaking medical and legal specialists are available, so that Koreans no longer need to learn English to survive in the United States.
The greater Seattle area, where I live, has two daily Korean papers—*Han'guk Ilbo* (*The Korea Times*) and *Chungang Ilbo* (*The Korea Central Daily*)—and two local weekly Korean papers—*the Korea Post* and *Shisa Journal*. In addition to a large amount of news material supplied by the head offices in Korea, all the papers contain local news about *kyop’o* (Korean Americans) and visiting Koreans, as well as news from around the world. A radio station and television station also cater to Korean clientele in the Seattle area. One is kept up-to-date on what is happening in Korea, including the latest songs and fashions popular in the homeland. From numerous video rental shops, one can rent videos of Korean news, soap operas, and musical performances within two weeks after their original broadcast in Korea. Because of the conveniences offered by various service organizations, most of the *ilse* (first generation) Korean Americans tend to live comfortably within Korean American communities, while many *ilse* Korean Americans and their children have been assimilated into the American way of life through education, friendships, and job situations. Many young children who came as part of the third wave immigrant families suffered initially, like their parents, due to lack of English language skills, but soon learned to balance both cultures. These young people, known as *iljîm ose* (1.5 generation, also known as transgeneration or knee-high generation), are growing up in mainstream America along with *ise* (second generation), *samse* (third generation), and *sase* (fourth generation) Korean Americans (Yu 1990:5).

**Korean Traditional Musicians and Their Music in America**

Many professional musicians trained in Korean traditional music genres have come to the United States as third wave immigrants. While some no longer perform, many artists still actively do. I will focus on two musicians, Chung Yoojin and Jin Hi Kim, and three music groups in Los Angeles, New York, and Seattle to illustrate how musicians who specialize in Korean traditional music manage their careers, adapting to new and changing worlds.

Chung Yoojin (b. 1945) is a *p’ansori* singer who came to the United States to further her studies and earned her M.A. and Ph.
D in ethnomusicology at the University of Washington in 1983 and the University of California, Santa Barbara in 1998, respectively. As a musician and scholar, Chung gave many p’ansori concerts and lectures in America with her accompanist Gregory Pai, a samse Korean American from Hawaii, mentioned earlier. From May 1997 she performed for three years at the Théâtre Zingaro located in the outskirts of Paris, France. She sang selections from the p’ansori repertoire in Eclipse, a musical drama created by Bartabas, the director of Théâtre Zingaro, with Chung in mind. In Eclipse, Chung was accompanied by a Korean traditional folk music ensemble of six instruments—kayagüm, taegüm (transverse bamboo flute), haegüm (two-string fiddle), p’iri (cylindrical oboe), ajaeng (bowed zither), and changgu (hourglass-shaped drum)—and the performances will continue for three years (Pai 1997:12).

Jin Hi Kim (b. 1957), a kōmun’go (six-string plucked zither) performer trained at Seoul National University, also came to the United States for graduate work. She earned an M.F.A. in electronic music and composition at Mills College in Oakland, California. Kim has been noted for her traditional and improvisational performance skills, as well as for her compositions and the electric kōmun’go, which she co-created. In her work, she has developed the musical concept of “Living Tones,” based on Korean conceptualization of tones—each tone being alive and embodying its own individual shape, sound, texture, vibrato, glissando, expressive nuances, and dynamics. Instead of a harmonic based musical language, Kim is concerned with minute tonal shadings, gradation, texture, and an organic process for developing form and structure (McLean 1998:3). Her recent work, “Dragon Bond Rite,” a pan-Asian music theater piece, was premiered in New York in May 1997 and well received.

Choi Kyung-Man (b. 1947), who made his debut as a p’iri player in 1965 by winning first prize in a Korean government-sponsored competition, has performed in more than thirty countries around the world. When he immigrated to Hawaii in 1976, he joined other musicians who were actively involved in performing and teaching Korean traditional music in Honolulu. Among the musicians were Chi Yong-Huí (1909–1979) and Song Kūm-Yŏn (1923–1986), both great artists honored as poyuja (bearers of intangible cultural properties) by the Korean government for their artistry in shinawi (Important Intangible Cultural Property #52,
1973) and *kayagŭm sanjo* (Important Intangible Cultural Property #23, 1968), respectively.²² Chi Yong-Hui, Song Kŭm-Yŏn, and their daughter Chi Soon-Ja taught various Korean musical instruments—*changgu, puk, ching* (large gong), *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), *p'iri, tango, taegŭm, ajaeng, kayagŭm, kŏmun'go*, and *haegŭm*—from 1974 to 1980 in their music studio in Honolulu (Choy 1995:917).

![Photo 1: Postcard of Jin Hi Kim’s “Dragon Bond Rite” with Jin Hi Kim playing kŏmun’go (courtesy of Jin Hi Kim)](image)

After the studio closed in 1980, Choi Kyung-Man moved to the mainland, settling in Los Angeles, but found it difficult to make a living as a professional musician. When he was approached by a group of young men eager to learn Korean traditional music, Choi began to teach them *p’iri, tango, and taegŭm* on a weekly basis from 1988. The first students were three young men and others gradually joined in. By the time they gave their first public performance in Los Angeles in 1994, the musicians numbered...
fifteen including a conductor, Kim Ji-Hyung (b. 1956), a Korean American with a degree in Korean traditional music composition from Hanyang University in Seoul. In addition to their annual performances in Los Angeles, the group has performed in other California cities, as well as in Texas, Florida, and Hawaii. The group began as Minsok Hakhoe Sinawi (Folk Ensemble Sinawi) but changed its name to L.A. Chungang Kugagwôn (L.A. Chungang Korean Cultural Center) in 1995 when the group entered a sister relationship with the Chungang Symphony Orchestra in Seoul. The Seoul Chungang Orchestra has supported and encouraged the L.A. group by supplying musical scores, instruments, costumes, visiting instructors, and performers. More than twenty young men and women continue to gather twice weekly to rehearse and teach Korean American ise, iljöm ose, and adopted children from Korea. In 1997 Choi resumed his career as
a professional *p'iri* player in Korea while his family continues to live in the Los Angeles area. Despite his busy performance schedule, he manages to teach and encourage these young Korean American musicians whenever he visits his family in the States.

In New York, a group of Korean traditional musicians and dancers began to perform and teach young people in 1988. The artists, all trained professionals from Korea, perform not only in the New York and New Jersey areas, but also in such cities as Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Montreal, and Toronto. Their students are Korean American *ise, iljôm ose*, adopted children from Korea, and some Americans. The group became an official branch of the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Association in Seoul in 1993. Yim Tal-Yong, president of the New York branch and who is now in his 70s, specializes in *p'ungmul* (farmers' music). The branch also has a women’s *samulnori* (literally, four things to play) musicians who play *changgu, ching, kkwaenggwari, and puk*.

In the Seattle area, Cheh Ji-Yeon, the wife of a minister, has taught Korean traditional dances to children and adults since 1985. The members of Morning Star Korean Traditional Culture Institute led by Cheh have performed in the U.S., Canada, Korea, Australia, Germany, and Russia. The Morning Star performances by children and young adults are charming, and the group received the Prime Minister of Korea Award in 1995. Cheh taught three American women (mothers of adopted Korean children in the group) to play *samulnori* and formed the American Mothers’ Samulnori Group in 1992. When they perform, the three Americans’ instruments (*changgu, ching, and puk*) are cleverly placed on stands so that the instruments can be played standing, while Cheh plays *kkwaenggwari*, holding it in her hands in the traditional manner.

Seattle has been a very special place for nurturing diverse musical cultures. The University of Washington’s Division of Ethnomusicology, established in 1962, has provided the Seattle community with many opportunities through its teaching, performances, and research resources. The special relationship between Korean music and the University of Washington began in 1965 when a major grant from the John D. Rockefeller III Fund was provided to establish national folk music archives for South Korea and the Philippines. Field recordings and films produced by Robert Garfias in Korea in the early 1960s are part of the UW Ethnomusicology Archives. Two Korean musicians, Hwang
Byung-Ki and Choi Moon-Jin, were invited to teach *kayagûm* at the University of Washington in 1965 and 1997-98, respectively. Several graduates of the Division of Ethnomusicology have specialized in Korean music.²⁵

Musicians are central to a performance, but organizers must work behind the scenes to provide the place and occasion to bring musicians and audiences together. The fact that many Korean music concerts are held in the United States reflects the growing interest in Korean music among audiences and organizers. Institutions that have sponsored many Korean traditional music performances in Seattle include Northwest Folklife, the Seattle Asian Art Museum, the Burke Museum, the Wing Luke Asian Museum, the Children's Museum, KIDS (Korean Identity Development Society), the Korean American Historical Society,
and Jack Straw Productions. Along with the San Francisco Asian Art Museum, the Seattle Asian Art Museum has hosted an annual Korean concert for the general public since 1990, working together with the Korea Foundation. Kumja Paik Kim in San Francisco and Sarah Loudon in Seattle have been responsible for providing stages annually for the visiting Korean musicians. Loudon, the senior museum educator at the Seattle Art Museum, has encouraged and promoted musical performances by many diverse ethnic musicians, including Koreans.

Jack Straw Productions and the Wing Luke Asian Museum have included Korean artists in their performances and recording projects, while Northwest Folklife has provided opportunities for Korean musicians to perform during their annual Folklife Festival held on Memorial Day Weekend each May. Northwest Folklife launched a program called “One Broad Voice” for teaching Korean traditional music and dance to school children in the Shoreline School District of Washington State in 1998. The 3rd and 6th grade students in all of the eleven Shoreline schools learned Korean folk songs and dances from five Korean American artists/teachers. Northwest Folklife has organized a biennial Folklore Project focusing on various ethnic communities in the region, and it is planning to devote this Folklore Project and the Folklife Festival to Korean culture in the year 2001.

For centuries, Koreans have been known for their love of song and dance. Contemporary Korean Americans love to sing in churches, formal gatherings, at informal get-togethers in homes, and at the noraebang (rented rooms for singing). Many claim that singing alone or in a group helps to reduce stress. Some Koreans install karaoke sound systems in their homes so that they can sing in the comfort and privacy of home, along with a pre-recorded musical accompaniment while following lyrics that appear on the television screen. The repertoire includes Korean and American popular songs, ranging from “oldies” to rap. Christians still sing Western hymns in Korean at church and prayer meetings, but recently they have begun to sing the hymns composed by Korean musicians included in the standard Korean hymnal. Several composers have written songs using the musical idioms of Korean folk songs and traditional instrumental accompaniments. Some songs have been created in the style of pyôngch'ang where the musician sings while playing a traditional string instrument.
style hymns are gradually gaining acceptance among the Korean Christians in Korea and abroad. In the Catholic church, “Kugak Misa” (Literally, Korean music Mass) written by Father Kang Su-Gun for four-part choir and changgu has been performed during mass in several American cities including Denver, Los Angeles, and Seattle. When it was sung for Easter Mass at the Peace of Christ Korean Community, a Catholic Church in Seattle, under the direction of the composer in 1997, the congregation was elated.

Photo 4: “Korean Classical Music and Dance” sponsored by the Korea Foundation; from left to right: taegum: Won Jang-Hyun; haegum: Kim Seong-A; ajaeng: Choi Jong-Kwan; changgo: Jin Yu-Lim (Seattle Asian Art Museum, Seattle, Washington, 1994; photo by Paul Macapia)

Korean musicians have introduced their music to Western audiences, and Western scholars have studied Korean music and have contributed a great deal by writing about Korean music in English. For the last six years, Kungnip Kugagwôn (National
Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) in Seoul has offered a summer program of instruction in Korean traditional music for foreigners. Through these courses, many musicians from abroad have studied Korean music performance as well as Korean music theory. Two American musicians, Joseph Celli and Jocelyn Clark, have been performing *p'iri* and *kayagûm*, respectively, in the United States after studying at the Center. Joseph Celli (b. 1944), an American born in Connecticut, is a composer and a double-reed virtuoso. He studied Japanese *hichiriki* with the Imperial Palace court master and Korean *p'iri* and *t'aep 'yôngso* with Chŏng Chae-Guk in Korea for several years. Celli has been instrumental in encouraging foreign musicians and scholars to study Korean traditional music at the Kungnip Kugagwôn in Seoul and has promoted many Korean performances in the US. Jocelyn Clark (b. 1970), an American born in Washington, DC, is a doctoral candidate at Harvard University. She is an accomplished

Photo 5: Chungang Kugagwôn Orchestra in Los Angeles performing “Kugak Misa” (Korean Catholic Mass), conducted by Kim Ji Hyung, (Barnsdall Gallery Theater, Hollywood, California, 1996; photo courtesy of Chungang Kugagwôn)
performer of Chinese qin, Japanese koto, and Korean kayagüm. Clark also sings kayagüm pyôngch'ang. Her performances of kayagüm and kayagüm pyôngch'ang are well-received in Korea and the States.

Since professional musicians work for many years to acquire the skills and knowledge to perform, it is important to recognize American and Korean American artists who have endured hardship to become Korean traditional musicians. For example, Gregory Pai and Peter Joon Park both of Korean parentage, who have mastered puk and changgu, respectively, are among the many accomplished Korean musicians born in North America.  

For those who want to have fun playing Korean music, samulnori is inviting and accessible. Although it takes many years to master each instrument, samulnori music creates such energy that many are eager to participate in it. Samulnori is deeply rooted in a ritual tradition where music and dance were part of the offerings to spirits and ancestors in early Korea. In the traditional ritual context, musicians were exclusively men. In 1978 four young men (Kim Duk-Soo, Ch’oe Chong-Sil, Lee Kwang-Soo, and Kim Yong-Pae) created the group “Samulnori,” transforming musical/ritual offerings into a secular genre. These four musicians were born into the hereditary tradition of namsadang (itinerant entertainers), who perform masked drama, acrobatics, and p‘ungmulnori (playing folk musical instruments), for village gatherings, celebrations, and life cycle rituals. Since the group Samulnori did not register their name as a trademark, samulnori became a generic term for one of the most popular forms of traditional Korean music.

Samulnori music incorporates a special feature of Korean music—various triple meters—arousing national pride and a sense of ethnic solidarity among Korean Americans, while at the same time appealing to others with its vibrant and powerful music. Many samulnori groups are organized to enjoy making music together and have fun. Women and children have taken up samulnori in Korea, America, and several European countries. Samulnori players in the United States belong mostly to student and amateur groups and perform for their communities.

In recent years, like three other Asian ensemble traditions discussed by Sakata in this report (taiko from Japan, kolintang
from the Philippines, and *gamelan* from Indonesia), Korean *samulnori* has been gaining popularity in the United States.

![Photo 6: Jocelyn Clark, kayagum player and pyongch'ang singer (Connecticut, 1998; photo courtesy of Jocelyn Clark)](image)

**Closing Thoughts**

For nearly five thousand years, Koreans have nurtured and enjoyed their music within the Korean peninsula despite political, religious, and cultural influences from foreign countries. From early years, Koreans have embraced diverse cultures. For example, Confucian ritual music imported from China in the early twelfth century, continues to be performed in Korea, even though it was lost in China. Music from around the world is likewise embraced by modern Koreans. In the midst of all this musical diversity, Koreans have maintained their own musical traditions. They have
also welcomed people born outside of Korea, foreigners as well as
Korean descendants, to share their Korean musical traditions,
providing opportunities to learn and perform.

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Koreans began to
emigrate to other countries including the United States,
transplanting their cultural traditions to many parts of the world.
Each wave of immigrants carried their own life experiences and
distinct music cultures of Korea. The first wave of immigrants to
America brought Korean traditional folk songs and struggled to
survive in Hawaii and on the West Coast, being isolated from their
native land due to the changing political situation in Korea. These
ey early immigrants longed for their home country and worked
together toward the nation’s liberation, singing Korean folk songs.
and Western songs with Korean lyrics, strengthening love for their country. The second wave of Korean immigrants to the States brought Western music that they had learned in Korean schools, and some brought Japanese music they had learned during the Japanese occupation. During this period, Korean musicians who were trained in Western music arrived in the US as immigrants, like the prominent Chung family musicians. The music repertoire of the most recent wave of Korean immigrants includes music from all corners of the world as well as all styles of Korean music. Although Korean Americans could not personally experience the "cultural renaissance" which has taken place in South Korea since the mid-1970s (Lee 1997: 25), they are kept up-to-date with current information through advanced technology in communications. The songs popular in Korea are accessible in America via the internet and at the noraebang where current hits are up-dated, and newly composed Korean children's songs are taught in Korean language schools in the States.

The music that Korean Americans enjoy reflects much of their individual tastes. Many Korean Americans are world class musicians in Western art music, composing, conducting, and performing at the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, La Scala in Milan, Italy, and with the great orchestras of the world, while others are involved in contemporary jazz and new music, like violinist Eyvind Kang (b. 1971), ise born in Corvallis, Oregon. Many Korean Americans participate in learning Korean traditional music and attend Korean music performances, while some refuse to take part in anything Korean. The majority of Korean Americans, however, value their cultural heritage, holding on to their traditional arts to reaffirm their ethnicity, to instill national pride in the younger generations, and to share their culture with others in the United States.

The United States of America is a country strengthened by multiethnicity. Korean Americans are becoming a significant part of the emerging Asian American population, learning to live in harmony with others. American music embodies the music of immigrants and their descendants. In this spirit, Korean Americans and their music—transplanted, transformed, and cultivated in America—will become part of America and of American music, transcending ethnic and geographical boundaries and enriching the lives of many.
Notes

Please note that Korean names and terms are presented in English following the rules of McCune-Reischauer romanization unless the names are considered well-known to English readers, such as Syngman Rhee [Yi Sông-Man] and Philip Jaisohn [Sô Chae-P‘il]. Korean names begin with the family name, but most Korean American names end with the family name.

1 The number of Koreans living outside the Korean peninsula exceeds five million, which equals about eight percent of the total population of the Korean peninsula (Lee 1993:7).


3 The Treaty of Amity and Commerce stated that “subjects of Chosen (Korea) who may visit the United States shall be permitted to reside and to rent premises, purchase land, or to construct residences or warehouses in all parts of the country” (Kim 1977:3-4).

4 In 1905, 1,034 Korean immigrants were sold illegally to Mexican planters for a four-year contract at 360 pesos by the Taeryuk Singmin [Sik-min] Hoesa (Continental Colonization Company) that recruited them (Lyu 1977:43).

5 The term “picture brides” refers to wives from Asia whose marriages with Asian Americans were based on the exchange of photographs only.

6 The most well-known leaders of the early Korean American communities include Ahn Chang-ho [An Ch‘ang-Ho], an educator, philosopher, and independence leader, Syngman Rhee [Yi Sông-Man], who later became the first president of the Republic of Korea, Park Yong-man, who established a kundan (military school), and Philip Jaisohn [Sô Chae-P‘il], who established the first Korean language newspaper, Dongnip Sinmun (The Independence Newspaper) (Chang & Kim 1995:7).

7 Korean immigrants established Christian churches shortly after they landed in the United States in Honolulu (1903), Los Angeles (1904), San Francisco (1905), Oakland (1914), Reedley, California (1919), New York (1923), and Chicago (1924) (Choy 1979:254-256).
The first official Korean language school opened in Hawaii in 1905, for 465 children under fourteen years of age who were members of immigrant families (Lyu 1977: 46). The Samil Kugô Hakkyo (March First Korean Language School), established in 1919 in Los Angeles, has continued Korean language instruction to the present. In Mexico, the Chinsôn Hakkyo (True Goodness School) was established in Merida in 1916. Among the workers who originally landed in Mexico in 1905, 288 moved to Cuba in 1921, where they also established two language schools: The Minsông Hakkyo (People's Voice School) in Caldenas in 1922 and the Chungang Kidok Hakkyo (Central Christian School) in Mattansa in 1926 (Lyu 1977:50).

Nallari is also known as t’aep’yôngso or hojök while changgu is sometimes referred to as changgo or seyogo.

Korean American immigrants are generally known as ilse or kyop’o. Second generation Korean Americans born in America of immigrant parents are referred to as ise, and third and fourth generation Korean Americans are called samse and sase, respectively. It should be noted that Kim Hyung-chan refers to them as ilttae (first generation), “itae (second generation, Koreans born in America of immigrant parents) and samtae (third generation, children of the second generation)” (1977:58).

The Mark M. Horblit Award was established in 1947. Only fifteen musicians have received it to date, including Aaron Copland, Walter Piston, Leonard Bernstein, Gunther Schuller, Roger Sessions, and William Schuman (Min 1986:117).

Donald Sur represents an early wave of Korean American families who, though they may have come of their own accord to the mainland US via Hawaii, experienced economic and racial oppression in both places not of the degree known by African Americans but bearing an ugly resemblance to it. At the premiere, Symphony Hall was filled with a diverse audience of 2,300 people that erupted afterwards in shared approval of the music and the message (Dilling 1994:18).

Gregory Pai, having earned a Ph.D. in Urban and Regional Planning from MIT, now works as Special Assistant to the Governor for Policy in the State of Hawaii during the day and performs as a drummer in a jazz ensemble during the evening.
Korean Americans and Their Music

14 *P’ansori* (Korean narrative song) is often described as a “one-person opera.” A singer tells stories, acts, and sings, accompanied by a *puk* (double-headed barrel drum) player.

15 Young musicians and dancers of the “Little Angels” performed at Ponghwa Arts Theater in P’yŏngyang on May 4th of 1998 (*The Korean Central Daily* May 6, 1998:2).

16 Lyrics for the South Korean national anthem are said to have been written either by Yun Ch’i-Ho (1865-1946) or An Ch’ang-Ho (1878-1938) (Reed and Bristow 1997:301).

17 According to the 1981 Claremont Survey, 22 percent of Koreans living in the Los Angeles area were born in North Korea, in sharp contrast to the number of North Korean refugees living in South Korea (675,000 persons, i.e. 2 percent of South Korea’s population) (Yu 1983:30).

18 “In Korea, it is traditional to observe the rite of passage into old age, the *hwangapjanch’i*, on the sixtieth birthday. In pre-industrial Korea, this was a particularly auspicious marker as it is to indicate the end of the fifth cycle of life (one lunar cycle is made up of twelve years)” (Chin 1989:130-131).

19 In 1965 only 2,165 Koreans were admitted, but between 1965 and 1980 the number of Korean immigrants increased, exceeding 299,000 (Yu 1983:24).

20 The word *karaoké* is made up of two words: *kara* (empty) and *oke* (orchestra). *Karaoké* means “orchestra minus one [the lead vocal]” and refers to prerecorded musical accompaniments designed for amateur singing (Lum 1996:1).

21 *Kómun’go* is a 6-string zither plucked with a thin, short bamboo rod. Jin Hi Kim co-created the electric *kómun’go* with David Wessell, exploring the possibilities of innovative sounds and new instrumental techniques by replacing four of the six silk strings with a *kómun’go* string wrapped with thin metal, a Chinese *zheng* string, a Japanese *shamisen* string, and an electric guitar string.

22 Chi Yŏng-Hŭi is the professional name of Chi Ch’ŏn-Man and Sŏng Kûm-Yŏn is the professional name of Sŏng Yuk-Nam. *Kayagŭm* is a 12-string plucked zither while *sanjo*, literally meaning “scattered melodies,” is a popular solo instrumental music genre developed in the late
nineteenth century. *Sanjo* is rooted in *shinawi*, the hereditary shamanic ritual music of southwestern Cholla Province. In contemporary Korea there are ten *ryu* (schools) of *kayagum sanjo* orally transmitted from *kayagum* masters, each having distinctive musical styles. In recent years, there have been several Korean *kayagum* players residing in the States who specialize in six *ryu* of *kayagum sanjo*—Jeong Jeong-Ju (Seattle) and Hee-Sun Kim (Pittsburgh) for Kim Chuk-P’a *ryu*; Choi Moon-Jin (Seattle) for Kang T’ae-Hong *ryu*; Hye-Jin Chang (Seattle) for Ham Tongjôngwól *ryu*; Paek Ki-Suk (New York) for Yu Tae-Bong *ryu*; Chang Se-Jông (Los Angeles) for Kim Pyông-Ho *ryu*; and Kim Chông-Su and Yi Ch’un-Saeng (both in New York), and Don Kim [Korean name: Kim Tong-Sôk] (Los Angeles) for Sông Kûm-Yôn *ryu*, to name a few. Don Kim teaches *kayagum* at UCLA, organized the Korean Classical Music and Dance Company in 1973, and has hosted two radio shows on Korean music for the greater L.A. area (Choy 1995:918).

The teachers include two dancers (Ch’oe Myông-Sun and Shin Hong-Sun), two singers (Yi Ki-Yông and Pak Su-Yôn), three *kayagum* players (Yi Ch’un-Saeng, Paek Ki-Suk, and Kim Chông-Su), and percussionist Yim Tal-Yong.

It is customary for musicians to perform *samulnori* either while seated or while dancing. If the musicians are dancing, *changgu* and *puk* are supported by wide ribbons that go over the players’ shoulders, in order to free their hands to play the instruments.


Four of the artists/teachers—Sunhee Moon Davies, Insun Han, Pia Hong Seeger, and Inhee Paik Treadwell—are Korean Americans and Jungae Lee is a Korean Canadian.

28 *Pyōngch’ang* is a genre of music in which a musician sings while accompanying himself on a string instrument such as *kayagüm* or *kōmun’go*.

29 Some of the notable Western scholars include Jonathan Condit, Alan Heyman, Keith Howard, Andrew Killick, Keith Pratt, Robert Provine, Coralie Rockwell, Barbara Smith, and the late Marnie Dilling.

30 Peter Joon Park (b. 1971), a Korean *ise* born in Canada, is a graduate student majoring in Mathematics and Ethnomusicology at the University of Washington in Seattle. He has provided *changgu* and *puk* accompaniment for several local and visiting artists in Washington State.


32 *Munmyo cheryeak* (ritual for Confucius) is performed biannually in the spring and fall at the Taesŏngjŏn (the Hall of Great Accomplishment), located on the campus of Sŏnggyun’gwan University in Seoul, and is open to the public. In China, a Confucian ritual was resurrected and performed on September 28, 1990 in Qufu, Confucius’ home town in northeastern China. In Taipei, the ritual has been performed on September 28th annually since the late 1960s (Lam 1995:34-38).

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