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LISTENING TO SOUTH KOREAN FICTION THROUGH POPULAR SONGS, 1950S–1970S

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines popular music embedded in and constitutive of a selection of Korean prose fictions composed amidst the three-decade long turbulence of militarization, cold war realignment, and rapid development in the southern part of Korea beginning with liberation from Japanese colonial rule in 1945. It argues that, as powerful vehicles for eliciting collective experiences of nationhood, providing comfort and solace, and embodying feelings of liberation, popular song forms enabled writers to develop unique artistic practices for capturing emotions and experiences of everyday life which could not be depicted through preexisting literary means.

Situated at the lacuna between interpretive practices and histories of South Korean popular music and sound media on the one hand, and literary prose and print media on the other, the dissertation is conceptualized around the pressing methodological question of how to develop ways to read Korean fiction informed by the rhythms, lyrics, voices, media, histories, and compositional forms of popular Korean genres and artists. Structured chronologically by decade, the dissertation presents four case studies, each of which reveals a rich terrain of intermedial and intertextual linkages that give insight into how sonic and musical modes of aestheticization have enabled individuals to reclaim, reckon with, and reimagine themselves as the subjects of both their own lives and the collective life of South Korea amidst the crucible of accelerated modernization.

The first two body chapters examine military songs (*kun'ga*) and historical fiction about the Korean War while the remaining two chapters focus respectively on trot (*t'ŭrot'ŭ*) in connection with semi-autobiographical narratives of hometown return from the 1960s, and psychedelic rock in the context of 1970s youth culture literature. Through these analyses, the dissertation constructs a more comprehensive and integrated cultural history of popular music

and literature in postwar South Korea, challenging and enriching existing disciplinary boundaries.

INTRODUCTION

Impact Narratives of Sound and Print

On March 3, 1899, an advertisement appeared in *Hwangsŏng sinumn*, one of the first Korean mixed-script newspapers, boasting of the high-fidelity sound of music reproduced on gramophone. This documentation of phonographic musical encounter constitutes the earliest Korean-language cross pollination between modern print and sound recording technology. Eleven years later in 1907, efforts at commercial marketing and distribution of the phonograph began in earnest.[1] Even if one traces Korea's first modern printing press back to the Chinese and Japanese language newspaper *Chōsen Shinpō* printed in 1883, there are still less than two decades separating it from the advent of sound reproduction technology.[2] In other words, sixteen years separate the arrival of the Western-style moveable-type printing press and sound reproduction technology to Korea, compared with nearly two centuries in the US, three centuries in Japan, and four centuries in England. Thus the historical narrative of compressed literary and musical modernity begins with the near simultaneous arrivals of the technologies that enabled both.

This meant that the same ambitious young Korean men who embraced mass print in the early twentieth century were also responsible for advancing foundational ideas and practices of both modern literature and popular song. A leading figure in the *aeguk kyemong undong* (patriotic enlightenment movement) at the turn of the twentieth century, Ch'oe Nam-

[1] "T'ŭkpyŏl kwanggo" [Special advertisement], *Hwangsŏng sinmun*, March 13, 1899. The *Mansebo* began advertising commercial sales of gramophones, called "talking machine" (*mal hanŭn kigye*), along with recordings of musical performers Han In-bo and Ch'oe Hong-mae taken in Osaka and manufactured in the US by Columbia Records. See *Mansebo*, March 19, 1907, and April 19, 1907. For Korean-language materials, the original titles are referenced for the first in-text reference while subsequent in-text references to made to the translated English titles. Footnotes refer to the original Korean titles unless otherwise noted. English translations, when absent from footnotes, are provided in the Bibliography. All translations of titles and quoted passages are mine unless otherwise indicated.

[2] The first newspaper was *Chōsen Shinpō* published in Chinese and Japanese by the Zai Fuzankō Shōhō Kaigisho (The Chamber of Commerce at the Pusan Port) in December 1883. The *Hansŏng sunbo* (1883-1884), *Dongnip sinmun* (1896-1899), and *Hwangsŏng sinmun* (1898-1910) followed, printing in Classical Chinese, Korean mixed script, and vernacular Korean, each with circulations of at most around three thousand copies.

sŏn (1890-1957) for instance, has been credited with establishing the first modern print journal, composing the first modern poem, penning the first work of modern music criticism, and writing the lyrics of the first *ch'angga* (vocal song), praising technological feats of modern civilization.[3] The first chapter begins by tracing a genealogy of military songs from the Korean War back to the rhythms, lyrics, and collective vocalizations of *ch'angga*.

In their stories about educated Korean youth, colonial fiction writers gave narrative shape to forms of popular musical modernity according to the same drives for ethnonational enlightenment that they had grafted onto the print media. The first instance of a novelist portraying music as a civilizing force is Yi Kwang-su (1892-1950), in what has canonically been regarded as the first modern novel, *Mujŏng* (The heartless, 1917).[4] Yi provided readers with a framework and pre-existing points of cultural reference with which to translate modern musical sound from the silence of the printed page into felt sentiments. And on the narrative trajectories of the novel's enlightened young men and women, Yi also modeled how readers could further reify such musically-aroused feeling by committing themselves to the collective uplift of the Korean peninsula.[5] For Kim Tong-in (1900-1951), "*ŭmak*" (music) is made to embody romanticist notions about the purity and unchained passions of individual artistic expression and genius while "*yusŏnggi*" (gramophone) signifies the vulgarization of music by the unenlightened masses.[6]

[3] To be sure, all of these "firsts" were interconnected: Ch'oe Nam-sŏn printed the poem, "Hae egesŏ sonyŏn ege" (From the sea to the boy) in the inaugural issue of the journal, *Sonyŏn* (November 1908), run by his printing company, Sinmun'gwan, where he also published the lyrics of the song, "Kyŏngbu t'ŏldo norae" (Song of the Kyŏngbu Railway, 1908) in monograph form. For music criticism essay, see Ch'oe Nam-sŏn, "Sŏyang ŭmak i ŏnje put'ŏ ŏttŏk'e Chosŏnin ege allyŏjyŏnnŭn'ga" [When and how did western music first become known to Koreans], *Koegi* (May 1929). For commentary on the essay, see Yi Kang-suk, Kim Ch'un-mi, and Min Kyŏng-ch'an, *Uri yanggak 100-yŏn* [100 Years of our western music] (Seoul: Hyŏnamsa, 2001), 16–22.

[4] Yi Kwang-su, *Mujŏng*, reprinted in *Paro chabŭn* Mujŏng, annotated by Kim Ch'ŏl (Seoul: Munhak Tongne, 2003), 677–706. For English translation, see Ann Sung-hi Lee, *Yi Kwang-su and Modern Korean Literature: Mujŏng* [The heartless] (Ithaca, NY: Cornell East Asia Series, 2005).

[5] For the scene to which I am referring, see chapters 119-124 of Yi Kwang-su, *Mujŏng*, 677-706; and Ann Sung-hi Lee, *Yi Kwang-su*, 330–342.

[6] Kim Tong-in, "Kwangyŏm sonat'a" [Fire sonata], *Chungwoe ilbo*, January 1-12, 1929; "Ŭmak kongbu" (Music study], *Ch'angjo*, no. 8 (1921).

Indeed, the scholarly exploration of the changing soundscapes of colonial Korea were part of the sociological turn of the 2000s, when scholars began seeking more capacious understandings of the literary, intellectual, and print cultures of Koreans living under Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945). Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan chronicles the birth of the modern reading public, demonstrating a historical correlation between the rise of print media and the shift in how Koreans consumed language, from the aurality of storytelling and oration and the collectivity of a listening public toward the visuality of type culture and the interiority of silent readers and writers.[7] This binary of the interior-less collective listener vs. the individual reader with interior subjectivity, however, does not necessarily map neatly onto the audiovisual litany; rather it also animated divergent leitmotifs of sound itself to begin appearing in print.[8]

As the era of cultural rule (during which the Korean music industry first emerged) gave way to the era of total mobilization, Yi Sŭng-wŏn observes a shift in how authors allegorize sound, from a sign of the "*kwangjang*" (public square) to one of the *milsil* (secret room).[9] My own readings of shifting allegorizations of music in psychedelic literature of the late 1960s to the early 1980s (Chapter 4) suggests that this correlation between allegorization of sound as an insulating and individualizing force and a broader political drift into totalitarianism may in fact be a phenomenon that extends beyond Japanese colonial rule.

Piecing the history of the "modern landscape forged by sound" back together with the colonial print archive, however, risks sacrificing distinctions between authors, genres of

[7] Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, *Kŭndae ŭi ch'aek ilkki: tokcha ŭi t'ansaeng kwa Han'guk kŭndae munhak* (Seoul: P'urŭn Yŏksa, 2003).

[8] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003). Sterne writes that hearing "is concerned with interiors" and "tends toward subjectivity" while vision "is concerned with surfaces" and "tends toward objectivity" (15).

[9] Yi Sŭng-wŏn, "'Sori' ŭi met'ap'o wa kŭndae ŭi ilsangsŏng: Kŭndae ch'ogi-1930-yŏndae sŏsa yangsik ŭl chungsim ŭro," *Han'guk kŭndae munhak yŏn'gu* 5, no. 1 (2004): 221–223; Yi Sŭng-wŏn, *Sori ka mandŭrŏ naen kŭndae ŭi p'unggyŏng* (Paju: Sallim, 2005); and Michael Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth Century Odyssey: A Short History* (Honolulu, University of Hawai'i Press, 2007). The 1920s and early 1930s are referred to as the era of "Cultural Rule" (*bunka seiji*) while the late 1930s to 1945 are referred to as the era of total war mobilization. For more on colonial era and its periodization (Robinson, 36–99).

writing and music, and even between sound and music, in the name of chronological sanctity. In contrast, an author-based study by Im T'ae-hun through the interpretive lens of sound and media reveals that no colonial Korean writer was more enraptured by music, both classical and popular, than Yi Hyo-sŏk (1907–1942). Focusing on the author's youthful enthusiasm for popular trends and commodity consumption, Im demonstrates that Yi narrates an experience of sonic modernity by formally mimicking the medial characteristics of the gramophone record.[10] The limitations, Im asserts, of such enthusiasm in generating literary forms of musical mimesis appear during the total mobilization era, when Yi utilizes the ethereal qualities of musical listening to shelter his characters from the noise of the fascist state.[11] Yet, as David Toop has observed of the "absent presence" of sound in print, authors often "take the liberty of re-imagining any music" as enabling an "oceanic" experience.[12] Thus, such ethereality may not be as much a limitation specific to Yi Hyo-sŏk's writing as it is a possibility ubiquitous to nearly all written descriptions of sound.

Even given the seductive and dreamlike language through which the absent presence of sound and music tends to be manifested, I argue that narrative accounts of musical listening experience can nonetheless be understood and interpreted through structural correlations between languages and forms of music genres and the specific conventions and devices that characterize the narrative techniques of different authors. My project aims to extend the temporality of these pioneering studies of sound through writing. By setting the

[10] Im T'ae-hun, "Ŭmgyŏng ŭi palgyŏn kwa sosŏljŏk taeŭng: Yi Hyo-sŏk kwa Pak T'ae-wŏn ŭl chungsim ŭro" (MA thesis. Sŏnggyun'gwŏn Taehakkyo, 2008), 50–66.

[11] Im T'ae-hun, "Ŭmgyŏng." Explaining the "aura" of musical listening, Im notes that for Yi Hyo-sŏk, musical listening derives pleasure from the consumption of "atmosphere [*punwigi*]" contained by the "temporality of the 78 rpm SP," and that the appeal of sound is that it "is not rooted in any physical state" (62, 68).

[12] David Toop, *Sinister Resonance: The Mediumship of the Listener* (New York: Continuum, 2010). "Personal interpretations, based as they are on an absence of information, take the liberty of re-imagining any music possessing the characteristic that Freud, in *Civilisation and its Discontents*, described with some scepticism as 'oceanic'. [...] Sensations of bliss that revisit the experience of a child in the womb, floating in dark liquidity and undifferentiated sound, may not be religious, but they are entirely comprehensible" (Toop, 19–20).

historical parameters around the three-decade long turbulence of militarization, cold war realignment, and rapid development in the southern part of Korea since the outbreak of the Korean War, I aim to move beyond the "impact narrative" of Korea's colonial history of modern sound and print media.[13]

The immateriality and oceanic nature of sound is precisely what enabled R. Murray Shafer to assemble writings from divergent times and places into what he presents as both a historical and transhistorical account of the global soundscape.[14] Having first coined the term in the 1960s, "soundscape" is what Shafer defines as the "sonic environment," either the "actual environment" or its "abstract constructions."[15] Both Schafer and Toop demonstrate the importance of literature to the historical exploration of soundscape. "Because sound," as Toop puts it, "vanishes into air and past time, the history of listening must be constructed from the narratives of myth and fiction." Profound continuity runs through written descriptions of sound, which often appear as metaphors for "mystical revelation, instability, forbidden desires, disorder, formlessness, the supernatural, for the breaking of social taboos, the unknown, unconscious and extra-human."[16] Continuity across sound descriptions also enables Schafer to mine writings that span from Laozi and Virgil to Ezra Pound and William Faulkner in order to reveal that certain sonic leitmotivs have persisted through human history and the world. In terms of utilizing literary texts to reconstruct historical soundscapes, Schafer advises merely that one be cautious to select only "ear-witness" accounts, for "a writer is trustworthy only when writing about sounds directly experienced and intimately known."[17] In absence of a methodology for interpreting how writing itself mediates sound, novelists and poets, acousticians and musicologists alike become documentarians and

[13] Sterne, *The Audible Past*. What Sterne defines as the "impact narrative" is one in which "technologies are mysterious beings with obscure origins that come down from the sky to 'impact' human relations. Such narratives cast technologies themselves as primary agents of historical change" (8).

[14] R. Murray Schafer, *The Tuning of the World* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977).

[15] Schafer, *Tuning of the World*, 274.

[16] Toop, *Sinister Resonance,* xv.

[17] Schafer, *Tuning of the World*, 8.

occasional commentators or critics of the historical soundscapes to which they have paid earwitness.

I aim to demonstrate that when writers cite, describe, or transcribe a work of popular music, they are not merely documenting it, but performing an act of re-signification. In other words, however true an earwitness account may be, it is still a mediation, rather than a high-fidelity reproduction, of the elapsed sonic reality. When simulating earwitness accounts, re-signification functions as a means for the author to invoke their authority within the historical and sociocultural contexts in which their work is set. Authors may perform "ear-witness" accounts of soundscapes many decades past in order to attain a higher level of genre distinction, to elevate literary fiction to the plane of ethnonational historiography (Chapter Two). They may use scenes of singing and lyrical transcriptions to make the readers empathize with characters who, if encountered on the street, they would likely ignore (Chapter Three). In this way, authors do not only pay earwitness to soundscapes orchestrated by state and civil society, they also re-orchestrate it. And the musical sound object is crucial to how an author extends that re-orchestration process beyond mere documentation of the historical soundscape.

Likewise the cultural and historical contexts within which novelists insert popular musical objects into their narratives inform how the high culture of literature recodifies the low culture of popular music. Similar to David Novak's assertion that music performance and reception are "always connected [...] in transformative cycles of feedback," I argue that authors act as agents of sonic socialization to define, interpret, and critique the musics they hear and write about, participating in the invention and regulation of the descriptive languages which in turn, inform how readers articulate the aesthetic experience of that

music.[18] Doubling as what Toop calls "the mediumship of listener," the authors of fictional narratives supplement the fragile mimetics of musical representation by resisting or reinforcing the parameters of referentiality within which patterns of musical sound are made to correlate with reality. For instance, literary landscapes surrounding the standard canon of Korean War-era songs transformed after Cho Chŏng-nae (1943–) simulated earwitness accounts of those standards being sung by atrocious military and paramilitary police officers who were responsible for the massacre of thousands of innocent civilians, both in reality and in the historical novel *T'aebaek sanmaek* (T'aebaek mountains, 1983–1989) which I examine in Chapter Two. At the same time, narrative structures may also be made to mirror the ideal soundscapes which a musical object's composition is meant to convey, enabling readers to hear moments of structural coincidence between song and society, between compositional movements and movements of the psyche (Chapter Four).

My project thus aims to demonstrate through methods of close reading informed by musical genre and media how literature has contributed to the languages through which popular musical objects are described and the historical soundscapes within which they are imagined. Some authors aim to participate actively in the formation and transformation of cultural attitudes surrounding popular music genres while others seek to fortify pre-existing systems of belief. Yet all are inspired by the perceived immateriality of the sound object and the emotionally potent combination of verse and melody. Such powerful union has helped to literally expand the spatial and temporal boundaries of Korean literary fiction, whether to elevate particular characters through the universal abstractions of musical modernity, to hover nominally between imagined acts of "ear-witness" and the historical panoramas of war (Chapter Two), to map ethnonational identity onto the acousmatic voices of rapid

[18] David Novak, *Japanoise: Music at the Edge of Circulation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2013), 17.

modernization (Chapter Three), or to pursue spaces of psychic refuge from the biopolitical imperatives of the developmentalist state and its totalitarian regime (Chapter Four).

Defining "Popular Song"

To clarify what I mean by "popular music" and "popular song" necessitates a brief survey of the terminology in historical usage. Yi Su-wan and Pak Ae-gyŏng argue that the oldest Korean analog of "pop song" is *kayo* (歌謠), and that "*taejung kayo*" (大衆歌謠, popular song) has essentially been used synonymously in Korea with what is known globally today as K-Pop.[19] But in isolation, *kayo* originally signified something more akin to *minyo*, or "folk song." As Pak finds, the etymology of *kayo* traces back to an annotation by Zhu Xi (1130–1200) of "Airs of the States" (國風 Guo feng) from the *Classic of Poetry* (詩經 Shijing).[20] Here *kayo* are ascribed the characteristics of originating naturally in the "streets" (里巷, *ihyang*) and being sung by men and women as a means of mutual sentimental expression (男女各言其情). In the *Chosŏn Wangjo Sillok* (Veritable records of the Chŏsŏn Dynasty) compiled between 1392 to 1865, the term appears more than one hundred times, embodying everything from songs sung during royal ancestral rites to the songs sung by *kisaeng* (courtesans).[21] Jumping forward to the 1920s and 1930s, when Japanese record labels established subsidiaries in colonial Korea, the term *yuhaengga* (流行歌, *ryūkōka* in Japanese) was introduced as a genre term for *taejung kayo*, though today *yuhaengga* fall under the

[19] Yi Su-wan, "K'eip'ap (K-Pop), Korean kwa Pop Music ŭi kimyohan mannam," *Inmun nonch'ong* 3, no. 1 (2016): 81.
[20] Pak Ae-gyŏng, *Kayo, ŏttŏk'e Ilgŭl kŏsin'ga* (Seoul: Ch'aek Sesang, 2000), 22–23.
[21] Pak Ae-gyŏng, *Kayo,* 26–27.

appellation "*t'ŭrot'ŭ*" (trot). Similar to the increasingly "antiquated, nostalgic connotations" that Hiromu Nagahari finds have been ascribed to "*ryūkōka*" in Japan since the 1970s, so too did *yuhaengga* come to signify the narrow range of songs produced around the Korean music industry's inception.[22] And though *yuhaengga* now evoke a long-ago era of gramophones and shellac SPs, *kayo* appears to retain its many historical connotations, thus making it a far more expansive term than its more specifically commercial English analogs, "popular music" and "pop song."

To trace "*kayo*" across the twentieth century yields a dizzying assortment of usages and subgenres. In the 1930s, *kayo*-derived titles came to classify songs by classical composers, children's song writers, and popular singers alike.[23] In the field of colonial Korean literature, the lyrics of Silla (57 BCE–935 CE), Koguryŏ (37 BC–668 AD), and Chosŏn (1392–1910) *kayo* were compiled by literary historian and scholar Kim T'ae-jun (1905–1949) into the single anthology *Chosŏn kayo chipsŏng* (朝鮮歌謠集成 1934).[24] Upon liberation from colonial rule in 1945, those songs produced within the "*haebang konggan*" (liberation space, 1945–1950) have come to constitute their own genre, known as *haebang kayo*. After the Korean War (1950–1953) broke out, songs that were popular or were written to be popular amongst Republic of Korea (ROK) soldiers, many of which were created specifically for such circulation, were known as "*chinjung kayo*" (camp songs, 陣中歌謠). Under the postwar Syngman Rhee (1875–1965) regime, songs that were written under direct

[22] Hiromu Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie: Japan's Pop Era and Its Discontents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 2–3.

[23] Ewha Music Database, s.v., "(Kayogokchip) Mulsae palchaok" [Footprints of Waterfowl: A Collection of Songs], accessed June 20, 2023, https://perma.cc/AE88-XTZK; "Chosŏn Kayo chakkokchip. Che-1 chip" [A Collection of Composed Songs of Chosŏn, Vol. 1], accessed June 20, 2023, https://perma.cc/HL7Q-U3TM; "T'ŭksŏn kayogokchip" [A Special Collection of Songs], accessed June 20, 2023, https://perma.cc/Q946-6UEX.

[24] Han'guk minjok munhwa paekkwa sajŏn (hereinafter, *Encyclopedia of Korean Culture*), s.v., "Chosŏn kayo chipsŏng (朝鮮歌謠集成)" [Collection of Korean *kayo*], accessed June 20, 2024, https://perma.cc/EC64-C84W.

governmental influence were known as "*pangsong kayo"* (broadcast songs, 放送歌謠), evolving into *kungmin kayo* (citizen songs, 國民歌謠) in 1957 when the Ministry of Public Information initiated its "Kungmin kaech'ang undong" (All citizens sing together movement). Following the election of Park Chung Hee (1917–1979) in 1963, *kungmin kayo* became *kŏnjŏn kayo* (健全歌謠), or "healthy songs."[25] This explicitly propagandic genre contained the subcategories of *kajŏng kayo* (family songs, 家庭歌謠), *aeguk kayo* (patriotic songs, 愛國歌謠), and *kwanje kayo* (administrative songs, 管制歌謠).[26] The term *taejung kayo* still used today had stabilized in the South Korean popular song industry in the 1970s and 1980s.[27] Finally, from the dissident social movements of the 1980s emerged the protest genre *minjung kayo* (民衆歌謠), the dialectic of *kŏnjŏn kayo* which, under the Chun Doo Hwan (1931–2021) military dictatorship (1980–1987), artists were mandated to include on every recorded album they released. This is merely a sampling of what literally falls under the name *kayo*.

What the chronology of *kayo*-derived genres demonstrates is the sheer polysemy that a single analogous term for "popular song" generates in the Korean context. Such polysemy

[25] Shin Hyunjoon [Sin Hyŏn-jun], "Sori midiŏ ŭi sahoe munhwasa" [The sociocultural history of sound media], in Yu, Sŏn-yŏng et. al. ed., Pak Yŏng-gyu, Yi Sang-gil, eds. *Han'guk ŭi midiŏ sahoe munhwasa* [The sociocultural history of Korean media] (Seoul: Han'guk Ŏllon Chaedan, 2007), 398. See also Jung Min Mina Lee, "Singing its Way to Prosperity: Shaping the Public Mind through 'Healthy Popular Music' in South Korea," *Music & Politics* 14, no. 1 (2020): 1–23.

[26] Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, s.v., "Kŏnjŏn kayo (健全歌謠)," accessed June 20, 2024, https://perma.cc/5KBH-CAVY.

[27] Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, s.v., "Kunjung kayo (群衆歌謠)," accessed June 20, 2024, https://perma.cc/E3L5-9M7B. Note that during this time, North Korea was adopting its own terminology: *tangjŏngch'aek kayo* (popular party policy songs, 黨政策歌謠), *nodong kayo* (popular labor songs, 勞動歌謠), *sŏjŏng kayo* (popular lyrical songs, 抒情歌謠), *haengjin kayo* (popular marching songs, 行進歌謠), and the closest analog to "popular song," *kunjung kayo* (群衆歌謠), which descend from *hyŏngmyŏng kayo* (革命歌謠, revolutionary songs) of the anti-Japanese resistance movement.

in turn signals the deep embeddedness of popular song forms within the social movements, political reshufflings, and mass mobilizations that characterize Korea's twentieth-century history. But neither is my use of "popular song" limited to the commodity sound objects of the commercial music industry, nor do I organize my project strictly around the aforementioned categories. Rather, by "popular song," I refer to songs that have continued to circulate and generate re-significations in South Korea. I have chosen the genres of *kun'ga* and *aegukka* (military song and patriotic song), trot, and psychedelic rock due to their prominence in popular music and sociocultural historiographies and their rich archive of transcriptions, contested significations, and personal reminiscences in writings from between 1945 and the present. One would even be tempted to identify the written archives of these three song genres as representing something akin to collective memory. However, such a facile conclusion would fail to account for how authors, in the very act of musical citation, become participants in the ongoing contests over what those song genres mean, and with whom they should be identified. Thus if writers participate in the drawing and redrawing of the boundaries of genre, it implies that genre itself is fluid and relational. Such relationality becomes apparent beginning at the level of generic divisions between the traditional Korean singing voice from the modern classical voice.

Voice, Genre, and Media

That the singing voice can be treated both literally as the link between sound and body and speech and song and also interpreted metaphorically as a trope of authenticity and collective identity is crucial to understanding how musical writing worked to mediate ethnonational history, personal memory, and postwar modernity in South Korea. To understand the relationship between *sŏngak* (classical vocal music) and the Christian narrative of progress, anthropologist Nicholas Harkness differentiates between the literal

voice, or what he terms the "phonosonic nexus," and voicing, or the "tropic extensions" of voice. Harkness writes that separation of the literal phonosonic voice from the tropic extensions of voicing enables one to better understand how the aesthetic discourses of sonic experience are used to "project cultural notions of the authenticity, particularity, authority, subjectivity, political position, or intentionality of singing or speaking bodies onto distinct, potentially generalizable identities."[28]

Similar distinctions have also enabled conceptualizations of genre on two levels: on the level of performative convention, or syntactic and semantic citationality between musical artists; and on the level of discursive identification, or the categorization by interpretive communities between groupings of performative conventions and groupings of people. Much in the same way that Harkness distinguishes between the phonosonic voice and the higher-level acts of vocalization, so too does the popular music scholar David Brackett assert that the emergence, stabilization, and transformation of genres depend not only upon musical performances that repeatedly associate social-musical conventions with categories of sound, but also upon paratextual identifications of those genre labels with categories of people.[29] Thus discursive formations of both voice and genre rely upon homology of primary source (voice, performers) and ideational projection (cultural notions of authenticity, groupings of people).

One final consideration must also be given to how a reading practice based in popular songs might account for the media through which the songs circulated. In an essay about artistic practices of recycling shellac, Elodie A. Roy suggests that, "A ruined commodity, once decoupled from the extinguished industry that produced it, continues to function as a sign or signal of this industry, propagating or reproducing it in a ghostly manner." While

[28] Nicholas Harkness, *Songs of Seoul: An Ethnography of Voice and Voicing in Christian South Korea* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2014), 18–20.

[29] David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound: Genre and Twentieth-Century Popular Music* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016). (11–29).

recycling may enable the artist to "tap into the residues of cultural forms and former infrastructures," the dialogue which are initiated with those "cultural phantoms" of the extinguished industry "often takes place on an implicit level." The job of the scholar then, is to bring that conversation to the surface.[30] In my reading of the short story "Haengun yusu" (Floating clouds, flowing water, 1973) by Yi Mun-gu (1943–2003), I attempt to show how making explicit the material presence of the shellac SPs which the narrator recalls from two decades past enables the story's tropic extensions of phonosonic voice to be in conversation with both the human diasporas of the Korean War and the material diasporas of the colonial Korean music industry (Chapter Three).[31] In the same way that discursive formations of voice and genre depend upon homology of primary source (voice, performers) and ideational projection (cultural notions of authenticity, groupings of people), so too does the materiality of mechanically reproduced music (SPs, radios, loudspeakers) open new approaches for understanding how writers ascribe voices and genres with symbolic meaning.

It is through the acts of "tropic extension" that literary writers participate in the aesthetic discourses of musical style, aligning generic practices of phonic production, lyrical rhetorics, and technological mediations with the sensuous qualities they perceive therein (i.e., rough, smooth). But because the written medium cannot transduce and actuate acoustic waves, authors rely heavily upon figurative language to transmit to readers the qualities they hear in the vibration of vocal cords, instruments, and speakers. By extending those qualities into the abstract attributes of objects and events beyond the immediate place and time of a particular musical text or performance, authors indicate the sociocultural identities and values which

[30] Elodie A. Roy, "Another Side of Shellac: Cultural and Natural Cycles of the Gramophone Disc," in Kyle Devine, and Alexandrine Boudreault-Fournier, eds., *Audible Infrastructures: Music, Sound, Media* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2021), 209–228.

[31] Yi Mun-gu, "Haengun yusu," originally published in *Wŏlgan Chungang*, no. 99 (February 1973): 306–322, republished in *Kwanch'on sup'il* (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 1996), 80–120. I use Youngju Ryu's translations of titles from *Kwanch'on sup'il*. See *Writers of the Winter Republic: Literature and Resistance in Park Chung Hee's Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 61–98.

songs invoke for them. Such vocalizations reveal how authors align themselves to or distances themselves from those musically invoked sociocultural identities and values. More importantly, they also contribute to how readers identify those songs and genres demographically, and to the circulation of the languages used to conceptualize their aesthetic experience.

Between the Histories of Popular Song and Literature

Since the 1990s scholarship has expanded in various disciplinary boundaries to encompass investigations of both the historical canon and the contemporary field of Korean popular songs.[32] Chapters One and Two have been informed by extensive historical research and archival development conducted by members of the Ewha Music Research Institute and Dankook University Academy of Asian Studies, through whose work the genealogy of Korean War-era military songs can be traced back to the dotted rhythms and religiously inflected patriotism of *ch'angga*, a genre first introduced to Korea by North American missionaries in the early twentieth century. As I discuss further in Chapter Three, the first truly archival work of popular song historiography was accomplished by Pak Ch'an-ho (1943–), a Korean resident of Japan, who spent over a decade scouring archives and music stores in Japan, transcribing the words of songs rendered nearly incoherent by the material corrosions of their shellac SPs, and piecing the scraps of newspaper ads and monthly release lists together into his landmark survey of colonial Korean songs, *Kankoku kayōshi* (Korean song history, 1987; in Korean, *Han'guk kayosa 1895–1945*, 1992).[33] Since then, popular culture scholar Yi Yŏng-mi has also devoted a prolific body of work to developing a genealogy of everyday sensibilities from the colonial era to the present, while Yi Chun-hŭi's

[32] For examples of sociocultural historiographies that take into account popular songs, see Kwŏn Podŭrae, Kim Sŏng-hwan, Kim Wŏn, Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, and Hwang Pyŏng-ju, *1970 Pak Chŏng-hŭi modŏnijŭm: Yusin esŏ Sŏndei Sŏul kkaji* (Sŏul: Ch'ŏnnyŏn ŭi Sangsang, 2015).

[33] Pak Ch'an-ho, *Kankoku kayōshi* (Tōkyō: Shōbunsha, 1987); *Han'guk kayosa*, translated by An Tong-nim (Seoul: Miji Puksŭ, 2017).

painstaking attention to discographic detail has been essential to scholars trying to piece together histories of trot songs from their original recordings to their reissues.[34] Informing Chapter Four are the archival excavations of Hyunjoon Shin, who has focused specifically on the histories of rock and other genres that grew out of the American military entertainment system. Shin aptly named his pioneering survey of Korean pop music from the 1960s and 1970s a work of "*kogohak*" (archaeology), both signifying the archaeological nature of work in the popular music field, marred as it is in archival absences, ephemerality, rumors and mythologization, and evoking the homonymous "go-go," as in the style of dancing with which youth of the era upset the conservative sensibilities of the previous generation.[35]

How then, does popular song history compare with modern Korean literary history? I would like to visualize the periodizations in Sŏ Pyŏng-gi and Chang Yu-jŏng's popular music history alongside that of Kwŏn Yŏng-min's literary history, both of which offer the clear demarcations.[36]

[34] Yi Yŏng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa* (Sigongsa, 1998); and *Tongbaek agassi nŭn ŏdi ro kassŭlkka* [Where has the camellia girl gone], (Inmul kwa Sasangsa, 2017).

[35] Shin Hyun-joon (Sin Hyŏn-jun), *Han'guk p'ap ŭi kogohak 1970: Han'guk p'ok'ŭ wa rok, kŭ chŏlchŏng kwa punhwa* (Paju: Han'gil Atŭ, 2005); *Han'guk p'ap ŭi kogohak 1960: Han'guk p'ap ŭi t'ansaeng kwa hyŏngmyŏng* (Paju: Han'gil Atŭ, 2005).

[36] Sŏ Pyŏng-gi, and Chang Yu-jŏng, *Han'guk taejung ŭmaksa kaeron* (Seoul: Sŏngindang, 2015); Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksa*, vol. 1 (Seoul; Minŭmsa, 2002); *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksa*, vol. 2 (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 2020). I have chosen these two works because both were written with the didactic aspiration of telling an unbiased historical account of their respective fields of study.

<table>
<tr><th>Literary History</th><th>Popular Music History</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Reform Enlightenment Era (1896-1910)
Establishment of Modern Literature</td><td>————————</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Beginning Era
(1907-1929)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Early-colonial Era (1910-1919)
Literature's Stylistic Differentiation</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mid-colonial Era (1925-1934)
Opposition of Literature and Ideology</td><td rowspan="2">Formative Era
(1930-1940)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Late-colonial Era (1935-1945)
Reversal of Literary Spirit and Technique</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Establishment of Minjok Literature (1945 to Mid-1960s)
Liberation, Division of North and South, Postwar
Establishment of Minjok Literary Values</td><td>Dark Era (1941-1944)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Reconstruction Era
(1945-1957)</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">Social Expansion (Late-1960s to Mid-1990s)
Industrialization, Democratization Movement, Class Opposition, Societal Expansion of Literature</td><td rowspan="2">Revival Era (1958-1974)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Era of Hardship
(1975-1979)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Era of Differentiation
(1980-1991)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition Era (1992-1996)</td></tr>
<tr><td>Change in Status of Literature (Late-1990s to Present)
Information Age Transformation of Media and Globalization</td><td>Rapid Progress Era
(1997-present)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 1: Historical Periodization of Literature and Popular Music

Kwŏn Yŏng-min's periodization follows a form of Lukácian analysis premised upon the notion that human consciousness changes in relation to the material conditions of history, and that aesthetic forms reflect the historical conditions within which authors reckon with essence, or the existential crisis of loss thereof.[37] Perhaps most importantly, in the eras in which my own project is situated, the organizational principles which allow Kwŏn to preserve the

[37] Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksa*. Kwŏn writes that he is interested in the essential properties of literature as historical substance, wherein "historical substance" is e defined as change, and "essential nature [of a literary text] as a literary text" is the transformation of "human consciousness" to which an era's historical changes can be traced (1: 15).

continuity of essence across periodized rupture is the overarching narrative of *pundan munhak* (division literature), or the movement toward "overcoming the logic of division and recovering the totality of *minjok* [ethnonational] literature."[38] In contrast, periodization for Sŏ Pyŏng-gi and Chang Yu-jŏng is premised upon the "hybridization, indigenization, creation, and extinction" of music genres, and rather than referring to the Korean ethnonation, the authors invoke the less ideologically loaded "*uri nara*" (our country).[39] Thus while contemporary Korean literary critics may propound a sterne inward-facing narrative about *minjok* literature's role in overcoming colonialism, division, and class oppositions of the actual *minjok*, contemporary popular music critics do not or cannot obscure the bare heteronomy of pop music beneath a teleology of ethnonational becoming or historical essence.

Despite their differences, literary and popular music historians must inevitably gauge change at the atomic level by deeming certain individual artists and texts "representative" both in terms of innovativeness in the past and relevance to the present. For instance, in the groundbreaking *Han'guk munhaksa* (Korean literary history, 1973), Kim Hyŏn uses Claude Levi-Strauss's ethnological, cultural anthropological, and psychoanalytic notion of "collective unconscious" to define the historically representative literary text as a "referential standard of imagination and custom for the contemporaneous unconscious of their [the author's] particular class," asserting that "the validity of each work" must be measured "as one component in mutual relation to other components of the totality, a 'semantic network' formed within the accumulated materials of an era."[40] In other words, the historical value of an individual work of literature is measured in relation to other contemporaneous works of literature ("the accumulated materials of an era") and to its standing amongst the intellectual

[38] Kwŏn, *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksa*, 1: 22.

[39] Chang Yu-jŏng, "Tŭrŏ kamyŏ / Chŏja sŏmun 1" [Author's preface 1], in *Han'guk taejung ŭmaksa kaeron*, 9.

[40] Kim Hyŏn, "Che-1 chŏl sidae kubunnon" [Section 1: Theory of periodization], in Kim Hyŏn, and Kim Yun-sik, *Han'guk munhaksa* [Korean literary history] (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1996), 14-16.

class for whom it is written ("their particular class"). When Sŏ Pyŏng-gi and Chang Yu-jŏng gauge representativeness, they balance individual accomplishments against the counterweight of broader transformations in media, genre form and singing style, and state policies of censorship and suppression. And perhaps where literary and popular music historians depart from one another to the greatest degree is in the latter's prioritization of the masses, according to whose tastes commercial flows are determined.

If the number of demarcations between years correlates with a greater level of historical transformation during the given time frame, then Figure 1 would indicate that the major changes of literature and popular music occurred respectively at opposite ends of the twentieth century. The authors whose works I discuss were writing during the long middle eras of literary and popular music history, the Establishment of *Minjok* Literature (1945–mid-1960s) and Social Expansion (late-1960s to mid–1990s) eras of literature and the Reconstruction (1945–1957) and Revival (1958–1974) eras of music. The only author who took up the music of their contemporaries was Ch'oe In-ho (1945–2013) (Chapter Four), who continued to invoke the musical codes of psychedelic rock and folk even after the "Han'guk Rok ŭi Taebu" (Godfather of Korean Rock) Shin Joong Hyun (1938–), had been imprisoned in a mental institute at the dawn of the "Era of Hardships (1975–1979)."

In contrast, by re-signifying old songs for their contemporary readers in the 1970s and 1980s, respectively, Yi Mun-gu and Cho Chŏng-nae were, in a sense, performing their own revisionist musical historiographic work, crisscrossing lines from the literary present back to listening moments of music histories past. And while there is little overlap between the two periodizations, there are specific places where the respective divisions coincide with each other: liberation in 1945 and the dawn of the current era in the late 1990s. While my project begins at the first demarcation of 1945, its very premise derives from the second, or the line

marking the turn of the twenty-first century, when Korean popular culture began to rise to global prominence.

Personally I find the dawn of the present era best signified by the 2002 World Cup, co-hosted by South Korea and Japan, during which South Korean victories over Poland and Portugal, then Italy and Spain (not without much controversy) propelled the team to a record finish of fourth place overall. That improbable outcome sparked a moment of national triumph and collective ecstasy–a nearly complete reversal of the trauma and tumult of the country's previous century. Throughout home games, massive choral bellowings of "Arirang" roared from the stadium and into the audio signals transmitted via satellite across the world. If sports are a central part of a nation's popular and mass culture, then this triumph enabled, or demanded, South Koreans rethink the value and effectiveness of popular culture itself in communicating Korean national identity and pride to the rest of the world.[41] In film, television, music, Korean popular culture has been fulfilling such a global communicative function ever since, with no small benefit to the economy from the resultant increase in soft power and cultural capital. Certainly the triumph of the 2002 World Cup did not materialize spontaneously. Ever since the democratization movement of 1987, popular culture had gradually been ridding itself of its indulgent and dumb-headed public image.

But for decades, the high-low cultural divide remained intact. To no small extent did that divide keep the field of modern literature partitioned off from popular culture, a means of quarantining the contaminants of its frivolous and lascivious consumerist lifestyles. If the value of literature had long been measured against standards of high romanticist artistic ideals or degrees of social and political participation, why would a literary study of popular music

[41] Rachael Miyung Joo, *Transnational Sport: Gender, Media, and Global Korea* (Durham and London: Duke University Press: 2012). Joo provides enthographic account and feminist analysis of the 2002 World Cup crowds, focusing on how "female practices of fandom helped to naturalize the connection among practices of consumption, mass media, and discourses of nation" (166-167). In particular, see "National Love, The Feminized Publics of the Korean World Cup" (Joo, 163-193).

or a musical study of literature matter? First, one might observe based on the literary assemblages of my dissertation, that popular songs are inseparable from popular memory. Given their mass and transient circulation, pop songs come to be associated in the minds of many with specific and overlapping moments from the past. To evoke popular song in a work of literary reminiscence is to summon up a concrete sensory perceptive experience of time and place. Yet these memories, as I stated before, do not signify in a collective or univocal way. Differences between how authors integrate popular songs into fictional narratives and how historians and journalists interpret those songs reveal that certain songs have become particularly contested sites for ideological allegiances to be articulated and authorities to be invoked. In Chapters One and Two, I examine how conflicts over the legitimacy of the nation-state itself have played out through divergent writings about the National Anthem. Situated around the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea in 1965, Chapter Three turns to colonial-era trot songs upon which popular waves of anti-Japanese sentiment collide with authorly efforts to reclaim the songs in deeply humanizing narrativizations of memories of *minjung*, or the "common people."[42] Both chapters demonstrate how authors can activate popular songs not only as vehicles through which to summon the past, but also to shape the politics of history, how the past is interpreted in the present. To better conceptualize the ways in which literary fiction has performed popular music affords a methodology for interpreting the present-day intersection between the literary field of high cultural production which the rise of commodity consumerism and hyper mediation has jolted into perpetual existential crisis, and the Korean popular music industry which, by all accounts, has achieved the level of global recognition that the literary field had long coveted.

[42] Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 1.

Music and Literature in the Era of Division

I want to begin this section with an episode that demonstrates how the ideological and political conflicts that define Korean history has transformed a popular song into a highly contested site of re-signification. On June 25, 2000, the South Korean broadcast station MBC aired a segment of the investigative journalism program *Sisa maegŏjin 2580* about a recently discovered version of "Silla ŭi talpam" (Moonlit night of Silla, 1949).[43] Considered the first hit song in South Korean history, "Moonlit night of Silla" has a distinctly exotic tonality vaguely evocative of traditional styles from southeast Asia and lyrics which transport listeners back to a royal palace of the Silla Dynasty. The program claimed that this unearthed original, entitled "Indo ŭi talpam" (Moonlit night of India), was written by lyricist Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul (1913–1993) who went north after liberation. In fact, in an article published in the North Korean newspaper *Chosŏn sinbo* twelve years prior to the show, Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul himself addressed the issue.[44] He begins by recalling a moment from fifty years prior when, upon the northern "liberation" of Seoul in the opening days of the Korean War. Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul was reunited with an old friend, composer Pak Si-ch'un (1913–1996) with whom Cho had released hundreds of songs for the most popular Korean music company of the colonial era, Okeh Records. The two "shared old stories, clasped hands, and shed tears, overwhelmed with emotion," until Pak mentions that, after Cho had gone north, the composer had been compelled to change "Moonlit night of India" to "Moonlit night of Silla" to avoid the government crackdown on works by *wŏlbuk chakka*, or writers who went North upon liberation.

[43] "Silla ŭi talbam," SP, side A of Lucky Record L-7700 (1949). Lyrics and links for selected songs are included in the Appendices. For "Silla ŭi talbam" lyrics, see Appendix 1. For discographic information on songs cited and discussed in this dissertation, see Discography. For more on the disputes surrounding "Moonlit night of Silla," see Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa 2* (Seoul: Miji puk'sŭ, 2019), 39-42. See.

[44] Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul, "Ijŭl su ŏmnŭn kayo tŭl e taehan pŏmjoejŏk wijo haengwi: 'indo ŭi talpam' i 'Silla ŭi talpam' ŭro" [Criminal forgeries of unforgettable songs: From "Moonlit night of India" to "Moonlit night of Silla"], *Chosŏn sinbo*, March 28, 1988, in *Cho Yŏng-ch'ul chŏnjip*, vol. 2, *Si wa sanmun*, edited by Chŏng U-t'aek, and Chu Kyŏng-hwan (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2013), 574-576.

The original song was Cho's "way of expressing the sadness felt by those in colonial slavery," of linking together the Korean vagabond departing "from Busan Harbor with the sadness of a ruined nation in their heart" with "the hearts of the Indian people suffering under British colonial slavery." Yet in his interpretation of the new lyrics, the choice to change India to Silla stirs deep historical resonances between North and South Korea and Koguryŏ and Silla, respectively. Much in the same way that the US-allied South Korea claimed that it sought peninsular "unification" while holding separate elections and violently suppressing leftist forces below the thirty-eighth parallel, so too did the Tang-allied Silla Dynasty, also located in the southern region of Korea, attain "unification" through destruction of the powerful Koguryŏ Dynasty in the north. On the other hand, North Korea, as the present-day analog of Koguryŏ, possessed a strong military, a legacy of resistance, and a relentless drive for peninsular autonomy, in turn justifying its claim at representing the more authentic form of Korean culture and society.

Indeed by celebrating Silla, who had colluded with Tang to cause "the downfall of their own people," the new lyrics vicariously celebrate the South Korea government "colluding" with America to destroy North Korea.[45] Following this brief episode in 1950, Pak Si-ch'un and Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul would go on to create pugnacious military songs in service of their respective nations, now in the midst of a bloody war. While the Republic of Korea Army pushed north chanting the lyrics of Pak's "Sŭngni ŭi yongsa" (Warriors of victory)—"*We we are warriors warriors of victory / Disciples of justice who vanquish the enemy of humanity*"—the Korean People's Army was pushing south chanting the lyrics to Cho's "Ch'ŏngnyŏn yugyŏktae" (Youth shock troops)—"*We are the youth shock troops*

[45] For more on the historical resonances between the Koguryŏ and North Korea, and Silla and South Korea, see Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea* (London: Red Globe Press, 2021), 4–9.

carrying bombs of revenge / Go forth courageously into the enemy's darkness again today."[46] The tragic irony is that seven years earlier, Pak Si-ch'un and Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul had learned how to write military songs together, collaborating on at least seven "*ch'inil kayo*" (pro-Japanese popular songs) written in service of the Imperial Japanese Army.[47]

No one can say for sure when, where, why, or even if "Moonlit Night of India" really came into being. Pak Ch'an-ho's post-1945 historiography, based on South Korean sources, takes Cho's accusations lightly, countering that the orignal actually traces back to "T'aeguk ŭi kkum" (Dream of Thailand), a song that went viral *after* liberation from, rather than beneath, Japanese colonial rule.[48] But in how he frames "Moonlit Night of Silla" and his encounter with Pak Si-ch'un in KPA-occupied Seoul, one has the distinct sense that the lyricist is filtering musical memory from four decades past through the parallax of division, bending every word and note against the American hegemony that "mercilessly tramples cultures of the conscience."[49] Aside from showing how certain songs have become sites of contested meaning, what I mean to demonstrate through this episode is that popular music historiographies rarely give a nonpartisan view; rather it is necessary to understand Korean popular song history through variations on the extratextual mode of interpretation that Edward Said has termed "contrapuntal reading."[50]

My dissertation asks, how are those songs which originated both during and before the era of division heard through the authorial ears of division literature? To define "division

[46] Na Pyŏng-gi, lyricist, Pak Si-ch'un, composer, "Sŭngni ŭi yongsa" [Warriors of victory] (1950), in Pak Ch'an-ok, *Han'guk kayosa 2,* 149-150; Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul, lyricist, Ri Myŏn-sang, composer, "Ch'ŏngnyŏn yugyŏktae" [Youth shock troops] (1951), in *Chŏnsi kayo yuraejip* [Origins of wartime songs collection] (Pyongyang: Munye Ch'ulp'ansa, 1987), 85–87.

[47] See Chang Yu-jŏng, *Oppa nŭn p'unggak chaengi ya: Taejung kayo ro pon kŭndae ŭi p'unggyŏng* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 2006), 339.

[48] Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa 2*, 39.

[49] Cho Ryŏng-ch'ul, "Ijŭl su ŏmnŭn kayo," 576.

[50] Edward Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Vintage, 1994). My application of "contrapuntal reading" is broader than that of Said, who coneived of the method as a way to connect the cultural arcvhives of the imperial metropole and the colonizer with "those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts" (32). For further elaboration, see Said, 66–67, 111–112, and 259.

literature," Paik Nak-chung (1938–), a prominent literary critic and founder of the influential journal and publisher *Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏng* (Creation and Criticism, hereinafter, *Ch'angbi*), suggests that the term applies to all literature written during the era of division (1945–present).[51] In relation to the literary works which I take up in the body chapters, I believe that the narrower definition forwarded by literary critic Kim Yun-sik (1936–2018) may be more applicable. Kim demarcates as division literature only works by the generation who was born around the 1940s and who wrote in the 1970s and 80s about being a child during the War.[52] In Chapters One and Two, I examine one of this generation's formative childhood experiences, that of living in the same space but under the governance of a quick succession of different nation-states—from Imperial Japan, to a liberated Korea, to the US Military Government in Korea, to the Republic of Korea, and so forth. As a result of these memories, the sounds of patriotic anthems and military marching songs in both nonfiction writings of literary critics and in the historical Korean War epic *T'aebaek Mountains* destabilize, rather than reinforce, musical modes of national identification.

In contrast, Yi Mun-gu's use of the intimate genre of biography enables the author to forge criss-crossing webs of signification from the same colonial era songs heard in the acousmatic voices of the trot revival and the golden age of radio in the narrative present of the 1960s and 1970s to memories of the phonosonic voice of a beloved friend from whom he was estranged during the war. Yi's deeply personal engagements with the music of the past not only re-orchestrate how readers hear the songs, but they also allow them to empathize more deeply with the human struggles that extend from the lost voice of the *minjung*. Despite the fact that Ch'oe In-ho's apolitical approach to literature has generally precluded his work

[51] See Paik Nak-chung [Paek Nak-ch'ŏng], "Pundan sidae munhak ŭi sasang" [The ideology of literature in the age of division], in *Minjok munhak kwa segye munhak* 1 / *In'gan haebang ŭi nolli rŭl ch'ajasŏ* [Ethnonational literature and world literature 1 / In search of the logic of human liberation] (Seoul: Ch'angbi, 2015), 357–359.

[52] Kim Yun-sik, and Chŏng Ho-ung, *Han'guk sosŏlsa* [History of the Korean novel] (Seoul: Munhak Tongne, 2000), 473.

from explicit discussions of division literature, the definition forwarded by Kim Yun-sik still technically applies to the author (born in the 1940s, wrote in the 1970s and 80s about childhood memories of war). But departing from both the realist approach of Cho Chŏng-nae and the biographical approach of Yi Mun-gu, Ch'oe In-ho attempted to sublimate memories of the war and the anti-communist postwar educational regime into psychedelic textual forms. And I argue in Chapter Four that these psychedelic forms can be heard analogously to the psychedelic codes that Shin Joong Hyun employed in his songs. Despite the unambiguously Western origins of psychedelic rock, as the Era of Hardships (1971–1974) gave way to the Era of Hardship (1975–1979), both Ch'oe In-ho and Shin Joong Hyun embraced the genre's ideology of liberation through artistic experience as an authentic mode of resisting surrender to the increasingly oppressive military dictatorship of the Park Chung Hee regime.

Method

For any scholar who attempts to restore sound to literacy, the silence of the printed text presents a unique problem. One must reckon with the gap between aurality and orality, between what is heard and spoken, between what readers imagine words to sound like and how writers intend them to sound. Having first coined the term in 1995, Charles Berstein describes "close listening" as a spectrum of critical approaches to modern poetry which employ both conventional means of textual interpretation of poems and "close listening" to sound recordings of poems in oral performance.[53] In this context, the use of aural media supports Bernstein's contention that sound is "neither arbitrary nor secondary but constitutive" of a selection of particularly innovative modern poetry.[54] More recently, Jessica Teague, a scholar of twentieth-century American literature, has invoked the term "resonant reading" to define practices attendant specifically to "the literary features of sound in the phonographic

[53] Charles Bernstein, "Introduction," in *Close Listening: Poetry and the Performed Word* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1998), 2–26.
[54] Bernstein, "Introduction," 4.

era."[55] Like Bernstein's approach to poetry through listening and reading, so too does Teague extend resonant reading from "an ear-oriented approach to reading texts," to "strategies of actual listening (whether to speech, to music, or to our acoustic environments)."[56]

Following the blended approaches of Bernstein and Teague, my readings stay attuned to the figurative resonances of popular songs in silent print while listening to the actual resonances of the recorded songs. When recordings are not available, as is the case with *ch'angga* in Chapter One, I rely upon sheet music. Thus I begin by identifying moments of musical audition, performance, and memory in works of literary prose, autobiographical writings, and nonfiction essays; and then listen to, or read the sheet music of, the songs being audited, performed, or remembered. From there, I expand outward to articulate transmedial links and intertextual patterns that form between the histories, circulation, and formal and performative conventions of the referenced musical genre and the narrative structurings, discursive identifications, and aesthetic arrangements of music in the literary text.

To the extent that I have prioritized correctly identifying the recordings to which authors refer, particularly in autobioraphical or semi-autobiographical writing, I have relied heavily upon a vast assortment of streaming audio sources. In recent years, streaming platforms have facilitated unprecedented levels of access to the phonographic archives of Korea. Not only has the internet enabled archivists, enthusiasts, and historians to dispel the auras of unknowability that long enshrouded Korea's audible past, it has also made this project possible at nearly every level of intermediality. While digital space enables greater access, it also countenances the circulation of discographic inaccuracies and misidentifications which pose a challenge to the academic study of popular cultural history, albiet not nearly as grave as the challenge that archival absence once posed to popular music

[55] Jessica Teague, *Sound Recording Technology and American Literature, from the Phonograph to the Remix* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 16–17.
[56] Teague, *Sound Recording Technology*, 16.

scholars prior to the internet. To address the streaming medium through which close listening as a method of literary interpretation becomes possible for me, I devote a large section of Chapter Three to explicating transmedial connections between the history and materiality of popular songs in migration from the phonosonic voices of colonial Korean singers to the silent spaces of the literary narrative, from their reproduction as shellac SPs to the paratextual myths through which their meanings are voiced, and from their material diaspora to their rediscovery and subsequent digitization. Yet just as sound does not exist without human bodies through which to resonate, neither can sound artifacts alone migrate across media. Though close listening to the digitized shellac from a near century past can literally be painful to the ears, there are nonetheless stories to be told in the ambient clouds and convulsive stabs of static through which one hears the distant reverberations of voices, melodies, and instrumental sounds faintly breaking through today.

Chapter Outline

In Chapter One, entitled "Patriotic Anthems and Collective Singing: The Origins of Military Song in Korea" I trace the history of military songs and patriotic anthems to the beginnings of Korean musical modernity at the turn of the nineteenth century, highlighting two historical moments of mass singing: liberation in 1945 and the March First Movement of 1919. Leading up to March First, I examine the vernacular music practices of contrafaction and collective singing introduced by North American missionaries and promoted by the Korean patriotic enlightenment movement. Then leading up to liberation, I trace the activities of the South Korean musicians who would go on to pen the military songs of the Korean War. From missionaries to Korean independence activists, and from the independence movement to late colonial-era war mobilization, the defining features of this genealogy are lyrical expressions of a divine and militaristic sense of patriotism, contrafaction, collective singing,

and marching rhythms. Finally I turn to the autobiographical writings by members of the division literature generation to consider whether patriotic songs can ever successfully entrain individuals from the generation to a collective memory or mass experience of nationhood.

Chapter Two, "Allegories of Rhythm, Sound, and Song in *T'aebaek Mountains*" argues that, Cho Chŏng-nae's critical use of narrative rhythms and portrayal of scenes of collective singing reclaim the divergent experiences and subjectivities of the common people that had long been excluded from dominant narratives of the Korean War. While scholars have interpreted *T'aebaek Mountains* through its spatial allegories and problematic politics of gender and enlightenment, its sheer expansiveness also avails the novel to a diversity of alternative readings. Within the theoretical framings of military songs and patriot anthems established in Chapter One, my readings explore metaphors of rhythm and sound and scenes of civilians singing both traditional *minyo* (folk songs) and military songs and patriotic anthems during the War. As rhythmic patterns gradually increase in scale, from the granular rhythm of narrative temporality and perspective to collective patterns of action and reaction across the whole of the novel's *minjung* historiography, I pay close attention to how the author weaves personal and ethnonational history together with the reality of the narrative present, illuminating patterns of revolutionary or reactionary action that entrain characters to deeper temporal flows. I also examine how *T'aebaek Mountains* outines the *minjung* musical aesthetic through its dialectic with military and patriotic songs and in relation to the 1980s *minjung* movement. While *minyo* are portrayed as the natural expression of the common people, I show that, with the loosening enforcement of anti-communist laws in the late 1980s, Cho aims to build upon similar scenes from short stories written in the 1970s by offering a more complete portrait of civilians singing allegiances to rotating regimes. Much like other members of the division literature generation, I argue that Cho aims to convey that, neither

does a national anthem possess stable signifying power, nor do fully collective memories of the Korean War exist.

Situated within the contexts of geopolitical realignment and the shifting soundscapes of sound reproduction technology in the 1960s, Chapter Three, "Trot and Narratives of Rural Homecoming" seeks mutual understanding of trot's material and human histories in written and recorded form, from the shellac SPs of the colonial era to the acousmatic radio voices of the developmentalist era, and from literary reminiscences to the stories of how the songs were actually recovered from the refuse of time. Through semi-autobiographical and fictional scenes and narratives of rural homecomings in essays by the critic Yi Ŏ-ryŏng (1933–2022), stories by Kim Sŭng-ok (1941–) and Yi Mun-gu, and the actual story of Pak Ch'an-ho's recovery of lost colonial-era SPs, Chapter Three closely examines how the phonosonic, sonic, and lyrical qualities of trot have enabled individuals to reckon with the human and material losses of South Korea's rapid economic development. Bringing to the surface layers of history and meaning that have sedimented within the songs that Yi Mun-gu has transcribed into the pages of "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," the chapter demonstrates how personal narrative reorchestrates readerly audition of *trot*; rather than merely a sonic remnant of the colonial past, it argues that these lyrical transcriptions restore the lost voices of *minjung* both to the silence spaces of the printed page and to the sedimented layers through which the songs have served as a constant source of solace. And by tracing the history of trot into its present-day restorations, I hope to make explicit conversations that have remained implicit between the literary rendering of a song's texture, the sonic texture of the recording, and the material hsitory of the song.

The fourth and final chapter, entitled "Psychedelic Codes and Youth Culture Literature," shifts to the claustrophobic urban spaces of the 1970s from which authors like Ch'oe In-ho seek escape using the cosmopolitan codes of psychedelic rock pioneered by Shin

Joong Hyun. Premised upon writings by countercultural intellectuals of the 1960s and 1970s on the subversive function of art to liberate individuals from repressive social forms by first liberating their subjective consciousnesses, the chapter aims to establish a mutual understanding of the cultural historical significance of literary and musical subversions by Ch'oe In-ho and Shin Joong Hyun, respectively, of mainstream sensibilities; artistic embodiments of freedom through psychedelic experience; and personal explorations of life amidst an overwhelming sense of death. With a careful ear to homologous written and musical forms for signifying pursuits of self-liberation, the chapter maintains that psychedelic codes enabled Ch'oe In-ho to reimagine the subjects of South Korean youth culture as individuals unburdened of the self-negating demands of collective political and social movement.

Finally, the Conclusion crystallizes the recurrent dichotomy between individual and collective through a discussion of Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's artistic contributions to the opening ceremony of the 1988 Seoul Olympics. Ending at the symbolic starting point of South Korea's present era of democratized politics and relative economic stability, I address the implications of my dissertation for the ongoing tasks of overcoming the historical divide between pre- and post-1988 periodization, bridging the scholarly divide between literature and popular music, and understanding the powerful resonance of Korean song culture beyond the literary works and periods addressed here.

CHAPTER ONE

PATRIOTIC ANTHEMS AND COLLECTIVE SINGING: THE ORIGINS OF MILITARY SONG IN KOREA

The Sounds of Liberation

For aspiring singer and dancer O Chŏng-sim (1925–2023), the dream of becoming an entertainer had been motivation enough to join a *wimundae* (morale-boosting troupe) tour led by Victor Records composer Chŏn Su-rin (1907–1984). From China to Manchuria and back to Northern Hamgyŏng Province, O Chŏng-sim had performed for conscripted and volunteer soldiers and laborers dispatched to the continental reaches of the Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere. During the Jewel Voice Broadcast, she had been onstage at Ch'ŏngjin Theater, singing of America's imminent collapse, proclaiming "long live the Emperor!" She would not learn of Japan's surrender until the next day, and it would take the troupe more than one week to travel back to Seoul, as hundreds of thousands of individuals mobilized into Japan's war efforts in Manchuria and China now sought simultaneous passage south, riding in and on the roofs of trains. Upon arrival within the gates of Seoul, O Chŏng-sim was rendered speechless by what she saw: massive parades of people waving the Korean flag from Chongno to Kwanghwamun, crying out "*Manse!"*while completely enraptured by the feeling of a freedom inconceivable only one week earlier.[1] Lyricist and singer Pan Ya-wŏl (1917–2012) had arrived in Seoul from Kaesŏng with the Kŭmgang Musical Troupe on the eve of liberation and had been walking with fellow troupe members to Chaeil Theater in Chongno when he was suddenly overtaken by the white-clothed masses who seized their drums before marching onward, swept up in the euphoric release of collective song. For the

[1] "O Chŏng-sim (吳貞心)," interviewed by Ch'oe Chi-sŏn, Kusul ch'aerok [Oral record], Saengaesa [Life history], series no. 253, Han'guk Yesul Tijit'ŏl Ak'aibŭ (hereinafter DA-Arts), July 28, 2015, transcript, 44–49.

first time in his life, Pan Ya-wŏl heard what is today the South Korean "Aegukka" (National Anthem) sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne."[2]

While today "Auld Lang Syne" has come to be associated with reflective and celebratory moments on the precipice between years, for Pan Ya-wŏl and others who survived Japanese colonial rule and the Korean War, the melody of this Scottish ballad, a container for a romanticized lyrical vision of Korea's timeless natural landscape, has served as a conduit to memories of August 15. Such evocations of intermedial temporality by this adaptation of "Auld Lang Syne" foreshadow the historical moment of its own eclipse, in the twilight of the year of liberation and the dawn of a struggle, both internecine and global, over the decolonization, legitimacy of political leadership, and just governance of the Korean peninsula. In Seoul from the end of 1945 to the beginning of 1946, newspapers promoted the provisional use of a melody written by Ahn Eak-tai (1906–1965) at least one decade earlier in place of "Auld Lang Syne," and prominent cultural figures such as poets Kim Ki-rim and Im Hwa and composers Kim Sun-nam and Kim Sŏng-t'ae presided over submission competitions for an entirely new national anthem.[3] So joyous were those early days of liberation that both Kim Ki-rim and Im Hwa declared it the era of song, for written poerty simply could not encapsulate the roaring of that newly felt effervescence.[4] Meanwhile north of the 38th parallel, orders from the Chosŏn Inmin Konghwaguk (People's Republic of Korea, 1945–1946) funneled down to people's committees in Hamgyŏng Province, mandating that "Chŏkkiga" (Red Flag Song) replace the National Anthem as the song that grade school

[2] "Pan Ya-wŏl," interviewed by Yi Yŏng-mi, Kusul ch'aerok, Saengaesa, no. 40, DA-Arts, December 3, 2004, transcript, 242–246.

[3] See "Aegukka nŭn i kokcho ro purŭpsida" [Let us sing the national anthem to this melody], *Chungang sinmun*, December 24, 1945; "Aegukka mojip" [National anthem submissions], *Tonga ilbo,* January 2, 1946; and "Aegukka kasa hyŏnsang mojip" [Competition for submission of national anthem lyrics], *Chungang ilbo*, January 17, 1946. For lyrics and links, see Appendix 2 and Discography.

[4] Kim Ki-rim, "Sae norae e taehaya" [On a new song], in *Kim Ki-rim chŏnjip*, v. 1 [Kim Ki-rim complete anthology] (Seoul: Simsŏldang, 1988, 264–265; Im Hwa, "Sŏ" (Introduction), in Kim Sang-hun, *Taeyŏl* [Line formation] (Imu Sŏrim, 1947).

students sing collectively before the start of classes.[5] Like "Aegukka," so too is "Red Flag Song" a contrafact of a pre-existing European song, "O Tannenbaum," whose melody circulated in the songbooks of North American missionaries and Korean advocates of the patriotic enlightenment movement. Today, if one were to ask a North and South Korean to identify the melody of "O Tannenbaum," it is likely that one would hear a socialist anthem, the other a Christmas carol.

Within the space of liberation as recounted by popular musicians and literary writers alike, the key components of this chapter's discussion of the songs of liberation and the Korean War take shape: compositional techniques of contrafaction, collective singing as a social practice, mobilization of popular artists, and the metaphor of rhythm. These personal accounts also represent an early intersection between the disparate genealogies from which the marching songs of liberation and the Korean War would emerge and continue to find new life in social movements throughout the subsequent decades: vernacular music practices first nurtured by Christian mission schools and churches and the Korean patriotic enlightenment movement on the one hand, and the popular music artists whose allegiances were now divided between two Koreas, two world systems, and two eras of empire, on the other. In the first section of this chapter, I overview those two genealogies. In particular, I highlight musical texts which exemplify the development of a generic rhetoric of modern nationhood that would pervade the musicscape of mass social movement from liberation through the Korean War and into the present. Through this survey, I establish the framework with which my subsequent readings of songs in Korean War literature shall unfold.

[5] Im Ok-in, "Wŏllam chŏnhu" (Before and after going south), *Im Ok-in sosŏl sŏnjip* [Anthology of selected works of fiction by Im Ok-bin], 169 (Seoul: Hyŏndae Munhak, 2010). For lyrics of "Chŏkkiga," see Appendix 3.

The Origins of the Military March in Korea: Christian Hymns and Patriotic Songs

The roots of the national anthem are deeply embedded within the modern reform movements and ethnonationalist imaginations which emerged in response to the loss of sovereignty and the popular uprisings that mark the twilight of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910) at the turn of the twentieth century. Despite the change in melody, South Korea's national anthem still retains the same common meter pattern of couplets alternating between eight and six syllables as the melody to which it was originally set. As I discuss more in the literature section, such meter represented only one of many sharp departures from *minyo* (folk songs).[6] In contrast to the rigid tempo and meter of patriotic songs, *minyo* have been defined by loose *changdan* (rhythmic cycles, literally "long and short"), sliding tonalities, intensely emotive singing styles, and diverse lyrical expressions that are believed to have developed according to the contours of agricultural life and through oral transmission over thousands of years.[7] The rigidly linear marching patterns, classical western tonality, choral singing styles, and piestic and patriotic lyrics of songs like the National Anthem appeared abruptly around the era of the Taehan Cheguk (Great Korean Empire, 1897–1910), with the arrival of North American missionaries, the establishment of private mission schools and churches, and the advent of modern print and vernacular newspapers.

Through practices of contrafactum, or setting new lyrical compositions to pre-existing musical compositions from Europe and Japan, certain melodies proved more durable than others, with some surviving nearly a century of divergent lyrical adaptations. For instance, nineteen different Korean-language songs from the twentieth century as contrafacts of "Marching Through Georgia" (1865) while only four adaptations were derived from "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," despite the latter's elevated historical status as "the greatest of

[6] For more on the history of the national anthem, see list so many studies.

[7] Roald Maliangkay, *Broken Voices: Postcolonial Entanglements and the Preservation of Korea's Central Folksong Traditions* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 59.

all American war songs" from the American Civil War.[8] The imported melodies that survived and flourished enabled lyrical syntaxes of nationalistic fervor inflected with militant expressions of Christian devotion to be patterned to the gallant and processional linearity of dotted rhythms. They became structuring devices for a distinctly modern lyrical vernacular of mass movement, from the military songs of the Korean War to the mass cultures of "*norae kasa pakkugi*" (changing song lyrics, abbreviated as *nogaba*) and *minjung kayo* (popular protest songs) that developed within the democratization and labor movements of the 1980s. And yet, as I show in the next chapter, at every turn in the historical narrative of mass movement, the looser and more "natural" patriotic expressions of *minyo* lurks in the shadows.

Patriotic anthems have been historicized within the development of the more capacious genre of *ch'angga*, a term which combines the Classical Chinese characters *ch'ang* ("to sing") and *ka* ("song"). Min Kyŏng-ch'an, a musicologist specializing in the colonial era, has defined *ch'angga* as having been employed synonymously with *ch'ansongga* (Christian hymns) and often used to refer to nonsecular songs derived from hymnal melodies, Japanese *gunka* (military songs), and nearly any other song from the West or Japan prior to 1945. Thus, with the crucial exception of *taejung kayo* (popular songs in the commercial sense), *ch'angga* has been defined as embodying all original vocal songs composed between the inception of Western music in the late nineteenth century and liberation in 1945, including all music used in school curriculums and sung for educational purposes.[9] Crucial to the development of

[8] No Pok-sun, "Hangil kayo ŭi kasa kyŏrhap yangsang kwa t'ŭksŏng: 'Chojia haengjin'gok hwaryong kok ŭl chungsim ŭro" [Combined aspects and features of anti-Japanese song lyrics: On songs that ultilize 'Marching Through Georgia'], in *Aeguk kwa tongnip ŭl norae hara* (Kyŏnggi-do, Yongin-si, Tan'guk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2022), 316–362.

[9] Min Kyŏng-ch'an, "'*Ch'angga*' rŭl tasi munnŭnda," *Han'guk ŏmunhak yŏn'gu* 51 (2008): 5–33. When functionality is the primary focus, distinctions are sometimes drawn between *ch'angga* and *ch'ansongga*, and *tongyo* (children's songs), and *kun'ga*, respectively. At other times, *ch'angga* is affixed to other categorical nouns like "school," "original," "patriotism," "enlightenment," and "consciousness," to delineate such subgenres as *hakkyo ch'angga* (school songs), *ch'angjak ch'angga* (original songs), *aeguk ch'angga* (patriotic songs), *kyemong ch'angga* (enlightenment songs), and *ŭisik ch'angga* (consciousness songs). And because regardless of nationality, the term could refer to any and all "*sinsik norae*" (new style songs), *ch'angga* has come to include songs of Western, Japanese, and Korean composition alike, from *aegukka* (national

ch'angga were established practices of hymnal contrafaction, or changing the lyrics to pre-existing hymns while keeping the original melodies intact. Scholars of early European music have recognized contrafaction in the colonial contexts as having "permitted the adaptation of European vocal music to drastically different contexts in overseas missions and colonial settlements, starting in the 15th century."[10]

Though educated colonial Koreans may have recognized contrafacts as being rooted in European vocal music, for independence activists like Yun Ch'i-ho (1865–1945) and Syngman Rhee, they represented a means of layering the Korean struggle for nationhood with the spiritual battle for its divine covenant. Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang has argued that the selection by Christian missionaries of *ŏnmun* (vernacular Korean) over Classical Chinese as "the official script of Christian literature" enabled hymnal contrafaction to yield "Korean vernacular modernity" as the textual basis for the emergence of collective vocalization practices that "collapsed the personal, the social, the visual, and the acoustic under the sign of the nation [...] at a time when such nationalism was beginning to be invoked and mobilized in the context of Japan's imperialism."[11] In the same way that layering of "religious sentiments with notions of modern national subjectivity" produced what Chang calls "common tropes of sentimentalism" (i.e., the romantic portrayal of Korea's timeless natural landscape in the South Korean National Anthem), so too did the layering of spiritual struggles for the Kingdom of God with the real struggle for modern nationhood allow hymnal contrafaction to

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anthems/patriotic songs), *Tongnipkun'ga* (Independence Army songs), and *hang'Il t'ujaengga* (anti-Japanese resistance struggle songs) to pro-Japanese *gunka* that pay tribute to the Emperor, and the Japanese *ch'angga* whose memorization and performance was compulsory for all students enrolled in government-run schools during the colonial era. (Min, "*Ch'angga*," 7–8)

[10] Olivia Bloechl, "Editorial," *Early Music* 47, no. 2 (2019): 145.

[11] Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, "A Fugitive Christian Public: Singing, Sentiment, and Socialization in Colonial Korea," *Journal of Korean Studies* 25, no. 2 (2020): 291–297. In songs from *Ch'yanggajip*, or *Book of Songs for Social and Other Occasions* in English (1915), Chang identifies tropes commonly ascribed to the emergence of vernacular modernity, namely a "romantic nationalism generally attributed to the nineteenth-century West, in which the awakening of the national subject is connected to a reflexive experience of space and time" (302).

presage tropes of militant devotion found across the musical canon of Korea's twentieth century mass movements.[12]

Take for instance the hymnbook *Ch'anmiga* (Praise hymns, 1905) compiled and translated by Yun Ch'i-ho.[13] The book contains four original lyrical compositions (including a transcription of the National Anthem in nearly identical form to the version sung today) and eleven creative adaptations of hymns that Christian missionaries had put into global circulation as printed songbooks.[14] Out of the eleven adaptations, Hymn No. 4, "Stand Up For Jesus" and Hymn No. 9, "Onward, Christian Soldiers" represent clear examples of secular expressions of militant spiritual devotion that could be easily repurposed for use in the Korean struggle for national independence.

The latter of these, Hymn No. 9, is a contrafact of the English processional hymn, "Onward, Christian Soldiers" (1865), translated as "Minnŭn saramdŭl ŭn kunsa ni" (Believers, you are soldiers) and set to the tune of "St. Gertrude.[15] The song allegorizes religious devotion to Christ as both a path toward the future and a march into battle: "Christian soldiers lead onward / Christ is in command, striking the enemy / The cross of Jesus before us, going into war / Wherever the flag goes, go forward into the fight." It envisions believers as "a great army" marching on the same path as "Christ's followers," a collective entity united in body, mind, hope, and duty by militant devotion to something that transcends secular temporality measured by the intervals at which "country and authority" rise and fall.

[12] Chang, "A Fugitive Christian Public," 293–294.

[13] Ewha Music Database, s.v., "Ch'anmiga," https://perma.cc/DKQ3-E8VD. Cho Kyŏng-dŏk, "Kŭndae chŏnhwan'gi kidokkyo ch'ansongga wa kŭndae kukka mandŭlgi: Yun Ch'i-ho ŭi *Ch'anmiga* (1908) rŭl chungsim ŭro," *Sinang kwa hangmun* 28, no. 4 (2023): 83–99.

[14] Kim Su-hyŏn, "Saryo ro ponŭn Aegukka chitki wa purŭgi ŭi yŏksa," *Tongyanghak* 82 (January 2021): 2–41.

[15] The Protestant and Methodist missions in Korea published the song as Hymn No. 224 of their first jointly compiled and translated songbook, *Ch'ansyongga* (1909). See See EMDB, s.v., "Minnan saramdŭl a kunbyŏng katham," https://perma.cc/FC9V-385C. (accessed May 13, 2024).

Whatever incipient ethnonationalist sentiments patriotic hymns had inculcated under the Great Korean Empire were radicalized following the Japan–Korea Treaty of 1910. Under colonial rule, the patriotic hymns circulating in songbooks for students were replaced by music textbooks officially sanctioned by the Governor-General of Korea, and "Aegukka" was replaced with "Kimigayo." Rather than extinguishing ethnonationalist sentiment, the deracination of patriotic enlightenment hymns by official prohibition ultimately catalyzed new circuits of distribution that circumvented the peninsula and stretched out as far as the exilic migrations of their compilers.[16] Yun Ch'i-ho's *Praise Hymns* would catch the attention of one such political exile, Syngman Rhee in Hawaii, who, thirty four years later, would become the first president of South Korea.

In an article that Syngman Rhee wrote and published in his magazine *T'aep'yongyang chapchi* in 1914 while living in Honolulu, the future president of the Republic of Korea argues that patriotic songs and hymns serve as gauges for measuring the level of enlightenment and modernization a country has achieved. He notes that despite the fact that *Praise Hymns* had long been banned in Korea, he was able to obtain a copy, which he intended to duplicate with a xylograph. Perhaps most tellingly, Rhee misidentifies some of the songs as "*aegukka*" (national or patriotic songs) or having been "based on patriotic models." He is thus drawn in particular to the lyrics of the present-day National Anthem and "Sipchaga kunbyŏngdŭl a" (Christian soldiers), a contrafact of "Onward, Christian Believers," both of which Rhee transcribes in their entirety.[17] The appeal of these two songs to Rhee exemplifies his very definition of what a "song" should do. Rhee explains that, on a rhetorical level, songs should "inspire thought and energize" and should serve as outlets through which

[16] Pan Hye-sŏng, "1916-yŏn Hawaii Honolulu parhaeng *Aeguk ch'angga* yŏn'gu," in *Aeguk kwa tongnip ŭl norae hara* [Sing the songs of patriotism and independence] (Kyŏnggi-do, Yongin-si, Tan'guk Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2022), 87–124. Two of the most studied songbooks from the decade were published overseas: *Ch'oesin ch'anggajip* (Collection of the latest songs, 1914), published in Kando, northern Manchuria; and *Aeguk ch'angga* (Patriotic songs, 1916), published in Hawai'i.

[17] For lyrics, see Appendix 4.

individuals may "release their spirit" and "express their love of country." Scaling up to the discursive level, Syngman Rhee understands the songs of any country to be direct reflections of how far their civilization has progressed. In the wake of Japan's colonization of Korea, Rhee bemoans the overabundance of songs about the "enslaved ethnonation" or "belonging to a ruined country," asserting instead that Korean music must inspire a "spirit to march vigorously forth, to ignite the valor of righteous men [*ŭigi namja*], pulsing with the patriotism of young nationalists [*ch'ŏngnyŏn chisa*]." Thus Rhee forwards a vision of the ideal patriotic song as both accompaniment and reflection of an ethnonation marching fearlessly into a future of progress and civilization, a vision as militant as the colonial reality was dire.[18]

Beginning under the Great Korean Empire, patriotic hymns promoted by modern institutions of education and government began seeping into the sonic fabric of everyday life. Patriotic contrafacts were circulated and commissioned for choral performance at public events, often accompanied by *kunakdae* (military bands). Private missionary schools such as Pai Chai and Sungsil promoted their own contrafacts alongside original compositions for students to sing at ceremonies and mass gatherings. For those fortunate enough to reap the intellectual seeds of modern education, patriotic anthems served as mechanisms to agglomerate disparate subjects into a collective feeling of modernity, of transcending one's individual selfhood through militant and sacred devotion to Korea's imagined future as a nation of economic wealth and strong military, what Seungsook Moon has termed, "militarized modernity."[19] Patriotic hymns with marching rhythms lent militarized modernity a durational and participatory experience. Lyrics synthesized the spiritual strivings of Christianity with the righteous rhetoric of ethnonationalism to embody what Sungik Yang has described as "transcendent nationalism," an ideological force so pervasive it permeates across

[18] Syngman Rhee [Yi Sŭng-man], "Aegukka wa ch'anmiga," *T'aip'yŏngyang chapchi* 1, no. 8 (1914): 62–67.

[19] Seungsook Moon, *Militarized Modernity and Gendered Citizenship in South Korea* (Durnham and London: Duke University Press, 2009), 23–24.

the divisions of cold war geopolitics and divergences between reactionary and revolutionary movements.[20] For patriotic songs to truly take root on the Korean peninsula however, it was necessary for Koreans to first learn their requisite performative practices. In the next section, I analyze writings about "the spiritual uplift of Korea" published by North American missionaries in 1915, one year after the Syngman Rhee article discussed above.

Collective Singing and The Musical Uplift of Korea

Collective singing has come to be a representative social practice in the historical development and expression of ethnonational identity in North and South Korea. Those cultures developed out of concerted efforts carried out by North American missionaries in the early twentieth century to acculturate Koreans to Western tonality and choral singing styles. The collective vocal performance of hymns was understood by these early missionaries as the basis for the peninsula's spiritual and bodily link to God and to every other Christian across the world. By comparing ethnographic writing from the April 1915 special issue of *Korea Field Mission* on "The Musical Uplift of Korea" with records of the March First Independence Movement of 1919, this section demonstrates how dramatically the peninsular soundscape of collective singing transformed within only five years.

The *Korea Field Mission* editor reminds his readers that teaching Koreans to sing constitutes the "main business" of missionaries in Korea, for in order to demonstrate authentic belief in god, one must sing. And the greater the number of individuals who join univocally in chorus, the greater the probability that god will hear, and in listening, confirm the authenticity of that univocal expression of faith. More importantly, "musical uplift of

[20] Sungik Yang, "Korea's Fascist Moment: Liberation, War, and the Ideology of South Korean Authoritarianism, 1945-1979" (PhD thesis, Harvard Unviersity, 2023).

Korea" should spark the subsequent patterns of enlightenment in the social lives of Koreans which, from the perspective of missionaries, could be read as signs that God had accepted Korea's status as "a segment of the hallelujah chorus of creation."[21] Grace Harmon McGary, a missionary and music teacher from the United Methodist Church, describes the "musical uplift of Korea" as a top-down, center-periphery process. McGary goes as far as to say that, in speaking of a whole nation, several generations" would not be an overestimate for the time it would take to achieve musical uplift. First, mission school teachers in the urban centers of Pyongyang and Seoul must "instill music into the hearts and lives of the fathers and mothers and leaders of the coming generations–the students," for "the educational centers will come long before the uplift of the country." Only once mission school students "returning to their homes" allow the "atmosphere" of musical enlightenment to trickle all the way down to the "smaller towns and villages," can the missionaries claim success in their undertaking.[22]

In addressing the challenges of accomplishing musical uplight in Korea, a recurrent argument appears throughout the writings of multiple contributors: while the missionaries recognize great potential in the strong sense of rhythm that Koreans already possess, first, they lament the pervasive habits of "shouting" and singing with a "nasal twang" as gravely hindering the choral performance of hymns, and second, they bemoan their inability to voice, or even hear, half-notes.[23] E.M. Mowry (Korean name, Mo Ŭi-ri, 1880–1971), who had served as a music teacher at Sungsil and fourteen other elementary schools around Pyongyang, and whose missionary work included forming a choir in the Changdaehyŏn Church and the choir and band at Sungsil, shares an oft-referenced personal anecdote about

[21] "Editorial Notes," *The Korea Mission Field* 11, no. 15 (April 1915): 95–96.

[22] Grace Harmon McGary, "Music in the School," 103–105.

[23] Articles of interest from the *The Korea Mission Field* 11, no. 15 (April 1915) include the following: J.D. Van Buskirk. "Old Korean Music." 100–102; Steven Allen Wachs, "Teaching Music to Young School Children," 102–103; Grace Harmon McGary, "Music in the School," 103–105; Grace Harmon McGary, "Music," 104; WM. C. Keer. "Music in Men's and Women's Bible Classes," 105–107; E.M. Mowry. "Korean Church Music," 107–109; and Paul L. Grove. "Adequate Song-Books." 110–113; Alex A. Pieters, "Translation of Hymns into Korean," 113–116.

how Koreans responded to collective singing in the churches in and around Pyongyang where he worked. “Whatever our American critics call this part of the service, whether it is called singing or making a noise, they all say that everybody takes a hand in it. That is its redeeming feature—everybody likes to do it. In general, the people are not used to hearing four part singing. One man once said after hearing our college quartet that only one of them could sing and that if the rest had kept still it would have been a pleasure to hear it. Another man at another time on hearing a chorus of about 30 voices said that it was a thing worth running away from.” This aversion, however, as Mowry and others reflect with great optimism, has not dampened the enthusiasm of Koreans toward learning collectively voiced hymns, nor being present in church for their performance.[24]

As a solution to the difficulties which missionaries have observed in Koreans trying to hear and recreate half-note intervals, Paul S. Grove, a music teacher in Haeju, South Hwanghae Province, is convinced that, by removing all songs with half-steps from the hymn books, the Christian mission will be able to “make the congregational singing as beautiful and chaste as it is spontaneous and hearty.”[25] This conviction stems from a moment of personal revelation which Grove experienced in his own classroom: “I discovered that the people sang some songs well, others fairly, and some poorly [...] It was not time, nor rhythmical features that constituted a barricade, I was sure of that [...] And then one day, I accidentally heard them sing a melody, and sing it perfectly.—without a flaw. It quite shocked me. It was the melody, ‘Auld Lang Syne,’ and never was it sung with better effect

[24] E.M. Mowry. “Korean Church Music,” 109; Van Buskirk, “Old Korean Music,” 100; and Keer, “Music in Bible Classes,” 107. Kerr writes that, “the crowd is usually so large that it will drown out all leaders except those with exceptional voices. [...] Any organ short of the pipe organ will hardly do more than let the leader have a chance at getting the right key [...] A small organ could hardly be expected to make much headway against a crowd of 500 enthusiastic Korean singers, a number by no means seldom found at the Bible Classes in this country.”

[25] See also Pieters, “Translation of Hymns,”116; and Keer, 106.

than it produced upon me."[26] Had Grove actually been hearing the "Auld Lang Syne" contrafact from which the present-day National Anthem originated? Had missionary spheres been so removed from the rest of society as to be ignorant of the fact that contrafacts of "Auld Lang Syne" had already been circulating for nearly two decades?

Whatever the case may be, "The Musical Uplift of Korea" suggests that the survival of imported melodies depended upon both adaptation and natural selection, and the absence of half-notes certainly contributed to the survival of "Auld Lang Syne." Along with the progress of Christian missionaries in instilling Western singing practices around hymnal contrafacts, the failure of Japanese colonial rule to even circumscribe these vernacular adaptations became audible in the obstreperous outpourings of collective song during the March 1st Movement of 1919.

The March First Movement: The Origins of Collective Singing as Protest

Only four years after E.M. Mowry had bemoaned Korea's collective singing culture or lack thereof, albeit optimistically so, he would be arrested by the Japanese police on charges of having offered "internal assistance" to Koreans who had participated in the March First Movement in Pyongyang, nearly one thousand of whom had gathered in front of the Pyongyang police station, shouting "*Manse!*" and singing a "*Tongnipga* [Song of independence]" in unison.[27] Similar to the top-down, center-periphery process through which missionaries had envisioned musical uplift on the peninsula, rumors of Korea's self-determined liberation spread from a student rally at Pagoda Park in downtown Seoul, where the "Tongnip sŏnŏnsŏ" (Korean Declaration of Independence) was read, to protests well

[26] Grove, "Adequate Song-Books," 110; see also Pieters, "Translation of Hymns,"116.

[27] See Samil Undong teit'ŏbeisŭ, Inmul chŏngbo, s.v. "Eli Miller Mowry," accessed July 23, 2024, https://perma.cc/KFE6-RCC2; "Wibŏp sŏn'gyosa kongp'an" [Trial of the unlawful missionary], *Maeil sinbo*, April 17, 1919.

beyond the borders of Korea.[28] And like the protest in which E.M. Mowry had been implicated in Pyongyang, so too did other uprisings, sparked in part by word-of-mouth circulation, entrain individuals together in a massive sound stream of "*Manse!*" and *ch'angga* being sung in chorus.

During the uprisings on the Korean peninsula, many recall variations of "Sonyŏn namjaga" (Boy man song) being sung by protest marchers, despite the fact that the songbook in which "Boy Man Song" first appeared, *Aeguk ch'angga* (Patriotic hymns, 1916), was published in Hawai'i. Meanwhile closer to the song's publication location, around 600 Koreans had gathered in front of the Kungminhoe Assembly Building in Oahu (nearly half of the entire Korean population on the island), and Pak Kwan-du, a student at University of Hawaii, led the crowd in singing the National Anthem.[29] For more than a century, March First has continued to inspire varied acts of musical and literary production. On the one-year anniversary, one participant recalls singing the National Anthem from atop Namsan to suppress the stifling sadness he felt upon gazing down upon the streets of the capital and imagining how, only a year earlier, had been filled with strangers marching together for independence.

Among the students of Kyŏngsŏng Pot'ong Kodŭng Hakkyo (Kyŏngsŏng Higher Common School) who organized the independence proclamation rally at Pagoda Park in central Seoul was nineteen-year-old aspiring novelist Sim Tae-sŏp (1901–1936), penname Sim Hun. After leading a procession of thousands from Chongno to the GGK buildings in Kwanghwamun (present-day Tŏksugung), Sim would be arrested and sentenced to six months in Sŏdaemun Prison. In journal entries from March of the following year, Sim writes about having climbed to the top of Namsan and gazed down upon the streets of Seoul:

[28] See Kwŏn Podŭrae, *3.1 ŭi pam* (Paju: Tolbegae, 2019).

[29] Of the 151 songs compiled in *Patriotic Hymns*, the first to appear is the national anthem, under the title "Kukka" (國歌).

> On Namsan, now under the heel of the Japanese, the streets of Seoul stretched out before my eyes, from the distant dreamlike mountains to the waters of the Han River flowing like a ribbon though it all belongs to us, Ah! It is difficult to suppress the exasperation and sadness of my heart. Perched alone on the peak of the mountain, I turn my voice toward the city streets, toward the mountains, fields, and river and sing a song, *Until that day when the waters of the East Sea run dry and Mount Paekdu is worn away*.[30]

In an allegorical sense, those plangent echoes of *Taehan tongnip manse* can be heard in the revolutionary undertones that reverberate beneath each and every story that Sim Hun would go on to write. The next year, he would travel from Seoul through Beijing to Hangzhou in search of the Korean independence movement, where he would enroll in classes at Zhejiang University and become a founding member of the short-lived proletarian literary group Yŏmgunsa.

The Movement also inspired the contrafaction of pre-existing hymnal contrafacts. In the 1920s, "Onward, Christian Believers" transformed from a children's processional with martial overtones and battle allegories to "3.1 kinyŏmga" (3.1 anniversary song). This contrafact was an explicit call for the masses of the ruined nation to take up arms. Here the lyrics of line one have been changed to read, "Korean *paeksŏng*, you have become soldiers / Go forth on the path of the patriotic martyrs who went before."[31]

Thus, March First represents the first mass movement to have spontaneously mobilized more than one million Koreans around the singular belief that, in an era of global liberation, Korea too had the right to its own independence, not merely as a modern *minjok*

[30] Sim Hun, *Sim Hun chŏnjip* (Seoul: Kŭllurim, 2016), 8:462.

[31] No Tong-ŭn, *Hang il ŭmak 330-kokchip* [330-Song collection of anti-Japanese music] (Seoul: Minjok Munje Yŏn'guso, 2017); Chang Yu-jŏng, and Sin Hye-song, "Kat'ŭn sakŏn, tarŭn norse: 3.1 chŏl ŭi kinyŏm kwa ch'umo," *Ehwa ŭmak nonchip* 23, no. 1 (2019): 22.

(ethnonation), but more crucially, as a modern *kukka* (nation-state). As literary scholars such as Kwŏn Podŭrae and Han Ki-hyŏng have addressed, the March First Movement inspired new narrative approaches to the portrayal of both individual heroism and martyrdom as well as the genesis of mass social movements. If certain literary conventions of portraying the modern soundscape of ethnonational collectivization crystallized within the literary narratives, written reports, and autobiographical writings of which March First has proven an endless source of inspiration, then the songs of March First also worked to entrain the divergent aspirations and affective terrains of modern nationhood to the rhythmic patterns of forward marching.[32]

Numerous *ch'angga* are identified in court records of the March First Movement: "Tongnipga" (Song of independence); "Aegukka" (National anthem), "Yŏngung ŭi mobŏm" (Model hero), "Haktoga" (Student song), "Hyŏlsŏngga" (Song of devotion), "Sonyŏn haengjin'ga" (Boy's marching song); "Hŭimangga" (Song of hope), to name a few.[33] Out of those, "Boy's Marching Song" (originally published as "Sonyŏn namjaga," 1916) may best signify the fluidity and urgently with which colonial suppression led Koreans to mobilize pre-existing contrafacts into rallying cries of political dissidence and righteous outrage.

The lyrics begin, "Boy-man of cast-iron frame, stone muscles / Stir the patriotic spirit / It has arrived it has arrived to our country / The era of boy's action has arrived."[34] Much like "Marching Through Georgia," so too is "Boy's Marching Song" characterized by a dotted eighth note-sixteenth note rhythm, a stress pattern that emphasizes the first syllable,

[32] Kwŏn Podŭrae, *3.1*, 453–553; and Chapter 10 in Han Ki-hyŏng, *Singminji munyŏk Singminji munyŏk: Kŏmyŏl, ijung ch'ulp'an sijang, p'isingminja ŭi munjang* [Colonial sphere of writing: Censorship, the dual publication market, and the writings of the colonized] (Seoul: Sŏnggyun'gwan Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2019).

[33] Kwŏn, *3.1*, 283–290.

[34] *EMDB*, s.v., "Sonyŏn namjaga," in *Aeguk ch'angga*, https://perma.cc/JMN5-YA2A (accessed May 13, 2024). For full lyrics, see Appendix 5.

and a bright, major-key melody with minimal half-note rises and falls.[35] It is one of at least five contrafacts that scholars have identified as having been adapted from the melody of the Japanese *gunka*, "Teki wa ikuman" (If ten thousand enemies should come, 1891).[36] In fact, Japanese *gunka, shōka* (*ch'angga*), and *ryuukouka* (popular song) appear as contrafacts throughout the colonial Korean song canon: "Tetsudō shōka" (Railroad song, 1900, major pentatonic, four square, chorus, became "Haktoga"), "Gunkan kōshinkyoku" (Japanese navy song, 1894), "Nippon Kaigun" (Japanese Navy, 1904), "Yūkan naru suihei" (The brave sailor, 1895, became "Kwŏnhakka") "Sen'yū " (Comrade-in-arms, 1905), "Amūru gawa no ryūketsu ya" (Oh, the Bloodshed of Amur River, 1901), and "Haikara bushi" (*Haikara* song, 1908).[37] One finds the same rhythmic feature throughout both Korean *ch'angga* and *kun'ga* and Japanese *shōka* and *gunka*: a dotted eighth note-sixteenth note pattern and a first-syllable stress pattern.

In direct response to the March 1st Movement, the GGK slackened the expressive parameters of print and material culture, thus defining the 1920s as the era of "cultural rule." Such lenience however was not permanent, and imperatives of wartime mobilization 1930–1944 had a direct impact upon colonial music education. As Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang delineates in her chronological survey of revisions in colonial Korean music textbooks printed at this time, each round of new textbooks, "reinforced imperial mythology and militarism more explicitly than the prior one."[38] Yet musically speaking, there is still little differentiating either the contrafacts or original compositions of *Patriotic Songs* from those of

[35] Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, "Colonial circulations: Japan's classroom songbooks in Korea, 1910-1945," *Ethnomusicological Forum* 27, no. 2 (2018): 157–183. In this essay, Chang identifies similar rhythmic patterning in *Sinp'yŏn ch'anggajip* (A new collection of songs, 1914), a compilation of forty one songs officially sanctioned by the GGK as part of the four-year curriculum of public elementary school music education (161).

[36] Pan Hye-sŏng, "1916 Hawai'i," 124; Kim Po-hŭi, "Puk-Manju ŭi tongnip undong kayo: 1910-yŏndae minjokchuŭi tongnip undong kayo rŭl chungsim ŭro," in *Aeguk kwa tongnip*, 180.

[37] Pan, "1916 Hawai'i," 115; Min Kyŏng-ch'an, "Hangil hyŏngmyŏngga e ch'imt'u han Ilbon norae," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng*, no. 41 (1997): 131.

[38] Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang, "Colonial Circulations," 174.

the textbooks officially sanctioned by the Governor-General of Korea for public elementary school music education.[39] In other words, patriotic songs, Japanese textbook songs, and Korean military songs may be defined both socioculturally and musically in similar ways to perhaps the best known and most frequently adapted marching song of the American Civil War, "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."

John Stauffer and Benjamin Soskis give a "biographical" account of the long and convoluted history of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," a song which, though it appears three times in the early twentieth-century canon of Korean contrafacts, failed to "march on" on the peninsula, likely because it includes so many half-note intervals. Despite its failed reception in Korea, several characteristics which Stauffer and Soskis identify in "Battle Hymn" also apply to *ch'angga* and Korean War-era military songs. Both have historical roots in multiple eras of integration between civilian and military populations (the era of military rule, 1910–1919; and the Korean War), circulating out from official state or organizational channels in order to reach the broadest possible audience, and both were designed to function in specific ways upon their listeners (spiritual uplift or morale boosting). In addition, associations drawn lyrically between military sacrifice and national redemption represent combat as an allegory for personal service to a sacred cause in *ch'angga* and military songs. The allegorical language of battle then functions to fuel and sustain mass mobilization efforts (musical uplift of the peninsula and wartime mobilization).[40] As I show in the next section,

[39] Pan, "Hawai'i 1916"; Chang, ibid. Whereas Pan finds that the vast majority of original compositions employ 2/4 or 4/4 time, dotted eighth note and sixteenth note rhythms, major pentatonic tonality (no half-note intervals), and ranges rarely exceeding one octave, in *A New Collection of Songs* (Sinp'yŏn ch'anggajip, 1914), a songbook officially sanctioned by the GGK as part of the four-year curriculum of public elementary school music education, Hyun Kyong Hannah Chang identifies the common characteristics across the forty one songs as 16-measure form, stress patterns that emphasize the first syllable, "syncopated melody characterised by groupings of dotted eighth note and sixteenth note," and "equal-temperament pentatonic melodies in a Western-influenced melodic and tonal structure" (Pan, 115; Chang, 161–165).

[40] John Stauffer, and Benjamin Soskis. *The Battle Hymn of the Republic: A Biography of the Song That Marches On* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 15–96.

those common musical and thematic characteristics provide a throughline from colonial-era *ch'angga* to Korean War-era *kun'ga.*

"Comrade-in-arms, Goodnight" and the Pre-History of Korean War Entertainment

The song "Chŏnu ya, chal chara," (Comrade-in-arms, good night, 1951; hereafter "Comrade") is a four-beat march set to a rhythm of a dotted eighth-note sixteenth note pattern around 110 BPM, a tempo functionally suited to the act of walking described in the lyrics.[41] Four paired lines of two-bar phrases construct each of the four verses, with the first, second, and fourth lines sung in a low register and the sole variation in the third line beginning one octave above the dominant. Each of the four verses contains a different geographic reference; the sequencing of these references moves northward as the song progresses, beginning at the southern tip of the peninsula and ending at the 38th parallel. This sequence re-enacts the course of the war from September to October of 1950, when the United Nations Command (UNC) and the ROKA fought to reclaim the southern territory under KPA occupation. Thus from its basic elements of rhythm and beat to its lyrical northward progression, "Comrade" conveys a linear and almost mechanically choreographed movement of forward march. But perhaps what is most immediately striking is the graphic imagery evoked by the word choice of "corpses" in the first line.

The incongruity arising between the patriotism implicit to the military song form and the grim lyrical brutality of "Comrade" has certainly not gone unnoticed. On April 7, 1951, history professor Kim Sŏng-ch'il (1913–1951) records in a posthumously published journal from the War having heard his children belt out the first line of a song and wondering "why on earth they [the songwriters] had to use the word 'corpse.' My wife thinks they could have

[41] Pak Si-ch'un, composer, and Yu Ho, lyricist, "Chŏnu ya chal chara" (1950). The original recording has not been recovered. For lyrics, see Appendix 6.

used the phrase, *Passing over fallen comrades-in-arms*, and I agree."[42] Contemporary criticisms of "Comrade" did not only touch upon word selection, they also raised questions about the song's national origin and authenticity. In 1952 classical composer Kim Tong-jin, who would pen the music for the official Korean War song "6.25 ŭi norae" (Song of 6.25, 1952), contributed an article for the magazine *Chŏnsŏn munhak* (Frontline literature) which condemns "Comrade" as an imitation of "Japanese military songs"; he condescendingly likens it to vulgar "popular songs [*yuhaengga*]," and wonders "how it got past censorship in the first place."[43] In fact, the song was censored by the Armed Forces Information and Education Department (AFIED) in early 1951, only months after its release, and following the re-capture of Seoul by the KPA and the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (PVA) on January 4, 1951.[44] Nonetheless, it haunts the memories of the war's survivors as much as the postmemory of their next generation, and in its countless adaptations for use in mass social movements, it has come to embody the historical continuation of colonial-era practices of contrafactum.[45]

"Comrade" can be traced from a train station in 1950 out of which novelist Yi Mun-gu portrays soldiers departing for war, to a memorial poem published in *Pusan ilbo* on April 12, 1960 for Kim Chu-yŏl whose gruesome death sparked the mass protests that eventually

[42] Kim Sŏng-ch'il, *Yŏksa ap esŏ: Han sahakcha ŭi 6 25 ilgi* [Before history: One historian's 6.25 diary] (Seoul: Ch'angbi, 2018), 433–434.

[43] Kim Tong-jin, composer, Pak Tu-jin, lyricist. "6.25 ŭi norae" (1952); "Kun'ga e taehayŏ" [On military songs], *Chŏnsŏn munhak* 1 (1952): 16. For "6.25 ŭi norae" lyrics, see Appendix 7.

[44] "Yu Ho," 238–241; Junko Oba, "To Fight the Losing War, to Remember the Lost War: The Changing Role of *Gunka*, Japanese War Songs," in eds. Richard King and Timothy J. Craig, *Global Goes Local: Popular Culture in Asia* (Vancouver, Canada: UBC Press, 2002), 225–245; The ban on "Comrade" was justified by the sense of tragedy, "softness," and "unconstructive" sentiments evoked in the second verse. Junko Oba finds that similar criticisms about the tragic depiction of war and "*memeshii* (pathetic or unmanly) tone" also justified the ban on "Sen'yū" in Japan (236).

[45] For a recent study of newspaper references to the contrafacts of patriotic anthems and military songs in mass social movements of the 1960s, see Pil Ho Kim, "Songs of the Multitude: The April Revolution, the 6.3 Uprising, and South Korea's Protest Music of the 1960s," *Korean Studies* 46 (2022): 107–134. For more recent studies of protest music in South Korea, see Jung-min Mina Lee, "*Minjung Kayo*: Imagining Democracy through Song in South Korea," *Twentieth-Century Music* 20 (February 2023): 49–69; and Susan Hwang, "From Victimhood to Martyrdom: 'March for the Beloved' and the Cultural Politics of Resistance in 1980s' South Korea," *Korean Studies* 46 (2022): 135–166.

ousted Rhee from office, to the lyrical adaptation “T’usa ŭi norae” (Song of the fighter) sung by street marchers during the Kwangju Uprising of May 1980, all the way to the childhood schoolyards where writers of the post-democratization era linger in the dissonance produced between the innocent act of jump-roping to the rhythm of “Comrade.” and the grotesque imagery of corpses evoked by the song’s lyrics.[46] Despite its appropriation across decades of disparate mass mobilization efforts and social movements, music archivists have yet to locate the original recording of “Comrade.” The best one might do is to begin by tracing the song back to the story of its inception, which goes as follows.

Shortly after the recapture of Seoul on September 28, 1950, composer Pak Si-ch’un (1929–1996) and lyricist Yu Ho encountered one another by coincidence in the ruins of Myŏngdong, what had once been the city’s central entertainment district. Amidst the ashes, they found an old haunt and drank until sunrise, talking of liberation, unification by northern advance, and the absence of decent songs for the ROKA to sing. Yu Ho had returned from two year course in design at Teikoku Art School two years earlier, and had since penned the first novel to be performed aloud over liberated airwaves of newly established Kyŏngsŏng Broadcast Service (est. 1945, currently KBS; Oct. 1945).[47] Subsequently, Chungang Broadcast Service (1947) and Chosŏn Pangsong Saŏp Hyŏphoe (Broadcast Business Association) would enlist Yu for writing duties, where he and Pak Si-ch’un met for the first time, collaborating on two forgotten propaganda songs. But it was with the addition of Hyŏn In (1919–2002), who had spent the waning years of total mobilization hiding out in Shanghai,

[46] Kim T'ae-hong, "Masan ŭn!," *Pusan ilbo*, April 18, 1960; Yi Mun-gu, "Noksu ch'ŏngsan" [Blue water, green hills], *Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏng* 8 no. 3 (1973): 678–710, republished in *Kwanch'on sup'il* (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 1996), 121–173; Yu Sŏk, “Kyŏngnyŏl punja 34-pŏn” [Radial no. 34], interviewed November 1988 (Han'guk Hyŏndaesa Saryo Yŏn'guso); see also interview with Kim Maeng-wan, in *10-Il ŭi kiŏk 1: 15-In simin ŭi kiŏk* [Memory of 10 days 1: Memories of 15 citizens] (Kwangju: 5·18 Minjuhwa Undong Kirokkwan, 2020), 93; and Hong Nam-sun et.al., “Kwangju chuyŏk 36-in ŭi chŭngŏn: Nae ka kyŏkkŭn 80-yŏn 5-wŏl ŭi Kwangju” [Testimonies of 36 leading figures in the Kwangju region: The Kwangju I experienced in May 1980], *Wŏlgan Chosŏn* (March 1988); Kim Yi-dŭm, *Pŭllŏdŭ sisŭt'ŏjŭ* [Blood sisters] (Seoul: Munhak Tongnae, 2011), 23; Yi Tong-u, “Chong-Puk nori” [Pro-Northern games], *Ch’angjak kwa pip’yŏng* no. 176 (2017): 147.

[47] “Yu Ho,” 401–2;

that the duo scored their first bonafide postcolonial hit, “Moonlit Night of Silla.” The two, now drunk in the ruins of their capital, decided to relocate to Pak’s house in Chongno, a once Japanese residence, as the legend goes, Pak suggested that, given the imminence of unification, that they should write a song to raise the morale of the soldiers. Pak and Yu entered “Comrade” into a newspaper submission contest, the song was apparently recorded with Hyŏn In on vocals, the sheet music distributed to military ensembles stationed throughout the peninsula.

At the same time, the Sŏnjŏnkwa (Propaganda Department) of the Armed Forces Chŏnghun'guk (Information and Education Division) mobilized composers, playwrights, and lyricists alongside singers, actors, and dancers in performing arts companies upon whose shoulders fell the duties of morale-boosting. This meant rendering sentimental soundscapes out of refuge and ruin on stages made of trash cans, truck beds and the headlights of jeeps.[48] “Good military songs are weapons of art, their sound that can’t be drowned out by artillery,” said Pak Si-ch’un, now second platoon leader. Under the US-supported Liberal Party of authoritarian president Syngman Rhee (1948–1960), surviving company members such as singer Hyŏn In and Yu Ho joined Pak to form the musical core of the incipient postwar industries of popular culture. Like much of the infrastructure in the South, the *wimundae* of the Korean War harken back to the Pacific War and the total mobilization era.[49] And performers such as O Chŏng-sim, Pan Ya-wŏl, and Pak Si-ch’un can be found among the participants of both.[50]

[48] Pak Sŏng-sŏ, *Han’guk chŏnjaeng kwa taejung kayo, kirok kwa chŭngŏn* (Seoul: Ch’aek i Innŭn P’unggyŏng, 2010); and *100-yŏn ŭmak Pak Si-ch'un : Chakkokka Pak Si-ch'un t'ansaeng 100 chunyŏn kinyŏm kirokchip* (Seoul: Sodong, 2012). Hwang Mun-p’yŏng, *Sam ŭi palchaguk: Inmul ro pon yŏnyesa* (Seoul: Sŏn, 1995), 2:270–281.

[49] For more on officially issued forms of entertainer-identification, see *T'ŭrŏmp'et yŏnjuja Hyŏn Kyŏng-sŏp* (Seoul: Taehan Min’guk Yŏksa Pangmulgwan, 2014), 54–75.

[50] Yi Chin-a, “1930-40-yŏndae singminji Chosŏn ŭi wimundae wa namsŏngsŏng p’yosang,” *Han’guk minjok munhwa* 81 (2022): 165–192.

These performers began their careers while the Japanese record companies was expanding into colonial Korea, but not even a decade after Nippon Columbia and Nippon Victor began producing Korean records (1928), followed by Nippon Polydor (1932) and the Korean subsidiary of Teichiku Records, Okeh Records (1933), the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in 1937 turned a nascent commodity culture to an imperial instrument of total mobilization.[51] By 1938, Okeh general manager Yi Ch'ŏl (1903–1944) deemed it lucrative to transition the label's primary focus from recording to live performances. After receiving funding from a Japanese promoter in 1939, Okeh musicians, under the name Chosŏn Akkŭktan, commenced a series of *wimun kongyŏn* (morale-boosting concerts) throughout the Japanese empire, with rival companies Columbia, Victor, Taihei, and Polydor soon following suit.[52]

The production of popular musical recordings also fundamentally transformed during this time. In the spring of 1942, Japan's five major record companies, Columbia, Victor, King. Teichiku, and Polydor, were merged into a single entity known as the Nihon Chikuonki Rekōdo bunka Kyōkai (Japan Phonogram Record Cultural Association). The same year, the Chosŏn Yŏn'gŭk Hyŏphoe (Korean Theater Association) was merged with the Chosŏn Yŏnye Hyŏphoe (Korean Entertainment Association) to form the Chosŏn Yŏn'gŭk Munhwa Hyŏphoe (Korean Theater Culture Association), which, like the Japan Phonograph Record Culture Association, was a means for Imperial Japan to consolidate its control over the entertainment industry. The Association had a membership of around 1,000, including eight theater troops, three musical theater troops, and eighteen musical troupes. Registration was a

[51] Hye Eun Choi, "The Making of the Recording Industry in Colonial Korea, 1910-1945" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2018); Alex Murphy, "What the Ear Sees: Media, Performance, and the Politics of the Voice in Japan, 1918-1942" (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2022), 254; Chang Yu-jŏng, *Oppa nŭn p'unggak chaengi ya: Taejung kayo ro pon kŭndae ŭi p'unggyŏng* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 2006), 337–338.

[52] For more on the tours, see Hye Eun Choi, "Recording Industry," 103–110, 172–186; Yi Chin-a, "Homyŏng toenŭn namsŏngsŏng: Chŏnsi ch'ejegi Manjuguk ŭi wimundae wa chendŏ chŏngch'i," *Manju yŏn'gu* 26 (2018): 69–106; and "1930-40-yŏndae singminji Chosŏn."

prerequisite for any form of popular music performance.[53] Between 1941–1943, around thirty songs were recorded by Korean artists from Okeh, Taihei, and Columbia glorifying the war.[54]

Surveying newspaper articles publicizing the traveling comfort entertainment system, one also encounters a historical precedent for the gruesome first line of "Comrade." An article published in the *Maeil sinbo* on July 2, 1944 projects an image of the student soldiers for whom comfort and encouragement must be offered as "awaiting the day they'll go to the front lines in burning resolve to 'push onward towards the enemy, jumping *over the corpses of comrades-in-arms*" (italics added by me).[55] In describing the organized brutality of the Pacific War, Saburō Ienaga has written that "a battlefield morality of 'not becoming a burden to others' prevailed [...] when a battle was going badly, the sacrifice of a buddy or a friendly unit might be unavoidable."[56] The first line of "Comrade" transposes the imperial military ethic of triage upon the reality of the peninsula from the summer of 1950 to the winter of 1951: the dead were everywhere; bodies of soldiers lay alongside civilian men and women, young and old.

Thus the consolidation of the music industry into a single closely surveilled association altered not only the lives of the popular artists who were mandated to register as members, it also pivoted the trajectory of Korean popular music history away from linear narratives of developmentalism and cultural hybridity. Modernity was not defined based on the hegemonic model of the West in which hegemonic mimicry begets authenticity. Rather in the field of wartime cultural production, the same artists would write sentimental ballads or

[53] *T'ŭrŏmp'et Yŏnjuja Hyŏn Kyŏng-sŏp*, 58–60.

[54] Chang Yu-jŏng, ibid. Chang Yu-jŏng (Zhang Eujeong) has defined "*kukkun kayo*" (national military song) as a generic term used interchangeably with both "*ch'inil kayo*" (pro-Japanese songs) and "*aegukka*" (patriotic songs).

[55] "Kamgyŏk han Naesŏn chŏnuae puhyŏng ŭn ansim, kyŏngnyŏ ponaeja—chŭlgŏun Kundae saenghwal ro naesŏn ilch'e silch'ŏn tojang myŏnggo ilsaek ŭi hakpyŏng tŭl wimun kyŏngnyŏ ro hwalgi rŭl" [Deeply moved by Korea-Japan camaraderie, parents and siblings, let us send reassurances, encouragement–vitality through morale-boosting to student-soldiers enjoying army life and making Japan-Korea unity a reality], *Maeil sinbo*, July 2, 1944.

[56] Saburō Ienaga, *The Pacific War, 1931-1945* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978), 182.

delicate vocal compositions expressing nostalgic homesickness on one day and bellicose military marches and ideologically laced propaganda songs the next.[57] Despite my extensive inquiries into the compositional form and historical origins of "Comrade," the question still remains: is there an intrinsic feature that makes the dotted rhythm, or even its inversion, the scotch step, uniquely suited to mass movements, military marches, and total mobilization?

During World War II, musicologists in America attempted to answer this question as part of a broader project of historicizing music in service of the creation of a new arsenal of national marches to counter the abuses of martial music by the Axis countries.[58] In 1943, Stanford University Press published the monograph, *Our Marching Civilization* in which music professor Warren Dwight Allen traces the evolution of the march from "the beginning of history" through the Allies-Axes split of World War II, across which fascist "Germany and Japan retained the concept of the march as a way of life" while England and America embraced it as "merely a means of entertainment, or an expression of national pride on parade."[59] In his evolutionary narrative, march music is both primitive and modern: it fulfills mankind's "traditional tendency to fight, to need commands in war," yet it also embodies the metaphorical promise of progress, as is implied by the very title.[60] Allen defines the French Revolution as the greatest historical instance of the simultaneous mobilization of these two binary characteristics toward ideals of liberty, equality, and fraternity. He argues that "La Marseillaise" represents "the most stirring of all march songs" from the French Revolution,

[57] Hiromu Nagahara, *Tokyo Boogie-Woogie: Japan's Pop Era and Its Discontents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017). Addressing the participation of popular music artists in the composition of military marches, Nagahara writes, "Simultaneous presence of Westernized and "syncretic" music defies "attempts at drawing a simplistic narrative of a clear, linear transformation of Japanese popular music into a something more 'Western,' they also seem to resist any categorization that would place them within a common musical culture, even though they were produced by the same industry (2).

[58] Annegret Fauser, *Sounds of War: Music in the United States during World War II* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 72-73.

[59] Warren Dwight Allen, *Our Marching Civilization: An Introduction to the Study of Music and Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1943), 3–37, 36.

[60] common line of thought posited by eighteenth-century German music theorists,

precisely because of the novelty of poaching the dotted rhythm from Handel, Haydn, and Mozart to pattern the shouting of "'All*ons*,' 'en*fants*,' and 'pat*rie*'" by the masses.[61]

If for Allen, the French Revolution marks the historical origin of the dotted rhythm as the quintessential form of the revolutionary march, then it is surely no coincidence that, for Georg Lukács, it was also that same mass social movement of the eighteenth century from which the novel first emerged as the quintessential literary genre for the revolutionary narrativization of history.[62] Much as military songs with dotted rhythms emerge during eras of great integration between military populations and the masses, so too did the necessity of mass mobilization in Europe between 1789 and 1814 necessitate a "mass army is to be created," inevitably destroying "the former separation of army from people." And as war becomes a mass experience, propaganda must make sense of the war's purpose, connecting the "appeal to national independence and national character […] with a re-awakening of national history, with memories of the past, of past greatness, of moments of national dishonour."[63] In the case of Korea, the March First Movement marked the first time during which dotted rhythms had been used to entrain huge portions of the population to the same imagination of national independence. But it was not until after liberation from Japan that Koreans had the legal right to mobilize literature as a means of re-awakening national history, and that was precisely what Cho Chŏng-nae aimed to do upon penning *T'aebaek Mountains* several decades after the War had ended. Like European history then, so too would the Korean history of mass mobilzation and war for the cause of nation justify the correspondence between dotted rhythm military marches and the historical novel. To transition from my discussion of music into a literary analysis of the relationship between rhythm and the historical novel, I ask, if contrafacts and their derivative compositions

[61] Allen, *Our Marching Civilization*, 11.

[62] Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, translated by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983).

[63] Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, 22–25.

structured profoundly different political ideologies and geopolitical mappings of the world in profoundly similar ways, what effect did it have on those writers who survived both liberation and the Korean War as children?

The Rhythmic Structure of Experience: Memories of Liberation and War

Literary critics Kim Yun-sik and Yu Chong-ho (1935–) have written extensively about Korean War-era songs, exploring relationships of national identity and childhood experience, musical sound and memory, language and poetic imagination. In an autobiographical essay from 2003, Kim Yun-sik recalls having recently been prompted by one of his students to speak on record about his experiences of the Korean War.[64] The critic describes the moment in which he finds himself almost unconsciously reciting the words to "Song of 6.25," the rhythm of which evokes a procession of sights and sounds from the war. What Kim demonstrates through the moment of automatic singing is how experience is assimilated into the body in compressed form through rhythm, melody, and language. These properties of song are then felt as physical sensations rousing (often unwittingly) the past from one's private bodily store of experience to the social plane of shared language. And his inability to explain this reaction to the student stems from the fact that, what Lcien Goldman would call the "internal coherence" of one's personal experience cannot be fully understood by others without understanding the dynamic relationality of global attitudes, historical era, and group tendencies in structuring how one remembers those experiences.[65]

[64] Kim Yun-sik, *Nae ka san 20-segi munhak kwa sasang: kal su itko, kaya hal kil, ka pŏrin kil* (Seoul: Munhak sasang, 2005), 246–322; Kim, *Han-Il munhak ŭi kwallyŏn yangsang* (Seoul: Iljisa, 1974), 1–4; Yu Chong-ho, *Na ŭi haebang chŏnhu* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 2004); Yu, *Si ran muŏt in'ga: kyŏnghŏm ŭi sihak* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1995).

[65] To articulate this point, Kim Yun-sik employs Lucien Goldmann's concept of " significant structure in the history of culture. See Kim. *Nae ka san 20-segi*, 251; Lucien Goldmann, "The Concept of Significant Structure in the History of Culture," in *Essays on Method in the Sociology of Literature*, translated by William Q. Boelhower (St. Louis, MO.: Telos Press Ltd., 1980), 75–84.

Yu Chong-ho too considers experience as the definitive factor in explaining the strange attraction a reader may feel to a military song. In his memoir, Yu Chong-ho recalls with fondness a homeroom teacher from second grade, Ogihara Masae from Kyushu, who addressed students in the honorific. Despite attending school during the era of total mobilization and *naisen ittai*, Yu nostalgically summons the gentle sound of Ogihara's voice leading the class in textbook standards like "Kansen kinmu" (Ship duty) and "Suishiei no kaiken" (The Meeting at Suishiying, 1906).[66] And embedded in the stories and songs Yu learned as a fifth grader in 1944, like "Wakawashi no uta" (Song of the Young Eagles, 1943), one finds an aestheticization of the Imperial Japanese Army, particularly the Kamikaze Special Attack Units, that closely resembles the second verse of Pak Si-ch'un and Yu Ho's "Comrade." Needless to say that during the years when, as Kim Yun-sik puts it, "copperware passed down for generations was being acquisitioned to turn into bombs with which to eradicate the 'British and American demons'," colonial Korean popular culture, mass entertainment, and public schooling were almost entirely restricted to wartime propaganda.[67] Even after liberation, though they recognize that the world has changed, Yu and his classmates who had been so deeply immersed in Imperial Japan's colonial education system, cannot seem to get "Song of the Young Eagles" out of their heads, except by singing it collectively and infuriating their teacher, who had just been released from prison, in the process.[68]

Thus to the generation who survived two consecutive wars before they were old enough to enlist in either, Yu muses, the mournful melodies of "Comrade" exert a powerful

[66] For cross references of songs taught in Japanese schools during World War II, see Ury Eppstein, "School Songs Before and After the War: From 'Children Tank Soldiers' to 'Everyone a Good Child'," *Monumenta Nipponica* 42, no. 4 (1987): 431-447; Noriko Manabe, "Songs of Japanese Schoolchildren during World War II," in *The Oxford Handbook of Children's Musical Cultures,* edited by Patricia Shehan Campbell and Trevor Wiggins (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2013), 96–113.

[67] Kim Yun-sik, "Han-Il munhak," 2.

[68] Yu Chong-ho, *Na ŭi haebang*, 102–103.

pull, one which younger or older generations, for that matter, may never understand. “Just as a poet experiences their life as it takes shape within specific conditions of society and historical era, so too does the reader develop a “*kyŏnghŏmjŏk chaa*” (experiential self) within set social-historical situations. And just as every work of poetry consists of its producer’s particular sociohistorical experiences, upon the sum of which it ascends to stand alone, so too does the reader treat the work as a unity of life and literary experience. Neither can one negate their uniquely private feelings and still access the work, nor is it necessary to do so.”[69] In a similar vein, Kim interprets the total bodily internalization of experience as the precondition of poetic imagination and the raw material of literature. However, that this raw material will be refined into a language of genuine imagination is not predetermined.

In the schema mapped out by Kim Yun-sik, the sensation of music opens two passages between bodily experience and language which can be defined in terms of Mori Arimasa’s dichotomy of *keiken* (*kyŏnghŏm*), or open experience, and *taiken* (*ch’ehŏm*), or closed experience. The term *ch’ehŏm* (體驗) as two meanings, the first is “to experience something oneself”; the second, from psychology, is defined as the “fundamental experience of an organic body that is separate from intellect, language, habit and other processes and experiences of the mind.” In contrast the term for open experience, *kyŏnghŏm,* possesses two meanings: first, “to directly experience or witness something and the knowledge and functions that one gains through those experiences”; second, “the content of what one comes to realize through their sense and perception of an objective object.”[70] The dialectic between open and closed experience can be understood by contrasting the Chinese characters in the first syllables of *kyŏnghŏm* (經驗) and *ch’ehŏm* (體驗), respectively.

[69] Yu, *Si ran*, 84.
[70] Kim, *Nae ka san 20-segi*, 256–259.

While the first syllable of the two words is written using the same character *hŏm* (驗, meaning to experience fact in reality), the first syllable of each differs, with the (*kyŏng*, 經) of *kyŏnghŏm* signifying "to pass through" and *ch'e* (體) signifying "physical body." By identifying the moment of spontaneous musical recollection using the term *che'hŏm*—conceptually signified here as "closed experience" and literally meaning "bodily experience"—Kim Yun-sik suggests that the act of singing patriotic anthems which he learned as a child are less the product of a conscious effort to further propagate the nationalist ideologies which the songs contain than they are an unconscious act of phonosonic reproduction, both the manifestation of a kind of perverse nostalgia for a youth spent during war and an embodied response to the external summoning of musically associated memories which linger as much in the minds as they do in in the bodies of those who unwittingly transmit wartime military marches to the next generation.

A certain "*pulgajiron*" (agnosticism) must persistently intervene for closed experience to become open, for the lyrical diction of death, blood, fighting, and fatherland to be transfigured by the contours of personal experience and returned to society with renewed meaning. Closed experience signifies the reverse situation, when, for instance, oft-recited song lyrics like ""Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan Chŏnggŏjang" (Pusan Station of farewells, 1954) or "Kutseŏra, Kŭm-sun a" (Stay strong, Kŭm-sun, 1953) solidify the memories compressed therein, or when songs like "Song of 6.25" or "Inmin hangjaengga" (Song of the people's struggle, 1946) agglomerate divergent individual experiences into the static language of "collective illusion" or national ideology.[71] This dichotomy between open and closed experience implies the relation of the mass marching songs and the often deeply personal and

[71] Kim, 258. Hyŏn In, vocalist, "Kutseŏra Kŭm-sun a," SP, side A of Orient R 8025 (1953); and Nam In-su. Vocalist, "Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan Chŏnggŏjang," side A of Side A of Universal P 1004 (1954). See Appendices 8 and 9. For "Inmin hangjaengga," see Chapter Two, note 40.

painstakingly researched historical novels to be a struggle between the opposing forces of established convention (closed experience) and absence of convention (open experience), a contention for the language with which to remember and express remembrance of the past.

For Kim, the modern nation-state is the primary driver of closed experience, and the textbook is the primary medium through which individuals internalize the dependence of claiming status as *kungmin* (national citizen) upon remaining within the boundaries of *kugŏ* (national language), the territory of which falls under the jurisdiction of the modern *kukka* (nation-state). Public elementary schools thus instill in students that, "to the same extent that textbooks take national language as their body, all psychological states of mind, all emotions, all conscious thoughts are bound to become a ghost once they depart from the national language."[72] From 1945–1953, however, there was no single nation-state who made claims on that sense of national belonging. Rather, the territory of "home" fell subject to contestations by several different nation-states in quick succession, each of whom invoked the same elemental forms to link national language to national citizenship. Emerging on the other side of the Korean War then, this instability had the effect of leaving *all* conveyable forms of modern nationhood susceptible to intrusions by the ghostly presence of the other. In a sense Kim Yun-sik is forwarding a definitive theory of what Lucien Goldmann calls the "significant structure" of experience for those who lived through liberation and Korean War as his generation did: the "internal coherence" of relations between the form and content of the nation-state is the destabilization of the content of the nation-state by the superimposition of sequential forms of nation-states.[73]

It is possible to understand Kim Yun-sik's structural understanding of the experience of war and liberation through the metaphor of rhythm. Michael Spitzer writes that allegorical

[72] Kim, 265.

[73] Lucien Goldmann, "The Concept of Significant Structure in the History of Culture," in *Essays on Method in the Sociology of Literature*, translated and edited by William Q. Boelhower (St. Louis, MO: Telos Press, 1980), 75–84.

rhythmic thought "has provided an interface between the patterns of stress peculiar to music and the cycles of life and the universe." Just as significant structure in the history of culture possesses an "internal coherence," so too has rhythm, "by virtue of its intrinsic order," come to be linked to everything from the physical movements of the body in motion and the metrical patterns of spoken language and poetry, to "the geometry of the world in general" and "the rationality of the mind itself." Rhythm represents the discovery that "the alternation of strong and weak beats in a metrical pattern could be grouped at ever increasing levels. Measures could be grouped by analogy to beats, phrases could be grouped like measures, sections like phrases, and so on."[74] Analogously, the necessity of each element in a significant structure is also accounted for in hierarchical increments, from the "behavior of individuals" and "the tendencies of the group" to "interhuman relations and the relations between man and nature." Finally, in the same way that "A rhythmic pattern allows the mind to hold distant points of time together, to survey a temporal event as if it were an object or a concept," so too does the historical contingency of drawing equivalence between "this or that world view" imply a mental act of temporally transposing the same significant structure upon distant points throughout "the course of history."[75]

I want to conclude by returning to the opening anecdotes of liberation through this mental act of temporal transposition. As I wrote above, to have an "open experience" of the nation-state means simultaneously situating an elemental form of nation-state at different points in history, thus destabilizing its content. Such superimposition of separate temporal instances of a matching form depends upon the same ability to possess "distant points of time together" that a rhythmic pattern enables. Recall from the introduction of this section the

[74] Michael Spitzer, *Metaphor and Musical Thought* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 212.

[75] Spitzer, *Metaphor*, 221; Lucien Goldmann, "The Concept of Significant Structure," 75–76.

collective cries of "*manse!*" heard by O Chŏng-sim upon arriving at the scene of liberation in central Seoul. For many, *manse* would evoke the spirited outpouring of mass sentiments toward independence. However for Yu Chong-ho, being pulled out of class by a homeroom teacher to march in the street waving the Korean flag and shouting "*manse*" could only be experienced as a superimposition over the memory of having been mobilized with Japanese flag to cheer on conscripted soldiers as they departed for service in the Pacific War–the echoing of "*manse*" reverberating through the not-so-distant warcry of "*banzai*" still held vividly in his mind.[76] Perhaps this is why the dotted rhythm military march has proven so durable across historical eras and in divergent movements: the conformity of its rhythmic pattern with a global amassing of revolutionary songs lends itself to the very cognitive operations inherent to rhythm itself, enabling temporally distant contrafacts to be compressed, conceptualized, and objectified within a single thought.

[76] "Yu Chong-ho (柳宗鎬)," interviewed by Chang Ch'ŏl-hwan, Kusul ch'aerok, Saengaesa, no. 289, DA-Arts, July 15, 2017, transcript, 31.

CHAPTER TWO

ALLEGORIES OF RHYTHM, SOUND, AND SONG IN *T'AEBAEK MOUNTAINS*

T'aebaek Mountains (hereinafter *TBSM*) is a ten-volume *roman-fleuve* originally published in serial form between 1983–1989, when the student-led *minjung* movement forced the military dictatorship to accede civilian demands for democratization.[1] It is by all accounts *the* quintessential Korean War novel, not to mention the bestselling Korean-language novel of the late-twentieth century and an text that was influential for many student activists of the time.[2] The central locale of the novel, the seaside village of Pŏlgyo in South Chŏlla Province, has even become a tourist attraction, complete with the *T'aebaek Sanmaek Munhakkwan* (*TBSM* Literature Hall) where visitors may peruse the archival materials and primary resources upon which the novel is based, including Cho Chong-nae's hand-written notes, oral testimonies from survivors, original manuscript pages, transcribed lyrics, and meticulous visual mappings of the novel's compex webs of characters, spaces, and events.

As a syncopation of the conventional rhythmic flow of the War, *TBSM* shifts the start of the Korean War back to land struggles waged between the dispossessed masses and the landed class and portrays those struggles through the chronotrope of Pŏlgyo. Cho Chŏng-nae follows a cast of more than 250 characters across class and political divides from the *Yŏ-Sun*

[1] Cho Chŏng-nae, *T'aebaek sanmaek* [T'aebaek mountains] (hereinafter, *TBSM*) (Seoul: Haenaem Ch'ulp'ansa. 2020). The ten volumes of *TBSM* are subdivided into four parts. Volumes 1–3 make up "Che 1-bu Han ŭi modakpul" (Part 1: The bonfires of *han*), set around the uprisings and subsequent massacres of leftists in Yŏsun and Sunchŏn, October–December 1948. Volumes 4–5 form "Che 2-pu Minjung ŭi pulkkot" (Part 2: The spark of the people), spanning a ten-month period of tenant uprisings beginning in January 1949. Volumes 6–7 are part of "Che 3-pu Pundan kwa chŏnjaeng" (Part 3: Division and war), set in October 1949–December 1950, which moves through the invasion by North Korea, unpreparedness and corruption in South Korea, and the US invervention. Volumes 8-10 comprise "Che 4-pu Chŏnjaeng kwa pundan" (Part 4: War and division), which begins in December 1950, culminates with battles between the ROKA and the partisans in the Chiri mountans, and ends with the armistice agreement of July 1953. For the timeline of publication, see *TBSM*, 10:464–465.

[2] Yi Yun-jŏng, "Cho Chŏng-nae 'Kungmin 90% ka ilgŭn *T'aebaek sanmaek*…hyŏnsilsŏng i saengmyŏngnyŏng pigyŏl [Cho Chŏng-nae, "The secret of the vitality" of *T'aebaek mountains* which 90% of citizens have read, 'its realisticness'"], *Ideilli*, November 20, 2018, https://perma.cc/CTE9-7X6H. Nancy Abelmann, *Echoes of the Past, Epics of Dissent: A South Korean Social Movement* (Berekely and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1996), 18. As of 2018, the novel had sold more than 8.5 million copies, with 10 thousand sold each year (Yi, "Cho Chŏng-nae").

sakŏn (Yŏsu-Sunch'ŏn incident, hereinafter *Yŏ-Sun Incident*) of October 1948 to the armistice agreement of July 1953. In doing so, he shifts the start of the Korean War from June 25, 1950, when the Korean People's Army crossed the thirty-eighth parallel, to the internal strife of the previous three years. In this chapter, I consider how the *minjung* historiography of *TBSM* can be understood through allegorical readings of its rhythms, sounds, and songs.

Beginning at the granular level, I pinpoint narrative rhythms of temporality and perspective and examine how the author employs these patterns to entrain individual right-1wing militia members and left-wing partisans to divergent courses of collective action and reaction. Scaling up, I examine how allegories of song and sound enable to the author blur the boundaries between the *minjung* of the southwestern region and the land itself. In doing so, I argue that these symbolic resonances contribute to the author's broader goal of delegitimizing the ideological division and entrenched class hierarchies from which modern South Korean nationhood has developed. From individual narrative rhythms of wartime action to binary soundscapes of the mass violence of nation-state and the voices of *minjung*, from ominous echoes of death to the merciless reversals of the wartime soundscape, I argue that the novel's highest increment, Cho imagines divided Korea in the longue durée of *minjok*, a vantagepoint from which the modern nation-state appears as a momentary impediment to a natural rhythm of the unified peninsula, the momentum of which stretches back millenia and to which the ethnonation will inevitably return. However, in conflict with this drive for narrative totality, *TBSM* consistently fracture the illusion of a shared experience of South Korean nationhood born out of the War. A close reading of the author's allegorical but rich deployment of marching rhythms and portrayals of singing, allows me to argue that Cho reclaims individual subjectivities and divergent experiences from within totalizing state narratives of the War by

recasting them as integral steps in the allegorical march toward narrative totality within which the novel threatens to subsume them once more.

Many literary critics and scholars who have written about *TBSM* have focused their attention on spatiality, and for good reason. In what is now a canonical reading, Kim Yun-sik argues that the author portrays Pŏlgyo as a microcosm of the regional class struggles between landlords and tenant farmers, and these regional struggles as a microcosm of the overarching class tensions that pinned former Japanese collaborators, landowners, and elite intellectuals in the south against the rural peasantry and progressive intellectuals.[3] Even Cho Chŏng-nae himself has characterized the novel's compositional goals and method in spatial terms.

To its author, *TBSM* represents a project aimed at the ambitious goal of reunifying the Korean peninsula by "weaving together the life of ethnonational division with vertical and horizontal threads in order to encompass the scars and pain of the *minjung*," and in doing so, "stitching the severed spine of the T'aebaek Mountains back together."[4] What Namhee Lee calls a historiography of *minjung*, "opposed to and resisting the metanarrative of state-led development," provides the framework with which Cho Chŏng-nae weaves the political cleavages that reproduce division in the narrative present together with the historical class struggles that each individual character seemingly inherits hereditarily.[5] By demonstrating that the Korean War began not with the Korean People's Army (KPA) invading the South on the titular starting date of June 25, 1950, but rather, that it began two years earlier, with the state's violent suppression of popular uprisings in the Chŏlla and Kyŏngsang Provinces, Cho challenges readers to reconsider the origins of and motivations for ethnonational division itself, and in doing so, he aims to inspire both righteous anger toward the state and

[3] Kim Yun-sik, "Pŏlgyo ŭi sasang kwa nae ka poa on *T'aebaek sanmaek*," in *Munhak kwa yŏksa wa in'gan: T'aebaek sanmaek ŭi sosŏlchŏk sŏngkwa wa t'ongil munhak ŭi chŏnmang* (Seoul: Hangilsa, 1991), 121–176.

[4] Cho Chŏng-nae, "Chakka ŭi mal," in *TBSM*, 1:9. All subsequent citations of *TBSM* will be provided in-text.

[5] Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, 6.

crevolutionary longing to belong to something greater than it. Thus the novel's ultimate goal is also spatial: by re-narrating the history of the Korean War incrementally through spatial microcosms of classical class struggle between the disenfranchised masses and the landed ruling class, the novel's ideal response expands readerly perceptions and desires into the real and imaginary geopolitical spaces of division and reunification, respectively.

While spatiality does provide a logical interpretive frame, the metaphor of rhythm enables precisely the same hierarchical logic to be applied to both space and time. However, when attempting to structure the conflicts of the Korean War as hierarchical microcosms–i.e., regional struggles are analogous to village strife, class struggles in the south analogous to struggles across the thirty-eighth parallel, and the international cold war analogous to internecine fratricide on the peninsula–the metaphor of rhythm does not obtain, for direct analogy fails at the highest increment between the geopolitical divide of a global cold war and the historically entrenched class divides of a civil war that began in the southern region of the peninsula Indeed, if the local and global conflicts driving the trajectory of the ethnonation are incompatible, then attempts to make sense of those conflicts produces its own dizzying rhythm. To try and imbricate the post-liberation social unrest into a single pattern of catenated conflicts necessitates shuffling between spatial scales, the incommensurability of which throws all thought and feeling into the growing momentum of a "violently spinning […] cartwheel of memories, each crying out and each giving off their own scent" (*TBSM*, 1:83). Rather, Cho Chŏng-nae compares his approach to narrative totality as weaving fabric woven together from the vertical threads of social structure and horizontal threads of social class.

Certianly one could read these vertical and horizontal axes as allegories for the global conflict and the local conflict, respectively. But the ways in which Cho narrates the "opposition between conscientious and unconscientious forces" comprising the vertical axis

is distinctly temporal. He frames the deep temporalities of the ethnonation as a conscientious force and its externally imposed division into two nation-states as an unconscientious force. This vertical-horizontal conceptualization is articulated in an argument that Kim Pŏm-u, perhaps the most politically neutral figure in the novel, gets into with the American officer who has forcibly conscripted him for translation duties. "If America were to be colonized, it would disintegrate into fragments and reform itself into a new nation. But Korea possesses the vertical organization of ethnonation, a single mass that cannot be made to disintegrate. […] We have a five-thousand year historical tradition of having lived as a homogeneous ethnonation" (*TBSM,* 7:483).

The Rhythm of Narrative Temporality and Perspective

For the first three volumes of *TBSM* comprising Part One, "Han ŭi modakbul" (The bonfires of *han*), Cho Chŏng-nae describes how he aimed to establish the foundations for the subsequent seven volumes through the interweaving of two temporal layers: the primary timeline (1945–1948), beginning with liberation and ending with the Yŏ-Sun Incident; and the secondary timeline (1894–1945) stretching from the Tonghak Peasant Rebellion of 1894–1985 to the end of the era of Japanese colonial rule (1910–1945).[6] He aims to demonstrate that the divisions along which the communist guerillas and the right-wing police and military forces of the newly established Republic of Korea (ROK) continued to inflict violence and revenge upon one another are part of much longer standing divisions between tenants and peasants who work the land and the landowners and capitalists who exploit them.

In setting the stage for the remainder of the novel, Cho Chŏng-nae aimed to unpack "the contradictions and questions of the previous era which link the Yŏ-Sun incident to history." However, the author soon discovered that it was impossible to remain grounded in

[6] For more on the Yŏ-Sun Incident, see Bruce Cumings, *The Origins of the Korean War,* Vol. 1, *The Roaring of the Cataract, 1947-1950* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press), 237–290.

the narrative present while simultaneously unraveling these historical links. Thus to resolve the conflict between forward and backward temporal movement, he seized "the flow of time [*siganjŏk hŭrŭm*]" and instead expanded space to the greatest degree possible. Such spatial expansion enabled more characters to appear, and whether peripheral or central, to personify a part of the longer history of class struggle.[7] Their actions in the present thus manifest from this backward-flowing narrative temporality, stemming from links to their particular historical positionality, and sparked in reaction to an event in the narrative present.

At the most granular level, rhythmic experience can be defined as an awareness of patterns of repetition in the heterogeneous movement of stimuli or occurrence of events. If one hears, for instance, one dotted eighth note followed by one sixteenth note repeated twice, they may anticipate that a third dotted eighth note will also be followed by a third sixteenth note, thus forming a dotted rhythm (dotted eighth-sixteenth). Or if one hears the inverse rhythmic pattern of a sixteenth note followed by a dotted eighth note repeated twice, they may anticipate the next sixteenth note will also be followed by a dotted eighth note, thus constituting a Scotch Snap (sixteenth-dotted eighth). Likewise, we grow accustomed to the rhythm of the seasons, enough to intuit that in spring, summer will come, and in winter, fall has passed.

When "rhythm" is evoked metaphorically, as in the "rhythm" or "flow" of history, the past anticipates the future—the ability to detect patterns in movements or events of the past enables anticipation of what will happen next. These expectations in turn become the rhythm to which one entrains their present actions under the belief that the same pattern will persist into the future. Michael Spitzer offers a concise description: "A rhythmic pattern unfolds through time. Equally, the cognition of rhythm develops in time. The mind attends to one

[7] Yi Ch'ang-dong, Ha Chae-bong, Nam Chin-u, Yi Yong-bŏm, Cho Chŏng-nae, "Sangch'ŏ padŭn sidae: Kŭ han kwa pulkkot ŭi munhak," roundtable discussion, in *Munhak kwa yŏksa wa in'gan*, 20–21.

beat after another, seeks regularities at increasing levels, projects into the future in search of a broader pattern, and retrospectively adjusts patterns in the light of experience."[8] In the narrative temporality of characterization in *TBSM*, it is precisely such a principle of rhythmic anticipation that enables Cho to transform peripheral villains and sympathetic heroes alike into vessels through which historical patterns flow.

A passage at the end of the first volume demonstrates how Cho Chŏng-nae establishes a parallel between the rhythm of narrative temporality from present to past back to present, and inertial patterns that entrain characters together in collective action. The novel begins after the Yŏ-Sun Incident, as partisan rebels are being driven out of Pŏlgyo and into the mountains by the newly established Republic of Korea Army (ROKA). This includes protagonist Yŏm Sang-jin, the son of a charcoal seller who had ascended to become Workers' Party of South Korea's Posŏng County Committee Head; Ha Tae-ch'i, a tenant farmer who spent five years as a conscripted laborer in the mines of Hokkaido and airfields throughout the Japanese Empire; and An Ch'ang-min, an elementary school teacher sympathetic to the socialist cause. Before being routed however, the partisans assemble people's courts where they summarily execute several local business owners and capitalists. The passage begins with a omniscient third-person narrator eavesdropping on a conversation between the sons of five of the men who were murdered during the rebel occupation. Referred to initially only by the third-person plural pronoun, readers soon learn that these five young men are Yun T'ae-ju, son of the owner of a *sot* factory and rice mill; Yang Hyo-sŏk, son of a fabric store; Ch'oe Sŏ-hak, son of the head of the local tax office; Hyŏn O-bong, son of the owner of Pŏlgyo's only traveler's inn; and Song Sŏng-il, son of the head of the financial association. (*TBSM*, 1:385–398)

[8] Michael Spitzer, *Metaphor*, 221.

The narrative then regresses into the backstories of each of the murdered fathers and their surviving sons, one by one. Cho portrays each as having inherited a class disposition from their fathers. Having looked down on tenant farmers their whole lives, hey see no benefit to treating peasants equally to landowners; and when their avaricious fathers are murdered by the same peasants who the young men had long looked down upon, the rhythm of their daily lives becomes synchronized to a palpitating and solitary thirst for vengeance: only by purging the county of leftists could they nudge the rhythm of the present back in-sync with the futures they are owed. Thus, Cho Chŏng-nae situates each of the men's lineages within the pre-established social class hierarchy of Pŏlgyo, and in doing so, ascribes transgenerationality to that class structure. In returning to the narrative present, the third-person singular points of view of all five men are enveloped back into the third-person plural pronoun.

The cyclical temporal movement from present to past back to present thus parallels a cyclical perspectival movement from plural to singular back to plural. The elongated middle phase (past, third-person singular) enables the articulation of individual pasts to justify the reactionary patterns that are collectivized in the present. Historical exploitation of the peasantry by the fathers leads to peasant uprising, and the murder of the fathers by the peasant uprising leads to the sons seeking collective vengeance. When readers return to the narrative present, now four days into their retributive murders, it is obvious that collective vengeance sought solely on the families of suspected communists and sympathizers may not be enough to reverse the cataclysm they had been made to suffer. Several days in hiding during the rebellion, trapped in the "sudden sadness of having lost their fathers," end with equal abruptness, as ROKA forces rout the leftists, and the police impose order on the town. With this sudden reversal, "their sadness and fear turned diametrically to rage and deep-seated resentment." And just when this identical pain unites the men in mutual suffering, Yun

T'ae-ju reaches out to ignite them to collective action. "With the exception of those families with members who had already been executed, every household was a target." (*TBSM*, 1:394–395).

The trajectories of the five men ultimately diverge from one another when the KPA take Seoul in June 1950. Yun T'ae-ju is, like his father, sentenced to execution by a people's court. Ch'oe Sŏ-hak manages to escape after being forcefully conscripted to the KPA volunteer army, only perpetuating his animosity toward the enemy and his view that the war is "between precious blood and vulgar blood, between *yangban* and commoners." He also draws an equivalence between the division of the global cold war and the hereditary class division of Korea, praying for "America, the country of *yangbans*" to "dry out the seeds of the communist party's puppet army" (*TBSM*, 7:43). In the end, Ch'oe appears poised to become a public prosecutor after the war. Hyŏn O-bong attains the rank of platoon leader before being killed in the Chinese People's Liberation Army offensive of October 1950. Yang Hyo-sŏk, after playing a key role in directing the ROKA's massacre of more than 700 unarmed citizens in Kŏch'ang, South Kyŏngsang Province, an event I return to later, is promoted to the rank of captain. In no ambiguous terms, Cho's layering of reactionary narrative rhythms impels readers to contemplate how the momentum generated by the actual flow of history worked in reality to propel equally radicalized rightists into positions of leadership in the postwar South Korean military and government.

For the partisans, perspectival and temporal patterning inverts the reactionary rhythm. Rather than a collective-singular-collective perspectival rhythm underlying the temporal cycle of present-past-present, the perspective structuring of cyclical temporality in the revolutionary narrative takes the form of singular-collective-singular. In other words, the present of the revolutionary narrative is singular while the past is collective. Take for instance, the perspectival-historical rhythm of the novel's central hero, Yŏm Sang-jin.

Toward the beginning of volume 2, a semi-omniscient narrator assumes the perspective of Yŏm Sang-jin, who meets with An Ch'ang-min, Ha Tae-ch'i, and another Pŏlgyo peasant, Kang Tong-sik, in the charcoal shed where they have been hiding following the rout. The four men debate taking retributive action against the retributive violence wreaked by Yŏm Sang-gu, who is both Yŏm Sang-jin's brother and the novel's primary villain, as well as Yun T'ae-ju, Yang Hyo-sŏk, Ch'oe Sŏ-hak, Hyŏn O-bong, Song Sŏng-il, and others who have joined the anti-communist punitive militia. Being the idealist that he is, Yŏm Sang-jin hears the other men out and even tries framing such retributive actions in conceptual terms as, "a fight between feeling and ideal [...] between *soa* [small 'I'] and *taea* [large 'I'] between individualism and revolutionism." Eventually he closes his eyes, trying to understand how such present violence could elongate the rhythmic patterns already established by the tangled "memories of past days." From here, the narrative temporality jumps back to the moment of liberation, news of which reached Yŏm Sang-jin in the woods of Chiri Mountain, where he had been evading arrest after having led an unsuccessful peasant rebellion. Summary sweeps readers from liberation, to hearing about the national preparation committees and people's committees, to the US Military occupation, to the forceful dispersal and arrest of the people's committees, to the illegalization and radicalizaiton of the communist Workers' Party of South Korea, to the arrest of independence fighters (Cho, *TBSM*, 2:119–120). Exposition then replaces synopsis, and narrative perspective expands from the semi-omniscient singular voice deriving from Yŏm Sang-jin to an omniscient, third-person plural, birdseye view of the mass protests that spread through the Kyŏngsang and Chŏlla Provinces in the autumn of 1946 (hereinafter, *the autumn uprisings*).[9]

[9] The autumn uprisings culminated in mass protests on October 1 in Taegu, hence they are also alternatively referred to as the "10.1 Incident" (10.1 *sakŏn*). For further reading on the autumn uprisings, see Bruce Cumings, *Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergence of Separate Regimes* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 357-380; and *The Korean War: A History* (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2010), 113–118.

In describing how the halting of rice distribution in Taegu sparked a full-fledged *minjung* uprising, Cho employs for the first time a variant of the "echo-chamber" technique that I discuss later on. In this case, he uses fire as the metaphor to describe the sound of language in oral-transmission: "the fire spread down throughout the entirety of the South Kyŏngsang Province until finally crossing the Sŏmjin River and moving into South Chŏlla Province." To evoke the novel's secondary temporal layer, the omniscient narrator comments that this route, South Kyŏngsang-Sŏmjin River-South Chŏlla is "the opposite route of that taken by the Tonghak Peasant's Revolt," during which, "the fire began in North Chŏlla, instantaneously engulfed South Chŏlla, and crossed over the Sŏmjin River to South Kyŏngsang Province." The narrative follows the "spark" of the fire in Taegu on October 1 back to the coal-mining city of Hwasun, "where the flames were first kindled" by plummeting rates of coal consumption and production due to having been severed from regions in the north with whom they had conducted trade as well as famine after the United States of America Military Government in Korea (USMAGIK), in an attempt to establish an American-style regime in Korea, takes control of the requisition and distribution of rice. The flames turn into the chants of three thousand protesters: "We will not starve to death. Normalize coal mining operations! / Restore coal production and support our livelihood!" After the US suppresses the peasant revolt with "tanks spewing fire above their heads," the omniscient narrator likens the subsequent spread of rumors about that violent suppression to "a spreading bush fire" carried by the wind from Hwasun in South Chŏlla all the way back to Taegu in South Kyŏngsang, where the voice of *minjung* unites around chants of, "Korea is not an American colony! US Military, be gone! / Get rid of mandatory requisition and carry out land reform!" (*TBSM*, 2:130–131)

The echo of those slogans becomes a passing note elongating across the shift from the past retold in the omniscient point of view back to the present narrowed in on the semi-

omniscient third-person singular point of view of Yŏm Sang-jin. "Clenching his fists," Yŏm Sang-jin, opens his eyes back up, catching his breath with a new determination not to "lose himself within those memories of bitter failure." And rather than resolving to take retributive action as Yun T'ae-ju and the others had, Yŏm Sang-jin prepares to begin implementing "hill combat education" for the partisans to prepare themselves for the longer struggle that shall unfold across the remainder of the novel.

By inverting the collective-singular-collective perspectival rhythm of the reactionary rightists, Cho Chŏng-nae is practicing a mode of characterization outlined by Georg Lukács, one meant to organically connect the actions with the "personal facts" of the historical novel's protagonist. Prior to "introducing the occasion" of Yŏm Sang-jin's decision not to seek retribution, Cho gives third-person omniscient access to his "psychological qualities," follows up by widening the perspectival lens to encompass the autumn uprisings as the first culmination of the "social forces encompassing his characters as a whole" before concluding once more in the third-person omniscient to "translate" the upheavals into personal action.[10] To grant third-person limited omniscient perspective to the partisans is essentially a means of endowing *minjung* with expressive capacity in the narrative present. Conversely, the reactionary rhythm of narrative temporality and perspective grants only interior thoughts to the rightists who ascend the ranks of the incipient South Korean regime. Such technique embodies the responsibility which politically active literary authors felt toward *minjung* in the 1980s. As Pak T'ae-sun wrote, "The *minjung* have stories, but no mouth. Because literary figures have a mouth, they must mediate the *minjung*."[11] As I discuss in the next section, there is a certain feedback between *TBSM* and the *minjung* movement, an echo from the

[10] Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel*, translated by Hannah and Stanley Mitchell (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1983), 306.

[11] Pak T'ae-sun, "Chakka sŏmun" [Author preface], in *Natsŏn kŏri* [Unfamaliar street] (Seoul: Nanam, 1989), 13.

intellectual and political currents of the 1980s to the whispers and rumors that permeate the novel's tenebrous soundscapes.

Redefining Minyo as Minjung Kayo

Cho Chŏng-nae uses songs of convoluted origin to link the lives of *minjung* to the external world. Leading up to the outbreak of war across the thirty-eighth parallel, the circulation of a *chŏngch'i minyo* (political folk song) reflects the mood on the peninsula, now shrouded in an ominous calm of muted whispers and shadowy movements.[12] Elsewhere, lyrical transcriptions of adjacent song forms serve as entry points for third-person omniscient narrative voices to unveil the deep historical embeddedness of *minjung* modes of musical expressivity within the very soil of the southwest region. After positing a definition of *minyo* relative the previous chapter's discussion of patriotic songs and the *minjung* movement of the 1980s, I turn to specific passages from *TBSM*, with the goal of examining how the author integrates *minyo* into the narrative rhythms of characterization and plot building.

Like the patriotic anthems discussed in the first chapter, so too have *minyo* been defined as a form of vocal music that developed within movements of the popular masses, consistently reworked through practices of contrafactum to ensure continuous embodiment of the spirit of the era. The serialization of *TBSM* coincided with a swelling of academic and popular interest in indigenous music traditions. The incipient quartet SamulNori was discovering that their modern take on a traditional rhythmic language could sustain a global audience, and the satirical drama form of *madanggŭk* spread from student activists and dissident intellectuals to factory workers, women, and farmers, who adapted and staged their own performances to express resistance and redefine everyday life.[13] In the literary field,

[12] For the lyrics of selected *minyo* transcribed in *TBSM*, see Appendix 11.

[13] Katherine In-Young Lee, *Dynamic Korea and Rhythmic Form* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2018); Namhee Lee, *The Making of Minjung* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007), 178–179;

members of the Chayu Silch'ŏn Munin Hyŏbŭihoe (Association of Writers for Freedom and Praxis, founded in 1974) began assembling a print archive of the *minjung* cultural movement in the pages of *Silch'ŏn munhak*, featuring everything from recently excavated *p'ungmul* lyrics and traditional folk labor songs to new creative writings by laborers, protest contrafacta of popular trot songs, and original *madanggŭk* scripts.[14]

In 1986, around the time of the first monograph pressing of *The Bonfires of* Han and the serialization of Part Two, "Minjung ŭi pulkkot" (The spark of *minjung*), musicologists were positing definitions of *minyo* based on its clear distinction from commercial music: "*Kayo* (pop songs) are written with the expectation that they will be sung as *norae* (songs). *Minyo* are transmitted from mouth to mouth, sung by the collective *taejung* (popular masses) when working, resting, or marching in demonstration."[15] Though *minyo* and patriotic songs are both defined by practices that ensure their continuous intimacy to the communal life of the country, patriotic songs originated in the complimentary modernization movements of the early twentieth century, namely the patriotic enlightenment movement led by progressive Korean intellectuals and the pursuit of "spiritual uplift of Korea" by North American missionaries.

In contrast, *minyo* are thought to have developed naturally and functionally to synchronize with the rhythmic patterns of agricultural labor and affective terrains of

187–212. Katherine In-Young Lee describes the term *samul nori* as a neologism combining "*sa mul*," or "four objects," i.e., the *kkwaenggwari*, *ching*, *puk*, and *changgo* of *nongak* (farming music), and *nori*, or "play." As a genre, it developed out of the experiments of its titular group SamulNori "in reconfiguring their own 'language'--a slick and streamlined, yet somewhat recognizable urban dialect of p'ungmul" (17-21). Namhee Lee defines *madanggŭk* in 1970s and 80s South Korea as an amalgamation of traditional folk forms of satirical drama and elements of Western drama that served as a medium through "many rehearsals for the minjung revolution were carried out" (187).

[14] Yu Sŭng-hŭi, "*Silch'ŏn munhak* iranŭn ak'aibŭ: undong-kirok ŭrosŏŭi munhak kwa 1980-yŏndae ŭi *Silch'ŏn munhak*" ["*Silch'ŏn munhak*," the archive: Literature as movement-record and *Silch'ŏn munhak* in the 1980s], *Sŏgang Inmun Nonch'ong* 65 (2022): 5–36.

[15] Ch'oe Ch'ŏl, "*Minyo* ŭi kaenyŏm, sujip kwa yŏn'gu ŭi naeryŏk" [The concept of *minyo*, the history of collection and research], in *Han'guk minyoron* [Treatise on Korean *minyo*] (Seoul: Chimmundang, 1986), 14.

significant events that defined the lives of *minjung*.[16] They are thought to be an amalgamation of the "*hyangt'ojok saekkkal* [local colors]" of the regions from which they first circulated as well as numerous traditions of oral literature and song tracing back as far as the three kingdoms period (57 BCE–668).[17] C*hapka* (lyrical songs written by commoners) and *p'ansori*, for instance, are emblematic of what Yun Ki-hong theorizes to have been a "*minyo* consciousness," or consciousness of the sonic and musical properties of language, which held sway over intellectual thought surrounding written literary forms until the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1897). With the advent of *ch'angga* during the enlightenment era (1876–1884) and Western poetry during the era of Japanese colonial rule, oral folk forms were relegated to a specialized realm of "tradition" and lower class entertainment while *ch'angga* and print literature together ascended to the realm of cultural modernity.[18] As Ch'oe Ch'ŏl puts it, "*Minyo* is the song of *minjok* and not the nation-state. As such *minyo* is a literature in which the blood of the *minjok* flows."[19] If patriotic songs and military songs have been imagined as the musical embodiment of the nation state, and popular songs ambiguously belong to the "masses" (*taejung*) as conceived by the commercial market, then *minyo* have been imagined as the songs of a *minjung* not formed through commodity consumption and a *minjok* that does not belong to the imagined community of modern nationhood. While such categorical conceptions are not wholly accurate, they are still the idealization from which *TBSM* its *minjung* historiography, derives its localized musical imagination.[20]

[16] Roald Maliangkay, *Broken Voices*, 53.
[17] Ch'oe Ch'ŏl, 14.
[18] Yun Ki-hong, "Chapka ŭi sŏnggyŏk kwa minyo, p'ansori wa ŭi kwangye," in *Hanguk minyoron*, 216.
[19] Ch'oe Ch'ŏl, "*Minyo*," 14–15.
[20] For instance, a sizeable commercial market developed around *minyo* during the colonial era. The Japanese also promoted the academic study of *minyo*.

The first folk song to appear in *TBSM* is "Honamga" (Song of the southwest region), a *tan'ga*, or a short song often sung as a prelude to *p'ansori* performances.[21] Scholars theorize the first archival record of "Honamga" was written in the 19th century by *p'ansori* theorist Sin Chae-hyo (1812–1884), before gaining wide popularity in the 1930s after Columbia released a recording by *p'ansori* master Im Pang-ul (1904–1961).[22] The lyrics employ a form of pneumonic wordplay known as "*chimyŏng p'uri*" (unpacking placenames), or a lyrical enumeration of place names, often marked by use of double entendre and commonly found in *yuhŭi minyo* (playful *minyo*). The speaker narrates a journey from Cheju Island back to his hometown in Kwangju, passing through more than fifty different locations in the Chŏlla Provinces on the way. In *TBSM*, Cho Chŏng-nae places a transcription of the first four lines of the song immediately after showing the aftermath of the mass killings that took place in the area over the preceding days of October 1950.

Through a sweeping third-person omniscient panorama, the author assumes a disembodied and mobile ear that orbits the aftermath of the Yŏ-Sun Incident beginning in Pŏlgyo, tracing its sonic topography layer by layer. The chapter, aptly titled "Kkamakwi tte" (Murder of crows), opens with the "uncanny *kkauk kkauk* crying" of a spiraling black mass of crows who blanket the sky above the reed forest where the corpses of accused leftists had been left to bleed out. The narrator then nosedives through an entire paragraph of "strange and chilling rumors [...] filled with unspeakable panic and chaos," tracing them as they spread from mouth to mouth, then from town to town "like the fog of night." As days pass, "rumor after rumor continues to be passed on clandestinely. Rumors of Yŏsu spread from Sunch'ŏn through Pŏlgyo to Hwasun, and rumors of Kwangyang came through Sunch'ŏn to Pŏlgyo and

[21] Im Pang-ul, vocalist, "Honamga," Side A of Columbia 40085 (1930). The title combines the placename (Honam) connoting the southwest region, or the North and South Chŏlla Provinces, with the Chinese ideogram for "song" (*ka*). See Appendix 10.

[22] Sŏ Chŏng-min. "Tan'ga 'Honamga' ŭi ŭmakchŏk t'ŭkching kwa chŏnsŭng yangsang," *Kugakwŏn nonmunjip* 39 (2019): 243–274.

continued to Kohŭng, and rumors of Kohŭng combined with rumors of Pŏlgyo before spreading out from Sunch'ŏn to Kwangyang and Yŏsu." (*TBSM*, 2:166–168)

Following the "smell of blood smeared all over the tracks they left," the rumors begin to coalesce around the horrors of what had happened in Yŏsu and Sunch'ŏn. The disembodied narrator then descends upon Yŏsu. In the valley behind Mansŏngni Beach, the corpses of hundreds of students are "piled up neatly before the blind flight of machine gun bullets." Others more are shoved onto boats, stones tied to their backs, and pushed into the South Sea. In the schoolyard of one local elementary school, students line up to be publicly decapitated by "Paektu Mountain Tiger Kim Chong-wŏn," whose "*nihontō* left head after head tumbling to the ground *tenggŏngdenggŏng*." As families look for the remains of their loved ones, the newly formed ROKA packs the heads into straw bags to display before every village, and the Head of the local People's Committee looks on from atop a mountain top in defeat and hangs himself. From there, the disembodied ear of the omniscient narrator departs from the scenes of massacre and narrows in on "a rhythm beaten against the crutches of an empty A-frame," the melody of "Honamga," and the loosening footsteps of Ha Tae-ch'i, lost in the carefree cadences of his own voice. Perhaps the most straightforward embodiment of what the author envisions to be the ideal revolutionary peasant, Ha Tae-ch'i is spiritually liberated, physically imposing, eager to learn, able to lead, fierce with a gun, and above all, loyal to the Party. (*TBSM*, 2:170–171)

Though only the first four lines of "Honamga" have been transcribed, readers who recognize them would likely infer that the song's placement signifies not a sudden shift away from the overall narrative rhythm, but a kind of echo of the same topographies they had just passed through. Suppose this metaphorical rhythm begins with the "strong beat" of gradually intensifying sounds of death–from the ominous cries of crows and itinerant rumors passing clandestinely from town to town, to the unspeakable panic and chaos found at the end of trail

of blood left behind by the rumors. Then Ha Tae-ch'i's "Honamga" would signify a kind of implied downbeat of equal metric value. Yet the journey through the Chŏlla Provinces imagined by the lyrics of "Honamga" does not so much reverse the haunting echoes of the opening exposition. Rather, narrative sequencing leaves the resting offbeat of "Honamga" open for readers to hear the killing of what would amount to more than 100,000 Koreans in the narrative present feedback into the spaces of the past evoked by an eighteenth-century song of homecoming–from the villages being wiped off the map in Cheju Island to the retributive terror sweeping across South Chŏlla Province.

Cho Chŏng-nae also uses *minyo* such as "Yukchabaegi" (Six-beat song), "Arirang," and "Saeya saeya p'arangsaeya" (Bird, bird, blue bird) to layer historical time. This is apparent in the Cho's description of Ha Tae-ch'i's rendition of "Yukchabaegi" (six-beat song). Described as the song of the open fields of the Southern plains, a melody to eat during famine, an elixir "to gather strength, to soothe anxieties," and a way "to overcome the arduous and never-ending work of tending to the field, "Yukchabaegi" is inherited by children of tenant farmers, who unconsciously begin to hum it as soon as they are old enough to "cut fodder and herd cattle." So prevalently does the song echo across the rich farming land of Chŏlla Province that, "by the time the children's backbones are sturdy enough to carry an A-frame and set foot in the rice-field, each of their voices had already taken shape around those enchanting melodies." (*TBSM*, 2:171–172)

Ethnomusicologist Hilary Vanessa Finchum-Sung identifies the main characteristics of "Yukchabaegi" as its "slow *jinyang* rhythm" and the tropic extension of its distinct singing voice to an aesthetic suffering and sorrow. Finchum-Sung elaborates that this association comes from the performer's use of *Namdo kyemyŏnjo*, a tonal order roughly equivalent to the European classical minor mode that is heard as "feminine" and "emotional." Further reinforcing its aesthetics of suffering is a distinctive grain of the voice materializing from the

singer's "open-chest [...] belting" delivery style similar to *p'ansori*, and a musical phrase which employs "a heavily shaken tone (*mi*; *ttŏnŭn ŭm*), a sustained pitch a fourth up (*la*; *ponch'ŏng*), and a breaking tone consisting of a brief and gentle fall ½ step from the pitch *do* to the pitch *ti* (*kŏngnŭn ŭm*)." Along with what Finchum identifies as tempestuous vocal ornamentations and "overt sobbing and wailing," the sorrowful aesthetic is an extension of the region's history of struggles and overcoming them.[23] What is interesting is that the author identifies "Honamga," which according to formal genre distinctions, is *tan'ga*, as a *yukchabaegi*. Rather than a categorical error, I believe this cross-identification may be interpreted properly as a mark of distinction separating the fluidity of genre in the singing of *minjung* from the more rigid genre boundaries enclosing musical expressions of *kukka*. If the material deprivations and hard labor of sharecropping color the aesthetics of "Yukchabaegi" by shaping the voice itself as not only a tropic, but a literal extension of the land, then to sing the topography of "Honamga" in a *yukchabaegi t'ori* would function as a means for the *minjung* to demonstrate their organic connection to the southwest region, and in doing so, to delegitimize the nation-state's ongoing reign of terror over it. Southwestern *minyo* thus provide Cho with points of convergence between the aestheticization and historicization of the struggles of *minjung*.

Cho Chŏng-nae embeds a verse from "Arirang" in an extended lecture on the history of exploitation of southwestern *minjung* labor under Japanese colonial rule delivered by a progressive Christian socialist nanmed Sŏ Min-yŏng to an empathetic military officer named Sim Chae-mo. Here "Arirang" is described as the song that "tenant farmers sang when they were full of worries, to sooth their hungry stomachs while doing the arduous work of farming." Yet it is the omniscient narrator, not Sŏ Min-yŏng, who supplies the musical link between lived experience and the colonial history of peasant farmers and provides statistical

[23] For further analysis of the musical aesthetics of Southwestern *minyo* see, Hilary Vanessa Finchum-Song, "Re-centering Female Narratives through Murmurs and Song." *Transactions* 94 (2019): 85–106.

evidence for that connection. After a transcription of a southwestern contrafact of "Arirang," the narrator explains that with "eighty percent of the total population of our country being peasant farmers, and eighty percent of peasant farmers being tenant farmers, it was the reality of the colonial era that eighty percent of tenant farmers lived with food scarcity" (*TBSM*, 3:230–231). Later when Kim Pŏm-u hums "Arirang t'aryŏng" to himself, he hears the entirety of those histories wound up into a single word: "Within 'Arirang,' the meaning of which remained a mystery, there was remorse, regret, enchantment, sadness, tearfulness, and dimness, and at the same time, there was a flexibility, as if the word were something that could be wound and coiled up before unravelling and flowing once more." (*TBSM*, 5:260).

Likewise, the song "Saeya saeya p'arangsaeya" serves as a passageway between primary and secondary layers of temporality, between the present partisan movement and the Tonghak Uprising of 1894. Readers hear the song "come faintly in from far away," and through the ears of Pŏlgyo tenant farmer-turned-partisan Kang Tong-gi, the melody does not sound like it belongs to any one person. Rather, it was a "women's song sung by women, a sad and regretful song about losing the Kapo Uprising and then losing their husbands," a song he had "heard endlessly since he was a child sleeping while his grandmother carried him on her back, and the song his mother sang on winter evenings in syllables elongated to match the rhythm of the spinning wheel she span, and the song that village maidens chanted while gathering greens in hazy fields, the sound shimmering like the heat" (*TBSM*, 4:73–74). It was inseparable from the stories that he grew up hearing about how the Tonghak Army was all peasant farmers, valorous, and welcomed everywhere they went; how "the Japanese were cruel" and "the Tonghak Army were admirable despite the fact that they lost." For Kang Tong-gi, the repetition of hearing the stories and songs of the failed-yet-valorous Tonghak Rebellion generate the rhythmic pattern of the past which orients belief that "victorious battle" in the future will indeed create a "world of human equality" (*TBSM*, 4:73). Of those people

who joined the uprising, one is Ha Tae-ch'i's grandfather. The rhythm of narrative temporality that orients Ha Tae-ch'i in the present unfolds into the past through the voice of his father, who hears his son's persistent rebellion against landowners and subsequent decision to join the partisans as an echo of his own father's decision to join the Tonghak Rebellion (*TBSM*, 1:40–54).

In this sense, *minyo* songs do not merely portray hard labor, hunger pains, and dissident movements through lyrical expressions of sadness and sorrow. Rather, the shape of sadness and sorrow traces and extends the very bodies of *minjung*. In their forms and conventions, stretching back and passed down generations, songs appear as the product of a material dialectic between bodily sound and experience. If the *minjung* represent the absolute majority of the ethnonation, then the sheer utility of *minyo* to the *minjung* majority–their functional origin as sources of psychic comfort and surrogate sustenance–guarantees their natural survival across the ages. This same material dialectic between utility and survival underlies the history of *ch'angga*, with certain *ch'angga* evolving into patriotic hymns, certain patriotic hymns becoming emblems of modern nationhood, and others taking the more bellicose form of *kun'ga*. *Minyo* serve more than anything else as a musical means to separate the *minjok* from the *kukka*. The folk aesthetics of the *minjung* movement were thus defined by what *minyo* was not, that is, a modern, tonally Western, patriotic, carefully choreographed, and choral paeon to the transcendent space of the nation-state.

The Echo Chamber and the March of Linearity

Consideration of the medial characteristics of the modern historical novel brings several musical homologies to the fore. For one, a revisionist historical novel such as *TBSM* can be conceived of as an allegorical contrafact, with the well-known timeline of events analogous to pre-existing melodic structures, and the revisionist narratives they contain

analogous to their altered lyrical content. In adherence to these preconceived timelines, the mass movement of bodies through narrative space in both historical novels and military marches is often made to mirror the singular linearity and forward progression that govern the experience of durational time. Yet the very medium of written language does not allow divergent points of view or multiple actions to be expressed by a singular subject, object, and verb. Rather, in the case of *TBSM*, they must be divided into separate clauses and arranged in sentences, the sentences arranged into paragraphs, the paragraphs into sections, sections into a chapter, chapters into volumes, volumes into parts, and parts into the whole. This is not dissimilar to musical discourse which, as Michael Spitzer writes, "like a verbal oration, is articulated hierarchically into segments of increasing size, analogous to words, sentences, paragraphs, and sections."[24] It is precisely in the chronological arrangement of these clauses that the mass movements portrayed in historical novels are made to mirror the durational experience of momentum and forward propulsion of the processional march.

As I showed earlier, in *TBSM*, Cho Chŏng-nae often employs a disembodied narrative ear to trace sound in oral transmission and in doing so, to establish the chronotrope of the southern regions of the peninsula. While in his depiction of the autumn uprisings of 1946, he evokes the metaphor of fire for word-of-mouth rumors, elsewhere the metaphor of sound echoing in an empty chamber is used to portray the rolling momentum with which rumors become mass movements. To trace the reverberation of events through the medium of *minjung* enables a written form of ecolocation, with the Korean peninsula portrayed as an enormous empty vessel into the abyss of which certain projected sounds eventually return as deeper, more amplified echoes.

Cho's "echo-chamber" method for portraying the evolution of collective action begins with a sound heard in the distance. The rumbling of rumors following the Yŏ-Sun Incident

[24] Michael Spitzer, *Metaphor and Musical Thought*, 227.

eventually escalate to action, when a single Pŏlgyo resident is murdered by the punitive right-wing militia. More than one hundred residents gather in the streets with seeming spontaneity to march in protest. In other words, what begins from a single gunshot travels through the resonating cause of rumors among the peasantry before finally erupting in the compounded effect of mass protest:

> At two in the afternoon, gunshots began to ring out from the vacant lot in front of the train station at the center of town. These were warning gunshots meant to block the people who had started marching in protest. In an instant, more people began pouring in around the front of the train station. And though the villagers were still scared by gunshots even recently, they were not frightened when that echo sounded not at night, but in broad daylight. On the contrary, the curiosity surrounding gunshots in broad daylight made the rumors flare out as quickly as fire on dry leaves. "The punitive forces killed the wrong person, and now the neighborhood is coming together to drive the punitive forces out." "What neighborhood?" "I heard its Changjwa-ri." "How could you kill an innocent person?" "I don't know either. Go to the train station to find out." "That's what I'll do. It should be an entertaining sight." (*TBSM*, 5:436–437).

Leading the protest is none other than Son Sŭng-ho, a publishing editor and graduate of Kwangju College of Education who eventually becomes head of cultural and educational activities for the partisans after they driven into the mountains. In nothing short of a miraculous act of heroism, Son Sŭng-ho and Kim Pŏm-u are able de-escalate the situation, even parlaying the demands of the peasantry into apologies from the police leaders. When describing another protest a year later, however, Cho also demonstrates that, without intellectual heroes at the front, the collective actions of the peasantry meet with violent ends.

In 1949, Kim Sa-yong, member of the landed class in nearby Naganbŏl and father of Kim Pŏm-u, promises his tenants that they will each receive a part of the land they had long worked, but only under the agreement that they refrain from telling anyone else. Yet with tenant farmers constituting ninety percent of the area's population, the news of the agreement spreads "with terrifying force," quickly transforming into "a rumor blowing in the wind, as if never having been spoken into being by anyone." Cho Chŏng-nae uses extended metaphor to describe this phenomenon, comparing Naganbŏl to "the inside of a clay pot" and the surrounding villages to people with their foreheads pushed up against it. "It was like when someone puts their head inside a clay pot and screams, and the echoes return twice as loud" (*TBSM*, 5:452). These rumors inspire the peasantry to organize another protest, this time demanding that their own landlords offer the same dispensation of land as Kim Sa-yong was rumored to have offered. Yet this time, without the intellectual class at their side, the commander of the punitive forces opens fire on the protestors.

Cho Chŏng-nae also makes clear linguistic distinctions between the peasantry and the intellectuals of *TBSM.* These distinctions merge the dialogic space of the latter into the natural landscape. As most scholars note, the peasants of Pŏlgyo converse and think in a heavy Chŏlla Province dialect while the language of educated intellectuals adheres to standard Korean. Songs and rumors without traceable origin belong to the masses as much as they belong to the natural surroundings, spreading with the wind, embedded in the earth, glittering like the summer heat. Expository passages on seasonal farming give way to recent tides of popular opinion that sweep through the changing landscape and into language of the peasantry. When sequential speech acts of the peasantry concern rumors, they are agglomerated spatially in textual blocks, with each speech act enclosed in quotation marks but unattributed. One way to understand the motivation behind this typographical rendering is through the notion of "living-body language" or "biolanguage" (*saengch'e ŏnŏ*) as posited by

Kim Pŏm-u. “Unlike the slick words and plausible theories that those who claim to be educated use to cajole, they [the peasantry] encounter everything through their body, they understand things through their body, and speak through the body [...] Rural peasants speak to society through biolanguage, they express the truth of life through biolanguage, and participate in history through biolanguage” (*TBSM*, 5:33–34).

Even on the linguistic level, the peasantry express themselves organically. When they sing folk songs, the peasantry are physically embodying multi-generational histories of class struggle to recover agricultural territory from the landed class. And by embodying those hereditary struggles, the masses in a sense become embedded in the terrain itself. Korean literature scholar We Jung Yi has convincingly argued that the binary in *TBSM* between the material language of the masses and the cerebral language of intellectuals represents one microcosm of Cho Chŏng-nae’s “dual structure of enlightenment.” Whether in the form of ideological struggles, educational efforts, or social revolution, any mass movement progressing in accordance with this dual structure of enlightenment will always subordinate the masses to the leadership of the novel’s intellectual heroes.[25]

Much like the intellectuals in *TBSM*, military and patriotic songs of the Korean War-era, the topic of the next section, exploit private sentiment for the benefit of mobilizing individuals into collective and directed action. Partisan leaders ponder “how to effectively connect the [peasantry’s] hostilities and indignation towards the government of Syngman Rhee back to our own struggle” (*TBSM*, 5:340). In the wake of the imprisonment of the tenant farmers who joined protest lines to demand landowners forfeit their plots, the partisans once more emphasize the need for “a trigger to provoke into unified action the collective feelings that had settled deep within” the prisoners; even a passing vocalization of such

[25] We Jung Yi, “Family Apart: The Aesthetic Genealogy of Korean War Memories” (PhD diss., Cornell University, 2013), 106–107.

collective feeling is understood as signifying the potential to "bind them back together on the protest lines" (*TBSM*, 6:25). If shared feeling is a puslation that drives spontaneous collectivization, then only through "ideological education and training" can the partisan leaders propel those affective intensities towards a genuine "belief in communism and the Party" (*TBSM*, 7:142). Ultimately, the novel's heroic leftist leaders thus seek to ideologically territorialize a sentimentally malleable biolinguistic soundscape whose organic rhythms of life have already been interrupted.

The Interval Between Light and Sound: Collective Songs Under KPA Occupation

Following the KPA occupation below the thirty-eighth parallel, fighter jets were everywhere, circling over the pitch black night skies of Seoul, "blinking red light, blue light, yellow light as if grasping for breath" as the bombardment continued nightly. Air raid sirens warned of their approach, the deafening high-pitched fluctuations forming rhythmic conduits to the sounds of the late colonial era. At one point, a newspaper reporter, Yi Hak-song, still in Seoul following its occupation by the KPA, witnesses one scene in which American planes bombard around twenty people on an embankment of the Han River, leaving only one young mother alive, still carrying a child on her back who is no longer breathing (*TBSM*, 6:462–465). The shattering roll of air bombardments mixed up with the screams of the dying punctuate the soundscapes of personal memory and literary narrative of the War with near ubiquity. At one point, Son Sŭng-ho likens the experience to "seeing lightning strike in silence before the sound of thunder scares you away" (*TBSM*, 7:91). Kim Pŏm-u reflects later that, "balsam flowers and supersonic planes—perhaps this contrast is the lasting image of this War" (*TBSM*, 7:105).

In the small scale guerilla operations that the partisans are used to carrying out, individuals are trained to hear their enemy prior to seeing them. Once the partisans retreat

deep into the T'aebaek mountains, it is the sound of the enemy that presages the sight of them; they listen for footsteps and unfamiliar voices and based on these auditory clues, they track the approaching threat. But the acousmaticity of modern warfare, the aural illusion created by supersonic speeds, reverses the relationship between sight and sound that the guerillas use to their advantage. With skies full of Corsair dive bombers swooping down with tearing primordial cries and screaming swarms of F-86 Sabres dropping napalm and pursuing Soviet MiG-15s at transonic speeds, those who survive come to live inside of the intervals between seeing the burst of light and hearing the blast, and that temporal gap between noiseless sight and the unseen sound generates a durational experience that is surreal precisely because it reverses the everyday laws of space and time which govern what one sees and hears and when.[26] Through the hierarchical logic of rhythm, it is possible to extrapolate the reversal of reality characterizing the brief temporal experience of bombardment to the longer three-month period during which the bombardments were heaviest in the south, that is, the ninety days of life under communist rule below the thirty-eighth parallel.

Cho Chŏng-nae was not the first literary writer to publish material on this period. In fact, even before the signing of the armistice agreement in July 1953, written accounts by novelist Yu Chin-o (1906–1987) and poet Mo Yun-suk (1910–1990) had already been anthologized in *Konan ŭi 90-il* (90-day ordeal), which was promptly translated into English and bundled with seven additional eye-witness accounts and four expert essays on communist mind control tactics under the title *The Reds Take a City* (1951).[27] Clearly these accounts are what Kim Yun-sik characterizes as "closed experiences," heavily influenced by the ideology

[26] See R. Murray Schafer, *Tuning of the World*. "When a writer writes uncounterfeitingly about directly apprehended experiences, the ears may sometimes play tricks on the brain, as Erich Maria Remarque discovered in the trenches during the First World War when he heard shells exploding about him followed by the rumble of the distant guns that fired them. This aural illusion is perfectly accountable, for as the shells were traveling at supersonic speeds they arrived in advance of the sounds of their original detonations; but someone trained in acoustics could have predicted this" (8).

[27] Yu Chin-o, Mo Yun-suk, Yi Kŏn-ho, and Ku Ch'ŏr-hoe, *Konan ŭi 90-il* (Seoul: Sudo Munhwasa, 1950); John W. Riley Jr., and Wilbur Schramm, *The Reds Take a City: The Communist Occupation of Seoul with Eyewitness Accounts* (New Brunswick, NJ: 1951).

of the nation.[28] If narrativization of this period can either reinforce the significant structures of national experience or destabilize them, one of the ways in which authors have long tried to destabilize the internal coherence of South Korean anti-communist ideology, to "open" the literary experience of living in the same place but under a different regime, is by portraying the reversal of what constitutes "national" songs under communist rule.

One of the first division literature authors who attempted to capture their childhood experience of singing songs in villages once occupied by the KPA is Yi Mun-gu. In "Noksu ch'ŏngsan" (Blue water, green hills, 1973), one of eight biographical sketches comprising the collection *Kwanch'on sup'il* (Kwanch'on essays, 1978), he recounts in the first-person, memories that begin in the liberation period and end in the waning days of the War. The subject of the story is Tae-bok, the only son of a poor family who lives next door to the narrator. Shortly after liberation in 1945, the village is transformed by the sudden arrival of hundreds of American soldiers who have come to summer at a nearby beach being developed by the USAMGIK. Tae-bok is imprisoned for stealing a cow from a neighboring village only to be freed by the KPA. Meanwhile, the arrival of the War turns Yi's household into the "scene of atrocity," as his father and two older brothers are murdered by right-wing security forces. Under KPA rule, Tae-bok comes into close contact with Sun-sim, an aristocrat's daughter who assumes the duties of teaching the children songs and slogans. Once more, Tae-bok is arrested by the KPA after attempting to rape Sun-sim, an act he claims to have perpetrated to avenge the landed class in the name of the peasantry who they've exploited for centuries. When the South Korean military recaptures the village in the winter of 1950, Tae-bok is for the third time liberated from prison. He once more changes his tune, vowing whenever he gets drunk to kill the "commies." Yet the sonic core of this short story does not

[28] See Kim Yun-sik, *Nae ka san 20-segi*, 267–273.

rest in the KPA occupation, but from the next winter, and the soundscape of "departure day."[29]

When the ROKA regains control of the town, they begin mobilizing students to the train station to chant military songs and *manse* to boost the morale of the departing conscripts. Here, Yi Mun-gu uses what I describe in Chapter Four as the "wall of noise" technique, to capture the train station's transformation into a cacophonous "mountain and sea of humanity": the bombast of freight trains hurling conscripts onto the path of war, the uproar of students chanting military songs, and the cries and screams of families parting with fathers and sons. The cacophony of departure day in Kwanch'on is a microcosm of the soundscape of an "entire county trembling with restlessness."[30]

On the day that Tae-bok is deployed, though Yi Mun-gu "stood with the rest of the school's students in an orderly formation like a cheering squad at a sporting event chanting well-regulated cries of *manse* and military songs," unlike the meaninglessness of his prior acts of collective singing, this time, the narrator sees Tae-bok off on his "long journey" using a voice that was "pure and truly mine." When bidding farewell to conscripts means saying goodbye to his closest neighbor, not only does the narrator sing differently, but he hears differently as well. On his way from the train station back to school, though the noise that has upended the town still persists, the narrator can hardly hear anything, "not even the song that the skylarks sang as they soared over me reached my ears," Yi recalls.[31] Collective singing during the War works in much the same way as the language ideology of belonging to the nation-state: one's status as a member of the nation depended upon participation in the collective singing of songs coerced by the state. In "Blue Water, Green Hills," it is ultimately the literary form of biography through which Yi is able to personalize the meaning of military

[29] Yi Mun-gu, "Noksu ch'ŏngsan," in *Kwanch'on sup'il* (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 1996), 121–173.
[30] Yi, "Noksu ch'ŏngsan," 167–168.
[31] Yi, 169, 170.

songs and their surrounding sonic memories. At its most poignant, the open experience made available by the biographical form renders all of the noise of departure into the perfect silence of a personal resolve to live.

One year after "Blue Water, Green Hills" was first printed, Yun Hŭng-gil (1942–), a fiction writer known for his skillful allegorical portrayal of the War, would published the short story "Yang [洋]" (Lamb, 1974), describing how "The Red Flag Song" transforms the adolescent first-person narrator's four-year-old younger brother Yun-bong into a celebrity under the KPA and then into a pariah under the ROKA.[32] The children of the village spend the summer of 1950 learning to sing songs taught to them by a young private of the People's Army who carries with him what he claims to be a baby tiger. Yun-bong is characterized as an "idiotic child of fair complexion" with a penchant for vocal imitation. "Whenever he finished a melody, people would spare no applause as they gazed at yesterday's idiot with admiration." Villagers would "wind his spring up" with complements in order to hear him imitate the same speeches and sing the same simple military songs over and over "like a well-made gramophone." Only the father laments these developments, woefully comparing Yun-bong's popularity to that of a circus bear: any display of talent is bound to exceed people's expectations and elicit wild applause. Sadness turns to indignation when the father comes to understand their ulterior motives. He believes the villagers are using his son as a "shield," projecting the sympathies they feel toward the KPA and the Communist Party upon his formerly idiotic son in the form of fanatical adulation.[33]

To return to the metaphor of the unreal interval between the sight and sound of a bomb, Yun Hŭng-gil's portrayal of the KPA-occupied village generates a sense that the natural rhythm of reality has been interrupted by a brief digression into a world that is both

[32] Yun Hŭng-gil. "Yang (羊)," in *Changma* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1995), 82–115.
[33] Yun, "Yang," 95–97.

surreal and automatized. The KPA private with a "baby tiger" arrives, and the public fanfare at Yun-bong's rendition of "Red Flag Song" transforms him into something akin to a "circus bear"; at the same time, the young narrator also thinks of his four-year old brother as a "gramophone" one can wind up and play. Yet by projecting their sympathies for the KPA into the adulation they shower upon Yun-bong, it becomes clear that the villagers perceive the KPA occupation as merely the silent "flash" of an explosion, the sonicboom of which looms in the distance, a deafening inevitability that will come crashing forth the moment the ROKA return. When the South Korean police do reclaim the village, communist sympathizers are imprisoned, sent to the front lines, assaulted with bicycle chains, or shot on the spot, and children learn to "stick their tongues in their pockets," to keep the "People's military songs" forever imprinted in their memory from marching out of their mouths. As the sole deterrent, "Comrade" must thus be heard contrapuntally against the silence of those seditious ear-worms.

Both Yi Mun-gu and Yun Hŭng-gil were writing during an era when the Kukka poan pŏp (National Security Act) was being used to imprison anyone the government deemed guilty of having praised, incited, or propagated those who oppose them. The adolescent protagonists and first-person narrators of both Yi and Yun function as a "shield" from this anti-communist legislation enacted in response to the Yŏ-Sun incident, itself a response to the establishment of a nation-state whose very inception inaugurated the first hot war of the global cold war. However, by the time Cho Chŏng-nae was sending manuscripts for Part Three, "Pundan kwa chŏnjaeng" (Division and war) to be serialized in *Han'guk munhak* (March–December 1988), the democratization movement of the previous summer had already affected a loosening in the implementation of anti-communist censorship. Much of the nation's focus and labor was being directed toward the 1988 Seoul Olympics (September 17–October 2, 1988) and remaining free from international censure before and during the

event. This weakening in the anti-communist regulation of culture and entertainment enabled Cho to remove the "shield" of adolescent first-person narrative point of view. Yet it is likely not, or not *merely* Cho's portrayal of children learning songs in KPA-occupied villages for which *TBSM* was identified as "the representative novel that shattered the prohibition of the 1980s."[34] In fact, Cho appears to be trying to conclusively open the literary experience of being forced to sing one's rotating allegiances to two nation-states at war with each other.

A chapter entitled, "Yangchŏk ŭl ta sirŏ hanŭn ai" (A child who hates both sides), opens with a scene of six children playing war games, the three children who play the South Korean National Defense Force are only able to "walk with deflated steps" while the three who play the North Korean Inmin Sonyŏn Tolgyŏktae (People's Boy's Shock Troops) enthusiastically sing "Kim Il-sŏng Changgun ŭi norae" (Song of General Kim Il Sung, 1946) which they had "learned from the Women's League" (*TBSM*, 7:76–77).[35] The final scene, told from the perspective of Kim Pŏm-u, portrays children "gathered beneath the guardian tree of the village" at dusk, when "the sound of singing, *Bright traces of blood on the crags of Changbaek still gleam* began to spread." He approaches a child named Son Sŏk-ku, the youngest son of a leftist monk named Pŏbil, sitting beneath a tree gazing with disdain at fighter jets lighting the sky in distant blue and red sparks, leaving a patchwork of coiling smoke across the landscape.[36] The child disdains the planes because he believes that they belong to one of the right-wing youth militias bent on murdering his father, but he also disdains the KPA youth corps because they beat his older brother every night for singing poorly during evening song review. Thus, soundscapes of the KPA-occupied village now comes into earshot: the sound of children collectively singing "The Song of General Kim Il

[34] "80-yŏndae kŭmdan ŭl kkaen taep'yo sosŏl *T'aebaek sanmaek*," *Hangyŏre,* December 28, 1989.

[35] For "Kim Il-sŏng Changgun ŭi norae" lyrics and information, see Appendix 12.

[36] Cho Chŏng-nae has stated that the monk Pŏbil was inspired by his own father's life. See Cho Chŏng-nae, "Tu kaji hwadu: Sijo siin Cho Chong-hyŏn" [Two kinds of topics: The *sijo* poet Cho Chong-hyŏn], *Taesan munhwa* (Summer 2006).

Sung" and the "chirping choirs of frogs [...] decorating the summer nights" and the ambience of explosives and jets at distances measured in the silent seconds between colored bursts of light and aircrafts overhead to the acousmatic boom (*TBSM,* 7:105–109). In the next section, I discuss how *TBSM* destabilizes the ideological content of the nation-state from its musical forms by superimposing upon the chronotope of life under KPA occupation, scenes of death under the ROKA occupation.

Revisionist Korean Popular Song History

When the ROKA retake villages in the southern territory following the recapture of Seoul on September 23, 1950, the narrator reminds readers that, in fact, large portions of the population had "thrown themselves devotedly into singing and teaching all kinds of different songs for people's liberation and revolutionary struggle," and though those songs could no longer be sung under ROKA occupation, they still play in the mind, "as lingering reverberations" (*TBSM*, 7:273). Children are ordered to sing "'Over the corpses of comrades in arms' instead of the 'Song of General Kim Il Sung,' and ordered to cry, "'Republic of Korea, *manse*!'" instead of "'People's Republic, *manse*!'." In schools, teachers reiterate the ban on singing "the songs they learned under the People's Republic," while from speakers in front of the theater, "'*Over the corpses of comrades in arms*' came pouring out all day everyday." Nonetheless, like Yu Chong-ho humming Imperial Japanese military songs after liberation, "children still hummed the songs they'd learned under the People's Republic, humming and then becoming terrified" (*TBSM*, 7:436–437). Later on, after Syngman Rhee officially recognizes Yŏm Sang-gu's right-wing militia, the Korean Youth Corps (Taehan Ch'ŏngnyŏndan), as a paramilitary organization and promotes Yŏm to the rank of commander of the newly christened "Youth Defense Corps" (Ch'ŏngnyŏn Pangwidae), Cho Chŏng-nae portrays Yŏm jubilantly whistling "Comrade" (*TBSM*, 8:144).

In the canonical version of South Korean popular song history, one struggles to detect any pattern of events from which to anticipate the circulation of "Comrade" at the end of 1950; no mention is made of the KPA's musical territorialization of the biolinguistic soundscape below the thirty-eighth parallel.[37] Knowing that the rhythms and melodies of "Red Flag Song" and "The Song of General Kim Il Sung" were still fresh in the minds of the *minjung,* it becomes all too obvious why "Comrade" had been promoted with such vigor: South Korea, still barely two years old in September 1950, needed dotted marching rhythms and battle verses more gallant and bellicose, at least than the National Anthem, to superimpose upon the "lingering reverberations" of communist anthems.[38] Such reality demands contrapuntal readings of the story of Korean War military songs told in the popular song historiographies of South Korea.

While the sounds of "Comrade" and the National Anthem would pepper the soundscapes of schoolyards, protests, and mass movements for decades to come, the sounds of others disappeared completely after the Korean War. Before U.S. bomber fighters carpet Chiri Mountain in napalm, Cho portrays the guerillas singing a number of forgotten songs, thus indexing a veritable lost canon of Korean War songs.[39] For instance, a song brought into the mountains by those who partook, or whose family members died, in the autumn uprising, "Inmin hangjaengga" (Song of the people's resistance, 1946), was written in response to the

[37] Pak Sŏng-sŏ, *Han'guk chŏnjaeng kwa taejung kayo*, 135-137; Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa 2* [Korean song history 2] (Seoul: Miji Puksŭ, 2019), 143-198.

[38] Pak Yang-ho, *Han'guk chŏnjaeng kwa si, kun'ga, ppira* (Seoul: Hwanam, 2010), 358. Here the failure to mention the bare necessity of the song's inception creates the illusion that "Comrade" was put out into the world with the purest of intentions, and as soon as it was, that it became "the favorite song of soldiers, of course, and all citizens [*on kungmin*]."

[39] Cho Chŏng-nae has stated that he based Parts 3 and 4 of *TBSM* largely upon the memories that late economist Pak Hyŏn-ch'ae (1934-1995) shared with him over the course of extensive interviews. In fact, the character of Cho Wŏn-je, a teenage partisan who appears prominently in volume 9, is based on Pak Hyŏn-ch'ae. See Hwang Ho-t'aek, "Na nŭn ch'inpukchuŭija ka anida: Sosŏl T'aebaek sanmaek, Arirang, Han'gang ŭro 1000-man pu tolp'a han chakka Cho Ch ŏng-nae" [I am not a pro-North Koreanist: Writer Cho Ch ŏng-nae who surpaseed 10,000,000 copies sold with T'aebaek mountains, Arirang, and Han river], Sin Tonga (July 2002), https://perma.cc/Y3ZL-AY2A; and Pak Hyŏn-ch'ae, "Pak Hyŏn-ch'ae Hoegorok 5: San esŏ nago, moksum kŏlgo t'alch'ul hada" [Pak Hyŏn-ch'ae Memoir no. 5: Falling behind in the mountains, risking life to escape], *K'oria p'ok'ŏsŭ,* October 25, 2005, https://perma.cc/55BB-CL46.

bloody protests by two leading progressive artists, the poet Im Hwa, who penned the lyrics, and the composer Kim Sun-nam, who set them to music (*TBSM*, 9:153).[40] At the funeral of a boy soldier radicalized by the autumn uprisings, the partisans sing "Ppalch'isan ch'udoga" (Partisan dirge), a contrafact of the Russian composition, "Stenka Razine" (1883) (*TBSM*, 9:139). [41] Though the precise origins of "Partisan Dirge" are unknown, it has been traced roughly back to the anti-colonial struggles of the Tongnipkun (Korean Independence Army) in Manchuria following the March 1st Movement of 1919.[42] In the climactic scene when Son Sŭng-ho reaches the summit of Chiri Mountain for the first time, the song that enshrines that awestruck moment of a sunset "majestic, maginficent, and stupifying," is "Yŏsu pŭrujŭ" (Yŏsu blues, 1948 or 1949), one of two songs to be written about the Yŏ-Sun Incident (*TBSM*, 9:467).[43] The second of those songs, "Yŏsu yahwa" (Tale of Yŏsu nights, 1949), would become the very first South Korean song to ever be officially banned.[44]

Like the history of sound itself, any history of songs in transit across space and time must at its core be a human story. Our very ability to treat sound as something exterior to people is, as Jonathan Sterne has written, "a trick of the language."[45] Thus the history of this lost canon of Korean War songs is also the story of the people who were drawn into the mountains by the cycles of violence that pattern mid-twentieth century Korean history. The lives of some individuals would forever be patterned by the memories of family members who fell victim to political purges. Long after rumors of their loved one's death had lost momentum, the past still propelled them forward, until they were made to coalesce with

[40] Norae sesang Wŏn, San orakhoe, and Ch'oe Sang-don, performers, "Inmin hangjaengga," track 3 of *Sa sam*, ATO Entertainment (2018). See Appendix 13.

[41] Cho Ae-ran, Ch'oe Sang-don (vocalists), "Ch'udoga," MP3 audio, track 4 on *Sa sam*.

[42] See Yi Chung-yŏn, *Sin Taehan'guk Tongnipkun ŭi paengman yongsa ya: Ilche kangjŏmgi kyŏrye ŭi noraesa* [One million warriors of the New Korea Independence army: The people's song history of the Japanese colonial era] (Seoul: Hyean, 1998), 169-171; and Pukhan yesul munhwa sajŏn, s.v. "Ppaltchisan ch'udoga [Guerrilla Dirge]," by Min Kyŏng-ch'an, https://perma.cc/83ZF-5ZVG (accessed June 16, 2024). See Appendix 14.

[43] Kang Sŏk-o, lyricist and composer. "Yŏsu pŭllujŭ" (1948). See Appendix 15.

[44] Nam In-su, vocalist, "Yŏsu yahwa," Asia Record A1003 (1949). See Appendix 16.

[45] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past*, 11.

others haunted by the same ghosts, seeking the same retribution. For the young child soldier whose father was killed during the autumn protests, that momentum carries him to an early grave. If "Song of the People's Resistance" traces back to the same event from which the nameless boy solider was first pulled into the flow of history, then "Partisan Dirge" traces back even further.

If the exilic migrations of Korean independence activists catalyzed new circuits of distribution for the National Anthem to circumvent the peninsula under Japanese colonial rule, then the momentum of the March First Movement in 1919, brought a new generation of independence fighters fleeing Korea in search of revolution. When they returned from China and Manchuria to a liberated Korea, just as Syngman Rhee was returning from exile in the United States, they brought with them "Partisan Dirge." And when they were forced out of their towns and villages of birth by the South Korean nation-state's leftist purges, so too were these songs made to scatter in whatever direction the diasporic trajectories of the individuals who sang them were made to scatter. Though the songs are thus lost in the stream of history, like the rumors that die out before reaching the critical point of provoking mass movement, their memories lingered silently in the minds of those who could not forget the death of the loved ones they encapsulate.

When the guerillas wage psychological warfare, they invoke "*konghwaguk sigan*" (republic time), a divergent temporality scored to the singing of a dissident contrafact of "Comrade." Leveraging the alluring improvisatory capacities of the dotted-rhythm marching form to infuriate the ROKA, the song reads, "Over the corpses of reactionaries, onward, onward / Sŏmjin River, keep flowing on, as for us, victory's ours / Vanquish the reactionaries, blood-stained on top of bad blood / Coming out like a flower in bloom, is the flag of the revolution" (*TBSM,* 9:77). The substitution of "Sŏmjin River" for "Naktong River" in line

two not only destabilizes the song's territorial signs of nation, rather it alters the entire significant structure of the lyrics.

If the original lyrics of "Comrade" glorify the topography of reclaiming territory occupied by the KPA, then the guerilla contrafact invokes what Cho Chŏng-nae suggests to be the time and space in which the tragedy of division truly began. Before Yu Ho and Pak Si-ch'un penned "Comrade," before to the "march north" (*pukchin*) of the ROKA and UN Forces, and before General MacArthur's Incheon Landing, the Naktong River comprised the western portion of the Pusan Perimeter, the final line demarcating the remaining ROK-occupied territory at the very southwest tip of the peninsula and the only obstacle preventing the KPA from achieving victory. The Naktong River thus emerged suddenly in the popular imagination as the spatial embodiment of one nation's desperate last stand and the other's near triumph.

During the Battle of the Naktong River Defense Line (August–September 1950), it was the ROKA's own Paik Sun Yup (Paek Sŏn-yŏp, 1920–2020) who emerged the hero, having led "the toughest action of the Naktong River line" and thus ensured "victory belonged to the ROK Army."[46] The "Comrade" contrafact which the guerillas sing in *TBSM* shifts the spatial focus eastward, from the Naktong to the Sŏmjin River whose watershed runs through the Chiri Mountain area, around Sun'chŏn, and into the ocean above Yŏsu. During the Yŏ-Sun Incident, the Sŏmjin River became one of many sites of massacre. Under the leadership of none other than Paik Sun Yup, the ROK Army employed the same guerilla suppression tactics that Paik had used three years earlier in the Manchukuo Imperial Army to hunt down Korean independence fighters, among whom none was more prominent than Kim Il Sung. Thus, the partisan contrafact of "Comrade" superimposes imprecations upon the same individual who the original lyrics glorify, a reminder of his role in the inaugural events

[46] Paik Sun Yup [Paek Sŏn-yŏp], *From Pusan to Panmunjom* (Dulles: Brassey's, 1992), 45.

of the tragedy of division. After the Chinese People's Volunteer Army (PVA) emerged victorious from the third battle for Seoul in the winter of 1951, atrocities were committed by the ROKA. In novelizing these massacres, *TBSM* demonstrates that there is no canonical, or closed experience of national songs during the Korean War, even of the most essential of all musical forms of proclaiming South Korean nationhood, the National Anthem.

The National Anthem in *Minjung* Historiography

Cho Chŏng-nae devotes an entire chapter to the massacre of 719 civilians in Kŏch'ang in February 1951. As many chapters do, "Kŏch'ang, kŭ oji ŭ nat kwa pam" (Kŏch'ang, day and night in those wilds) too begins by establishing setting through a depiction of the natural soundscape as heard by the *minjung.* Sŏk-ku and his family listen as the wind blowing through Nonsan "intensifies with the deepening of night," and the sounds of "*hwii, hwii, hwiik*—high-pitched, like some whistling [...] *ssiung*, *ssiung*, *ssingssing*—like a violently whipped clover bush switch [...] *saeiing*, *ssaeaeng*, *ssaeaeng, ssaeiing*—sharp, like a woman screaming," blend together with the "*Tŭldŭldŭldŭl, tŭgŭldŭgŭldŭgŭl, tŭldŭldŭgŭldŭgŭl, tŭldŭldŭldŭl*" sound of "iron rolling and grinding against itself" from the ROK and UN tanks retreating southward, vowing over loudspeaker along the way that, "If you assist the rebel forces in hiding or if you are secretly in league with them, I will have each and every one of you executed." (*TBSM*, 8:200–204)

The narrator then assumes the third-person omniscient, sweeping southwest to villages nestled deep in a warped basin between the Sobaek and T'aebaek mountain ranges at the northwest tip of South Kyŏngsang Province. Here, in Kŏch'ang County, where the ROKA have mobilized the 11th Division to conduct a "*kyŏnbyŏk ch'ŏngya*" (fortify walls, clear field) (*kyŏnbyŏk ch'ŏngya*) campaign, equivalent to other under the leadership of a notoriously

murderous former Japanese Imperial Army sergeant, Kim Chong-wŏn, nicknaed the "Paektu Mountain Tiger." Echoes of both past and present resonate across the campaign, with the distant echoes of the Chinese PVA's entry into the Korean War at present serving as the culmination of the terror and rumors circulating around the reality that the communists would now possess the strength to infiltrate the southern tip of the peninsula.[47] As villagers gather at nearby Sinwŏn Elementary School for supposed evacuation, the soldiers set fire to their houses. "The flames swayed this way and that, and the smell of fire from the smoke spread thickly out, and in the narrow alley, the footsteps of people running frantically entangled with the sound of children crying, and inside of the sounds of gunshots followed by screams, Chungyuri was becoming a sea of fire" (*TBSM*, 8: 212–221).

Yang Hyo-sŏk helps drive the procession of women, children, and the elderly into Sinwŏn Elementary School as "flames dance within the smoke blanketing Sangdaehyŏn and Hadaehyŏn." The women, children, and elderly residents of nearby towns now line up in the schoolyard, except for the one-hundred-some residents of Waryongni, the most distant town, who were already driven to the mouth of T'annyang Cave and machine-gunned until their bodies collapsed in piles on top of each other. The ROKA sets fire to the remains of an entire town before proceeding to Sinwŏn Elementary School. The narrator follows the sound of the gunshots echoing through the crowded classrooms now "falling into commotion [...], all jumbled up with the sound of crying and sighs." The sound of children crying rings out from every classroom as the "*k'ung k'ung*" of soldiers striking the chalkboards rings out. (*TBSM*, 8:234–235)

[47] Cho, *TBSM*, 8: 212-221. For days prior to the massacre, the residents of Sinwŏnmyŏn had been mobilized, first by the "mountain people" (guerillas), then by the police and Youth Defense Corps, not only to forfeit the rice and grain they had stored for winter, but also to transport it themselves to the feet of the two warring sides. The Youth Defense Corps went on raiding homes and raping women until the guerillas reappeared, set fire to the town office, and disappeared again.

Bonfires rage in the schoolyard. Soldiers burn desks and chairs to roast the coveted cows that the villagers have forfeited. In one classroom, a young mother is singled out by a soldier who demands that she "Sing a red [*ppalgaengi*] song!" As the other residents gaze helplessly at her flabbergasted expression, she thinks, "You can't sing and you can't not sing—they'll call you a *ppalgaengi* if you sing and a troublemaker who doesn't listen if you don't sing." The woman, trembling violently, claims she does not know how to sing, before pleading, "Even if I did learn any, I am a terrible singer…." and the soldier appears to relent. "Fine, then sing the National Anthem." In response, the woman thinks, "*my god, I survived*," and with her entire body frozen stiff by fear and the cold wind blowing through the shattered windows, she begins to sing. "*Tonghae mul kwa Paeaekdusan i*…." and the soldier proceeds to beat her until she does not have enough breath left to keep screaming. Seconds turn to minutes, minutes to hours; the village chief and station chief appear at dawn to extract the families of police and military and leave again. Yang Hyo-sŏk returns in the morning to march the villagers to Paksan Valley, where gunshots soon begin to resonate "out in layers and layers of echoes," colliding with "the many mountains and valleys upon valleys that encircled Sinwŏn-myŏn." The chapter concludes with the image of "a murder of hundreds of crows [...] gradually lowering their altitude in leisurely gyrations [...] above T'allyang Valley," surely, an ominous pre-echo of the rapacious black ribbons that would soon gyrate above Paksan Valley. (*TBSM*, 8:235–242)

This is not the only scene of massacre in *TBSM*. There is the National Defense Corps death march, the execution of accused communists in the Kungmin Podo Yŏnmaeng (Federation for Protecting and Guiding the People), all shot in the back of their heads with hands tied behind their back, ten rows, ten at a time.[48] In the Kŏch'ang Massacre scene, readers hear the National Anthem sung by a civilian imprisoned in a frigid classroom, forced

[48] For the death march, see Cho, *TBSM,* 8: 119–186; for the *Podo Yŏnmaeng* incident, see *TBSM,* 6: 430–435.

to live out their final days of life being starved and tortured by the will of the very nation to which their singing of the National Anthem should symbolize allegiance. Cho Chŏng-nae does not usually break the fourth wall in *TBSM*, but in this chapter, he reveals the well-known story of Mun Hong-han whose wife went into labor while imprisoned at Sinwŏn Elementary, and whose family a soldier subsequently allowed to live (*TBSM* 8:240). Of the 517 known citizens who were present in the classrooms of Sinwŏn Elementary School and the woods of Paksan Valley in early February 1951, only three survived.[49] If it were not for the oral testimonies of these survivors and villagers who witnessed what was happening, readers of *TBSM* would never have placed the National Anthem at the scene of the Kŏch'ang Civilian Massacre.[50]

In the final volume of the novel, Cho superimposes upon the classroom scene from 1951 a scene of a "patrotic morning assembly" during the stalemate of spring 1952. In the refugee capital of Pusan, a fanatical music teacher leads a schoolyard full of students—many of whom are hungry, homeless, and the offspring of individuals who are fighting or who fought for a united socialist Korea—singing the National Anthem. When their collective voice lacks enthusiasm, the teacher launches into a prolonged tirade about the heroic sacrifices of America to guard the nation from the "red devils," and the importance of proper posture and singing form to not only to project, but to truly *feel* what it means to be a patriot.

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[49] See *Pihwa imsi sudo ch'ŏn-il (sang)* [Secret story of the provisionary capital's one thousand days (first half)] (Pusan: Pusan Ilbosa, 1983), 267–275. Sin Hyŏn-dŏk, Mun Hong-jun, Chŏn Pang-dal survived the massacre and testify to what happened in Sinwŏn Elementary and Paksan Valley. The figure comes *Tak'yument'ŏri kŭkchang che 4-hwa: Kŏch'ang haksal sakŏn* [Documentary theater episode 4: the Kŏch'ang massacre], Nam Sŏng-u, executive producer, Pak T'ae-gyun, consultation, aired May 30, 1993, on KBS, broadcast script, 281.

[50] Chŏng Hŭi-sang, *I taero nŭn nun ŭl kamŭl su ŏpso: 6.25 chŏnhu min'ganin haksal sakŏn palgul rŭppo* [One cannot keep closing their eyes: Expose on civilian massacres before and after the Korean War], (Seoul: Tolbegae, 1990); Han In-sŏp, interviewer and compiler, *Kŏch'ang ŭl mal handa: Saengjonja, ch'ehŏmja tŭl ŭi pansegi man ŭi chŭngŏn* [Speak about Kŏch'ang: A half-century of testimonies from survivors and those who experienced it] (Seoul: Kyŏngin Munhwasa, 2007); and *Kŏch'ang yangmin haksal sakŏn charyojip*, vols. 1–2; 6–7, edited by Han In-sŏp (Seoul: Sŏul Taehakkyo Pŏphak Yŏn'guso, 2003). Oral testimony about soldiers making villagers sing comes from Pak Sil-gyu, who was ten or eleven at the time, and was pulled out of a classroom by the father of a police officer in Hamyang (quoted on Chŏng, 205).

The scene ends with the children repeating a pledge of allegiance to their new nation: "We pledge as the sons and daughters of the Republic of Korea to protect the country to the death […] We pledge to defeat the communist aggressors in steely solidarity. […] We shall fly the *t'aegŭkki* from the peak of Mt. Paektu and accomplish North-South unification." (*TBSM*, 10:245–247)

Earlier in this chapter, I extrapolated mechanisms of rhythmic expectation from the granular level of detecting patterns in time to the literary level of interpreting rhythmic patternings of narrative temporality and perspective. What kind of future actions might the survivors of the Kŏch'ang Massacre anticipate for the nation-state based on the pattern of action they witnessed the nation-state follow in the past? How might their experiences of the nation in the present have been conditioned by witnessing the ROKA's genocidal intent in the past? In the case of *TBSM*, novelization of civilian massacres of the Korean War is meant to demonstrate to readers why an experience of nation-state can be neither collective nor singular; rather, like the experiences evoked by "Comrade" or the National Anthem, it must remain profoundly and fundamentally open.

In conclusion, I return to the question of how the higher-level rhythmic increments of *TBSM* come together to attain symbolic narrative totality. At the start of volume 8, prior to returning his readers to the scenes of the ROKA and UN Forces retreating at end of 1950, Cho assumes a grandiloquent first-person narrative voice to orate an extended history of the Korean peninsula itself, from Mt. Paektu to Mt. Halla, glorifying the three thousand-*ri* of mountains and rivers that trace their origins back to pre-Anthropocene. By filtering folklore through a historical materialist lens, adding a scientific logic to myths passed down from the people who first settled the peninsula to the present, Cho's natural history aims to legitimate

the Korean people's right to continue living in native harmony with the natural surroundings. At the highest increment of the novel's allegorical rhythmic hierarchy, the passage represents the culmination of the landscape panoramas and floating omniscient points of view from which readers alight at the start of so many chapters into the more granular patterns of life and death, violence and retribution. Like the celebrations of Korea's timeless landscape found in so many patriotic anthems and anti-Japanese resistance songs, the achievement of symbolic unification or narrative totality is achieved in *TBSM* through a prelapsarian aesthetic to justify the morality of one side of fratricidal violence over the other. To associate a utopian vision of the peninsula with the righteous cause of *minjung* liberation enables the author to reframe the Korean War not as a conflict between left and right or between communism and liberal democracy, but rather, as one between the millenia-old conscientous rhythms of indigenous totality and the modern and unconscientious lock-step march toward ethnonational fragmentation. (*TBSM*, 8:9–18)

What drives these writers forward is the desire to attain harmony, to achieve balance through supplementation. In the same way that the dotted rhythm of the marching song seems to elicit both a real and metaphorical perpetual movement forward, so too must narrativization of the Korean War uncoil once simultaneous cycles of violence and contrasting points of view into a linear chain, patterning a narrative temporality that is propelled forward by the same cyclical momentum towards a totality that can be but discursively attained. In uncoiling these cycles of violence across the linear plane of narrative reality, the story of one massacre inflicted by the KPA must be balanced out with another story of retributive massacre by the ROKA. Like the momentum through which the dotted

marching rhythm drives left foot in front of right, the rhythmic pattern of narrativizing the totality of the Korean War can be defined by this endless act of supplementation.[51]

If one is to understand the novel through the literary tenets of the *minjung* movement—that is, that authors must write the voices of the "mouthless *minjung*"—then the historical epic appears to take shape from hundreds of stories about the experiences the *minjung* during the War. In this case, for true "reunification" to be achieved, for a Korean War novel to attain "narrative totality," an author would have to narrativize the "full story" of what the *minjung* endured between 1950–1953. Since 2005 the independent organization, the Chinsil Hwahae rŭl Wihan Kwagŏsa Chŏngni Wiwŏnhoe (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Korea), has taken it upon themselves, "to investigate and uncover the truth" about mass civilian killings of the Korean War. As of December 2022, 9,957 cases of mass civilian killings were submitted to the Commission, some of which remain open today.[52] The fact that many civilian massacres still remain unconfirmed today is why *TBSM*, or any polyphonous narrativization of the *minjung* history of the Korean War, may never attain narrative totality.

For survivors and families of victims of the massacre in Sinwŏn, a decade would pass before the cyclical rhythm initiated by the politicide of February 1951 would arrive at a passing cadence of retribution. A state investigation into the events in March 1951 failed; the massacre's architects, though initially put on trial in the fall of 1951, were eventually rehabilitated a year later; and legal measures were taken to prevent surviving families from retrieving the remains of loved ones until, in 1954, their petitions to access the mass grave site in Paksan Valley were approved by the local government. Though the victim's bodies

[51] For a recent and equally painstaking effort to assemble individual anecdotes of the Korean War into a complete historical narrative of the War's totality, see Charles J. Hanley, *Ghost Flames: Life & Death in a Hidden War, Korea 1950—1953* (New York, NY: PublicAffairs, 2020).

[52] "Accomplishments from the past two years of investigation: Investigation commenced on 12,403 cases," *Truth and Reconciliation* 10 (Summer 2023): 2, https://perma.cc/FU4E-ERSB.

were too charred to be identifiable, having been doused with gasoline and set on fire shortly after the killings, bereaved families sorted through the scattered bones, using skull size to determine the age and gender of victims, and erected a small memorial stone to commemorate them. Six years later, in February–April 1960, student-led protests erupted nationwide in opposition to the elections of Syngman Rhee and his Liberal Party candidates who sought to extend their terms in office through violent suppression of political opposition and blatant election violations; and the months following Rhee's resignation on April 25, surviving families from throughout the southern region of South Korea came forward collectively as P'ihaksal Yujokhoe (Bereaved Family Associations) to demand investigations into and restitutions for what now was revealing itself to be not merely a few isolated incidents that spread only by word-of-mouth as rumors in the wind, but a systematic and widespread act of politicide.[53]

Yet surprisingly precipitating this nationwide movement to redress the civilian massacres of the Korean War was a small memorial event in Paksan Valley held on the evening of May 11, 1960 by around seventy surviving family members of the Sinwŏn massacres. The long pent-up momentum of retributive rage soon unfurled into the marching steps of attendees from the memorial site to the residence of village chief Pak Yŏng-bo, who nine years earlier, had assisted the police and the ROKA in carrying out the massacre. The cycle of violence reached its brutal completion when the crowd dragged Pak into the street, beat him, stoned him to death, and set his body ablaze atop a pile of debris, not unlike what had been done to the bodies of victims during the Kŏch'ang Massacre.[54]

[53] For more on the April 19th Movement, see Charles R. Kim, *Youth for Nation: Culture and Protest in Cold War South Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2017), 137–175.

[54] Brendan Wright, "Civil War, Politicide, and the Politics of Memory in South Korea, 1948-1961" (PhD diss., The University of British Columbia, 2016), 184–190. 201–215, 252. As Wright has noted, rather than condemning Pak's murderers, early journalistic accounts of the retrubutive murder were more interested in "the public airing of the voices of the victims—long silenced by a culture of fear, surveillance, and indifference" (208).

Whatever momentum had built toward a culture of redress in 1960 was quickly frozen out after May 16, 1961, when Park Chung Hee successfully led a coup d'état that would usher in the Third Republic of Korea. With its Imperial Japanese-inspired militarism and uncompromisingly anti-communist developmentalist drive, the Park Chung Hee regime extended its iron grip to the realm of public memory, suppressing Bereaved Family Associations, detaining seventeen participants in the retributive murder of Pak using the National Security Law, and destroying the cemetery and memorial stone they had constructed in Paksan Valley. Though Park would repeatedly call on the masses to forget the bitter past and devote themselves entirely to the future of the nation-state, as I examine in the next chapter, the potent union of new sound technologies brought the unexpected revival of a colonial-era popular song genre that would continue to reanimate tragic fragments of the past from beneath their state repression.

CHAPTER THREE

TROT AND NARRATIVES OF RURAL HOMECOMING

On August 12, 1963, readers of the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* would have stumbled upon "What is Behind the Landscape" (P'unggyŏng twi e innŭn kŏt), the first vignette of what would become the best-selling essay collection *Hŭk sok chŏ param sok e* (In the soil, in that wind, 1963, hereinafter, *In the Soil*). Upon completion of its daily serial run on October 24, 1963, the fifty-one vignettes that comprise *In the Soil* would be republished as a collection that, to date, has sold more than 2,500,000 copies, with nineteen printings between 1963–1967 alone. In this opening scene, the author, literary critic Yi Ŏ-ryŏng transports readers into the passenger seat of a light utility vehicle, veering off from the national highway into a landscape of waning thatch roofs, stone walls and broken stone tablets, fields of barley and abandoned graves–quintessential images of hometown, where the secret soul of the ethnonation could be found. To unearth that furtive self-meaning, a penetrating gaze would not be enough: Yi asks readers to turn an active *ear* upon the scene: "You cannot truly understand the weak-colored landscape stretching out there [...] without listening to the songs and idle chatter of the village women."[1] On the precipice between postwar poverty and rapid economic development, Yi Ŏ-ryŏng implores readers to reconceptualize their present-day selves as the inheritors of both a centuries-old "culture of the ear" and a unique "propensity for music."

During an era often referred to as "*radio ŭi hwanggŭmgi*" (the golden age of radio), it is no coincidence that the vocal textures, reproduction technologies, lyrical rhetoric, and tonalities of popular songs obtained new clarity in the writing of many prominent literary and

[1] Yi Ŏ-ryŏng, *Hŭk sok chŏ param sok e: Chŭngbo, kŭ hu 40-yŏn* (Seoul: Munhak Sasangsa, 2002), 278; Lee O-Young, *In this Earth, in that Wind*, translated by David I. Steinberg, (Seoul: Hollym Corporation Publishers, 1967), vii. All quotations from the collection which I include in this chapter are my own translations.

intellectual figures.[2] While scholars have written about literature's resistance to the propagandic soundscape and the rediscovery of ethnonational essence within traditional musical-literary forms, few have paid close attention to the importance of popular music to the literary and historiographic work inspired by this era of sonic transformation and cold war realignment.[3] And no genre was more controversial or ubiquitous than Korea's oldest commercial song form, known today as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (*trot*).

In this chapter I trace a history of listening to trot from 1963 to 1973 through a survey of essays, short stories, novels, and historical writing on the period but composed between 1963 and 1989. I explore how the voices, lyrical rhetoric, and even the material diasporas of trot have inspired writers, critics, musicians, and historians alike to negotiate perceived dissonances between authentic voices and their schizophonic reproductions, between the rural peripheries and the urban center, between broadcast sounds from either side of the DMZ, and between the musical cultures that developed organically out of Korea's long suffering history and those transplanted from its cold war allies America and Japan. I argue that the meanings ascribed to trot through these negotiations are not only manifestations of personal memory or interior experience, but fundamentally shaped both by the changing social organization of

[2] Ch'oe In-hun, *Ch'ongdok ŭi sori*, v. 9 of *Ch'oe In-hun chŏnjip* (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 1991); Kim Su-yŏng, "Kŭmsŏng radio" and "Radio kye" [Radio world] in *Kim Su-yŏng chŏnjip* [Kim Su-yŏng complete anthology] (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1981), 1:265, 285–286; Kim Hyŏn, "Han'guk munhak ŭi yangsikhwa e taehan koch'al–chonggyo wa ŭi kwallyŏn arae," *Ch'angjjak kwa pip'yŏng* 2, no. 2 (1967): 249–261; Pak Chong-hong, "Pondanŭn kŏt kwa tŭnnŭndanŭn kŏt," in *Chisŏng kwa mosaek* (Seoul: Pagyŏngsa, 1967), 22–30.

[3] Theodore Hughes, *Literature and Film in Cold War South Korea: Freedom's Frontier* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 175–182; Im T'ae-hun, "Kukka ŭi saundŭsŭk'eip'ŭ wa pulgŭn soŭm ŭi sangsangnyŏk: 1960-yŏndae sori ŭi yŏn'gu rŭl wihayŏ (1)," *Taejung sŏsa yŏn'gu*, no. 25 (2011): 283-310; Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta: Pak Chŏng-hŭi sidae ŭi munhwa chŏngch'i wa chisŏng* (Seoul: Ch'ŏnnyŏn ŭi Sangsang, 2012). Theordore Hughes reads the act of transcription in Ch'oe In-hun's *Voice of the Governor-General* as simultaneously linking sound reproduction technology to imperial desire and, by "giving the disembodied broad cast material form," attempting to "shore up an agency for literature itself as emancipatory medium" (182). Im T'ae-hun conducts a cultural-historical reading of Kim Su-yŏng, Ch'oe In-hun, and Sin Tong-yŏp, arguing that their writing resists the amp villages, anti-communist propaganda broadcasts, and curfew sirens of the national soundscape. Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan give a comparative overview of the dominant discourse of cultural ethnonationalism in the 1960s across divergent writings on Korean essence. They argue that the force gathered by cultural ethnonationalism in intellectual circles and national policy alike must be understood in proportion to the widespread poverty left by a decade of reliance on American aid and the collective state of disorder that followed the popular uprising of April 19, 1960 and the military coup d'état of May 16, 1961 (294–328).

sound reproduction and by the shifting politics and geopolitical realignments of the cold war. Moreover, by foregrounding the cultural histories, compositional forms, and lyrical rhetoric of the songs that fiction writers have reorchestrated in their narratives, I aim to demonstrate how authors have used trot songs to enable their readers to experience characters in their full-fledged humanity and to feel the dense layers of life and loss that have sedimented within the songs.

Between Phonography and Ethnography: Defining Narratives of Rural Homecoming

To trace the written vocalization of trot reveals both separations of songs from their sources and desires to restore sounds to their sources: the severing of sonic materiality from the phonosonic voice and the urge to restore those qualities to discrete categories of temporal, spatial, and demographic belonging; transcriptions which severe lyrics from their recorded context and the surrogate musical rearrangements of personal narrative that re-signify them; the evocation of an original by its latter-day renditions and the distortions which those latter-day imitations cause to the original's memory.[4] Extending the critical discussion of sound's transhistorical imagination into the realm of literature, the writings around which this chapter revolve can themselves be understood as phonographic technologies: just as the "source" of a written sound requires a readerly imagination within which to resonate, so too is the transcription and narrative reorchestration of sound contingent upon the shifting "social relations between people, machines, practices, and sounds."[5]

[4] Jonathan Sterne, *The Audible Past: Cultural Origins of Sound Reproduction* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2003). Tracing the history of sound reproduction in Europe and America back to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Jonathan Sterne has cogently argued that, in the same way that transhistorical imaginations of sound as a discrete object opposes the contingency of sound upon human bodies to resonate, so too does the notion that sound reproduction severs sounds from their sources deny the fact that "the source was as bound up in the social relations of reproducibility as any copy was" (219, 214–222).

[5] Victoria Malawey, *A Blaze of Light in Every Word: Analyzing the Popular Singing Voice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020). Malawey writes, "Acoustmaticity impacts our understanding of subjectivity and identity formation of the persons whose voices we hear in popular music recordings" (16).

In the Soil can be thought of as an experiment in phono-ethnographic writing, or efforts to represent one's imagined national community through a phonographic sensitivity to the textures of the ethnonational soundscape. In a study of the influence of sound recording technology on literature of the twentieth century, Jessica Teague has posited that literary representations of sound can be interpreted as efforts to divorce sonic materiality from its conventional language of description, "to make one's native language sound foreign."[6] The very title separates the landscape from its dominant naming conventions—a stylized vernacularization of the Classical Chinese ideograms "*p'ung* [風]" (wind) and "*t'o* [土]" (earth) which, together form the disyllabic word "*p'ungt'o* [風土]" (landscape). The defamiliarization performed by Yi thus depends upon a dual mediation: first, the "objective" point of view that Yi calls "*chip'ŭch'a sijŏm*" (jeep viewpoint), derived from the transliterated American English "*ch'ip'ŭ*" (jeep); second, an authentically Korean landscape derived through vernacularization of Classical Chinese (from *p'ung* and *t'o* to *param* and *hŭk*). The essayist thus establishes a phonographic gaze both capable of recording the "cultural landscape of Korea with the objective and rational eyes of a Western other" and a first-person ethnographic voice capable of expressing, in vernacular terms, the furtive connection between that landscape and its people.[7]

To be sure, music, voices, and aurality are the crucial referents of Yi's ethnographic project, appearing in fifteen of the fifty one vignettes.[8] By ascribing to the view that Korea has historically possessed a collective "propensity for music" and a "culture of the ear," Yi

[6] Jessica Teague, *Sound Recording Technology and American Literature* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2021), 4.

[7] See Yi Ŏ-ryŏng, "*Hŭk sok e* kŭ hu 40-yŏn: Q&A" [*In the soil* 40 years later: Q&A], in *Hŭk sok e*, 278–285.

[8] Yi, *Hŭk sok e*. Yi uses the sounds and lyrics popular songs and *minyo* as evidence of the emotional and cultural continuity to the oppression of the past in thirteen essays (Yi, 15, 18–19, 42–43, 58, 81–83, 102, 125, 162–164, 167, 170, 179–180, 185-187, 222–223). Meanwhile the aural and musical cultures of Korea account for the main topics of three essays (Yi, 61–63, 151–155, and 247–251).

establishes a duality between Korea as traditional, natural, passive, and subjective, and aural and the more advanced nations of the free world as scientific, objective, and intellectual, and visual. This rendition of the audio-visual litany aligns neatly to the binary of backwards-advanced nationhood which served as the logic undergirding the project of rapid economic development. At the same time, Yi conducts microscopic dissections of everyday life in the countryside through the tragic lens of Korean history in order to highlight the residual traces of the suffering past that the military junta would rather excise from its project of fatherland modernization altogether.

In the Soil provided a template from which narratives of returning to one's rural hometown would come to constitute a distinct subgenre, one that writers continued to employ well after the 1960s.[9] Certainly, precedence for these stories of rural homecoming can be found in writings from the colonial era, including Yi Ki-yŏng's *Kohyang* (Hometown, 1933–1934), Yi Sang's "Sanch'on yŏjŏng" (Lingering Impressions of a Mountain Village, 1935), and Yi Kwang-su's *Hŭk* (Soil, 1932–1933). Yet with the inclusion of non-fiction terminologies in the titles of works of fiction such as "*kihaeng"* (travelogue) and "*sup'il*" (essay) and self-identified first-person narrators who negotiate deeply personal and traumatic memories of decades prior, the rural homecoming narratives of the Developmentalist Decade distinguished themselves by intentional allowance of slippage between reality and fiction and objective record and subjective recollection. Another defining feature of these creative writings were discursive practices that anchor lyrical transcriptions and objectifying descriptions of the local soundscape to the authority of an author's personal narrative. Mary Louise Pratt calls this the trope of "narrative first, description second." Particularly in scenes

[9] Novels published after democratization in 1987 that can be defined simiilarly as narratives of return to the rural hometown include Kim Hyŏng-su, *Na ŭi t'ŭrot'ŭ sidae* (Seoul: Silch'ŏn Munhaksa, 1997); and Ku Hyo-sŏ, *Radio radio* (Seoul: Haenaem, 2006). While Kim Hyŏng-su explicitly cites Yi Mun-gu as his inspiration, Ku Hyo-sŏ's "return" is more of a figurative return, as in the author narrates the story of *Radio Radio* from the perspective of his childhood self and sets the story in the time of his childhood in the late 1960s and the space of his home on Kanghwado.

of arrival, or opening narratives, the writer establishes themselves as mediator between readers and native referents, utilizing symbolically and ideologically rich expressions of sensuous experience "as a prelude to, and commentary on, what follows."[10] As I will return to in my reading of Yi Mun-gu, the narrative-description duality offers a useful framework for textual analysis of how narrative "preludes" mediate the reader's imaginary audition of transcribed lyrics.

During the 1960s daily encounters with voices separated from their sources saw great increase and diversification across the mediated soundscapes around which the government attempted to consolidate and centralize the ears of the nation. And not unlike the newness which Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's jeep viewpoint lent to the past, so too did radios, speakers, and performance stages also contribute to the rebirth of Korea's oldest popular music genre, *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (trot). As I explore here, the acousmatic voices of trot songs did not merely resonate in technologies of sound reproduction. Rather, like Yi's use of jeep viewpoint to separate the first-person narrative voice from its native referents, writers in the 1960s and early 1970s frequently performed their own phonographic transductions of singing voices into written forms inspired in equal parts by the increasing presence of acousmatic sound and discourses about the "self-reliance" of the ethnonation amidst the project of rapid economic development.

Vocalizing the Trot Voice: "Origins of the Husky Voice" (1963) and "Mujin Travelogue" (1964)

Originally known by a more encompassing term, *yuhaengga* (popular song, or *ryūkōka* in Japanese), the genre known today as *t'ŭrot'ŭ* (or *t'ŭrot*) traces its origins back to Korea's first commercialized forms of music which developed within the distribution and

[10] Mary Louise Pratt, "Fieldwork in Common Places," in James Clifford, and George E. Marcus, eds., *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 1986), 32, 35, 42.

production networks of Imperial Japan. Trot can be categorized as a hybridization of modern and traditional instrumentations and recording technologies of the West; pentatonic tonality, vocal techniques, and rhythmic patterns found in regional variation throughout both Korea and East Asia more broadly; melodramatic rhetoric of, for instance, repressed emotion, tragic loss of home, and longing for absent loved ones; and an emphasis on *hyangt'osŏng* (indigenous locality). Perhaps the most prominent stylistic markers of trot is the traditional singing voice.

The traditional singing voice has been framed by an aesthetic discourse in which sadness and emotional pain are linked to embodied vocal techniques. The most commonly identified techniques are "*kkŏkki*" (vibrato, literally "bending" or "breaking") and "*kallajim*" (raspiness or huskiness). *Kkŏkki* entails the rapid alternating between two pitches spanning anywhere from a slight semitone wobble to a steep oscillation between chest voice and falsetto. *Kallajim* is produced by tensing or placing stress on the vocal cords to produce a texture perceived as rough or raspy. As the oldest commercial song form in Korea, trot bears the remnants of past centuries, when *kkŏkki* and *kallajim* could be heard in the voices of *p'ansori* singers and farmers singing in the field.[11] From 1961–1964 writers and intellectuals experimented with comparison and hybridization of traditional and modern singing voices in ways that mirrored the binary rhetoric of past sickness and future prosperity through which the government of Park Chung Hee, who seized power through a military coup d'état on May 16, 1961, promoted an integrated sonic infrastructure as part of the larger project of wholesome modernization.[12] Defined by the dispositional pillars of frugality, hard work, and

[11] Harkness, *Songs of Seoul*. Harkness argues convincingly that the "*sŏngak* voice as a voice of praise, a voice of the present, is organized around, exists through, and is perceived and evaluated in terms of its differentiation from the voices of the past–of the *suffering* past" (33).

[12] Popular culture industries also changed dramatically after the May 16th coup: the early 1960s saw the growth of distribution and increased centralization, notably in the launch of national radio and television broadcasts (Munhwa Pangsong 1961, Tonga Pangsong 1963, Tongyang Pangsong 1964); the changeover from

self-sacrifice, wholesome modernization was viewed by many as the path to overcoming the postwar crisis and achieving *minjokjŏk chuch'esŏng* (ethnonational self-reliance).[13] And in 1963, that project had reached its point of lift-off.

Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's essay "Hŏsŭk'i poisŭ ŭi yurae" (Origins of the husky voice) explores the historical roots of the traditional singing voice, an analog of which was heard in the voices of Patti Page, Nat King Cole, and Louis Armstrong, all of whom had performed in South Korea only months before the essay's publication, and whose voices were deemed "husky."[14] In their tours of US military installations across the Pacific archipelago, these cultural icons lent the husky voice added prestige.[15] Identified strongly with jazz, the husky voice thus became the phonosonic nexus of both the "universal language" of freedom and America's "heroic Cold War struggle for democracy."[16] Yet Yi hears in the husky voice a Korean predecessor: "Both men and women must master strange [*kimyohan*] realm of the murky yet rough [*t'akhagodo kŏch'ilgo*] and shadow-like [*kŭnŭl chin kŏt kat'ŭn*] husky voice." He asserts that Koreans have historically preferred vocal textures that were "rough and irregular, [...] more like hemp than like silk," and that they possess an innate ability to "taste tenderness within the hemp-like tactile sensation of [the husky voice's] bristliness." Yi also

10-inch EPs (1956) to 12-inch LPs (1962); and the establishment of the Korean Celebrity Artists Association (Han'guk Yŏnye Hyŏphoe, 1962).

[13] For more on the historical context of wholesome modernization see Charles R. Kim, *Youth for Nation,* 41–53, 178–188. Charles R. Kim defines wholesome modernization as "ideals, dispositions, and practices that formed the basis of aspirational scripts of personal development woven into an aspirational narrative of national development" (41).

[14] For articles from 1963 that reference the husky voice, see "Chŏngyŏl ŭi 'chajŭ' wang 'Amsŭt'ŭrong'" [Passionate "jazz" king "Armstrong"], *Chosŏn ilbo*, April 14, 1963; "Naep'ŏt'ŏri kyŏlchŏng 'Naet K'ing K'ol' irhaeng pang-Han kongyŏn" [Set list decided for concert in Korea by 'Nat King Cole' and company], *Tonga ilbo*, February 18, 1963; "3-wŏl ch'o e nae-Han Mi-kasu Naet K'ing K'ol irhaeng 13-myŏng kwa hamkke" [Nat King Cole to perform in Korea with thirteen-person band in early March], *Tonga ilbo*, February 8, 1963; cP'aet'i P'eiji nae-Han" [Patti Page, the queen of waltz, in Korea], *Chosŏn ilbo*, May 3, 1963.

[15] Famous husky voiced singers to emerge in this era included Patti Kim, Yi Kŭm-hŭi, and Hyŏn-mi, all of whom began their careers in the US military entertainment industry. For examples of the husky voice, see Han Myŏng-suk, vocalist, "Nooran syassŭ ŭi sanai," MP3 audio, track 5 of *T'op kasu orijinŏl hitt'ŭ kok chŏnjip*, Jigu Records, 1987, https://youtu.be/eGyrYR54vlo; and Ok Kŭm-ok, vocalist, "Namjang ŭi yŏin," MP3 audio, track 6, side B of *Kŭdae wa t'uwisŭt'ŭ rŭl / muŏksŏn ŭn ttŏnanda*, Asia Records AL113, 1967. https://youtu.be/xvTFJ4fE51c. For full citations of all songs, see Discography.

[16] Penny Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World: Jazz Ambassadors Play the Cold War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 10.

draws parallels between the roughness of the husky voice and the "sense of rupture, of suppression and breaking apart of resonance" heard in traditional Korean instruments *kayagŭm* and *kŏmun'go*, and contrasts that bluntness with the resonance of Western instruments from which each sequential note is linked by the lingering echoes of the one before. These characteristics, Yi hears as part of the whole of traditional Korean culture, where musicality developed organically rather than according to scientific or mathematical principles of musical notation and emotion-based genre categorization. Korean music thus achieves what Yi asserts has always been absent from Western music: simultaneous embodiment of contradictory emotions of sorrow and high-spiritedness.[17] As I discuss later on, the trot union of joy and sadness materialized from more historically concrete circumstances than traditional Korean culture's propounded lack of scientificity.

Thus Yi constructs three discursive linkages between traditional music and the historical essences of the Korean experience. First, Yi implies that the hemp-like roughness of the traditional husky voice is the embodiment and manifestation of the roughness characterizing the Korean peninsula's historical suffering: an ancestral life roughened by suffering created a homologous cultural preference and propensity for a broken singing voice. Second, suppressed resonance connects to the oppression of commoners by the ruling class during the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1910), implying that traditional voices and instruments can transmute histories of political suppression into homologous audible textures. Finally, the tenderness hidden within the rough husky voice connects to the survival of some form of aesthetic beauty amongst the common people, despite the suppression of cultural and artistic production, and the secret nature of the beauty implies that it can only be truly appreciated and replicated by those who have survived the tragedies of modern Korea.[18] In these ways Yi

[17] Yi, *Hŭk sok e*, 247–251.
[18] Yi, 251.

Ŏ-ryŏng identifies the Korean ethnic nation's history of suffering with the textural qualities he perceives in the husky voice.

Subsequent literary voicings would experiment with combining homologous and imaginary identifications.[19] Perhaps the most celebrated instance of hybridization comes in Kim Sŭng-ok's "Mujin kihaeng" (Record of a journey to Mujin, 1964).[20] Here the classically trained soprano Ha In-suk performs the colonial-era hit "Mokp'o ŭi nunmul" (Tears of Mokp'o, 1938) by Yi Nan-yŏng (1916–1965) for the snobbish villagers of the fog-covered town of Mujin.[21] The second verse of "Tears of Mokp'o" demonstrates how trot lyrics fortify temporal and spatial connections to the past.

> Beneath Nojŏk Peak harboring three centuries of *han*
> The trace of my love is clear, my heartrending chastity
> Even Yudal Mountain's winds cradle Yŏngsan River
> To long to tears for my love, the song of Mokp'o

The first lines of trot verses function analogously to the trains, buses, and jeeps which serve as the threshold between modernity and rural landscapes buried in "years of oblivion." They are the platforms on which listeners alight from the mechanically reproduced sounds of instrumental accompaniment and descend into the shadows of the traditional voice, projecting

[19] Georgina Born, "Music and the Representation/Articulation of Sociocultural Identities" and "Techniques of the Musical Imaginary," in *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*, ed. Georgina Born and David Hesmondhalgh (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2000), 32; David Brackett, *Categorizing Sound*. Drawing upon Georgina Born's discussion of the musical articulation of sociocultural identities, David Brackett defines "homologous identifications"' as mappings of nostalgic relations onto the "collective identities or mutual antagonisms of pre-existing sociocultural groups, groups defined by shared cultural systems quite distinct from music"; and "imaginary identifications" as the prefiguring of "an emergent, and potentially homologous, social grouping" (Brackett, 20). Through homologous identification, the aesthetics of pain of the traditional singing voice are linked with rural villages still plagued by the sickness of underdevelopment and the scars of historical suffering. Through imaginary identification, the aesthetics of progress embodied by the modern *sŏngak* voice are linked with a healthy, advanced ethnonation.

[20] Kim Sŭng-ok, "Mujin kihaeng (霧津紀行)," in *Kim Sŭng-ok sosŏl chŏnjip* (Paju: Munhak Tongne, 2005), 1:158–194.

[21] Yi Nan-yŏng, "Mokp'o ŭi nunmul," SP, side A of Okeh 1795 (1938). For lyrics and full re-release information, see Appendix 17 and Discography.

a deeper and more continuous sense of time and space.[22] "Tears of Mokp'o" is a song in which Yi Ŏ-ryŏng would hear the essentially Korean expression of "*kwagŏhyŏng*" (past tense) love, and "*puje ŭi yŏnjŏng*" (an attachment to absence).[23] Certainly the duple meter and *yonanuki* scale were characteristic of *yuhaengga* throughout the expanding Japanese Empire of the late 1930s and early 1940s. Yet Yi would argue that the emotions of *han* (pent-up resentment), based on centuries of suffering and love in the past tense, make it uniquely Korean.

The aesthetic discourse that frames sorrow and resentment as the essence expressed by Korean art did not originate in the writing of Yi Ŏ-ryŏng. Rather, it gained cultural currency after Japanese art critic Yanagi Sōetsu (1889–1961) articulated his theory of the "*hiai no bi*" (beauty of sorrow) in the influential essay, "Chōsen no bijutsu" (Korean art, 1922).[24] Drawing upon the bird's-eye view from which Yanagi theorized Korean aesthetics unquestionably lent Yi's writing the ethnographic present he needed to defamiliarize scenes of traditions and customs that had long been ingrained in the lifeways of his readers. For Kim Sŭng-ok, it is the aesthetics of progress embodied by the classical singing voice that facilitates defamiliarization of "Tears of Mokp'o." Narrative audition of the song becomes a means for the author to experiment with languages of imaginary identification.

In "Record of a Journey to Mujin," Ha In-suk is a classically trained soprano who, after having performed the aria "One fine day we'll see" ("Un bel dì vedremo") from

[22] Clark Sorenson, "'Mokp'o's Tears': Marginality and Historical Consciousness in Contemporary South Korea," in Clark W. Sorenson, and Andrea Gevurtz Arai, eds, *Spaces of Possibility: In, Between, and Beyond Korea and Japan* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2016), 147–156. Sorenson outlines how the temporal and geographic markers of "Tears of Mokp'o" range from resentful memories of the Great East Asian War (1592–1598), the three-centuries old traces of which can be seen clearly beneath Nojŏk Peak, to Yudal Mountain, at the foot of which the Japanese concession was established in 1897, to the city of Mokp'o itself, a port of departure for raw agricultural goods exported to Japan and Korean peasants departing for resettlement in Manchuria (147).

[23] See Yi, "Sarang e taehayŏ" [On love], in *Hŭk sok e*, 156–160.

[24] For detailed overview and annotated translation of Yanagi's influential text, see Penny Bailey, "The Aestheticization of Korean Suffering in the Colonial Period: A Translation of Yanagi Sōetsu's *Chōsen no Bijutsu*," *Monumenta Nipponica* 73, no. 1 (2018): 27–85.

Madame Butterfly at her college graduation ceremony, finds herself dispatched from the capital to the seaside hinterlands to teach music at a local middle school. At a small gathering one evening, four male Mujin natives coerce Ha In-suk into singing "Tears of Mokp'o," perceiving the performance as a means for Ha to apologize for the immodesty of her all too frequent references to the aria she sang upon graduating from college. Amongst the audience for Ha's rendition of "Tears of Mokp'o" is narrator Yun Hŭi-jung, another college graduate who has returned to Mujin for a brief visit from Seoul after having grown up and gone into hiding there to avoid conscription during the War and eventually graduating from the middle school where Ha now teaches music. "What would make a popular song come out of vocal chords trained to sing arias?" Yun ponders. Perhaps as Yi Ŏ-ryŏng theorized, it is the pleasure that the group derives from making an individual sing, rather than the song itself, that coerces popular songs from out of a classically trained voice. Or perhaps the "mysterious songs [that] still pour from every corner of Korean society" are sung according to some "pre-language allusions" made "half voluntarily and half by another's will [*cha ŭi pan t'a ŭi pan*]," between strangers hesitantly exchanging affections, "like people who meet on a cloudy day or in the mist and haze."[25]

Whatever the case may be, Yun Hŭi-jung finds Ha In-suk's rendition of "Tears of Mokp'o" to be conspicuously absent the textures and homologous feelings traditionally ascribed to trot, namely "*kkŏkkim*" (vibrato) and "*kallajim*" (huskiness), and the "*ch'ŏngsŭng majŭm*" (wretchedness) that comes along with them. To the ears of Yun Hŭi-jung, the song "had already ceased being a popular song," and yet, it sounded "unlike any aria from *Madame Butterfly*." He concludes that Ha In-suk has in fact invented a "new style that had never existed before," one that can only be characterized through its figurative evocations: "a different, crueler wretchedness," "a screaming [*chŏlgyu*] octaves higher than the screaming of

[25] Yi, *Hŭk sok e*, 154–155.

'One fine day we'll see'," "a sardonic smile of a crazy loose-haired woman," and "more than anything, the smell of Mujin, a smell like rotting corpses." In an attempt to make sense of the whirlpool of sounds, images, and scents evoked by this contradictory vocal union between the binary aesthetics of suffering and progress, Yun muses half facetiously to an equally dismayed friend that Ha In-suk's performance violated the conventional spatial separation of musical genre performance, the rule that "there's a place to sing classical, and a place to sing trot [*yuhaengga*]."[26]

To describe the hybrid aesthetic his narrator hears, Kim Sŭng-ok brings together the parallel binaries embodied simultaneously by Ha In-suk in her rendition of "Tears of Mokp'o": space (city vs. countryside) and vocal aesthetic (classic vs. traditional). In doing so, the author invokes extreme sensations and excessive emotions to parallel the performance's transgression of the conventional spatial identification of vocal genres. Kim Sŭng-ok thus portrays his narrator struggling to invent new metaphors to vocalize the singing aesthetic that is being newly invented on the spot by Ha In-suk. Such passages exemplify why, in 1966, poetry critic Yu Chong-ho identified Kim Sŭng-ok's literary style as a "*kamsusŏng ŭi hyŏngmyŏng*" (revolution in sensitivity).[27] Upon publication of "Record of a Journey to Mujin," Yu raved of this young genius that readers should be "reassured of the new possibilities and vitality of our mother tongue." Years later, creative writing major and future bestselling novelist Shin Kyung-sook (1963–) would realize what literature truly meant to her while transcribing Kim's "Tears of Mokp'o" passage. Her epiphany was that literature does not exist to separate the plebeian and delinquent from the dignified and pure, but rather, it exists to make readers sense the splendid and the phosphorescent even *within* the plebeian

[26] Kim, "Mujin," 173–174.

[27] Yu Chong-ho, "Kamsusŏng ŭi hyŏngmyŏng," reprinted in *Pisunsu ŭi sŏnŏn* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1995), 424–430.

and delinquent.[28] Such revelations ring out with striking resemblance to Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's theories of culture from 1963, that hidden within the rough and wobbly singing voices of Korea is something beautiful.

In many ways, Sin's epiphany speaks to the artistic revolution of the "*Han'gŭl* generation" to which Kim Sŭng-ok belonged, the first generation to receive a formal education entirely in the vernacular Korean language. If the musicians discussed in the previous chapter were generationally linked by the shared trauma of surviving two consecutive wars at the prime of their youth (Second-Sino Japanese War, 1937–1945; Korean War, 1950–1953), then the *Han'gŭl* generation found a collective identity in collective experiences of revolution, reversal, and repression. In the name of liberal democracy and ethnonational self-reliance, the *Han'gŭl* generation took to the streets during the April 19th Revolution of 1960 in which student protests led to the resignation of President Syngman Rhee, and again four years later when the Korea-Japan Bilateral Talks of 1964–1965 ignited mass outpourings of righteous indignation against the normalization of diplomatic relations with the former colonizer. Though highly educated, the *Han'gŭl* generation were not spared from conditions of abject poverty, as the Korean War had more or less eliminated socioeconomic class stratification. And while the Park Chung Hee regime succeeded in raising the annual average GNP growth to double-digits between 1962 and 1964, South Korea's Development Decade did not begin in earnest until 1965. In the politics of development marking South Korea's mid-decade, Meredith Jung-En Woo asserts that "the most immediate perquisite of power was to sublimate the pent-up energy of a highly literate populace before it erupted again in political turmoil: hence, a high-pitched economic development."[29] Thus, the "revolution in sensitivity" is another way to discuss the perpetual

[28] Sin Kyŏng-suk, "Sŭmu sal e mannan pit," in *Kim Sŭng-ok*, 1:427–436.

[29] Meredith Jung-En Woo, *Race to the Swift: State and Finance in Korean Industrialization* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1991), 97.

challenge facing young artists and writers in the early 1960s: how does one represent the widespread poverty, war trauma, and repressed anger of the ethnonation in a form legible to the high cultural field of literature?

Kim Sŭng-ok could hardly have foreseen at the time of writing this passage that the actual singer of "Tears of Mokp'o," Yi Nan-yŏng, would pass away only months after "Mujin Travelogue" would eventually be published. Nor could he have known that Yi Mi-ja (1941–), a fellow member of the *Han'gŭl generation*, would ascend to fill the void left by the "queen of song" (*kayo ŭi yŏwang*), and most ironically, that Yi Mi-ja's singing style was in itself a "revolution in sensitivity" not markedly different from that of Ha In-suk's: absent the "raspiness" and abject "wretchedness" normally identified with traditional voice. By 1965 the spatial and social homologies of trot and classical music had reversed, at least momentarily, thanks in large part to the Yi Mi-ja phenomenon.[30] In the next section, I trace trot music's migration into the emergent sonic infrastructures of the urban center of Seoul.

The Yi Mi-ja Phenomenon

In 1964, as the Beatles were reducing young American girls to hysteria, queen of elegy Yi Mi-ja was stirring up melodramatic excesses across the Pacific. Indeed around the time that the mop-topped quartet was breaking American television records with their performances on the *Ed Sullivan Show*, LP manufacturers in Seoul were struggling to meet the unprecedented customer demand for Yi Mi-ja's "Tongbaek agassi" (Camelia girl, 1964), a somber elegy that invokes a melodramatic rhetoric of powerlessness, pentatonic tonality,

[30] Yi Ho-chŏl's serial newspaper novel *Sŏul ŭn manwŏn ida* (Seoul is full, 1966), set contemporaneously to the news stories printed in *Tonga ilbo* (February 8–November 26) around its margins, offers the following commentary on the Yi Mi-ja phenomenon: "Anyone who knows anything these days knows that it's 'cool' to deliberately seek out trot songs by Yi Mi-ja, [...] how naïve you'd have to be to admit you like classical music more than trot." Likewise, by 1967, Kim Sŭng-ok himself would be using Yi Mi-ja's music to stereotype the pop culture fandom of young women in the countryside: "Isn't Yi Mi-ja's 'Cry fever wind' great? I go crazy whenever I hear it" (174). Yi Ho-ch'ŏl, *Sŏul ŭn manwŏn ida*, no. 201, *Tonga ilbo*, September 30, 1966. Kim Sŭng-ok, *Nae ka humch'in yŏrŭm*, in *Kim Sŭng-ok*, 3:7–249.

and a duplex meter so lethargic as to be undanceable.[31] And only months before the sheer sonic force of fan hysteria overwhelmed the combined wattage of Shea Stadium amplification system, Yi Mi-ja was among the first of many musicians dispatched to Vietnam. There, she reduced entire South Korean battalions to tears, with "full-grown men bawling little children."[32] In his semi-autobiographical novel *White Badge*, novelist Ahn Junghyo depicts the 9th Infantry Division singing "Camelia girl" in unison to celebrate the successful razing of a Vietcong regimental headquarters.[33] The South Korean military were not the only ones to shed tears listening to Yi Mi-ja; those identified specifically among her fanbase include Park Chung Hee, Kim Jong-il, and former "comfort woman" and activist Yi Yong-su; and in general, the South Korean military, factory girls, sex workers, and the countryside.

"Camellia Girl" opens with the distant descent of a classical guitar along the minor *yonanuki* scale; the orchestral accompaniment—drums, violin, bass, accordion—enters in an andantino two-beat strut that sways languidly into the verse, delivered hauntingly and almost as if in slow-motion. Those from the older generation who could recall the bittersweet joys of youth under Japanese colonial rule would likely find themselves swept over by waves of nostalgic revelry, thinking back to popular hits penned by Koga Masao, the founding father of *enka*.[34] With the first line of the verse, listeners alight into an unruptured time of waiting: "Too many nights to count / the pain that burrows my heart out." Lyrically, the song takes its source material from a synonymous film that takes its source material from a synonymous

[31] Yi Mi-ja, vocalist, "Tongbaek agassi," track 1, side B of Midopa LM 120037 (1964). See Appendix 18.

[32] Yi Mi-ja, *Insaeng, na ŭi 40-yŏn* (Seoul: Hwanggŭm Kaji, 1999), 110–111.

[33] See Chapter 15 of Ahn Junghyo, *White Badge* (New York, NY: Soho Press, 1989).

[34] Michael K. Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika, Sayonara Nippon: A Geopolitical Prehistory of J-pop* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012); Christine Yano, *Tears of Longing: Nostalgia and the Nation in Japanese Popular Song* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2002). The similarities between "Camellia girl" and Japanese *enka* should come as no surprise. Both *enka*'s most iconic singer Misora Hibari (1937-1989) its pioneering composer Koga Masao (1904-1931) are linked to Korea, either in rumored ethnic origin (Hibari) or early childhood experiences (Masao developed enka styles "around the songs he heard laborers sing" in colonial Korea) (Bourdaghs, 78). And at a more fundamental level, *enka* and trot represent a broader "shared musical tradition, with roots in the pre-1945 Japanese empire […] in part in the 1930s and early 1940s continental melodies, themselves an offshoot of the Chinese yellow music genre" (Bourdaghs, 77–78, Yano, 9).

serial radio drama about the "romance of a coast guard and an island maiden."[35] The success of the song cemented one melodramatic blueprint of the era: the love story of a lonely maiden in the countryside and an elite bachelor in Seoul.[36] Yi Mi-ja would find success with major-pentatonic variations of the basic premise of "Camellia Girl," most notably with "Sŏmmaŭl sŏnsaengnim" (Island teacher, 1967) and "Hŭksando agassi" (Hŭksan Island girl, 1966), whose young maidens measure the seemingly eternal passing of time in cycles of nature observed from the shores of remote islands while yearning for Seoul or a bachelor from Seoul.[37] The immense popularity that these invented and idyllicized topographies of rural space attained during the developmentalist era may have fueled by the immense homesickness harbored by large swaths of the population, including those migrating from their hometowns to find work in factories and hostess bars in Seoul, those moving overseas to work in hospitals and coal mines in West Germany, and those who volunteered or were conscripted for deployment to Vietnam.[38]

In many ways, Yi was uniquely poised to share in the technological revolutions of sound that mark the global sixties. One first hears this in her voice, as is noticeable in the climactic first chorus line of "Camellia Girl." Here Yi bends a blue third in the relative major while simultaneously reducing her presence from a bright voice forward in the mask to a chest voice. At the highest point of this glide, there is a slight distortion, as if she's reached an intensity of volume exceeding the capacity of the microphone picking her signal up. When amplified by one of the loudspeakers or address systems of the 1960s, this peaking timbral quality would enable a singer to exploit the limited fidelity of the acoustic infrastructure, to

[35] "Ch'u Sik chak yŏnsokkŭk *Tongbaek agassi* KJ sŏ 10-il put'ŏ" [Ch'u Sik-written serial drama *Camelia girl* on KJ from the 10th], *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, June 10, 1963.

[36] Yi Yŏng-mi, *Tongbaek agassi*.

[37] Yi Mi-ja, "Hŭksando agassi," track 1, side A of Jigu LM 12014 (1966); and "Sŏmmaŭl sŏnsaengmin," track 1, side A of Jigu LM-120163 (1967). See Appendices 19 and 20.

[38] Jin Kyung Lee has devoted a book-length study to the critical analysis of South Korean migrant labor in literature, film, and popular culture. See *Service Economies: Militarism, Sex Work, and Migrant Labor in South Korea* (Minneapolis, MN: The University of Minnesota Press, 2010).

resonate with a distinct, unignorable shrillness. If in the recorded artifacts of the 1960s, we can, as Andrew Jones theorizes, "discern something like a 'network trace,' a sonic signature that bears the indexical imprint of its historical moment," then alongside Mao's "quotation songs," the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones, Yi's records share in a timbre of controlled brightness resonating as if "engineered to cut through the noise of public spaces."[39]

If Yi Mi-ja's rise bespoke the sorrows and longings of a population in flux, then the coeval trot controversies were a manifestation of the fierce animosities that had surfaced during the brief and tenuous period of cultural exchange between South Korea and Japan. Following the April 19 Revolution, the government began pushing its mantra of "*sŏn kyŏnghyŏp hu sugyo*" (economic cooperation first, diplomacy later), causing Japanese records, films, and books to flood into South Korea; catalyzing lingering hostilities surrounding colonial rule not even twenty-years past; and bringing to the surface new anxieties surrounding the self-reliance of the ethnonation.[40] Mass protests against the Treaty began in the summer of 1964, as tens of thousands of university students in Seoul joined in opposition, marching in the streets, burning Japanese flags, starting hunger strikes, and eventually clashing with police until the swift declaration of martial law on June 3.[41] By the time troops had disbanded on July 29, more than 1,000 people had been imprisoned.

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[39] Andrew F. Jones, *Circuit Listening: Chinese Popular Music in the Global 1960s* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2020), 18.

[40] "Ilbon t'ŭrŏbŭl (6) pŏnjinŭn waesaek mudŭ" [Japan trouble (6) escalating Japanese-colored mood], *Tonga ilbo* (February 6, 1964). In this article, a reporter references Sachiko Nishida's "Acacia-no Ame-ga Yamu-toki" ("When the Acacia rain stops," 1960) to speculate about South Korea's grim future under Japanese cultural influence: "[P]erhaps the Japanization of Korea's soul [*ŏl*] is not far off. And like the lyrics of the popular song, 'Beaten by the Acacia rain, I want to die like this...' ['*Acacia no ame ni utare te, Kono mama shinde shimai tai…*'], perhaps the time will come when the Korean ethnic nation also wants to 'die like this.'" Certainly the song's reception as the unofficial requiem for the 1960 Anpo protests was not lost on the reporter.

[41] Kang Hŏn, *Chŏnbok kwa panjŏn ŭi sun'gan* (Paju: Tolbegi, 2016). Music critic Kang Hŏn, in his attempt to encapsulate the collective experiences of college students in the 1970s, places special emphasis upon the 1965 Treaty, writing that "through Park Chung Hee's seizure of power to the establishment of his regime, they were made to see the disgraceful normalization process of diplomatic relations between Korean and Japan before entered college. They experienced something new through all of this: the question 'are we really an authentic independent ethnic nation?'" (174). Likewise, even the politically neutral protagonist in Ch'oe In-ho's semi-autobiographical novella *Musŏun poksu* (The dreaded plural, 1972), which I discuss in more detail in Chapter

On July 13, 1965 Park Chung Hee responded to the outpouring of anti-Japanese sentiment by pledging to "resolutely enact all measures to thoroughly block any and all forms of degenerate foreign trends [*t'oep'yejŏgin woerae p'ungjo*] and toadyism that may impede national autonomy or influence the tradition of national spirit and unity." The *7.13 kongyak* (July 13th pledge) culminated in the "Ŭmban e kwanhan pŏmnyul" (Law on musical records) and the "Woeguk chŏn'gi kanhaengmul suip, paep'o e kwanhan pŏmnyul" (Law on import and distribution of foreign periodical publications) which together provided the legal basis upon which South Korea legally prohibited Japanese music, film, and popular serial publications for nearly thirty years (1966–1998). Excluded from the legislation however, were any measures to curtail the import of Japanese literature. To this end, popular culture fulfilled the role of sacrificial lamb, allowing the Park regime to simultaneously resume diplomatic relations with Japan while also freeing itself from accusations of being an anti-nationalist comprador. In fact South Korea has never embargoed Japanese popular literature, the effect of which literary scholars Kwŏn Podŭrae and Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan postulate to be a mechanism of "(un)conscious distinction" between high and low culture, with literature, regarded as high culture, and films and pop songs relegated to the realm of low or popular culture.[42]

Though "Camellia Girl" was officially banned from the airwaves in December 1965, Yi Mi-ja was among the artists invited by Victor Records to perform in Japan after normalization, and "Camellia Girl" was among the songs translated into Japanese for her to record and perform.[43] Two years later in February 1968—after pirated copies of the Japanese version had made their way into South Korea—reproduction of "Camellia Girl" was

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Four, recalls his participation in the anti-Treaty protests as the first in a long series of demonstrations which forced school closures on nearly an annual basis from 1964 to 1972..

[42] Kwŏn Podŭrae, and Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, eds., *1960-yŏn ŭl mutta*, 546.

[43] "Yi Mi-ja yang Ilbon e Pikt'ŏsa ch'och'ŏng ŭro" [Yi Mi-ja invited to Japan by Victor Records], *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* June 29, 1966.

prohibited.[44] To justify the bans, para-governmental committees cited "*waesaek*" (Japanese color), a term whose application ranged from blatant cases of plagiarism to mere uses of the *yonanuki* scales (formed simply by omitting the fourth and seventh from the seven-note major and minor scales) and dictions reminiscent of the colonial era. Even Kim Su-yŏng (1921–1968), a poet who devoted his career to the pursuit of absolute freedom of artistic expression, once criticized trot music for being "far too anachronistic, too feeble" to resonate in an era of alienation, conformism, and bureaucratism, and accused the entire genre of diverting "undue responsibility" upon the contemporary poet to "speak on behalf of the worries and joys of the masses."[45] In response to such disavowals by high culture, the Han'guk Yŏnye Hyŏphoe (Korean Creative Artists Alliance, KCAA) announced its own boycott on five broadcast stations in Seoul, employing the same rhetoric to elevate trot as its opponents had employed to deride it, calling it the "avante-garde of ethnonational consciousness of self-reliance".[46] And much to the chagrin of the cultural elite, trot would go on to dominate the radio airwaves and commercial market for the remainder of the 1960s. Demand for Yi Mi-ja's LP was so great, in fact, that the first sizable pirate record market emerged around it.[47]

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[44] For more on censorship of Yi Mi-ja, see Chang Yu-jŏng, "Han'guk t'ŭrot'ŭ nonjaeng ŭi ilgoch'al: Yi Mi-ja kwallyŏn nonjaeng ŭl chungsim ŭro," *Taejung sŏsa yŏn'gu*, no. 20 (2008): 47-72. The Pangsong Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (Broadcasting Ethics Committee) and Kayo Chamun Ŭiwŏnhoe (Korean Broadcasting Ethics Committee) were formed in March of 1962, immediately after which they censored 116 songs from broadcast while simultaneously promoting "healthy songs [*kŏnjŏn kayo*]" (Chang, 58). And from 1979 to 1988, artists were required to include one healthy song on every album they released.

[45] Kim Su-yŏng, "Rot'ŏri ŭi kkot ŭi noiroje: Siin kwa hyŏnsil" [Neurosis of flowers at the rotary: the poet and reality], in *Kim Su-yŏng*, 2:460–461.

[46] Full text of petition reprinted in Pan Ya-wŏl, *Na ŭi sam, na ŭi norae* (Seoul: Sŏn, 1995), 138–139. The KCAA argued that any accusations of Japanese color were also affronts to Korean culture, for the Korea-Japan entanglement is rooted in a history that traces all the way back to premodern times, when the Kingdom of Paekche (18 BC–660 AD) had been a force of cultural leadership and enlightenment in Japan. Rather, the KCAA viewed popular songs as an agent through which to appropriate foreign cultures in order to revive indigenous Korean culture. Such hybridization would proceed through the establishment of a "unilateral ethnonational self-reliance that advances Korean culture abroad" (138).

[47] Ch'oe Kyu-sŏng, *Ppaekp'an ŭi chŏnsŏng sidae: p'apsong ŭi kungnae yuip yŏksa* (Seoul: Score, 2020). So prominent was the pirated *Tongbaek agassi* LP in the development of the unauthorized record trade that some

Published in the inaugural issue of the prestigious literary journal *Ch'angbi* of October 1966, the short story "Tongsaja" (Death by freezing) by novelist Pak T'ae-sun (1942–2019) tells of the misadventures of Se-hyŏn, a small-time extortionist in Seoul, pondering his future in the "world forming in the manifestos of the authorities who propound economic growth." Though Pak would go on to be remembered as a representative figure of the socially conscious school of "*ch'amyŏ munhak*" (participation literature), his abiding interest in the voice of *minjung* overlapped with popular musical encounters on the urban peripheries of Seoul.[48] We might interpret Pak T'ae-sun's "Death by Freezing" itself as an imitation of the schizophonic soundscape.[49] The written narrative splits radio sounds from their original context, storing and re-packaging them into an experience of the electrified urban soundscape that mimics the acousmaticity of its composite signals. By re-constituting those signals into narrative form, Pak draws a parallel between the urban transplant's experience of dislocation in Seoul circa 1965 and the defining feature of the soundscape itself. At the same time, the story adds political valences to the lyrical rhetoric of repression employed by "Camellia Girl."

Over the course of the day, Se-hyŏn overhears "Camellia Girl" no less than four times "blasting carelessly onto the street" from the "speakers of record companies." To describe the loneliness of this "cold-heartedly inverted" city at the "very precipice of the world," he appropriates and (perhaps unintentionally) modifies a lyric from the song: "Overcome by the hurt in my heart that I will not speak of" (in the original song, "That story you will not speak of burrows my heart out"). Much like the original line, Se-hyŏn expresses repressed feelings caught between temporalities. In the present, he feels pain. That pain originates in events of

scholars trace the etymology of "*ppaekp'an*," the colloquial term for pirated LPs (*haejŏkp'an*), back to the color of the album jacket (white, *paek*) in which many *Tongbaek agassi* LPs were sold (Ch'oe, 16–21).

[48] Pak T'ae-sun, "Tongsaja," *Ch'angbi* 1, no. 4 (October 1966): 500–510.

[49] I borrow this term from R. Murray Schafer, who defines "schizophonia" as "the split between an original sound and its electroacoustical transmission or reproduction" (*Tuning of the World*, 88).

the past. And that past will not, or cannot not be spoken of in the future. Such expression of emotions in temporal crisis closely resembles the rhetoric used by Park Chung Hee following more than a year of mass protests against the Korea-Japan Normalization Treaty (hereinafter, *Treaty*). In a special address made upon the signing of the Treaty, Park beseeches citizens to repress their paroxysm of outrage, proclaiming that "Though it may be difficult," citizens need "to suppress and wash away emotions of the past."[50]

If protests stemmed from the Treaty's unjustifiable reversal—as in, *yesterday's enemy is today's friend*—then such reordering demanded a new rhetoric of morality.[51] The resolution of conflictual oppositions is imperative to the melodramatic mode, and thus necessitates the rhetorical demonstration of a new moral order to justify the repression or sublimation of emotions surrounding past evils. Park Chung Hee expressed this rhetoric as a Cold War code of virtue deriving from the "mission of anti-communism in Asia" and future economic growth: "No matter if they're yesterday's enemy, for our present and future days, and in the name of national interest and public welfare, must we not join hands even with them?"[52] "Death by Freezing" demonstrates how trot's elegiac lyrical rhetoric enables intertextuality as a strategy to counter-stage the Cold War's melodramatic mode without violating "basic ethical imperatives" to repress the past in the name of the present and future.[53]

[50] Pak, "Tongsaja," 506-508; Park Chung Hee [Pak Chŏng-hŭi], "Han-Il Hoedam t'agyŏl e chŭŭmhan t'ŭkpyŏl tamhwamun," June 23, 1965.

[51] Peter Brooks, *The Melodramatic Imagination* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976), 198–206.

[52] Park Chung Hee, "Han-Il Hoedam."

[53] Nancy Abelmann, *The Melodrama of Mobility: Woman, Talk, and Class in Contemporary South Korea* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 2003). The link between melodramatic sensibilities and the public discourse of developmentalist nationalism has been taken up in ethnographic studies of women, social mobility, and music in 1960s South Korea. Nancy Abelmann found that the dialogues into which melodramatic films drew women became critical sites in the production of social transformation and class identity. Much like the stories of women's life and family that Abelmann deals with, the rural travelogs that I deal with here are also told retrospectively, and as such, their musical intertextuality must also be understood as intersubjective, referential, "suspended in its past, present, and future," and "inextricable from relations of power" (31).

Beyond the incipient postwar entertainment industry, there were other Koreans who supported the Treaty. The negotiations led South Korea to open its ports to those who had migrated to Japan before liberation, under the condition that they seek South Korean citizenship.[54] Of the Zainichi Koreans who would "return" to their ancestral homeland for the first time in 1965 was a third-year Waseda University student named Pak Ch'an-ho for whom the trip became the starting point of a decades-long search for the artifacts of colonial Korean musical modernity. As I discuss in the final section, the result of these recovery efforts was a landmark historical survey of colonial Korean songs entitled *Kankoku kayōshi* (Korean song history, 1987; Korean, *Han'guk kayosa 1895–1945*, 1992).[55] Before returning to Japan, Pak purchased two albums: a solo album by Yi Mi-ja and a compilation of reissued "good old melodies" (*Kŭriun mellodi*) from the colonial era. Showing the latter record to his family, curious incongruencies surfaced between songs on the compilation and the originals which his parents recalled from their own youth: both the actual words of the songs and their credited writer had changed, with the term "lyrics [*chaksa*]" replaced with "lyrical revision [*kaesa*]." What Pak had purchased was one of the hundreds of old song compilations that proliferated around the Yi Mi-ja phenomenon.[56]

These compilations came in many forms. Like the one Pak Ch'an-ho had bought in 1965, many contained no remnants of the original recordings and redactions of the names and words of writers who defected to North Korea after liberation.[57] Some collections were

[54] For more on the significant benefits of accepting South Korean citizenship and the impact of the Treaty North-South tensions within the Zainichi population, see John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press, 2008), 67–72.

[55] Pak Ch'an-ho, *Kankoku kayōshi* [Korean popular song history] (Tōkyō: Shōbunsha, 1987), translated by An Tong-nim as *Han'guk kayosa* (Seoul: Miji Puksŭ, 2017).

[56] "Pak Ch'an-ho (朴燦鎬)," interviewed by Yi Chun-hŭi, Kusul ch'aerok, Saengaesa, no. 274, DA-Arts, June 21, 2016, transcript, 61–64.

[57] The album that Pak Ch'an-ho purchased is likely *Hŭllŏ kan yet norae* [Old songs of bygone days] (Asia Record, AL-no. 7, 1964). Even today, attempts to find a colonial era song on Youtube will yield an onslaught of

blatantly marketed as reissues. Others aimed to profit off of collaborations between first and second generation trot artists. In instrumental "*kyŏngŭmak*" (light music) collections of trot songs, a session accordionist named Sim Sŏng-nak (1936–2021) was among the first in Korea to record extensively with electronic synthesizers.

"Aesu ŭi soyagok" (Serenade of sorrow), which launched the careers of Pak Si-ch'un and Nam In-su (1918–1962) in 1938, had originally featured only Nam In-su's high melismatic voice accompanied by Pak's Koga melody-inspired acoustic guitar line.[58] Improvements in recording technology in the 1960s enabled much more orchestral versions of colonial-era songs to be produced, and in 1966, "Serenade of Sorrow" would appear on a compilation album of Pak Si-ch'un compositions sung by Yi Mi-ja and first-generation entertainer Paek Sŏr-hŭi (1927–2012). [59] Then in 1970, an instrumental version of the song rendered completely on synthesizer—a far cry from the somber and stripped-down form from which it had originated—would be recorded by Sim Sŏng-nak.[60] Thus as the regulatory regimes of the late 1960s and early 1970s aimed to efface traces of North Korea and Japan from the song industry, the Yi Mi-ja phenomenon effectively threatened to bring those traces back to the surface by catalyzing a full-fledged trot revival.

As I discuss in the next section, the novelist Yi Mun-gu also uses the song in his canonical short story "Haengun yusu" (Floating clouds, flowing water, 1973) to move between the radio-mediated present and the original voices he had heard decades prior.[61] The

uploads claiming to be the original but containing altered lyrics, overdubbed electric instruments, or vocal tracks recorded by a completely different singer.

[58] Nam In-su, "Aesu ŭi soyagok," SP, side B of Okeh 12080 (1938).

[59] Yi Mi-ja and Paek Sŏr-hŭi, "Aesu ŭi soyagok," track 3, side B of Jigu LMS-120069 (1966); "Paek Sŏr-hŭi," interviewed by Yi Chun-hŭi, Kusul ch'aerok, Saengaesa, no. 98, DA-Arts, July 19, 2007. Yi Mi-ja and Paek Sŏr-hŭi (1927–2010) released several collections of duets of songs by famous composer Pak Si-ch'un, and Paek recalls these compilations as being among the first additions to the colonial-era song revival ("Paek Sŏr-hŭi," 49–51).

[60] Sim Sŏng-nak, "Aesu ŭi soyagok," MP3 audio, track 7 on *Sim Sŏng-rak chŏnja olgaen Mugŭ*, Asung Media (1970). To compare 1938, 1966, and 1970 versions of "Serenade of Sorrow," see Appendix 21.

[61] All page numbers for "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" reference the reprint version (1996) and are given in-text.

transcription and audition of songs from the colonial era and liberation period portrayed in "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" suggest that the story can be interpreted together alongside Pak Ch'an-ho's *Korean Song History*, as a written attempt to restore to fullness a musical past that had been circulating in fragments and altered forms amidst the trot revival of the 1960s and 70s.

Layered Listening to "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" (1973)

"Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" is the third of eight installments in the serial novel *Kwanch'on supil* (Kwanch'on essays), originally published from 1972 and 1976. Widely recognized as a deeply autobiographical account of Yi Mun-gu's childhood, the eight stories, or chapers of *Kwanch'on Essays*, which can be read independently or together, coalesce around a narrative present in which the first-person narrator Yi, now nearly thirty years old, returns to his hometown, a fictionalized rural farming village named Kwanch'on in South Ch'ungch'ŏng Provice, for the first time since the end of the Korean War, after nearly two decades. What he finds is a space hollowed out of the places and people who were so meaningful to his childhood, first because of the destruction of the War, and second because of the urban migrations caused by the first decade of rapid modernization. As he gazes upon the ruins of his childhood home, he cannot help but be reminded of all of the people from the village who were so influential to the formation of his own subjectivity. Thus, each chapter offers intimate recollections of important experiences with these individuals which Yi Mun-gu had as a child. In a sense, there are three Yi Mun-gus at work here: the writer who orchestrates from above, the first person narrator who is wandering through the ruins of his hometown, and the childhood protagonist who is being recalled by the narrator. In "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," Yi presents readers with a biographical sketch of his most beloved

childhood companion and his family's kitchen hand: the loquacious, exuberant, and ever self-reliant Ong-jŏm.

The narrator first meets Ong-jŏm in 1947. Both of her parents trace their lineage back to "*nobi*" (slave or serf to the propertied class). In the Neo-Confucianist caste system of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392–1894), *nobi* were considered organic extensions of the propertied literati and necessary parts of the economy; yet they possessed neither surnames nor class mobility.[62] Even decades after the abolishment of the *nobi* system in 1894, its vestiges still brand Ong-jŏm and her family untouchable. Despite the residual stigma, it is her singing ability that still attracts nearby farm hands, wage workers, and itinerant poultry and dry-goods sellers to Ong-jŏm. Without access to the high cultures of classical learning in which the childhood Yi Mun-gu is steeped, singing songs becomes a constitutive part of Ong-jŏm's subjectivity. Thus for Yi, to reconstruct that subjectivity in narrative form requires that he transcribe those songs into the silent spaces of the page.

While scholars have emphasized the qualities of realism, orality, and biographical storytelling that define Yi Mun-gu's writing more broadly as *minjung* literature, or literature for and by those outside of the privileged class, few have paid due mind to the astonishingly rich musicality of "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water."[63] In this section I argue that songs are a central yet overlooked aspect of Ong-jŏm's language and Yi's narrative orchestration of

[62] See Milan Hejmanek, "Devalued Bodies, Revalued Status: Confucianism and the Plight of Female Slaves in Late Chosŏn Korea," in Youngmin Kim, and Michel J. Pettid, eds., *Women and Confucianism in Chosŏn Korea: New Perspectives* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press: 2011), 137–140.

[63] Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Han'guk hyŏndae munhaksa* 2; Sŏ Yŏng-ch'ae, "Yi Mun-gu, koyu myŏngsa rosŏŭi munhak" in Yi Mun-gu, *Kongsan t'owŏl* [Bare mountains disgorge the moon] (Paju: Munhak Tongne, 2015), 539–564; Youngju Ryu, *Writers of the Winter Republic*; and Peter H. Lee, *A Korean Storyteller's Miscellany: The P'aegwan chapki of O Sukkwŏn* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989). Kwŏn Yŏng-min defines *Kwanch'on Essays* as the reconstruction of hometown through layering of past and present (321–323). Sŏ Yŏng-ch'ae argues that Yi Mun-gu's defining characteristic as a writer is his ability to "record the voice of Ong-jŏm in the language of Ong-jŏm" (563–564). Youngju Ryu has interpreted Ong-jŏm's story as that of an essayist and storyteller indebted to the classical form of East Asian biography (78–80). Peter H. Lee defines the biography in East Asia as a commemoration of a subject who in turn appears "as an emblem, a symbol, or a cultural ideal" (79).

disparate temporalities. By integrating into readings of the story the cultural histories, lyrics, and compositional features of the songs Ong-jŏm sings, not only does one gain a fuller sense of Yi's own navigation between the soundscapes of the compositional present and the lost voices of the past, it also enables better understandings of the powerful resonance that Ong-jŏm's story has had with readers across the years. In other words, by grounding my reading in the lyrical transcriptions and personal narrative reorchestrations of Ong-jŏm's voice and in the songs that Ong-jŏm performs, I aim to show not only how the musicscapes of present alter Yi's audition of the musical past, but also how the songs of "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" have allowed the story's readers to gain a deeper appreciations of Ong-jom's human qualities and of her own history of struggle to forge subjectivity out of whatever resources are available.

If the opening narrative is crucial to establishing perspective in the rural travelog, then the opening scene of "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" points to the fragility of its author's own retrospective point of view. The story begins with the winds of winter galloping through a snow-covered field, shattering the distant lights, and making Yi think suddenly of Ong-jŏm. Just as the light refracted through blowing snow appears shattered "like frost-covered porcelain shards," so too does the "sprouting longing" for Ong-jŏm disperse through the "overwhelming sentimentality of reaching the age of thirty" into "many branching strands of old memory" (80). That the opening narrative evokes parallel processes of disintegration allows readers to anticipate that mediation of their relationship to the biographical subject must entail the writer and narrator piecing Ong-jŏm's story back together from the fragile and fragmented materials of memory. To demonstrate her musical ability, Yi amalgamates his many memories of Ong-jŏm singing into a single scene of her sitting in front of the furnace in his home, singing and beating rhythms with a wooden poker until the brushwood embers burned holes through her dress.

The passage begins with a block quotation of the first verse of "Hwangha tabang" (Yellow River teahouse, 1941) by Paek Nan-a (1923–1992), the song that "Ong-jŏm liked to show off the most" (93).[64]

> Xar Moron River tea house where the peonies bloom red
> A woman dozing off inside the scent of Calpis……
> Smoke puffed from cigarettes, the night grows deep
> It sinks into my heart bright red earrings (94)

Multilingual lyrics and jazz-inflected composition place "Yellow River Teahouse" within a form of East Asian cosmopolitanism often understood as the popular cultural refraction of Imperial Japanese continental expansion. As soldiers and laborers from Korea and Japan were deployed in growing numbers to Manchuria and China during the late 1930s and early 1940s, musicians and actors joined the ranks of touring troupes tasked with boosting morale. These continental traversals facilitated the fluid movement of musical styles and techniques which "brought colonial and semicolonial Asia into a position of remarkable intimacy" not only with Japanese fans as Michael Bourdaghs notes, but also with societally marginal and regionally peripheral Koreans such as Ong-jŏm.[65]

Etymological roots of words from the first verse of "Yellow River Teahouse" alone span Mongolian (Xar Moron), English and Sanskrit via Japanese (Calpis, a Japanese milk-flavored soft drink combining the first syllable of *calcium* and the last syllable of *sarpiṣ*), and Chinese (girl, transliterated in Korean as *kkunyang*). The writer renders the memory of Ong-jŏm's voice almost too perfectly: her verses are written in near flawless standard Korean while in dialogue, Ong-jŏm is made to bear a heavy Ch'ungch'ŏng Province dialect—Yi writes all lines of dialogue with non-standard spellings to approximate the speech sounds of

[64] Paek Nan-a, "Hwangaha tabang," SP, Side B of Taihei 3017 (1941). See Appendix 22. The original "Yellow River Teahouse" SP was reproduced for *Yusŏnggi ro tŭtton pulmyŏl ŭi myŏng kasu* compilation (1996) by using a microphone to record live playback of the SP through a gramophone speaker. Yi Chun-hŭi, email correspondence, November 1, 2023.

[65] Michael Bourdaghs, *Sayonara Amerika*, 75.

the region. At first glance, one could interpret the gap between reported speech and personal narrative as suggesting a historical reality in which popular song lyrics functioned as a vehicle for commoners far from the cosmopolitan metropole to momentarily embody the rhythms, languages, and melodies of a much broader geographical space. But a noticeable difference arises between the original lyrics and Yi Mun-gu's transcription: the first verse of the 1941 recording concludes with the Japanese noun phrase "*akkai sŭiren*" (red water lily) while Yi recalls hearing Ong-jŏm singing in Korean, "*sae ppal'gan kwigŏri*" (bright red earrings). Far from a marginal discrepancy, the difference in diction divulges postwar South Korea's institutional effacement of the language of the former colonizer.

Just as the first verse from the 1941 original concludes with "*akai suiren*," so too did verses two and three conclude with Japanese noun phrases. The second verse of the 1941 version narrates a couple strolling beneath a crescent moon somewhere on the streets of China, singing "*tsuki no Ariran*" (Arirang of the moon), while in the third verse, the couple part ways at a rainy harbor before the "*yoimachigusa*" (evening primrose) sinks deep into a dream. However, lyrical amendments made from the 1960s onward have replaced the original Japanese endings with Korean noun phrases. When Yi Mun-gu was composing "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," the "*akkai sŭiren*" (red water lily) of verse one had been rendered as either "*ppalgan kkotsongi*" (red flower) or "*yŏnbunhong kwigŏri*" (pink earrings).[66] Thus, the "*sae ppal'gan kwigŏri*" that Yi Mun-gu transcribes appears to be an amalgamation of the two versions that were in circulation at the time. Thanks to the cross-border listenings of popular music scholar and archivist Yi Chun-hŭi, we now know that each of the original Japanese noun phrases correlates to the title of a Japanese popular song released around the

[66] "*Tsuki no Ariran*" (Arirang of the moon) from verse two becomes "*chŭlgŏun apek'ŭ*" (a fun date) and "*ant'akkaun i maŭm*" (this broken heart); the "*yoimachigusa*" (evening grass) from verse three becomes "*mulmangch'o sinse*" (the unfortunate life of a forget-me-not) and "*Ch'aina t'ango*" (China tango).

same time.[67] One might imagine lyricist Kim Yŏng-il sitting at a teahouse somewhere in Kyŏngsŏng casually poaching the titles of songs he was hearing an employee play on gramophone–"Akai suiren" (1940) by Yamaguchi Yoshiko, "Tsuki no Ariran" (1940) by Kobayashi Chiyoko, and "Yoimachigusa" (1938) by Takamine Mieko–to round out the last lines of each verse of "Yellow River Teahouse." By extension, is it possible that Yi Mun-gu was transcribing the song's lyrics into the kitchen scene from the amended versions he was hearing being played on radio or vinyl in the early 1970s?

Yi Mun-gu certainly hints that he was indeed listening to the radio. A passage of personal commentary that Yi Mun-gu provides to frame the kitchen scene begins with the first line of "Serenade of Sorrow," one of the most frequent remakes of the trot revival.

> *Even though crying doesn't make your old love come back, still through tears soothe away the sadness of tonight*……Nowadays, the once long-lost innocence of my childhood suddenly returns to life when an old song comes pouring out of the radio or from a table at a drinking establishment. Forgotten songs–only when you include trot [*yuhaengga*] here, can forgotten songs bring rumination on my immature days of youth (95, italics added by me).

If hearing a song of one's youth functions as a sentimentally potent catalyst for spontaneous yet fragmented recollection, then perhaps the writer's narrativization of reassembling those pieces ends up imprinting upon the original story of Ong-jŏm the languages and materials embedded in those melodic triggers of the present. The linguistic imprint on "Yellow River Teahouse" comes from practices of *kaesa* (lyrical revision) meant to preserve songs that would have otherwise been extirpated under the prohibition on music

[67] Yi Chun-hŭi, "Yuhaengga aelbŏm: 'Hwangha tabang' (Paek Nan-a)," uploaded September 23, 2021, video, YouTube, Yuhaengga aelbŏm, 8:32, https://perma.cc/H4EX-WH9Q. For the songs to which the Japanese noun phrases correlate, see Yamaguchi Yoshiko, "Akai suiren," SP, Side B of Columbia 100101 (1940); Kobayashi Chiyoko, "Tsuki no Ariran," SP, Polydor P-5063 (1940); and Takamine Mieko, "Yoimachigusa," Originally released as SP, Columbia 29902 (1938). See Discography for more information and links.

of partial North Korean or Japanese origin after liberation, and on music deemed to bear "Japanese color" after the 1965 Treaty.

A second textual anachronism supports the claim that present audition alters the reassembling of musical memories from decades past. Whenever Ong-jŏm finished singing, the narrator recalls that she would always "shout at the top of her lungs from the kitchen" to Yi's mother, requesting that the Yi family use their profits from threshing unripe grain in the fall to "buy an Oasis brand gramophone [*Owasitssŭp'yo yusŏnggi*]," which Ong-jŏm notes, is "only a little more expensive than a radio" (94). Presumably, Ong-jŏm is referring the domestic Oasis Record Company, one of two major labels who dominated the music industry of the 1970s. However Oasis was not founded until 1952, at least three years after the kitchen scene is set. By including such finite details as the names of gramophone brands, the sense emerges that Yi Mun-gu has ascribed an archival function to the story.

In the brief kitchen passage alone, he manages to index six "forgotten" songs, nine singers, three lyricists, and three sonic mediums (radio, singing bodies, and gramophone).[68] Cataloging of the material circulations and sonic textures of songs in the liberation space (1945–1950) begins when Ong-jŏm reports that at the open air market, SPs have been accumulating "in piles at shops……Sim Yŏn-ok's voice, Chang Se-jŏng's voice, Pak Tan-ma's voice, Kŭm Sa-hyang's voice, Yi Nan-yŏng's voice, Sin Kanaria's voice" (95). Use of the term "*sori*" (voice or sound) in place of "*sori p'an*" (record), however, suggests a high level of fidelity to the phonosonic voice which simply cannot be achieved on gramophone. Yi's mother's response calls attention to precisely the sonic materiality of the gramophone, as its mechanically reproduced voices sound less like a human than "crickets reciting classical

[68] For a complete list of known "liberation songs" (*haebang kayo*), see Pak Chŏng-sŏn, "Haebang kayo ŭi inyŏm kwa hyŏngsik," *Ŏmunhak* 99 (2008): 199–230. The final two references not quoted here are from "Ach'im hae koulsigo" (The morning sun is beautiful, 1945), by Im Hak-su, lyricist, and Kim Sŏng-t'ae, composition; and "Tongnip haengjin'gok" (Independence March, 1946) by Pak T'ae-wŏn, lyricist, and Kim Sŏng-t'ae, composition. As Pak Chŏng-sŏn notes, both of these songs circulated in song books published in 1946 both for educational and general use and remain exceedingly hard to find today (201-202).

poetry [*kwitturi p'ungwŏl hŏdŭtki*]" (95). Amidst this exchange, there is a subtle shift from past to present tense, suggesting that the author is using personal narrative to structure fragments of memory spread over at least two years into what can be heard by the reader as a single episode. Readers are left with the impression of a linear performance as Ong-jŏm follows "Yellow River Teahouse" up with "Chamyŏnggo Love" (Chamyŏnggo sarang, 1949), one of the first songs to be recorded and released in South Korea, and "Taeji ŭi hanggu" (Port of land, 1941), the lyrics of which she herself adapts to humorously express the woes of being a lowly kitchen hand.[69]

In the same way that a song's instrumental and melodic arrangements signal the affective and sentimental context within which a listener is meant to interpret the lyrics, Yi Mun-gu uses first-person interjections, sudden flashes of associated memories, spatial shifts, and fluctuations in temporal setting and pacing to signal how readers should respond emotionally to the songs transcribed on the silent spaces of the printed page. Musical arrangements are to the voices and lyrics of popular songs what the first-person narrative voice is to the lyrical quotations of literary fiction, or what the personal narrative is to the objectifying descriptions of travel writing. The tropic extensions of Ong-jŏm's voice aim not only to contextualize and guide sentimental receptions of the lyrics of old songs, but also to restore to "original" condition an audible past that had been proliferating within the mediated soundscapes of the trot revival in a multitude of transmuted forms. But as I demonstrated, certain anachronisms mark the surface of written memory; these markings, I argue, can be read homologously to the lyrical aberrations marking the re-released versions of those colonial-era songs.

[69] Pak Chae-hong, "Chamyŏnggo sarang," SP, Seoul Records 3017 (1949); Paek Nyŏn-sŏl, "Taeji ŭi hanggu," SP, Side B of Taihei3028 (1941). See Appendices 23 and 24. The original 1949 recording of "Chamyŏnggo Love" is not available online, likely in part because the recording was never copyrighted. The harsh static noise which overlays the entire recording, at times threatening to drown out the sound of the performance, can be attributed to the use of recycled shellac and makeshift record presses, the wear which a shellac SP incurs over years of repeated playback, or both.

Personal Narrative as Surrogate Musical Accompaniment

The second passage that I examine from "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" arranges an encounter with American soldiers against the present "reality of age-old words becoming popular again," namely buzzwords of the 1960s and 70s, "*chuch'e wisik*" (self-reliant consciousness) and "*chuch'esŏng*" (self-reliance). Returning to the "once upon a time" realm of midday in July 1949, Yi Mun-gu and three friends follow Ong-jŏm out to the train tracks, backdropped by the ocean undulating as it always had, "shaking gently from the hazy horizon, dancing in beautiful and blinding color." They prepare to start waving at the "the bulky jet-black smokestack rounding the corner of the *sŏnangdang* [shrine to the village deity]." To their surprise however, out of every train window protrude American soldiers in khaki-colored uniforms, tossing half-eaten scraps of food and empty bottles and containers toward the side of the tracks, "giggling and nodding their heads in quick succession to signal" that the children should take the items. (101–102)

One of Yi Mun-gu's friends tastes, then immediately spits out the sour backwash of an almost empty can of beer; another discovers that he'd been eating bread soaked in a yellow orb of phlegm. The young narrator reels from the compounded shock of seeing Americans for the first time, realizing that this foreign military has arrived in his village, and witnessing how its soldiers encourage the villagers to consume their refuse. Ong-jŏm appears to be the only villager with a strong enough sense of "ethnonational consciousness" to understand that the American soldiers "must think all Koreans are beggars, laughing and throwing insults at us. I doubt they would've been willing to throw that garbage at dogs." She makes the young Yi promise "never to take food in this way, no matter who it's from." For the narrator, Ong-jŏm's refusal to exchange human dignity for the garbage of a foreign occupational military force is the personification of Korean ethnonational self-reliance. A sense of authentic Koreanness materializes in this scene as a dialectic between the imposition

of a foreign occupation whose economic and military superiority is demonstrated through casual acts of cruelty and the indigenous villager for whom this janus-faced liberator provokes but an even more calloused spirit of resistance.

If the kitchen scene associated the lyrics of songs that Ong-jŏm performed with a sentimental air of timeless idyllicism and nostalgic levity, then the penultimate scene at the train tracks acts as a tonal shift from major to minor. Through grotesque descriptions and straightforward expressions of unresolved animosities, Yi establishes the foreboding background accompaniment against which readers are guided to react affectively to the story's musical finale. Once more, the author returns to the past by way of the present. "*I walk this aimless path again today*...even nowadays if, when walking, I pass over that delicate melody, the one I first learned from her, my strides grow heavy [...] *Each footprint is full of tears*" (112). The song which Yi references here as Ong-jŏm's finale is "Nagŭne ŭi sorŭm" (Wayfarer's sorrow, 1940), another colonial-era standard that endured well after liberation through countless remakes and re-releases, from the trot revival of the 1960s and 70s to the present, but whose original recording had long been lost.[70]

After Yi Mun-gu introduces "Wayfarer's Sorrow" to "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," the pacing speeds up noticeably. Upon citing the song, he provides a bear-bones account of how he lost contact with Ong-jŏm shortly before the outbreak of the Korean War and how, in its aftermath, Ong-jŏm had been rumored to have joined a traveling medicine show. To be sure, the traveling medicine show represented the bottom of the popular musical hierarchy, a barely legal form of economic sustenance reserved for ranks of societal outcasts and nefarious scammers, too debased to have been recorded by Korean popular music

[70] Paek Nyŏn-sŏl, "Nagŭne sŏrum," SP, Side A of Taihei 8665 (1940). See Appendix 25.

historians.[71] Arriving at the market to see for himself if the rumors were true, a now ten-year-old Yi, the sole surviving member of his nuclear family, approaches a crowd gathered around a middle-aged man who is beating on a *changgu* and babbling on about some ointment to treat the "smell of dead bodies" emanating from "under your dirty balls." After the man finishes pitching his fraudulent ointment, Yi Mun-gu hears the unmistakable voice of Ong-jŏm singing the first verse of "Wayfarer's Sorrow."

> *I walk this on aimless path once again today*
>
> *Each footprint I passed was full of tears.*
>
> My eyes went black and my legs trembled until I couldn't no longer control my body or mind. No, even more than that, I lost the will to endure standing there and gazing over at her. Ah, what words could I choose at this point to bring the shock of that moment out from memory. Before I knew it, I was running like mad out of the marketplace with the ground fallen out under my legs like a kid who got caught in an act of wrongdoing, but her gentle voice and superb melody hung to the back of my fleeing head and kept chasing after me the whole time.
>
> *A steam whistle at the waterfront, though I long for my old love*
>
> *The path of the wayfarer stretches forth without end*. (120, italics added)

Certainly the degradation of Ong-jŏm's vast array of verbal talents may explain the narrator's adverse reaction. At the same time, the most prominent textual feature of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" may also help explain the narrator's inability to express in language his powerful affective response.

[71] Despite their absent from popular music historiographies, one finds travelling medicine man shows in other works of fiction from the era. See Yi Mun-gu, "Kim T'ak-bo chŏn," in *Haebyŏk* (Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yŏngsa, 1974), 313–333, translated by Shin Hyun-song as "The Tale of Kim Takbo," in *Modern Korean Literature*, edited by Chung Chong-wha (Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2012), 223–259; and Pak T'ae-sun, "Chŏng tŭn ttang ŏndŏk wi" [On a hill of the land to which I have grown close], in *Natsŏn kŏri* (Seoul: Nanam, 1989), 21–44.

The most notable textual feature of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" is the contrast between the uptempo duple meter, bright C-major pentatonic key, and wobbly, melismatic head voice on the one hand; and the darker themes of loss of hometown and a life of aimless wandering, on the other. Certainly it is plausible that this contrast was a product both of the total mobilization era's imperative to raise social morale by abstaining from excessive minor-key expressions of sadness as well as the cheerful tonality and wandering ronins of older songs, mostly notably Uehara Bin's "Tsumakoi dōchū" (In the way of wife-love, 1937).[72] Whether conditioned by a broader historical context of repressed expressions of pain or a direct musical influence, majorized sadness disempowers the major-minor binary of its conventional function as emotional guidepost for lyrical interpretation. In "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," an uncomfortable gap opens between the surrogate musical notation of personal narrative and the transcriptions of vocal performances in block quotation. In the same way that the major-minor binary fails provide signifying cues for its listeners to understand the lyrics it contextualizes, the unsettling ending of the story may also suggest an author's misgivings about the capacity of personal narrative to establish the requisite commentaries and preludes to compensate for the silence of lyrical transcription. Yet, in adherence to the classical East Asian genre of biography, "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water" must also be read as a celebration of those qualities which make its subject singular: self-dignified resistance in the face of foreign encroachments upon one's hometown. So too do these qualities find historical analog in the myths surrounding the conception of the third verse of "Wayfarer's sorrow":

> Each unfamiliar street is colder than a foreign land
> There is no sun on the horizon I must go to
> Stars of dusk, cold frost seeps into my bones

[72] Yi Yŏng-mi, *Han'guk taejung kayosa* (Seoul: Sigongsa, 1998), 93; Yi Chun-hŭi, "1940~50-yŏndae 't'rot'ŭ' ŭi hwakchang: changjohwa (長調化) ŭi toip kwa pyŏnyong," *Tongyang ŭmak* 38 (2015): 75-94; Uehara Bin, "Tsumakoi dōchū" Polydor 2428 (1937).

Where do I find my way to, where will I go

The song's mythologization appears to have gradually took shape between 1973–2003.[73] As legend has it, the song's singer Paek Nyŏn-sŏl (1914–1980) and lyricist Cho Kyŏng-hwan (1910–1956), the respective singer and lyricist of "Wayfarer's Sorrow," were summoned by the police for questioning, either on accusations of expressing anti-Japanese sentiments or facilitating anti-Japanese resistance activities, depending on the storyteller. The two men endure an evening of torture before being released the next morning. At a stand-up bar in downtown Kyŏngsŏng (present-day Seoul), they sip *makkŏlli* as the sun rises, and Paek mutters forlornly to Cho that the capital of their homeland now seemed "colder than a foreign land." Inspired, the lyricist quickly jots down on a cigarette pack the lines to what would become the third verse of "Wayfarer's Sorrow." Because they express the theme of negated belonging most directly, the duo decides to position this verse last in the song, hoping to circumvent pre-release censorship.

One familiar with this myth would thus understand that Ong-jŏm's story recontextualizes "Wayfarer's Sorrow" from the time of Japanese colonialism to the chronotope of US military occupation. This added valence generates a historical continuity which in turn elevates the trope of wayfarer from a veiled allegory of colonization to a more timeless archetype of stolen homeland. As the constant model of self-reliance and dignity, Ong-jŏm is made to bear the burden of rendering the Korean essence of resistance from the colonial past to the postwar present. Thus, Ong-jŏm's story resonates with readers not merely as a realistic portrayal of *minjung,* but because Yi Mun-gu's narrative reorchestrations

[73] Yi Kil-bŏm, "Yŏnye such'ŏp pansegi kayogye (25) Paek Nyŏn-sŏl kwa 'Nagŭne sŏrum'" [Entertainment notebook, a half-century of songs (25) Paek Nyŏn-sŏl and 'Nagŭne sŏrum'], *Tonga ilbo*, March 9, 1973; Yi Kil-bŏm, "Yŏnye such'ŏp pansegi kayogye (36) Kŏmyŏl yŏhwa" [Entertainment notebook, a half-century of songs (36) Leftover stories of censorship], *Tonga ilbo*, March 26, 1973; Song Sŏn-mu, "Kayo e tamgin kŭnse paengnyŏn <Chumal yŏnjae> (22) Nagŭne sŏrum" [A century in song <Weekend series> (22) 'Wayfarer's sorrow'], *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, June 13, 1981; Pak Ch'an-ho, *Han'guk kayosa*, 461–462; Chŏng Tu-su, "Kayo 100-yŏn kŭ norae kŭ sayŏn <41> Nagŭne sŏrum" [100 years of song that song that story <41> Nagŭne sŏrum], *Tonga ilbo*, May 16, 1992; and Yi Sang-hŭi, *Onŭl to kŏtnŭndamanŭn* (Seoul: Sŏn, 2003), 31–42.

beckon readers to hear her voice through these sedimented layers of struggle, loss, and perseverance. By way of conclusion, I want to add one last layer to this close listening by returning to the story of Pak Ch'an-ho, that is, the story of why we are even able to reference the "original" voice of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" while reading Yi Mun-gu's reassembly of Ong-jŏm's rendition of it.

Listening to the Material Diaspora: *Korean Song History* (1992) and *Song History Heard on Gramophone* (1992)

Much like Ong-jŏm's story, so too had popular music history been transmitted for decades largely by way of personal recollections. The fact that such myths as that of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" had long survived archivally through no more than a scattering of journalistic writings and highly subjective first person accounts is a testament to a cultural history mired in controversies and disavowals. Persistent drives to liquidate all remnants of colonial rule and the attendant polarization of high and low culture branded the act of historicizing popular music both a painful exercise in re-awakening the ghosts of the shameful past and a frivolous distraction from more serious academic pursuits. A dialectic forms between the excoriations of trot music as an empty form of entertainment and its mythologization as an embodiment of the ethnonationalist spirit of resistance: the ethnonational consciousness of trot music is celebrated in proportion to the histrionics with which it is condemned. Like "Floating Clouds, Flowing Water," the writing in Pak Ch'an-ho's *Korean Song History* comes to embody multiple functions: archival recovery, memory reassemblage, and surrogate musical notation. Establishing the dominant style of song historiography, Pak presents objective descriptions of a song through discographic information and lyrical transcriptions while narrating the discursive stream within which the

song's multiple meanings are to be simplified and comprehended.[74] In fact our very ability to reference the "original" voice of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" while reading Yi Mun-gu's reassembly of Ong-jŏm's rendition of it should be credited to Pak.[75]

That many of the original artifacts of Korean song history had to be recovered from Japan is indicative of three conditions: the scarcities of the liberation space, the effacement of North Korea and Japan in postwar South Korea, and the centrality of Japan to the colonial Korean music industry. In the liberation space, widespread scarcity of resources necessitated the shellac of old SPs be recycled or repurposed: one could be changing a lightbulb without knowing that the socket had once been "Tears of Mokp'o" or spinning a "newly" pressed SP of "Ch'ammyŏnggo Love" only to hear Yamaguchi Yoshiko whispering faintly underneath it.[76] With the increase of Japanese imports and the establishment of new regulatory regimes in the 1960s, one could be lost in revelry listening to "Wayfarer's Sorrow" only to be told that they were consuming the lyrics of a North Korean defector illegally reproduced on a bootleg LP from Japan.[77] Such juridical misidentifications of lyricists resulted in precisely those inaccuracies and alterations which inspired Pak Ch'an-ho to search out the original SPs. What he ended up finding in the 1970s was a handful of Korean-owned companies in Osaka, one of which possessed the Taihei and Okeh Records masters along with their commercial rights.[78] During the colonial era, Korean singers contracted to Taihei like Paek Nyŏn-sŏl and Paek Nan-a would travel to Osaka to record at the studio of parent company Dainippon

[74] Christopher Smalls, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2011). Smalls describes the writer as one who "plods behind the performers as they shower their multiple meanings over the listeners, describing and explaining their gestures one after the other, reducing the many-layered, multidimensional experience to a onedimensional discursive stream" (185).

[75] Yi Chun-hŭi confirmed that the version on *Song History* was indeed provided by Pak Ch'an-ho (email correspondence).

[76] For more on the process of recycling of old records in the liberation space, see Yi Chun-hŭi, "1940-yŏndae huban (1945-1950) Han'guk ŭmban sanŏp ŭi kaehwang," *Han'guk ŭmbanhak*, no. 14 (2004): 141–144.

[77] "Kayogye nŭn mubŏp chidae = toyong poksaban tolgo tora" [The song industry is a lawless zone: Stolen copies spin and spin], *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, September 26, 1964." This 1964 newspaper article incorrectly credits Pak Yŏng-ho (1911-1957), a lyricist and playwright who did go North after liberation, for writing "Wayfarer's Sorrow."

[78] For more on Makino Records, see "Pak Ch'an-ho," June 21, 2016, 55–61.

Chikuonki Kabushiki Gaisha (Dainippon Gramophone Co.). All songs were tracked in one-take through a single microphone, the masters were then transported to the neighboring factory for mass production, and the resulting shellac SPs were shipped back to Korea for sale.[79] One might imagine that the records which Ong-jŏm encounters at the market materialized there via precisely such routes.

When the bans on North Korean defectors and Japanese color were finally lifted in 1988, an entire subgenre emerged around the recording and performance of once forbidden songs.[80] Synnara Records, operating with relative autonomy from the conservative mainstream music industry, was the first to take up real efforts to re-issue original colonial-era recordings. Only months ahead of publication of the Korean translation of *Korean Song History*, Synarra Records reached out to ask Pak if he would be willing to contribute his collection to *Yusŏnggi ro tŭttŏn kayosa* (Song history heard on gramophone, 1992), a forthcoming ten-disc compilation that aimed to put the original recordings of songs produced between 1925–1945 back into circulation.[81] Along with providing DAT renderings of records reissued in Japan like "Wayfarer's Sorrow," Pak also contacted a Japanese collector named Saito Shoji who, after hearing Yi Nan-yŏng and Ko Pok-su perform "Sin Arirang" on a live radio broadcast back in the 1930s, asked a relative in Taegu to send the Okeh and Taipei new release catalogs back to him in Japan each month, eventually amassing nearly 250

[79] "Pan Ya-wŏl," November 19, 2004, December 2, 2004, 121–125, 184–189; Hugh de Ferranti, "Music and Diaspora in the Second Metropolis: The Okinawan and Korean Musicians of Interwar Osaka," *Japanese Studies* 29, no. 2 (2009): 248–249.

[80] "Kayo mudae haegŭm kayo p'yŏn," aired by KBS on January 23, 1989, video, YouTube, KBS kach'i sapsida, 49:26, https://perma.cc/VE7C-GQZ9. This special episode of *Kayo mudae* (Song stage) was devoted to songs of this subgenre, aptly named "*haegŭm kayo*" (formerly banned songs), by North Korean defectors; Yi Mi-ja has also recorded and released several compilation albums of formerly banned songs.

[81] The ten-disc anthology *Yusŏnggi ro tŭttŏn kayosa* (Song history heard through gramophone) of recordings from 1925-1945 was released by Synnara Records in August 1992. Following the success of the first collection, Synnara went on to release several other anthologies, including a twelve-disc follow-up of songs from 1945-1960 and the twenty-three-disc *Yusŏnggi ro tŭtton pulmyŏl ŭi myŏng kasu* (Eternal greats heard on gramophone) compilation (1996).

SPs.[82] Thus many of the original songs we hear today were acquired through crisscrossing circuits of transnational and transmedial migration.

In the case of Okeh, Saito Shoji, and Synnara, this circuit began with Korean musicians traveling to Japan to record, flowed back to the colonies as newly pressed SPs ready for retail sale, crossed back again to Japan to be added to Saito's personal collection, until finally, decades later, returning to Korea for re-issue in digitized form. In the case of "Wayfarer's Sorrow," migration also characterizes movement between media: colonized life in Korea is recorded in written lyrical form, the lyrics are phonosonically reproduced, the phonosonic voice is converted to sound waves in Japan, the sound waves are cut into heated wax blanks, the wax blanks are metallized, stampers are grown from the copper masters, vinyl LPs are pressed, languishing for years in the dustbins of a side alley record store as writers in Korea such as Yi Mun-gu test the limits of orchestrating its memory into print, until finally, after decades, it is digitized and sent back to Korea as CDs long after the masters had disappeared.[83]

In other words, one might imagine that each static fizzle heard in a digitized colonial era song possesses a specific material origin, a marking of the transnational itinerancy that has necessitated so many to search beyond the confines of the southern half of the Korean peninsula.[84] They bear uprootedness not only in sonic and lyrical form, but also upon the grooves of their shellac or vinyl surfaces. One might read the imperfections in Yi Mun-gu's narrative reassembly as the textual analog of those material abrasions. And just as Ong-jŏm's tale gives new meaning to the uprootedness expressed lyrically by "Wayfarer's Sorrow," one may also recontextualize their own intertextual hearings of Yi's personal narrative within the

[82] "Pak Ch'an-ho," June 23, 2016, 118–125. Pak would not acquire the original SP of "Wayfarer's Sorrow" until after publishing the first volume of *Song History* (124).

[83] "Pak Ch'an-ho," June 21, 23, 2016, 46–47, 55–57, 106.

[84] Pak Ch'an-ho, "Han'guk kayo ŭi wŏnjŏm ŭl hoekkijŏgin chagŏp: *Yusŏnggi ro tŭttŏn kayosa*. Sŏul: Sinnara Rek'odŭsa, 1992," *Han'guk ŭmaksa hakbo* 10 (1993): 243–252. 248.

broader stories of Korean popular music history, as an act of earwitness to the border-crossing between print and sound media, between the material and the affective, between the sounds and the narratives of human histories once lost, now rediscovered. In the same way that Yi struggled to find the words to "bring that moment" of hearing Ong-jŏm's voice for what would ultimately be the last time "out from memory," so too should the static and pops of re-issued songs implore the listener to hear beyond the ubiquitous availability of their digital form, to hear the auditory signature of a material diaspora and the immense efforts of individuals to recover those once abandoned voices from the oblivion of time. Reading the rural travelog intertextually through the sounds and stories of the songs it vocalizes thus works to disclose the very transnationality that the timeless facade of the Korean countryside can all too easily be made to conceal. Thus Ong-jŏm's story resonates with readers not merely as a realistic portrayal of *minjung*, but because Yi Mun-gu's narrative reorchestrations beckon readers to hear her voice through the weight of these sedimented layers of struggle, loss, and perseverance.

CHAPTER FOUR

PSYCHEDELIC CODES AND YOUTH CULTURE LITERATURE

On Easter Sunday 1974, explosions of Korean rock music washed over the Welch-Ryang Auditorium of Ewha Women's University for the first time. "Loud hard rock music shatters forth. Bright colored lights tear the air," wrote bestselling novelist Ch'oe In-ho. Recently christened the spokesperson of South Korea's emergent *ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa* (youth culture), Ch'oe had come to record his impressions of the show for a feature in the *Chosŏn ilbo*.[1] Fans had poured into the 3,000 seat auditorium to hear the singer and late night DJ "they love and idolize," Yi Chang-hŭi (1947–), "shatter, sooth, and comfort their youthful loneliness, sadness, and despair." In his review, Ch'oe uses synesthetic and allegorical layering to describe the music as being tangible, colorful, falling "like rain," and swelling "like a wave." But as much as the songs themselves, Ch'oe was interested in their ability to agglomerate and amplify a multitude of subjectivities simultaneously. To be part of the plurality galvanized by those spellbinding vibrations also provokes in Ch'oe a private upheaval of affect and perception similar to psychedelic-induced epiphany. "Only now does it seem that I can love everyone, a loving yet spontaneous reaffirmation of that passing communion inexpressible in language. […] All will able to forgive and be forgiven." In this chapter I explore the psychedelic soundtrack of 1970s South Korean youth culture and the distinctly psychedelic styles of writing it inspired.

If writers are, in Ch'oe's words, "panhandlers who beg for language," then the Korean authors who identified with 1970s youth culture procured from its soundtrack not only lyrical languages, but also certain aesthetic codes of psychedelic experience. Ch'oe believed that literature should, like the live music experience, aim to achieve self-transcendence. "For a

[1] Ch'oe In-ho, "'Na' wa 'nŏ' man ŭi toryŏn pyŏni tŭl: Yi Chang-hŭi chasŏn rissait'ŭl, Chakka Ch'oe In-ho Ssi sich'ŏnggi," *Chosŏn ilbo*, April 16, 1974.

literary work to move us, it must attain a state of communion with us by revealing our experiences through the writing of another." Just as we are moved by the novel harmonies emanating from parallel movements of chord and melody, so too should the spaces of communion between juxtaposing languages, forms, and images serve to "expand the reader's experiences and conceptions" of the world.[2]

Much has been written on the 1970s South Korea youth culture movement (1968–1975).[3] Respective discussions on rock music and literature have revolved around Ch'oe In-ho and musical artist Shin Joong Hyun (Sin Chung-hyŏn, 1938–), nicknamed "Han'guk rok ŭi Taebu" (Godfather of Korean Rock). Yet few scholars have conducted intermedial analysis upon the music and literature of a youth culture and psychedelic counterculture.[4] Rather than dismissing these cultures for their historical connotations as mere endorsements of promiscuous sex and drug use, the readings of this chapter are premised upon the notion that art functions subversively by uprooting established sensibilities and perceptions of reality, and in doing so, that art can liberate individuals from repressive social forms by first liberating their subjective consciousnesses.[5] I ask, in what ways can transnational currents of

[2] See Chapter 5 in Ch'oe In-ho. *Na nŭn na rŭl kiŏk handa*, vol.1 (Seoul: Yŏbaek Midiŏ, 2015).

[3] Kang Hŏn, *Chŏnbok kwa panjŏn*; Jin-kyung Lee, *Service Economies*; Song Ŭn-yŏng, "Taejung munhwa hyŏnsang ŭrosŏ ŭi Ch'oe In-ho sosŏl: 1970-yŏndae ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa/munhak ŭi sŭt'ail kwa sobi p'ungsok," *Sanghŏ hakpo* 15 (2005): 419–445; Hyunjoon Shin [Sin Hyŏn-jun], *Han'guk p'ap ŭi kogohak 1960*; and Shin, *Han'guk p'ap ŭi kogohak 1970*. Kang Hŏn gives anecdotal accounts of 1970s youth culture and its relation to the collective identity formation of the postwar generation (174–249). Shin Hyunjoon traces the industrial emergence and cultural rise and fall of youth culture's emblematic genres of rock and folk from the late 1960s to the mid 170s (*Han'guk p'ap 1960*, 120–225; and *Han'guk p'ap 1970*, 18–222); Jin-kyung Lee interrogates mechanisms of sexual commodification and gendered subjectivity in the genres of hostess literature closely associated with youth culture (94–120). Song Ŭn-yŏng examines the widely publicized youth culture debates of 1974 and Ch'oe In-ho's bestseller *Pabodŭl ŭi haengjin* (March of fools, 1974), arguing that youth culture's drive for autonomous expression manifested through embrace of mass cultural consumption and style.

[4] Song Ŭn-yŏng, "Saik'idellik munhak, kŭrigo pyŏnbang hip'idŭl ŭi tuit'ŭllin sŏng —68-chŏngsin ŭi munhwajŏk yŏnghyang kwa 1970-yŏndae munhak ŭi taehang munhwajŏk silch'ŏn," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng* 123 (May 2018): 140–170. Song Ŭn-yŏng's reading of Ch'oe In-ho's " Tain ŭi pang" (Stranger's room, 1971) as psychedelic literature proves the exception. I elaborate upon Song's discussion of psychedelic literature by exploring formal homologies and parallel aesthetic approaches between the music and literature, respectively, of Shin and Ch'oe.

[5] For more on this conception of the subversive function of art, see Norman O. Brown, *Life Against Death: The Psychoanalytical Meaning of History* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1959), 3–109, 283–323; Herbert Marcuse, *The Aesthetic Dimension: Toward a Critique of Marxist Aesthetics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1977): 1–21; "Art in the One-Dimensional Society," *Arts Magazine* 41, no. 7 (May 1967): 122; Theodore Roszak, *The Making of a Counter Culture* (Garden City, NY: Anchor Books, 1969), 84–123.

youth culture and psychedelic counterculture from the 1960s–70s inform comparative readings of the artistic engagements of Shin Joong Hyun, Ch'oe In-ho, and others? How might training one's interpretive ear to identifiable musical codifications of hallucinogenic experience and self-liberation make audible substrate constellations of divergent sensibilities taking shape across the popular music and literature of South Korea's era of developmentalist dictatorship? What do these readings suggest more generally about the existence of a broader psychedelic counterculture in South Korea? By addressing these questions, the chapter aims to work towards a mutual understanding of the cultural historical significance of these subversions of mainstream sensibilities, artistic embodiments of freedom through psychedelic experience, and personal explorations of life amidst an overwhelming sense of death. If psychedelic music gave 1970s South Korean youth culture blueprints for embodying the sensation of freedom, then it was literary fiction—with its ability to draw musical form into a multitude of narrative subjectivities—that mapped out those sonically-induced movements of consciousness towards self-liberation, from altered states of reception to subversions of the mundane world.

Psychedelic Counterculture in South Korea, 1969–1971

The advent of psychedelic aesthetics traces back to the invention of LSD by Albert Hoffman in 1938 and Aldous Huxley's accounts of taking mescaline in the 1940s–50s. Subsequent efforts to capture drug-induced states of consciousness in writings of psychotherapy, spirituality, and social reform produced what literary scholar Lana Cook describes as "new representational approaches, such as the strategic layering of realist and fantastic modes, invention of new language, metaphors and visual forms to capture these unusual, nonrational, affectively intense lived experiences."[6] In the early 1970s, South

[6] Lana Cook, "Altered States: The American Psychedelic Aesthetic" (PhD diss., Northeastern University, 2014), 12.

Korean fiction authors began experimenting with such layering techniques to endue rock's listening experiences with a synesthetic surplus indicative of the drug-induced states with which the genre had come to be closely associated.

In the 1974 University Literature Prize-winning story "Na man ŭi, na man ŭi, na man ŭi" ("Only mine, only mine, only mine"), novelist Yi In-sŏng portrays the chemical-fueled transformation of body and perception of the narrator/protagonist, college dropout and longtime DJ of a popular tea room (*tabang*) in Seoul.[7] Tea rooms and listening salons (*ŭmak kamsangsil*) had long served as spaces of leisure, socialization, and cultural exchange since the colonial era. In writings from the 1930s by Chu Yo-sŏp (1902–1972) and Yi Hyo–sŏk (1907–1942), cafes and tea rooms appear as portals through which the enlightened youth of Kyŏngsŏng entered into a cherished gramophonic soundscape of classical music and fleeting romantic communion.[8] Yet as the novelist Pak Yong-suk (1934–2018) depicts in "Yŏngung kyohyangak" (Eroica symphony, 1966), a lesser known short story about the female DJ of a highbrow tea room, the profession of disc jockey did not begin proliferating throughout Seoul until the 1960s.[9] By the end of that decade, these venues, along with *saengŭmak sallong* (live salons), began specializing in genres of rock and folk which appealed specifically to the more heterodoxic sensibilities of an emergent youth culture.[10] Despite the communal cultures that did take shape around these spaces, the DJ of "Only Mine" conceives of himself as a caged animal behind the soundproof glass of the DJ box, both an insulating force of comfort and an

[7] Yi In-sŏng, "Na man ŭi, na man ŭi, na man ŭi," in *Sidae wa munhak: Taehak Munhaksang susang chakp'umjip*, (Seoul: Chŏnyewŏn, 1986), 193–210.

[8] Im T'ae-hun, "Ŭmgyŏng ŭi palgyŏn."

[9] Pak Yong-suk, "Yŏngung kyohyangak," *Hyŏndae munhak*, no. 139 (July 1966): 175–191. "Yŏngung Kyohyangak" (Eroica symphony) appears to have been written for a readership still unfamiliar with what a DJ does: the entire first section of the story is devoted to a critical explication of the history, social status, and implications for high musical cultures of this new "profession of DJ [*rekod'ŭ p'lleiyŏ*]," which, the narrator notes, "has proliferated in recent days Korea […] in listening rooms and tearooms" (171). Yet like "Only Mine," "Eroica Symphony" also conveys the dual beliefs that pop songs are capable of creating spaces for communion between strangers and that hidden meanings are conveyed through the logic and order with which songs are requested by listeners and selected by DJs.

[10] For detailed overviews of the history and importance of these listening spaces, see Shin, *Han'guk p'ap 1960*, 216–323; Shin, *Han'guk p'ap 1970*, 82–105; and Kim Hyŏng-ch'an, *Han'guk taejung ŭmaksa sanch'aek: 1960-1970-yŏndae taejung ŭmak ŭi kyŏlchŏngjŏk changmyŏn tŭl* (Seoul: Alma, 2015), 254–265.

"invisible rupture between here and there."[11] Literary scholar Yi Sŭng-wŏn has argued that since the advent of sonic modernity in the 1920s, writers and intellectuals have grappled with the duality seemingly embedded in mechanically reproduced sound—both a vehicle of collectivization for national enlightenment and a solipsistic space of private refuge for the individual.[12] In fictional narratives of 1970s youth culture, writers like Yi In-sŏng filter musical encounters with this duality through a psychedelic aesthetic lens.

Within the the soundproof enclosure of the DJ booth, "psychedelic sound" melds together with the "rapturous smoke" of marijuana, and the narrator invokes various synesthetic figurations of music: hardened geometric patterns "awakening once more in rhythmic movement" and particle matter inflating inside his veins, escaping and colliding around the booth.[13] Brought to life suddenly by this psychedelic trip, various items from the décor of the music box begin moving. From the Beatles poster hung to the DJ's side, one member "shakes his mophead and cackles," while the others draw "wine glasses of laughter up to their mouths with shaking bodies." Beneath them, nude *Playboy* cutouts "loosen their hair and surround me in gyrating movements." The models now appear "covered entirely in blood. […] Their breasts now fill with music and moving limply pulled me up and into the void. My body is as light as dust."[14] Here, the paraphanalia that decorate this private space of psychedelic escape—the poster of an iconic rock band, an adult magazine—should be understood as associated markers of the cultural milieu in which popular accounts of drug-induced experience circulated.

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[11] Yi, "Na man ŭi," 194.

[12] Yi Sŭng-wŏn, *Sori ka mandŭrŏ naen kŭndae*.

[13] Yi, 198. Grand Prosecutor's Office, Republic of Korea, *Mayangnyu pŏmjoe paeksŏ 1990* (1991). Use of cannabis remained largely limited to textile production until the countercultural movement popularized its intoxicating effects in the early 1970s. From 1970-1976, the Supreme Prosecutors' Office records an increase of 7 to 1,460 marijuana-related arrests. The first independent legislation criminalizing marijuana took effect April 7, 1976 (Grand Prosecutor's Office, 237). For the social history of marijuana in Korea, Cho Sŏk-yŏn, *Mayak ŭi sahoesa* (Seoul: Hyŏnsil Munhwa, 2021), 138–171.

[14] Yi In-sŏng, 199.

The association between marijuana, rock music, and sexually explicit print material may be best encapsulated by an issue of the tabloid-style weekly magazine *Sŏndei Sŏul* (1968–1991) from 1973. Readers of this issue would have been able to flip from an article entitled "Sin Chung-hyŏn ŭi haep'i sŭmok'ŭ t'ambanggi" (Shin Joong Hyun's happy-smoke travelogue) to lascivious pictorials of female celebrities in swimsuits and voyeuristic street photography.[15] After the infamous marijuana scandal in connection with which the guitarist was arrested (more on this later), interest in psychedelic experience among college students appears only to have grown, as bookstores near campuses in 1975 listed among their bestsellers such psychedelic-related publications as R.E.L. Masters' *The Varieties of Psychedelic Experience* (1968), John Kaplan's *Marijuana-The New Prohibition* (1970), Margaret O. Hyde's *Mind Drugs* (1969), Joel Fort's *The Pleasure Seekers* (1969).[16] Of course, the historical roots of rock music's association with drug-induced experiences traces back to the psychedelic turn in the UK and US a decade prior.

Since the mid-1960s, bands such as the Beatles, the Yardbirds, and the Byrds began experimenting with Indian song form and instrumentation, guitar effects and improvisation, and layering recording techniques; the psychedelic turn culminated in 1967 with the release of the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*. Aiming to coopt the aesthetics of expanded perception and sensual immersion, rock embraced musical sound together with LSD and marijuana as vehicles for a self-liberation of individual consciousness which would theoretically extend into collective liberation of society from its repressive institutions. The music developed, as sociomusicologist Simon Frith writes, "much more formally than previous movements its own musical language, its own coded sets of references and

[15] Kim Sŏng-hwan, "*Sŏndae Sŏul* kwa Yusin sidae ŭi taejung," in *1970 Pak Chŏng-hŭi modŏnijŭm: Yusin esŏ* Sŏndei Sŏul *kkaji* (Seoul: Ch'ŏnnyŏn ŭi Sangsang, 2015), 245–259.

[16] Im Yŏn-ch'ŏl, "Hwan'gakche kwan'gye ch'aek pŏmnam: taemach'o tansok haja suyo kŭpchŭng" [Flood of books related to psychedelic drugs: Crack down on marijuana, rapid rise in demand], *Chungang ilbo,* December 15, 1975, https://perma.cc/RSJ9-JGJ2.

attitudes."[17] Such coding enabled progressive rock to be acknowledged as what musicologist Sheila Whitley describes "not only as a major source of communication but also as symbolically representing their [the counterculture's] own search for alternative cognitive and social modes beneath and outside the dominant culture."[18] In South Korea, rock music first gained wide popularity in the late 1960s as "group sound" musicians such as Shin, trained in the highly stratified, multi-phase audition system of the United States Forces Korea (USFK) entertainment industry, introduced loose, guitar-driven arrangements and soul-inflected vocal delivery to audiences beyond USFK installations and their surrounding camp towns. However, even before this, guitar music had become an omnipresence in the cultural contact zones shared by the American military and its allies in the Pacific.

In the early 1970s, the counterculture became the target of the government's "*t'oep'ye p'ungjo tansok*" (crackdown on decadent tendencies), part of a greater effort to revive national culture by selectively purging undesirable foreign influences. Yet the censors were not alone in their opposition to erotic print materials. College students had for years protested the sale of popular weeklies such as *Sunday Seoul,* on occasion even holding public book-burnings. Such hostile expressions of disapproval by students challenged the newly founded Yulli Wiwŏnhoe (Ethics Committee, 1970) to place even stricter restrictions on erotic publications.[19] Despite both governmental and public opposition to decadent trends, night clubs went on converting their facilities into all-night go-go clubs, defying the midnight curfew and satisfying the cravings of the youth for alternative modes of collective social life

[17] Simon Frith, "Rock and the Politics of Memory." *Social Text*, no. 9/10 (1984): 64.

[18] Sheila Whitley, *The Space Between the Notes: Rock and the counter-culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 36.

[19] For contemporaneous newspaper stories on the student opposition to lowbrow magazines and books, see "Pullyang manhwa, ero ch'aek sogak" [Book-burning of bad comics, erotic books], *Tonga Ilbo,* May 10, 1969; "Chit'an patnūn ero chapji kyuje wa chŏnghwa ŭi panghyang" [Regulation and purification aimed at erotic magazines condemned], *Tonga Ilbo*, June 14, 1969.

and greater autonomy from the strict regimentation of a highly militarized society.[20] In "Only Mine," Yi In-sŏng employs psychedelic codes selectively and subjectively. Such codeswitching enabled writers from the elite ranks of the university to position themselves as mediators of the divergent discourses on the counterculture in South Korea: perceived as either a potentially participatory and collective mode of liberation from mainstream society's insular and totalizing demands for conformity or a solipsistic indulgence inimical to the economic productivity and cultural identity of the ethnic nation.

The DJ of "Only Mine" attempts to codify rock songs by intensity and to communicate through the lyrical language made publicly available by their mass circulation. He is possessive and pedantic about his system of codification and weary of outsiders who try to appropriate the lyrics for conversational exchange. In order to hold listeners captive, the DJ assigns every song on the café's 876 LPs a degree of noisiness (strong, medium, weak) and notates days in ten-minute intervals that fluctuate according to time of day, weather, and news: "12PM to 1PM becomes 'weak-weak-middle-strong-middle-weak'."[21] He also employs music as a furtive code shared only by fellow psychedelic trippers. To signal his embarkment, he quickly turns the volume knob on the amplifier up and down. To signal marijuana delivery, a dealer must submit a request slip for the Beatles' "Let it Be" addressed, "Hey Mr. DJ!" The DJ must then confirm the delivery by increasing the volume when Paul sings "Mother Mary" (code for marijuana). Mistaken invocation of the delivery code by an anonymous woman leads to a romantic exchange using only song titles: the woman requests "One is the Loneliest Number," and "All You Need is Love," to which the DJ retorts, "I am a Rock." Though they make plans to meet outside of the salon, the DJ remains suspicious of the woman, postulating that perhaps she has ties to an undercover police informant.[22] He

[20] Pil Ho Kim and Hyunjoon Shin, "The Birth of 'Rok': Cultural Imperialism, Nationalism, and the Glocalization of Rock Music in South Korea, 1964–1975," *positions* 18, no. 1 (February 2010): 216.
[21] Yi, "Na man ŭi," 196–97.
[22] Yi, 203–205.

ultimately opts to satiate his carnal desires by visiting a sex worker and settling for the "hardened loneliness" of solitary listening and hallucination.

In the final scene at sunset, the DJ returns to work only to discover the salon is closed for the day. In order to convey the magnitude of sudden crisis he feels, the narrator widens the scope of direct and indirect metaphorical description to blend together space and time in the fading light. "I stood again like a barren exclamation point thrown off the paper. […] The last light of time surged into the space between mountain ridges in dark red. […] The darkness of asphalt came flooding in."[23] In the end, music and hallucination represent not a single condition of desire, but of life itself, within which the DJ is compulsively driven to "bury" himself, despite the disapproval of society at large. To this end, "Only Mine" portrays rock music as a generative source of codifications and languages both exclusive and public. Around these languages, the possibility of shared countercultural identity between listeners balances upon the negotiation of conflicting drives to possess the psychedelic codes exclusively or to share those codes communally.

The notion that freeing individual consciousness fosters societal liberation encircled psychedelic rock's connotative sensibilities in an oceanic excitement and a sense of revolutionary change. This exhilaration resonated powerfully amongst youth disillusioned by mainstream society across the globe in Chile, Iran, South Korea, and elsewhere.[24] For rock purists, listening was not merely a form of passive consumption, but an artistic and egalitarian path to self-liberation, "something to work on and commit oneself to."[25] While such listening practices appear free from the logic of mass culture, the albums themselves were undeniably also mass commodities. For Shin Joong Hyun and Ch'oe In-ho, psychedelic

[23] Yi, 208.

[24] For an in-depth history of psychedelic counterculture in Chile, see Patrick Barr-Melej, *Psychedelic Chile: Youth, Counterculture, and Politics on the Road to Socialism and Dictatorship* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017); for an example of Iranian psychedelic rock, see Kourosh Yaghmaei, *Back From The Brink: Pre-Revolution Psychedelic Rock From Iran 1973-1979*, Now-Again Records (2011).

[25] Frith, "Rock," 60.

counterculture's embodiment of both ideologies of freedom and self-expression on the one hand, and a proven aesthetics for mass commodity consumption on the other, presented less of a contradiction than an opportunity.

Psychedelic aesthetics in Korea and elsewhere expanded into more general appropriations in commercial advertisement and domestic appliance design.[26] As art critic Clement Greenberg argued in 1939, mass commercial art has always coopted the "devices, tricks, stratagems, rules of thumb, themes" of the avant-garde.[27] He labels the kind of art manufactured for the masses who were urbanized and educated during the industrial revolution as "kitsch," or a form that selectively borrows "devices, tricks, stratagems, rules of thumb, themes" from the avant-garde of a "fully developed cultural tradition."[28] Today most consider this definition foundational, even interchangeable with that of middlebrow culture. In "A Theory of Mass Culture" published in 1953, Dwight Macdonald illustrates middlebrow appropriation through the image of Bauhaus modernism dripping "in a debased form of course, into our furniture, cafeterias, movie theatres, electric toasters, office buildings, drug stores, and railroad trains."[29] From these excoriations by mid-century American art critics, ironic parallels emerge to Shin Joong Hyun's own celebration of psychedelia's cultural influence from the 1960s onwards.

Though Macdonald observed it with horror and repulsion, the image of mundane spaces and materials bastardizing modernism is reminiscent of a more laudatory passage about the global influence of psychedelic aesthetics from Shin's memoir. Indeed Shin Joong Hyun discovered within psychedelia's colorful visual abstractions and hypnotic musical

[26] For a discussion of the cooptation of psychedelic aesthetics during the domestic goods consumer boom in 1960s Britain, see Stuart Laing, "Economy, society and culture in 1960s Britain: contexts and conditions for psychedelic art," in *Summer of Love: Psychedelic Art, Social Crisis and Counterculture in the 1960s*, eds. Christopher Grunenberg, and Jonathan Harris (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2005), 19–34.

[27] Clement Greenberg, "Avant-Garde and Kitsch," in *Art and Culture: Critical Essays* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press: 1961), 10.

[28] Greenberg, "Avant-Garde," 9–11.

[29] Dwight Macdonald, "A Theory of Mass Culture," in Bernard Rosenberg and David M. White, (eds.), *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (Glencoe, IL: The Free Press, 1957), 63.

meanderings something capable of transforming "the eyes, ears, and imaginations of ordinary people," to reveal "the most avant-garde of forms […] on the very streets we walk in reality and in our homes."[30] Whereas Macdonald equates the commercialization of avant-garde to a "spreading ooze" that "threatens to engulf everything," Shin labels the influence of psychedelic music in industrial design and fashion as a "revolutionary change."

The guitarist first encountered the term "psychedelic" during the filming of a live performance for American Forces in Korea Network television. Upon seeing the stage decorated with "florid lighting," Shin inquired with the American military's lighting technician, who explained that he chose to take the stage décor in a colorful direction because "the music you are playing is psychedelic."[31] That psychedelia overflowed from AFKN television into mainstream fashion, commercial advertisements, and product design bespeaks what Michael Kramer describes as the ambiguous embeddedness of rock in the 1960s within cultures of consumerism and militarism.[32] To this extent of course, the global circulation of psychedelic aesthetics carried with it implications of US cultural imperialism. As it oozed out from US military installations, a certain cultural prestige accompanied this aesthetic revolution. And to no small extent, such perceived status must be considered as part of the conviction which Shin developed in his efforts to vernacularize rock music: that psychedelic rock in particular could bridge high and low cultures by infusing the avant-garde into the everyday. Though connections between rock music and literature may have remained more subterranean as they were developing, those ties were certainly not coincidental, as Ch'oe In-ho expressed aspirations for youth culture that mirrored those of Shin for psychedelic rock: to serve cultural mediator between the elite and the silent masses.

[30] Shin Joong Hyun [Sin Chung-hyŏn], *Sin Chung-hyŏn ROCK* (Seoul: Tana Kihoek, 1999), 123–124.
[31] Shin, *ROCK*, 127.
[32] Michael J. Kramer, *The Republic of Rock Music: Music and Citizenship in the Sixties*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 12.

In a polemic "Declaration of Youth Culture" ("Ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa sŏnŏn," 1974), Ch'oe In-ho refutes notions of youth culture widely theorized by culture critics and sociology professors in mass print and lecture halls, offering instead a theory of his own.[33] He refuses to equate youth culture with student culture, never mind that the songs and literary texts identified with it were either made by or about university students, a demographic that still represented but a fraction of the population.[34] Instead his definition is based on a shared aim and function of "narrowing the gap" between mass cultures of the silent majority and elite cultures of the privileged minority. To visualize these relationships, Ch'oe evokes measurement and movement between the poles of a vertical plane (top-down, bottom-up). And when he imagines youth culture as an in-between point narrowing the division between vertical poles, essentially Ch'oe is describing the cultural emergence of a middle class. By extension, the debates over whether or not youth culture exists are in fact debates over whether or not the middle class had yet emerged. In this way, the significance of the ongoing government regulations and debates among elite intellectual circles surrounding youth culture can both be understood as preemptive efforts to enjoin the emergence of the middle class to visions for the future economic and cultural prosperity of the nation. If shifting pop sensibilities give any indication of youth culture's emergence (i.e., a consumer demographic of middle-class university students), the first evidence traces back to 1968 and the rise of the Pearl Sisters. The success of the Pearl Sisters can partially be explained by way of the vernacularized codes that Shin Joong Hyun developed prior to his 1968 breakthrough.

[33] Ch'oe In-ho, "Ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa sŏnŏn," *Han'guk ilbo*, April 24, 1974. For an overview of the youth culture debates and analysis within this context of music in two films adaptions of novels by Ch'oe, see Rosaleen Rhee, "South Korean Popular Folk Music: The Genre That Defined 1970s Youth Culture" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2020), 110–117, 126–140.

[34] Ministry of Education, Republic of Korea, "Status of Schools by Level", in *Statistical Year Book of Education* [in Korean] (1975). The Ministry of Education records the total population of college and university students as increasing from 178,050 in 1973 to 208,986 in 1975, accounting for approximately three percent of the overall student population and less than one percent of the total population (32).

In the American Eighth, Shin had been assigned language teachers to help ensure that his English pronunciation "smelled like butter"; he worked with a classically trained military composer to reinforce the "American colors" of his performance and compositions. Yet he also witness how GI crowds would quickly grow sick of acts who played songs identically to their records, how the absence of new dimensions of "*muhwajŏk chŏngsŏ* (cultural emotion) or *minjokjŏk ridŭm* (ethnonational rhythm) equated to a failure to captivate the American audience. Authentic forms of "*ch'angŭisŏng*" (creativity) had to be developed, but only within the prescripted musical boundaries of an American desire for both the familiar and the exotic.[35]

In these early base-show experiences, a dialectic of performer and audience mediates the realization of authenticity. Epiphanic failure of the other to attain total identification with the self originates not in the other's *inability* to mirror the self, but rather in the self's disavowal as inherently lacking, of their reflection in the other. Perceived within that lack are the intangible assets of "emotion" and "rhythm" identified respectively with culture and nation. Shin concluded that for the Korean duplication of American culture to satisfy American audiences, it must also perform preservation of one's inherent "virtues as a Korean." In this way the "authenticity" of "Korean" rock fundamentally developed out of the encounter with the American audience, a spontaneous dialectic toward stable identification mediated by both preconditioned acts of imitation and a more loosely defined intuition for "cultural emotions" exclusively possessed by individual nations and their ethnicities. As deployment to Vietnam increased in the mid-1960s, the number of American Gis stationed in Korea began to drop, necessitating that performance networks of military bases be brought into more intimate contact with Korean audiences. Now with a new batch of songs composed in the emergent style of *ssaik'i soul* (psychedelic soul), Shin Joong Hyun made a conscious

[35] Shin Joong Hyun, *ROCK*, 90–91.

shift toward making "Korean rock music for the Korean masses." This shift necessitated that much closer attention be paid to the Korean language. in which, for the sake of listeners, all lyrics now had to be written.

Shin describes how a year-long experiment to inject Korean language into a hitherto unambiguously Western genre produced two deceptively simple compositional innovations: additional vowels sequenced between consonants and greater spacing between lines. *Patch'im* (consonant endings) when enjambed together caused words to "collide against the roof of the singer's mouth, thus dampening the emotions" intended for conveyance. To resolve this problem, the guitarist "devised a method of […] elongating or sustaining words," subsequently discovering a staggering difference between "the feeling of singing 'I' [*nan*] versus the feeling of raising the ending consonant forward into the upper position of the next syllable and singing 'I~' [*na~n*].'" He found that because "Korean is a phonetic language, not every syllable possesses meaning. Some merely disappear as sounds into the air. When this happens, the music becomes frivolous."[36] As many poets before him had, Shin too discovered that placing silent breaks between lines produced space for deeper contemplation. In other words, the preceding vocal phrases linger impressionistically within these spaces, signifying shadows elongating in the cyclical movements of chord progressions toward resolve or further suspense. Thus by stretching out the vowels between consonants of the same syllable block and inserting greater spaces between lines, Shin produced a vernacularized code for perseverating the emotional and textural qualities of a lyrical delivery, whether they be rancorous and provocative or dreamy and soul-inflected. To the audition of these spaces, as I show in the conclusion, fiction writers would ascribe psychedelic effects.

Two songs, "Kŏjinmal iya" (It's a lie, 1971) and "Pombi" (Spring rain, 1969), demonstrate how line-spacing functions to extend the emotionality of lyrical conveyances

[36] Shin, *Sin Chung-hyŏn,* 104-105.

into instrumental space in Shin Joong Hyun's compositions.[37] In the frenetic and playfully provocative tune "It's a Lie," singer Kim Choo Ja (1951–) repeats the line "It's a lie" five times. For the sake of visualizing the unconventional syncopation and line-spacing found in the first chorus and verse of "It's a Lie," I have transcribed the lyrics below to roughly align each syllable with its corresponding beat in a two-bar (eight beats) phrase and chord (below each line) (Figure 2).

[37] Kim Choo Ja [Kim Ch'u-ja], "Kŏjinmal iya," track 1, side A of Universal KLS-25 (1971). See Appendix 26.

1. English Translation

```
|1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   |
                                 It's a
Lie                        It's a lie
Bbm
It's a lie, It's a lie, it's a
G#                  C#      G#
L i e ~ ~ ~ ~           E v e n
F7
Love        [is] a lie,         E v e n
D#m                 Bbm
Laughter    [is] a lie~             |
D#m                 F7
```

2. Romanization

```
|1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   |
                                 Kŏjinmal i-
ya                         Kŏjinmal iya
Bbm
Kŏjinmal iya, kŏjinmal iya, Kŏjinmal i-
G#                  C#      G#
y a ~ ~ ~ ~ ~           S a r a n g
F7
To        k ŏ j i n m a l ,   u s ŭ m
D#m                 Bbm
To          kŏjinmal~               |
D#m                 F7
```

3. Original Korean

```
|1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   |
                                 거짓말이-
야                         거 짓 말 이 야
Bbm
거짓말이야, 거짓말이야, 거짓말이
G#                  C#      G#
야    ~    ~    ~          사  랑
F7
도    거   짓   말          웃  음
D#m                 Bbm
도    거   짓   말  ~            |
D#m                 F7
```

Figure 2: Syncopation in "Kŏjinmal iya" (It's a lie, 1971)

An ascending melody, a crescendo in the instrumental accompaniment, and diminution in the length of each chord until the final sustained V chord work together to heighten the sense of tension leading up to the final elongated syllable (*ya*, notated with tildes). The i chord (Bbm) plays for two whole notes, the VII chord (G#) plays for one whole note, the III chord (C#) and VII chord (G#) each play for one half note, and the final V chord (F7) plays for two whole notes. With the last repeat of the chorus, this syllable is held in suspense as the band crescendos then crashes into the V chord, letting it resonate for five beats before Kim Choo Ja launches into the verse. Sentence construction is brusque and informal. The subject is an implied third-person pronoun, the object is "*kŏjinmal*" (lies), and the predicate is "*ida*" (to be) with the verb-ending "*ya*" indicicating *panmal*, or a casual level of speech reserved for those with whom the speaker is comfortable—peers, family, younger addressees, etc. Moreover, casual "*ya*" endings are not only displaced to the first beat, they are also elongated. Thus, repetition in increasingly rapid succession of the line "it's a lie" induces a monomoniacal mood while the lingering space with which it concludes reinforces the impetuousness conveyed by the elongated casual verb ending. If the space inserted at the end of the chorus of "It's a Lie" reinforces its monomoniacal and impetuous overtones, then an earlier Shin composition, "Spring Rain" ("Pombi," 1969), demonstrates how line-spacing can work to enhance the evocative qualities associated with psychedelic instrumental arrangements and soulful vocals.[38] Here, I've assigned one bar to each transposed line.

Spring rain
Bringing tears to my eyes
Spring rain
Until when will you keep
Falling
On my heart, bring tears to
My eyes

[38] "Spring Rain" is one of Shin's cornerstone compositions. Several singers have recorded versions, including by Yi Chŏng-hwa (1969), Pak In-su (1970, 1989), and Kim Choo Ja (1971). Yi Chŏng-hwa, "Pombi," track 1, side A of Shin Hyang DG-1012 (1969); Pak In-su, "Pombi," track 3, side A of King/Universal KLH-15 (1970), and track 4, side B, *Mwŏ rago han madi haeya hal t'ende … / Kagop'ŭn nara*, Oasis Record Co. (1989); and Kim Choo Ja, "Pombi," track 4, side A of Universal KLS-8 (1971). See Appendix 27.

Spring rain

In the final lines of the chorus "bring tears to my eyes," the arrangement rises in an enigmatic half-step from the i chord (Am) to Bb before shifting to the V chord (E), letting the final "Spring rain" hang forebodingly in the tritone interval forming between Bb and E. Characteristic of psychedelic music more broadly, the modal qualities of this three-chord movement allow the spaces between vocal lines to deviate from the binary resolutions offered by major-minor modes. In the final refrain of the 1969 version of "Spring Rain," a call-and-response between lead vocalist Yi Chŏng-hwa and backing choir gradually crescendos over a four-chord progression; here spacing enables the singer's soulful or emphatic delivery to continually increase in loudness, thus simulating a code discussed later on, of upward movement. These soul-inflected and psychedelic elements coalesce to produce a sound distinct to first-generation Korean rock. The most immediate fruits of Shin's labors came in 1968 with the overnight success of the Pearl Sisters.

Real-life teenage sisters Pae In-sun (1948–) and Pae In-suk (1951–) captivated listeners with their rendition of Shin's composition "Nim a" (Oh beloved, 1968). This was an introduction in *ssaik'i soul*, from the seemingly minor lyrical codes outlined above to the use of faster tempos, syncopated rhythms, and choreographed stage performance and fashion.[39] For their youthful recipients, American popular music had long resonated with the symbolic power of the US under whose hegemony those listeners were the first South Korean generation to grow up. Such symbolic resonance contributed to the initial ascent of psychedelic rock and the Korean artists pioneering its localization. For both the musicians and music disseminated directly from US military bases—visceral reminders of America's omnipresence in postwar Korea and a central channel for Euro-American pop records to circulate into East Asia.

[39] Pearl Sisters. "Nima," track 1, side A of Taeji DG-1018 (1968). See Appendix 28.

That psychedelic rock gained wide popularity in the late 1960s through frontwomen—first the Pearl Sisters and later Kim Choo Ja and Kim Chung Mi (1953–)—can be interpreted in a number of ways.[40] Whether a historical legacy of the US military base show, a compromise of feminine sensuality for sexual liberation, or a commodification of gendered subjectivity, Korea's female-fronted rock availed alternative musical and lyrical languages to listeners for whom the tearful lamentation and nostalgic sensibilities of the establishment genre of trot no longer provided catharsis or pleasure. If, as novelist Kim Hyŏng-sŏ has lovingly defined, trot is the expression of "collective historical grief" meant to foster solidarity between those beyond the "rule of cultural refinement," then the driving backbeats and de-localized narrative settings of the Pearl Sisters appealed to the more cosmopolitan sensibilities of listeners, many of whom could be counted in Ch'oe In-ho's gap-narrowing youth culture.[41] Three years after the Pearl Sisters' overnight success, Shin Joong Hyun compositions begin to seep into the sonic fabric of Korean literary fiction. And as the music is absorbed by the narrative realm of everyday reality, so too do the "most avant-garde of forms" begin to appear.

[40] Roald Maliangkay "Koreans Performing for Foreign Troops: The Occidentalism of the C.M.C. and K.P.K," *East Asian History* 37 (2011): 59–72; and "Koreans Got Talent: Auditioning for U.S. Army Gigs in Korea." *Situations* 11, no. 1 (2018): 59–79; Kim Hyŏng-ch'an, *Han'guk taejung ŭmaksa sanch'aek*; Jinkyung Lee, *Service Economies*; and Kim and Shin, "The Birth of 'Rok'." A historical continuity forms between the prominent role played by female vocalists in psychedelic rock and the practices proven successful within military entertainment networks where American servicemen, as Roald Maliangkay has evidenced, preferred acts that featured attractive women ("Koreans Performing," 68, Koreans Got Talent," 69). Archivist Kim Hyŏng-ch'an also identifies a feminine "sensuality" shared by these frontwomen that he considers the "point of compromise" reached between countercultural ideals of free sex and conservative mainstream societal values (351). It is also important to note that as Shin and Kim explain, the Pearl Sisters conveyed a sex appeal that "shattered the Confucian ideal image of 'wise mother, good wife'" (213). However muted that sexuality may have been, the visuality of the sensation they caused, with provocative dance moves and sartorial heterodoxy, can also be interpreted more critically in the context of the dominant cinematic and literary representations of women being exploited by lascivious men. Jin-kyung Lee trenchantly calls such formations of gendered subjectivity instruments of socialization "to transform each woman to give herself sexually, openly, and liberally, to South Korean men, without asking for anything in return" (95-96).

[41] Kim Hyŏng-sŏ, *Na ŭi t'rot'ŭ sidae*, 22–23; and *Yuhaenggadŭl* (Seoul: Chaŭm kwa Moŭm, 2020).

Adapted Eulogies of Urban Youth: "The Sound of Silence" (1971)

In Ch'oe In-ho's "Ch'immuk ŭi sori" (The sound of silence, 1971), a delinquent young Seoulite recalls the events leading up to his younger brother's death only hours earlier. Before riding his bicycle into oncoming traffic, the brother had been a group sound aficionado who often frequented listening salons, tearooms, and beer halls for momentarily psychic relief from the ruthless competition between neighbors to rise out of poverty.[42] The narrator observes how a mother down the street is able to convert her hole-in-the-wall cigarette store into a proper food and produce shop using construction funds awarded to her by the Korea Lottery Committee after her son dies "a war hero who killed a few Vietcong." He concludes that a society that turns misfortunes into boons also necessitates that "a person be properly insane to make a good living." Daydreams of class mobility are scored to the psychedelic sounds of Shin Joong Hyun. The narrator laments the continental suits he'll never wear and the dates he'll never have in sky lounges while listening to Shin Joong Hyun's "Spring Rain."[43] That popular hits of the Korean psychedelic canon accompany these plaintive reveries bespeaks the symbolic meaning that rock attained early on in Korea, as much a subversive countercultural language as a commodity of a Western middle-class lifestyle that still represented a distant fantasy for most.

Without means to enjoy those sky lounges backdropped with the mysterious melodies of "Spring Rain," the narrator settles instead for more plebian spaces of musical performance and listening. At one beer hall, the brother even performs an impromptu solo acoustic set in place of the absent scheduled singer. The performance includes an adaptation of "A Most Peculiar Man" (1965) a song that Paul Simon wrote in response to a London newspaper's perfunctory obituary for an alienated young man who had committed suicide by gas inhalation. Though no known Korean-language version of "A Most Peculiar Man" exists, the

[42] Ch'oe In-ho, "Ch'immuk ŭi sori," *Wolgan Chung'ang*, no. 42 (September 1971): 388–399.
[43] Ch'oe, "Ch'immuk," 398–90.

folk-duo Swegŭrin (Shagreen) did release an adaptation of "The Sound of Silence" only one month after Ch'oe's story had been published. If contrafaction fueled the development of everything from Korean-language hymns to patriotic anthems and military songs, then the practice of *pŏnan* (adaptation) represented an important means through which rock and folk musicians tested out collaborative partnerships, refined their own songcraft, and disseminated the latest pop hits beyond their original linguistic boundaries. For instance, the earliest recordings by Shin Joong Hyun and the Pearl Sisters include Korean-language adaptations of an impressive breadth of rock, pop, and soul songs contemporaneously popular in the US and UK—from "Somebody to Love" by Jefferson Airplane (1967) and "San Francisco" by Scott McKenzie (1967), to "Casa Bianca" by Marisa Sannia (1968) and "Yesterday" by The Beatles (1965), to "Cry Like a Baby" by The Box Tops (1968), "I Second that Emotion" by Smokey Robinson & The Miracles (1967), and "Get Ready" by The Temptations (1966).[44] In the Korean counterculture's embrace of solo acoustic folk as portrayed in "The Sound of Silence," that an ordinary guest performs in place of a professional singer suggests an ethos of egalitarianism and spontaneity.

Rather than the collective audition of the live stage, however, the narrator seems more entranced by the sheer liberating force of the personal volume knob. Maximum volumes inspire new forms of mediated audition most easily conveyable through layers of direct and indirect allegory: listening is like "holding your breath underwater in a pool when it's raining" and sound becomes "waves softly sloshing like a lapping tongue or tapping rain on naked flesh."[45] In its most boisterous form, music is a protective shield over which to hurl profanities against even American passersby and a legally-sanctioned sonic intensity contrasted with the potentially criminal loudness of public protest. To consume and be consumed by music disarms the narrator's class-mobility-driven instinct for brutality and

[44] See Shin Joong Hyun and the Pearl Sisters, *Soulful Pearl Sister Hit Album*, LP, Shin Hyang DG 1017 (1968).

[45] Ch'oe, "Ch'immuk," 394.

buffers him from accusations of political dissidence. Here Ch'oe ruminates upon headphone-listening in ways that anticipate the self-liberatory potential with which insulated modes of audition would come to be associated as reproduction technologies attained greater privatization and portability in subsequent years.

> Sometimes us brothers go to a player room to listen to music on headphones. What are headphones? They're the device you pull over your head to listen with, like a knight in a great helm. […] The music doesn't have to come in loud through your ears, the loudness is imported directly. Then, close your eyes. In that precise moment, every little guy in the world becomes one of my beloved little lambs.[46]

The optimism expressed here surrounding new technologies of sound reproduction illustrates one transcontinental migration of the hippie revolution's "technologically-based tribalism." Stuart Hall in 1969 identified hippies in America as the inheritors of the McLuhanian Gospel of mass media revolution.[47] While Hall was referring to grassroots radio communication networks amongst the counterculture, in the chronotope of early 1970s Seoul portrayed in "The Sound of Silence," devices for private, immersive listening are clearly shown as being most vital to the written articulation of youth counterculture's engagements with new technologies of sound. For they provide a psychic refuge from the angst of being young, poor, and unheard in the backstreets of a developmentalist military state. Even more so, loudness offers a brief injection of life into the sense of death with which the brother's untimely passing encircles the entire narrative.

As to the nature of that death, the practice of lyrical adaptation holds the interpretive key. Not only does Ch'oe prominently feature his own version of "A Most Peculiar Man" in musical performance, he also uses the song to codify the very structure of the narrative. "The

[46] Ch'oe, 394–95.

[47] Stuart Hall, "The Hippies: An American 'moment'," *CCCS Selected Working Papers*, Vol. 2, edited by Ann Gray, et. al. (London: Routledge. 2007), 153.

Sound of Silence" then reads as an understated eulogy for a brother whose self-inflicted passing will bring neither fame nor fortune to his family. Through that structural codification, Ch'oe gestures at the story's kindred bond to the tale of alienation among urban youth told in "A Most Peculiar Man." In doing so, the author also signals his own aspirations for a literature of youth culture to concatenate the atomized and unfeeling spaces at the center of the free world with those contours of loneliness as experienced by the youth at its peripheries.

Dreaming the Doors Closed: "Stranger's Room" (1971)

In the short story "T'ain ŭi pang" (Stranger's room, 1971), the nameless protagonist sings along to a lesser-known Pearl Sisters number entitled "Sirŏ" (No more), released by the Pearl Sisters in 1970 and originally sung by Yi Chŏng-hwa (1969).[48] The song's buoyant rhythm and bright tonality works as a catalyst to transform the apartment's material commodities into animate beings and its animate occupant into a material commodity.

> Because intoxication turned him flush red with encouragement, like a child he started singing a song. *Oh bird, who once played on the leaf / don't know why you did what you did / what can I do / if you want no more of me, you have to leave.* […] The matchstick mumbles inside the matchbox. The flower in the flower vase lightly lifts its legs and dances. […] The wall would also gradually draw near, moving its eyes sluggishly a few times before slowly stepping back. The transistor radio raises its antenna and starts to stand on its head.[49]

Alone in the apartment, the narrator finds the physically and spatially transmogrifying effects of "happy smoke" manifesting in a series of auditory hallucinations. The sound of "millipede footsteps climbing the walls" bleeds into "the sound of transparent copulation

[48] Ch'oe In-ho, "T'ain ŭi pang," in *Ta'in ŭi pang* (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 1996), 65–82. Pearl Sisters, "Sirŏ," track 2, side A of Universal KST-2 (1970); and Yi Chŏng-hwa, "Sirŏ," track 2, side A of Shin Hyang, DG-1033 (1969). See Appendix 29.

[49] Ch'oe, "T'ain ŭi pang," 78–81 (italics added).

between the wardrobe mirror and the dresser mirror." The electric socket whispers to the narrator, "Friend, please lend your ear over here. I'll tell you my secret." In the very title, the word *t'ain* (another person/stranger) raises the possibility that the narrative is not about the protagonist at all, but is itself a story about self-*mis*recognition. Not once is the narrator correctly identified—from the opening scene in the apartment hallway, where a neighbor "of three years" cannot recall ever having seen the protagonist before, to his metamorphosis into a piece of furniture, which, in the final scene, his wife has also never seen before. In the end, uncertainty pervades as the primary affect, with readers made to question the veracity of the objects comprising narrative reality. What is important here isn't distinguishing the real from the unreal, but rather that the story expresses the same desires for dissociation which rose to popularity at this time in literature and popular music alike. Those desires for escape came to the fore with the growing influence of the college-aged youth demographic upon the literary market in particular.

In 1970, Kim Pyŏng-ik, a prominent literary critic and contributor to the youth culture debate, observed that the entire "domain of bestsellers is subject to change according to what books [the youth] are buying."[50] Along with Ch'oe In-ho's youth culture literature, certain strands of "philosophical fairy tales" written for adults also gained sustained popularity: translations of Richard Bach's *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* (1970; 1973 translation) and Antoine de Saint-Exupéry's *Le Petit Prince* (1945; 1973 translation) dominated the foreign bestsellers list for 49 and 29 weeks, respectively.[51] Reception studies scholar Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan identifies a unique quality of emotional intensity within these popular works, expressions which brought a "fever for existence" out from under the "weight of the

[50] Kim Pyŏng-ik, "Ch'ŏngnyŏn munhwa ŭi t'aedong," *Tonga ilbo*, February 19, 1970.

[51] Ch'oe's novel *March of Fools* remained at the top of the domestic fiction bestsellers list for 45 weeks. See Yi Yong-hŭi, "1960–70-yŏndae pesŭt'ŭ sellŏ hyŏnsang kwa taehaksaeng ŭi toksŏ munhwa: Pesŭt'ŭ sellŏ chedo ŭi hyŏngsŏng kwajŏng kwa 1970-yŏndae ch'ojungban ŭi toksŏ kyŏnghyang," *Han'gukhak yŏn'gu* 41 (2016): 67.

establishment […], [to be] released without identifiable outlet, through acts of bad faith and foolishness, or unfocused defiance."[52]

One newspaper article about *Jonathan Livingston Seagull* describes the work as a "mystical work criticizing superficial materiality in the pursuit of a philosophy of freedom;" through the "the tenacity of a seagull who wants to soar high and fly beautifully, it encourages people to aim toward their dreams and to transcend the reality of everyday survival."[53] Indeed the mysticism and desire for transcendence embodied by these commodities of youth culture are loosening mechanisms, offering a "bird's eye view of humanity," at once profound and "so banal that it had to be sold to adults."[54] Alongside Bach and Saint-Exupéry, youth culture fiction generated commodity value as a form that countenanced indulgence in the pleasures of dissociation, functioning like the presence of *"*No More" within the narrative of "Stranger's Room," to be manipulated in terms that best generalized one's own reality in the universal terms of a stranger.

One finds a similar bird's eye view in the narrative perspective of "Wind" (Param, 1973) by Kim Chung Mi, the second track on *Now,* an album remebered today as the zenith of Korea's first wave of psychedelic rock.[55] Kim sings, "Just like the wind that nobody can see / Unbeknownst to you I want to to watch over you." Writer Philip Ball has described mechanisms of the unseen as being "conferred by a talisman of some kind, an object that must be worn."[56] To the extent that commodity consumption in the early 1970s empowered youth culture, one of the functions of the psychedelic songs that emerged alongside it can be

[52] Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, "1970-yŏndae ch'ŏngnyŏn tŭl ŭi p'ildoksŏ nŭn myŏngdaesa 'Kyŏng-a~' rŭl nak'o…," *Han'gyŏre,* August 6, 2015, accessed June 22, 2024, https://perma.cc/2U8S-YZHG.

[53] "Sin'gan sogae," *Tonga ilbo*, February 7, 1973; "Sin'gan: *Kalmaegi ŭi kkum,*" *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, February 8, 1973.

[54] Roger Ebert, "Jonathan Livingston Seagull," *Chicago Suntimes,* November 1973; Neil Clark, "Imagination Takes Flight: The Life and Mind of Antoine de Saint-Exupery," *The American Conservative*, October 2009.

[55] Kim Chung Mi [Kim Chŏng-mi], "Param," track 2, side A of Sŏngŭm SEL 100023 (1973). See Appendix 30.

[56] Philip Ball, *Invisible:The Dangerous Allure of the Unseen* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2015), 4.

defined as that of a talisman of the unseen, inhabited through consumption, possession, and circulation. To buy the album and sing the words, the listener might be transported, if only in mind, to another reality. In the case of "Stranger's Room" however, inspiration for dissociative narrative reality may have come in equal part from an author fantasizing about the luxury of privacy behind closed doors amidst Seoul's thoroughly shared spaces of domesticity.

In a posthumous memoir, Ch'oe recalls writing "Stranger's Room" in the tiny second-story room he and his wife shared above a public bath house. He completed "Stranger's Room" over the course of a single night, all the while dreaming of a transformative freedom found only behind the closed doors of a room in a high rise apartment.[57] Thus if Shin Joong Hyun embraced psychedelic aesthetics for its revelation of the avant-garde in the everyday, then "Stranger's Room" draws upon "No More" as an auditory catalyst for dreams of middle-class urban domesticity whose defamiliarization of the everyday compositionally derives from an author's earnest equating of freedom with privacy.

Protesting through the Wall of Noise: The Dreaded Plural (1972)

The novella *Musŏun poksu* (The dreaded plural, 1972) revolves around the unlikely friendship between the two college students: semi-autobiographical protagonist and first-person narrator Ch'oe Chun-ho and dissident student activist O Man-ju.[58] The story is set largely on a university campus where clashes between protesters and police have grown increasingly fierce and participation in both military drills and student demonstrations has become obligatory. As a candidate for student counsel president, O Man-ju befriends Ch'oe after soliciting the protagonist to assist him in drafting an election speech. On the topic of literature, O belittles Ch'oe for his having embraced a "formulaic sugarcoating of everything

[57] Ch'oe, *Na nŭn na rŭl*, Chapter 4.
[58] Ch'oe In-ho, *Musŏun poksu*, in *T'ain ŭi pang*, 223–330.

in stylistic contrivances and slick sentences." Ch'oe then has to field the same questions he's fielded countless times before: "'Are you pure fiction or engagement fiction?' […] 'I'm not on either side.' […] 'What do you think of Kim Chi-ha's *Five Bandits*?' […] 'Pretty good.'"[59]

Around the time of *The Dreaded Plural*, Ch'oe In-ho was quickly gaining fame as he the *Kyŏnghang sinmun* serialized his immensely popular hostess novel Pyŏldŭl ŭi kohyang (Hometown of stars, 1972). Thus it offers a portrait of an author coming to terms with the fact that his writing did not fit into the molds prescribed by the literary establishment, either by the politically and socially conscious "engagement" camp of *Ch'angbi* or the "*sunsu munhak*" (pure literature) camp represented by *Munhak kwa chisŏng* (Literature and thought, founded in 1970, hereinafter *Munji*). Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan notes that with the success of *Hometown of Stars*, even once supportive critics like Kim Hyŏn from the pure literature camp of *Munji* became deeply distressed with the commercial directions that Ch'oe In-ho appeared to be pursuing.[60] On the other side of the literary divide, the editors of the socially conscious *Ch'angbi* also solicited Ch'oe to submit a work of fiction to the journal. In response the author accepted the request only to be turned down by the editorial board for submitting a "weak expression of social consciousness."[61] In *The Dreaded Plural*, O Man-ju attempts to proselytize Ch'oe to the engagement school. He tells Ch'oe that literary authors must use their writing as a way to "expose the contradictions of society and awaken citizens to the right path toward enlightenment."[62] He then launches into a long-winded opprobrium of "Stranger's Room": "Ch'oe I read your work and honestly I don't know what you're talking about. The wife is having an affair, a spoon flies around the air a little, what's the point. The

[59] Ch'oe, *Musŏun poksu*, 236.
[60] For more on hostess literature see, Jin-kyung Lee, *Service Economies*, 99–103.
[61] Ch'ŏn Chŏng-hwan, "1970-yŏndae ch'ŏngnyŏn."
[62] Ch'oe, *Musŏun poksu*, 239.

French already used that. Do you think you're in France, Ch'oe? This is Korea! Korea!"[63] The irony of course is that O Man-ju's condemnations are based on the same logic as the military dictator he so strongly opposes.

While state interests in the growth of a national economy diverge from intellectual interests in freedom of expression, both seek political legitimation in the larger field of cultural production through a nationalist-moralist discourse.[64] Likewise, producers of popular forms seek cultural legitimation by aligning themselves to market-oriented state ideologies. University intellectuals in turn gained political legitimacy by protesting what they viewed as lude forms of mass culture, simultaneously countenancing state values of purified national values while also challenging state's tolerance of content deemed "decadent."

Against this increasingly politicized and polarized field of cultural production, Ch'oe In-ho responds in *The Dreaded Plural* by employing a literary style equivalent to musical noise. In reference to the effect upon listeners of the distorted guitar in Jimi Hendrix' "Purple Haze," Sheila Whitley writes that "the sheer volume of noise works towards the drowning of personal consciousness."[65] Perhaps the most infamous instance of noise in early South Korean psychedelic rock is the ending of Shin Joong Hyun's "Arŭmdaun kangsan" (Beautiful rivers and mountains, 1972).[66] One of his best known compositions, Shin debuted the song in October 1972 in response to requests from the Blue House to compose a paean for President Park Chung Hee. The first half, mostly in E minor, conveys a somewhat straightforward patriotic celebration and utopian vision of Korea's natural surroundings, with imagery not hugely dissimilar from that found in the patriotic anthems examined in Chapter One.

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[63] Ch'oe, 239.

[64] I borrow the term "nationalist-moralist" from Chang Sung-sheng, *Literary Culture in Taiwan: Martial Law to Market Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 5–6. Popular magazines like *Sŏndei Sŏul* gained cultural legitimacy by publishing erotic content that simultaneously supported the developmentalism of the state while challenging the limits of its tolerance.

[65] Whitley, *The Space Between,* 20.

[66] The Men, "Arŭmdaun kangsan," track 1, side B of Universal KLS-46 (1972). See Appendix 31.

However the back half of "Beautiful Mountains and Rivers" crashes suddenly and repetitively into a four-minute improvisation over a five-chord refrain (F#m-Bm-A-D-Em) in E Dorian. This modal shift divests the former root note E of its resolving power; combined with the guitarist's improvisational use of distortion and wah-pedal, that repeated and unresolved instrumental crashing and swelling brings the song to a distinctly noisy end. If musical language acts upon individuals in the same way as political economy to "make people believe in a consensual representation of the world," then Jacques Attali argues that noise "frees the listener's imagination" by making "possible the creation of a new order on another level of organization."[67]

Published only a month after "Beautiful Mountains and Rivers," *The Dreaded Plural* uses the literary equivalent of an abrupt wall of noise to imagine student protest culture in a new representational order. To identify a common ground upon which college students with divergent political values join together in protest, the narrator, assuming a fourth-person voice, assembles negative affects, rites of adulthood, material commodities, geopolitical tensions, tragic news stories, and even lyrical scraps of "Before it's Too Late" ("Nŭtki chŏn e," 1969) by Kim Choo Ja and Shin Joong Hyun into a textual wall of noise.[68] They frame protest as "our sole savior, our chorus," and describe its collective mode of action as a mutual transfusion of "blood into one another's veins" that brings to life a light of youth that had died. From out of the pent-up anger bursts the fragments of anxiety, paranoia, dejection, frustration, stereotypes, and long-engrained truisms: "siren sounds, unseen surveillance, unconditional love of homeland, sexual desire, the dejection felt after masturbation, newly constructed hotels, dirty China, dirty commies, stubborn old Kim Il Sung, cowardly America, scheming Japan, and shamanism that never changes even after dying one hundred deaths."

[67] Jacques Attali, *Noise: The Political Economy of Music,* translated by Brian Massumi, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 33, 46.

[68] Kim Choo Ja, "Nŭtki chŏn e," track 1, side A of King/Yeg'ŭrin DG 가–06 (1969). See Appendix 32.

These fragments scrawl down the page and unfurl with increasing incoherence: "the Western thought process of the intelligentsia with American PhDs, Kierkegaard, T.S. Eliot, all-night go-go dance halls, mini, maxi, midi, gambling, poker games […] wigs, gonorrhea, syphilis, genital warts, I beg your pardon sir, before it's too late, *before it's too late, come back to me*."[69] Within that single block of textual cacophony, individual consciousness is drowned out until divisions between subject and object dissolve into an extended outburst of collective angst.

Amidst all of the noise, however, politics are absent. At the end of the passage, the narrator offers confirmation of that absence addressed explicitly to Democracy. "Though we were talking about the new Reformist Party that sprung up to address the issue of Vietnamese neutrality, relax Democracy, you coward. What we were talking about wasn't politics." Protest culture thus emerges on the other side of the wall of noise in a new representational order where anger, in all of its amorphousness, is liberated from the self-negation demanded by political mobilization. That amalgamation of discontent now appears "screaming and trying to escape like water trying to burst through a narrow hole on the surface." And while protest offers cathartic release, that affirmation of life proves addictive, transforming the commotion, icy smoke, burning tears, and suffocating pain of canister tear gas into the "intimate friend" of a youth culture without alternative outlet for their pent-up rage.[70]

The embrace by both Shin and Ch'oe of noise to subvert an established representational order can be interpreted historically as a response to the *10-wŏl Yusin* (October Yusin), or the self-coup of 1972 through which President Park drafted and enacted legislation empowering himself to declare a state of emergency, suspend constitutional freedoms, and effectively extend his developmentalist dictatorship indefinitely. Nine sweeping presidential *kin'gŭp choch'i* (emergency decrees) followed between 1972–1975,

[69] Ch'oe, *Musŏun poksu*, 304.
[70] Ch'oe, 304.

enabling para-governmental committees to arbitrarily extirpate any musical expression labelled socially pernicious while simultaneously ensuring the economy's continuous growth and the iron fist of the police. In December 1975, Shin was arrested along with Kim Choo Ja, Yi Chang-hŭi, and fourteen other prominent entertainers in the government's infamous marijuana crackdown. Most Korean cultural historians and popular music scholars reference this event as the unceremonious end of the psychedelic counterculture experiment in South Korea.[71] However, arguably the most psychedelic expression to emerge from the era didn't appear until seven years later, when Ch'oe In-ho published *Kipko p'urŭn pam* (Deep blue night, 1982). On the surface, the novella reads as a requiem for Korea's psychedelic dream, an awakening from the experience of youth culture that appears in retrospect to have been but a bad trip. However *Deep Blue Night* can also be read through the homologous formal lens of psychedelic coding as the culmination of that same heterodoxic cultural ethos celebrated by the global countercultural movement.

Reversing the Code to Freedom: *Deep Blue Night* (1982)

In *Deep Blue Night*, recipient of the prestigious Yi Sang Literary Award, Ch'oe In-ho follows two former icons of South Korean youth culture over the course of a day in 1979 as they drive along an increasingly surreal California coastline from San Francisco to Los Angeles.[72] The protagonist and third-person semi-omniscient narrator, an unnamed writer, travels to America after finding himself disillusioned to the point of rage by everything he'd ever published. He meets former pop singer and longtime friend and collaborator Chun-ho who, four years earlier was arrested and sentenced to a mental institution "for committing the

[71] Of course, psychedelic noise was among the breathtakingly ecclectic range of styles that the rock group Sanullim continued to explore well into the 1980s.

[72] Ch'oe In-ho, *Kip'ko p'urŭn pam*, in *'82 Che 6-hoe Yi Sang Munhaksang Susang Chakp'umjip* (Seoul: Munhak Sasangsa, 1982), 5–62. All page numbers are provided in-text.

so-called crime of smoking marijuana."[73] As the journey progresses, its evocation of the 1960s countercultural pursuit of absolute liberation and unrepressed pleasure becomes clear.

Placed in conversation with notions of subversive art and the dialectics of liberation, the narrative structure of *Deep Blue Night* reads as a struggle to reconcile life and death instincts by living out repressed desires to their self-exilic ends. The novella culminates in the resurrection of the protagonist in a state renewed of the psychic energy demanded by the repressive sublimation of pleasure instincts. Chaos and destruction materialize from his unconscious onto ways of sensing and feeling the open road and the California coastline. The oscillation from life to death is palpable in the contrasting effects of psychedelic codes and sound media discussed in the previous sections.

I read *Deep Blue Night*'s primary negation as a reversal of the psychedelic code of upward movement invoked to convey flight from reality. This form, heard in the choral refrain of "Spring Rain" discussed earlier, is best exemplified by the song "Haennim" (Beloved Sun, 1973) by Kim Jung Mi.[74] Acoustic guitars ground the ascent with cyclical movements of falling, rising, and resolving chords. Over these repetitions, orchestral arrangements gradually crescendo in layers of timbral brightness and ascending octaves. The singer strengthens the sensation of flying by assuming an aerial point of view.

> Over the waves of white, shining red reflection
> We are on our way to the land of the beloved Sun
> Rising round Sun, rising smiling Sun
> Over mountains high, I beckon you with a wave

The last line "I beckon you with a wave" introduces the benevolent character of the narrator, a gentle guide eager to shepherd novice listeners in their psychedelic flight toward the "land of the Sun." As Sheila Whitley describes, John Lennon in the Beatles "Lucy in the

[73] Ch'oe, *Kip'ko p'urŭn pam*, 25. Descriptions provided in the novella and comments by the author suggest that *Deep Blue Night* is a roman à clef: the nameless protagonist a surrogate for Ch'oe In-ho and Chun-ho a surrogate for Yi Chang-hŭi.

[74] Kim Chung Mi, "Haennim," track 1, Side A of Sŏngŭm SEL 100023 (1973). See Appendix 33.

Sky with Diamonds" also evokes a persona of knowledgeable teacher. Their job is to ensure that the figurative LSD experience stays positive and to protect first-time trippers from "the dangers of panic or 'flipping out'."[75] This mentor personality appears prominently in the first chorus's triumphant flight.

> Lift your faces up, turn your eyes to the sky,
> As we ride a rainbow to meet the beloved Sun,
> Together come fly with me
> In this eternal land let me take your hand
> As we look at the Sun, let us live and love

Analogous to how the repeated chord cycles of "Beloved Sun" ground the ethereal movements of the orchestra toward brighter timbres and elevated tones, visual repetition of the open road in *Deep Blue Night* works to ground the celestial movements of sun and clouds. However, while the listener of "Beloved Sun" may internalize the tonal movements of the acoustic guitar's cyclical chords into movements of interior feeling, the visual repetition of the road in *Deep Blue Night* works inversely to externalize the car's movement, "as if it wasn't the car that was rolling down the road, but rather the road itself that was moving at terrifying speeds." As the duo depart from San Francisco on Route 101, rather than the open road providing relief from repressive industrialized forms of labor, the externalized sensation of movement generated by visual repetition works to reproduce those forms, mutating the open road into a conveyer belt upon which cars become "rapidly assembled products." If the sensation of speed produced by the car's acceleration is analogous to accelerated production, then by failing to keep pace, one risks becoming a "rejected low-grade product that assembles, cuts, and packages itself inside automated machinery." Inside the car, the psychic effects of pure sonic intensities are also reversed. (21–22)

Recall that a surrogate voice of the silent masses in the "The Sound of Silence" endorses high-volume headphone listening as a positive escape mechanism; in contrast, the

[75] Whitley, *The Space Between*, 43.

protagonist of *Deep Blue Night* finds loudness of mediated sound unbearable. While both stories' narrators liken heavily amplified sound to liquid saturation, the former describes the mechanism of action as enrapturing and oceanic while the latter finds it claustrophobic. Passing by Salinas and onto Route 1, Chun-ho activates the indoor amplification system he's installed in the car. To be enveloped by liquid loudness no longer felt "as much like enjoying music as it did like being trapped inside its rain. […] To hear the ear-splitting sound of the stereo trapped inside this little secret room speeding down the highway, it was less like listening than torment" (25). Above the car and the road, the sun, sky, and ocean assume intensifying figurations akin to the psychedelic coding of upward flight.

Gradual escalation defines the momentum and direction with which figurative language intensifies/ But the narrator does not lead readers toward a utopia beyond the clouds. Rather he reveals within nature perpetual antagonisms between life and death that culminate in a mystical vision of apocalyptic scale. When Chun-ho and the writer depart from San Francisco in the morning, the "mischievous clouds" are seen throwing silhouettes "above the green carpet of earth" reminiscent of "shadows we used to make on the wall in our days of youth, bending our fingers into foxes, rabbits, and dogs beneath the fading light of the evening" (13–14). As Route 1 turns south into the Pacific coastline before Carmel Highlands, the "curtains open" to reveal the ocean's immensity suddenly obscuring their vision from beyond the cliffs (39). The bending light and shifting colors of the afternoon sun teases the two with utopian prospects, "at times blinding, at times entrancing in its splendor," but ultimately the sun "assumes an exhausted and diseased face," dragged off muzzled and blindfolded somewhere by a long black belt of clouds (45). By sunset, the symbolic figurations of sea and sun escalate into poetic visions evocative of William Blake and the beat poets of the 1950s for whom Blake's freedom of imagination and mysticism proved inspirational.

> The sun lord who had reigned over the daytime was now being driven out of the throne. The seditious evening glow had sparked a revolution and cast its blood-like crimson light like a flag. […] The sky was stained red with the last blood the sun had vomited. […] The armies of the sea launch a concentrated attack against the declining kingdom of heaven. The sparks of igniting shells burst in the darkness of the sky. The light's fragments shatter and disperse. (47–48)

These external transformations from mundane to apocalyptic progress dialectically alongside opposite movements of consciousness from existential terror to complete emptiness. First the writer's mind is consumed by fear of mortality. On multiple occasions he expresses anxious desires to commit everything blurring by to memory, consumed by the terror that no amount of effort will make permanent what is fleeting. But the unconscious death instinct that had laid claim over his conscious thoughts seems to empty itself with increasing strength into the external world. The writer's mind becomes a "blank piece of paper," as if falling into "a state of fake sleep, void of any thoughts" where all actions are "mere reflexes of a trance state" (44). Into the silence now blanketing the narrator's psychic void, Chun-ho amplifies a 30-minute cassette tape that the duo has listened to enough times to have memorized entirely: Chun-ho's wife and children talking and singing songs to Chun-ho from their apartment in Korea. Thus, as the men arrive in desolation at the end of their self-exilic pursuit of unfettered pleasure, they find themselves sonically submerged in the amplified fragments of that distant place from which they first departed. In this moment of total absence and isolation, the narrative suggests that no intensity of psychedelic noise could elicit as powerful an affective upheaval than could the sound of home. But those sounds do not shepherd the narrator into his final confrontation with the sea "crouching like a wicked beast in the light of darkness" (48). Rather, he only admits defeat and begs forgiveness "from all of the victors who had brought him to his knees" after using marijuana for the first time (62). The

subsequent drug-induced mutation into a disembodied state precipitates genuine transformation of individual consciousness: no longer does the narrator desire solitude, but rather a return to the normativity of nuclear family life. Thus *Deep Blue Night* concludes where South Korean psychedelia began: in the emergent middle class.

Through the lens of body mysticism as propounded by countercultural intellectuals and practiced by artists, the conclusion can be interpreted as the liberation of individual consciousness from its own repression. The drug-induced dissociation from which the narrator finally arrives at death and rebirth reads as his living out the last "unlived line" in his body, and in doing so, affirming rather than repressing death. Thus, to accept the subversive notion that altering sensibility, imagination, and reason enables art to alter the bodies of its recipients, psychedelic codes enable *Deep Blue Night* to be read as subversive, even in surrender and admittance of defeat.

The resonance of Korea's psychedelic counterculture can be heard well into the present. A more recent work of short fiction entitled "Ŭmnae ŭi kae" (Town dog, 2017), the novelist Kong Sŏn-ok (1963–) centers around a performance of Kim Choo Ja's "It's a Lie" at a commemorative National Day of Liberation singing contest near Kwangju on August 15, 1980.[76] As an author best known for her uncompromising portrayal of women caught in the horrific events and aftermath of the Kwangju Uprising of May 1980, Kong turns her attention in "Town Dog" to a small village on the outskirts of Kwangju, where residents have been thoroughly swept up in the dust-clouds of development and the madness of the Saemaŭl Undong (New Village Movement) rural modernization program. The narrator and protagonist, a recent high school graduate, observes her mother onstage, scantily-clad before a shooting

[76] Kong Sŏn-ok, "Ŭmnae ŭi kae" [Town dog], *Munhakdŭl*, no. 48 (Fall 2017): 156–175.

gallery of high officials, belting out the monomaniacal chorus of Kim Choo Ja's loosely subversive standard. When the narrator's mother ascends into the final sustained repeat of "*Kŏjitmal iyaaaaa* [It's a liiiieee]," the narrator invokes the image of "a balloon, floating upwards through the dust and sunlight."[77] That Kong chooses to emulate the refrain typographically is significant in that it gives written form to the decluttered elongations between lines that Shin had pioneered decades earlier as part of his project to vernacularize psychedelic codes. "Lie" stretches out to "Liiiiiie" and in the empty space that follows the elongation, the psychedelic aesthetic of allegorizing sound through a visually palpable substance transforms the suspended "lie" into the buoyant figure of a helium-filled balloon.

Now flash forward from this fictional depiction of 1980 to a compositional moment in 1989. The June Uprising of 1987 has forced the ruling Democratic Justice Party to abandon authoritarian rule and implement sweeping constitutional amendments, including the guarantee of direct popular elections. The middle-class has grown enough to support a thriving popular music industry. Shin Joong Hyun, has been fully revived: dance-provocateur Kim Wan Sun (Kim Wan-sŏn, 1969–), nicknamed the "Korean Madonna," catapults Shin's new composition "Ridŭm sok ŭi kŭ ch'um" (That dance in the rhythm) to the top of the pop charts in 1987; and virtuosic vocalist Lee Sun Hee (Yi Sŏn-hŭi, 1964–) releases a synth-soaked rendition of "Beautiful Mountains and Rivers" one year later.[78] Democratization also leads to the lifting of long-standing restrictions on international travel. With growing numbers of South Koreans now working and residing overseas, long-distance air travel becomes part of the cultural landscape. Passengers enjoy such inflight entertainment as listening to music privately in headphones while floating closer to the ozone layer than to the earth's surface. Such is the setting of a heady meditation in the novella *Ohu ŭi segye*

[77] Kong, "Ŭmnae ŭi kae," 169.

[78] Kim Wan Sun [Kim Wan-sŏn], "Ridŭm sok ŭi kŭ ch'um ŭl," track 6 of *Na hollo ttŭl ap esŏ*, Jigu Records (1987); and Lee Sun Hee [Yi Sŏn-hŭi], "Arŭmdaun kangsan," track 1 of Sŏul Ŭmban SPDR-105 (1988). For lyrics of "Ridŭm sok ŭi kŭ ch'um ŭl," see Appendix 34.

(Afternoon world, 1989) by Kim Ch'ae-wŏn (1946–).[79] Celebrated for her surrealist evocation of the past within the present, Kim is also one of Korean fiction's most careful pop listeners. Private mid-air audition of the 1989 "Spring Rain" remake by soulful vocalist Pak In-su (1938–) brings the novella's protagonist "the woman" to reckon with her new identity as immigrant, housewife, and mother in a regional French city to which her husband has been dispatched for work.

The woman recalls what a luxury it had been to focus on each note of the unconventional composition "through headphones on the in-flight broadcast channel." "*Spring raain, bringing tears into my eyes, spriing raiin*—the distinct voice, the melody, the sound of the band that follows behind. They're singing *spring rain* in that really unique tone of voice, with such desperation." Since arriving in France, the song has haunted her, calling out mysteriously "to the unconscious me, saying *Spriing raaiin*." In the space between lines, she finds herself transforming the phrase "*Spring rain, bringing tears to my eyes*," into the loosely rhyming existential question, "What brings release to my life?" (italics added).[80] What follows is an extended meditation on the purpose of life, the nature of pleasure, and the pursuit of happiness that unfolds from a seemingly higher plane of reality. Like many countercultural artists and thinkers of decades past, the woman too concludes that liberation of individual consciousness through the pursuit of happiness is the foundation of social reality. To this end, though the heyday of Korean psychedelia may have been short-lived, its literary effects linger well into fictional narratives published decades later.[81]

Psychedelia played a crucial role in the development of South Korean youth culture, from the popularization of musical styles once restricted to US military bases, to the

[79] Kim Ch'ae-wŏn, *Ohu ŭi segye*, in *Pom ŭi hwan* (Seoul: Mihaksa, 1990), 131-200.

[80] Kim Ch'ae-wŏn, 160-161.

[81] For other recent works of fiction which feature Shin Joong Hyun-associated music and artists prominently, see Chang Kang-myŏng, *Taetkŭl pudae* [Reply army] (Seoul: Ŭnhaeng Namu, 2015); Han Chŏng-hyŏn, "Koesu Ak'ik'u" [Akiku the monster], in *Sonyŏ yŏnyein Yi Po-na* [Yi Po-na, girl entertainer] (Seoul: Minŭmsa, 2020), 9–42; and Kim Mella, "Horŭmon ŭl ch'wŏ chwŏyo" [Dance hormones for me], in *Chaŭm kwa moŭm*, no. 30 (2015): 109–135.

inflection of the avant-garde into the everyday, to the attempt to mediate high and low culture. Writers of youth culture did not only draw inspiration from psychedelia, they also performed their own codeswitching upon its musical resonances. In some instances, such codeswitching foreclosed as private and solipsistic an actually collective and participatory musical culture; in others, it catalyzed apolitical modes of solidarity around shared release of repressed emotions.

CONCLUSION

In the introduction, I discuss how for me, the 2002 World Cup represents a pivotal moment in Korean popular culture's global transmission of ethnonational identity. For many others, it was an international sporting event fourteen years prior that truly emblematized the nation's first quantum leap forward in the eyes and ears of the world: the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul (hereinafter, *1988 Seoul*).[1] Indeed if South Korea's contemporary political transformation began with the triumph of the democratization movement in 1987, then its contemporary image transformation began with the 1988 Seoul Opening Ceremony on September 17, 1988.

Recall the critic Yi Ŏ-ryŏng from Chapter 3, who began transposing the souls of Korean folk into the language of free-world modernity all the way back in 1963. A quarter-century had passed since he inaugurated that project of renovating the ethnonational self-portrait, and having been selected in 1986 to lead the Steering Committee for the Opening and Closing Ceremony of 1988 Seoul, this long-time literary critic gained the opportunity to see what he began in the pages of *In the Soil, in that Wind* through to its culmination on the largest sporting stage in the world. If there was a singular image of Korea in the eyes of the first world that Yi personally wanted to supplant through his artistic contributions to the opening ceremony, it was the image of the Korean War orphan.

Well over 10,000 individuals were enlisted to train and perform in the mass games of the opening ceremony. 1,846 Sea Explorers of Korea (Han'guk Haeyang Sonyŏndan) rode 500 boats in the Han River Parade to the "diegetic" sound of a *minyo* boat song (0:00:01). More than 6,000 students from universities, vocational schools, high schools, and elementary schools in the Seoul area joined thousands more professional dancers, musicians, martial

[1] "Seoul 1988 - Opening Ceremony," filmed September 17, 1988, video, Olympics, YouTube, 3:19:18, https://perma.cc/T84Q-2EJE. All in-text timestamps refer to this video.

artists for the processions and mass dances of "Greeting the Sun" (Haemaji, 0:05:29).[2] All throughout the ceremony, hundreds more wind surfers, parachuters, and skydivers painted sea and sky in a collage of both international and national iconography. Spectators watched as these painstakingly disciplined bodies came together and drew apart with startling precision in the middle of a shadeless stadium field, now besieged by the suffocating heat of the midday September sun. Enormous lines, letters, and circles—gyrating circles, revolving circles, concentric circles, Olympic Rings, etc.—morphed about as the performers marched, danced, spun, ran, and threw their bodies up and down, side to side, with arms swaying and legs kicking in unison.

The final sequence of the ceremony progresses analogously to South Korea's 20th century history, from out of the "Chaos" (Hondon, 2:41:24) of war and ideological division, symbolized by a boisterous and discordant take on the traditional mask dance, and toward the utopian finale, during which Koreana perform the 1988 Seoul theme song "Hand in Hand" (Son e son chapko, 3:10:50–3:15:00) with 6,000 performers encircling the square stone-textured stage and hundreds more from the participating nations line the track in a colorful circle of traditional dances and garb.[3] Ultimately however, what would come to symbolize the totality of 1988 Seoul was neither the music nor the large-scale choreography of these opening spectacles of mass mobilization. Rather, sandwiched between the muscular display of "Beyond all Barriers" (Pyŏk ŭl nŏmŏsŏ, 2:46:45) and the joyous new beginnings expressed in "New Sprouts" (Saessaknori, 2:53:31), the lasting image of 1988 Seoul comes from

[2] Figures come from Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, s.v., "Sŏul Ollimp'ik Taehoe (Sŏul Olympic 大會)," accessed July 10, 2024, https://perma.cc/L6VJ-CJ8H. For more background and analysis, see Pak Hae-nam, "Sŏul Ollimp'ik kwa 1980-yŏndae ŭi sahoe chŏngch'i" [The Seoul Olympics and social politics of the 1980s] (PhD diss., Seoul National University, 2018).

[3] For lyrics, see description in "Koreana - Hand in Hand," filmed September 17, 1988, video, Olympics, YouTube, 4:13. https://perma.cc/J96W-Q5T8.

"Silence" (Chŏngjŏk, 2:52:38), performed by a single boy referred to colloquially today as "Kullŏngswe Sonyŏn," or the "Hoop Boy."[4]

After the 1,000-person Taekwondo team of "Beyond all Barriers" simulates its theme with an undulating diagonal wave of high-kicks that leaves the green pockmarked with the plywood shards of a "barrier" (2:58:38), an ethereal G# drones out over the stadium, and an eight-year-old boy named Yun T'ae-ung runs onto the massive field, cutting diagonally across the empty space where the figurative wall had just been, spinning a metal hoop along the ground with a stick. One minute later, the triumphant finale begins.[5] If the war orphan had once been the image with which the first-world associated Korea, then Yi Ŏ-ryŏng aimed to supplant it not through ostentation of a cityscape now beginning to shoot up towards the sky, but rather, through the silent joy of a single Korean child who entered the world at the start of that decade of startling growth that culminated in the Miracle on the Han.[6]

Thus it would appear that Kullŏngsoe Sonyŏn enabled Yi to attain perfect symmetry across the parallel sides of a series of dialectics: between the rhythmic flow of the mass games and the sudden interruption of "Silence," between the loudness of the ceremony's fanfare and the single high G#, between the choreographed movement of thousands and the stillness of the empty field, between politicization and innocence, between adulthood and childhood, and between the collective and the individual. If modern forms of music had been utilized throughout the twentieth century by Christian missionaries, political regimes, occupational forces, and dissident movements alike to homogenize individuals into a

[4] Other representative images of 1988 Seoul were its mascot tiger, Hodori, and the thousands of white pigeons who were released into the air as a symbol of peace during the opening ceremony, but who were supposedly responsible for the subsequent skyrocketing of the pigeon population of Seoul.

[5] For the official English-language program booklet, see *Games of the XXIVTH Olympiad Seoul 1988: Opening Ceremony, September 17* (Seoul: Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, 1988), https://perma.cc/RSE8-46R2.

[6] Yi Ŏ-ryŏng discusses his inspiration for Kullŏngsoe Sonyŏn with reporter Kim Min-hŭi, originally serialized in 2016 by *Chugan Chosŏn* and later compiled into monograph form. See Kim Min-hŭi, *Yi Ŏ-ryŏng, 80-yŏn saenggak: 'Ch'angjo jŏk saenggak' ŭi t'ansaeng ŭl munnŭn 100-sigan ŭi int'ŏbyu* (Koyang-si: Wijŭdŏm Hausŭ, 2021), 134–148.

univocal mass, then the fact that Kullŏngsoe Sonyŏn became the lasting icon of 1988 Seoul may reflect the accumulation of hope for an innocent future, longings for the blank canvas of a coming decade and century absent the all-absorbing noise of politics and collective songs of mass mobilization.

As I have shown throughout these body chapters, like the blank canvas of the silent stadium upon which Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's figurative "one-line poem" aimed to supplant stereotypical images of Korea, so too has the silence of the printed page allowed South Korean fiction writers to rework the conventional resonances of its modern song canon. Cho Chŏng-nae's guerilla contrafacts and revisionist National Anthem history entreat readers to cast skeptical ear upon singularly patriotic cultural memories of songs during war. Yi Mun-gu's reorchestrations use personal narrative as surrogate instrumental arrangement to enable readers to hear the postwar voices of *minjung* in the sedimented layers of colonial-era standards. Ch'oe In-ho's codeswitching reversed the psychedelic musical conventions of a now publicly degraded youth culture, offering a *mea culpa* in a high cultural form so surreal that it nearly overshadowed the surrender it contained. If silence is the condition through which people are made to hear real sound, then by reading musical moments in the silent pages of literary narrative, perhaps the reader is actually being made to listen to the "real sounds" which authors aim to rehabilitate. Yet because the fundamental power of song rests in both its pneumonic and homogenizing function, neither can absolute "collectivity" be extracted from any interwoven point in the meshwork of memory linking South Korea's twentieth century histories of song and literature, nor can singular meaning be derived from the "silence" that has become emblematic of 1988 Seoul. Rather "real sound" evoked in silence will always rest ambiguously between individual and collective experience, between private subjective recollection and public cultural memory.

Interestingly these two axes of the personal and the public correlate neatly to the concrete sources of Yi Ŏ-ryŏng's inspiration for Kullŏngsoe Sonyŏn. In describing the first source, Yi evokes a distant memory from when he was around the same age as Yun T'ae-ung circa 1988 Seoul. Recalling having inexplicably burst out into tears while spinning a hoop down a trail, Yi theorizes that this mysterious moment of tearful inspiration may have when he felt "the fundamental sadness of being" for the first time.[7] Similarly the auditory artifacts I have compiled in this survey of South Korean fiction often derive their inspiration from the past, a phenomenon that may be symptomatic of sound itself, which defined as absent presence, always "vanishes into the air and past time."[8] When Yi was listening to American jazz singers on the radio in 1963, his written refractions of those husky voices ended up placing the timeless Korean voice of suffering in the ears of readers. When Yi Mun-gu was writing about hearing "Wayfarer's Sorrow" in 1973, he was actually re-auditing the voice of a long-lost friend heard for the last time in 1953. When Ch'oe In-ho was reversing the code to psychedelic flight in the early 1980s, he was hearing the suppressed sounds of a countercultural movement that ended four years earlier. And when Yi was imagining Kullŏngsoe Sonyŏn, he was thinking about that moment of "fundamental sadness" from his own childhood. Thus "real sound" heard in silence may always imply personal mediation, rather than pure facsimile, of the past.

Fast forwarding to the early 1970s, nearly thirty years after his first inspiration, Yi Ŏ-ryŏng would be visiting France around Christmas when he spotted a poster on the wall displaying a photo of young Korean children in soiled clothes under the heading, "No Christmas carols for these children." Whether or not this moment represents Yi's seminal DuBoisian experience of double consciousness, of seeing himself through the eyes of first-world white folks, it is clear that the shock reverberated well into the next decade. When he

[7] Qtd. in Kim, 146.
[8] David Toop, *Sinister Resonance,* xv.

was invited to oversee planning of the opening ceremony, Yi took it upon himself to use that global platform to shatter the publically projected image of the war orphan that "Korea" still evoked in the minds of more advanced countries.[9] Of course the irony is that there were far more Korean "orphans" shipped off to adoptive parents in the first world in the 1980s than in any other decade, including the 1950s.

For those who were given up for international adoption in the 1980s, it would be difficult to watch 1988 Seoul's defining performance of the innocent joy of childhood and not imagine the life one might have had otherwise. In order to inject the national economy with a significant influx of foreign capital in the 1980s, the lucrative system of surrogate social welfare and population control continued to justify its enterprise to aspiring first-world parents with images of Korean orphans (not unlike the French poster Yi encountered) and coercing unmarried Korean women to give up their yet-unborn babies.[10] Thus it becomes clear that the triumphant "Silence" of 1988 Seoul does not merely signify the cathartic cleansing of a century of hardships and the silent hope for a more innocent future; it also evokes parallax visions of the immense human sacrifices upon which the Miracle on the Han became possible. Just as "O Tannenbaum" is heard as both a communist anthem and a Christmas carol by North and South Koreans, respectively, so too will the collectivity or public significance of any "real sound" of the ethnonation always be subject to contestation.

In this dissertation, I have demonstrated a set of reading methods through which historically intertwined strands of popular musical and literary texts can be used to link works of fiction with the song genres around which they cluster. For the most part, my analysis focuses on music and literature produced prior to what both literary and popular song historiographies mark as the dawn of the contemporary era roughly defined as the years

[9] Qtd. in Kim Min-hŭi, *Yi Ŏ-ryŏng,* 142–143.

[10] For more on the history of international adoption in South Korea, see Eleana J. Kim, *Adopted Territory: Transnational Korean Adoptees and the Politics of Belonging* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010).

between 1988 and the present. Moving across the 1988 divide, one certainly has a palpable sense of discontinuity. The shifts which produce this sense of discontinuity are not limited to the sphere of popular music, where rapid changes in style and sensibility align neatly to the contemporary era's overarching historical frameworks and discourses of globalization and neoliberal capitalism.[11] If my above examination of silent hope and its parallax vision in 1988 Seoul is any indication, then "globalization" in the post-1988 present must also characterize the ongoing shifts in *who* comprises and mediates the scholarly discussions through which those pivotal moments in the history of modern and contemporary Korean culture have been defined.

In post-1988 literature, the need has arisen to address the rise of what the literary field had long suppressed—the commodity marketplace, the voices of women within the entrenched and omnipresent gender hierarchy, the figurative and real "return" of diasporic Koreans, etc. Yet even as the divide between pre- and post-1988 music and literature seemingly grows, contemporary writers still draw upon the same pre-1988 canon of "old songs from bygone days" in order to signify, resignify, contest, or recover the "real sound" of the past. Thus the historical formalist methods for reading that I have demonstrated here offer ways for literary scholars to overcome the seemingly insurmountable pre-/post-1988 divide.

This dissertation thus delves into the ways in which specific popular song genres have elicited specific artistic modes of aestheticizing the experiences and emotions of Koreans from the 1950s–1970s that would otherwise remain unconveyable in writing. By doing so, it argues that that through these practices, individuals have been able to reclaim, recover, and reshape their own subjecthood. To be sure, the power of popular songs extends well beyond their impact on literary writers between liberation and the end of the 1980s. If the current

[11] Some examples of shifts in post-1988 Korean popular music include the debut of Seo Taiji in 1991, the rise of highly visual, hip-hop and dance-inflected idol musics, the growth of independent music scenes in the late 1990s, the global expansion of the K-pop industry in the 2000s, and the re-revival of trot in the 2020s, to name just a few.

project succeeds in showing the value of studying how popular music availed South Koreans to new and otherwise inaccessible aesthetic modes of making sense of what it means to live through an era of profound hardship and uncertainty, then certainly opportunities remain to examine the powerful resonances of Korean song cultures in the lives and self-defining artistic practices of a far broader spectrum of individuals. .

APPENDIX 1

신라의 달밤 (Silla ŭi talbam) Moonlit Night of Silla

Recorded performance by Hyŏn In released in 1949, written by Yu Ho (lyricist) and Pak Si-ch'un (composer) around that time. Broadcast performance from 1960, video, https://perma.cc/ZF3Z-B628. Full discographic details for all songs from the Appendices are included in the Discography.

아 신라의 밤이여 불국사의 종소리 들리어 온다 지나가는 나그네야 걸음을 멈추어라 고요한 달빛 어린 금옥산 기슭에서 노래를 불러보자 신라의 밤 노래를 아 신라의 밤이여 화랑도의 추억이 새롭고나 푸른 강물 흐르건만 종소리는 끝이 없네 화려한 천년사직 간 곳을 더듬으며 노래를 불러보자 신라의 밤 노래를 아 신라의 밤이여 아름다운 궁녀들 그리워라 대궐 뒤에 숲속에서 사랑을 맺었던가 님들의 치맛소리 귓속에 들으면서 노래를 불러보자 신라의 밤 노래를	Ah Silla ŭi pam iyŏ Pulguksa ŭi chongsori tŭlliŏ onda China kanŭn nagŭne ya Kŏrŭm ŭl mŏmch'uŏra koyo han talpit ŏrin Kŭmoksan kisŭk esŏ Norae rŭl pullŏ poja Silla ŭi pam norae rŭl Ah Silla ŭi pam iyŏ Hwarangdo ŭi ch'uŏk i saeropkona P'urŭn kangmul hŭrŭgŏnman Chongsori nŭn kkŭt i ŏmne Hwaryŏ han ch'ŏnnyŏn sajik Kan kot ŭl tŏdŭmŭmyŏ Norae rŭl pullŏ poja Silla ŭi pam norae rŭl Ah Silla ŭi pam iyŏ Arŭmdaun kungnyŏdŭl kŭriwŏra Taegwŏl twi e sup sok esŏ Sarang ŭl maejŏttŏn'ga Imdŭl ŭi ch'imatsori Kwitsok e tŭrŭmyŏnsŏ Norae rŭl pullŏ poja Silla ŭi pam norae rŭl

Ah, the Silla night
Hear the bells at Pulguksa [temple] ringing forth
Oh, wayfarer walking by
Pause where you are
At the foot of the quiet moonstruck kŭmoksan [orchird]
Let us sing a song
A song of the Silla night

Ah, Silla night
Memories of Hwarangdo [code of Silla chivalry] are new
Though the blue river water runs
The bell does not cease
Searching for that place to which the extravagent and eternal Sajik* has gone
Let us sing a song
A song of the Silla night

Ah, Silla night
I miss the beautiful temple women
Was love born in the forest behind the royal palace
The sound of my beloveds' dresses
Echoes in my ear
Let us sing a song
A song of the Silla night

* Alter to gods of grains and soil once located in the capital city of Silla (present-day Kyŏngju)

APPENDIX 2

애국가 (Aegukka) South Korean National Anthem

Lyrics composed in 1896. Originally sung to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne." Original music composed by An Ik-t'ae in 1935. Both versions recorded in August 1947 and available as video, https://perma.cc/KM23-VN6Y.

동해 물과 백두산이 마르고 닳도록 하느님이 보우하사 우리나라 만세. (후렴) 무궁화 삼천리 화려 강산 대한 사람, 대한으로 길이 보전하세. 남산 위에 저 소나무, 철갑을 두른 듯 바람서리 불변함은 우리 기상일세. 가을 하늘 공활한데 높고 구름 없이 밝은 달은 우리 가슴 일편단심일세. 이 기상과 이 맘으로 충성을 다하여 괴로우나 즐거우나 나라 사랑하세	Tonghae mul kwa Paektusan i marŭgo talt'orok Hanŭnim i pouhasa uri nara manse (Huryŏm) Mugunghwa samch'ŏlli hwaryŏ kangsan Taehan saram, Taehan ŭro kiri pojŏn hase. Namsan wi e chŏ sonamu, ch'ŏlgap ŭl turŭn tŭt Param sŏri pulbyŏn ham ŭn uri kisang ilse. Kaŭl hanŭl konghwal hande nopko kurŭm ŏpsi Palgŭn tal ŭn uri kasŭm ilp'yŏn tansim ilse. I kisang kwa i mam ŭro ch'ungsŏng ŭl tahayŏ Koerouna chŭlgŏuna nara sarang hase

Until that day when the East Sea waters run dry and Mount Paekdu is worn away
God protect and preserve our nation; Hurray to Korea.

(Refrain)
Three thousand ri of splendid rivers and mountains covered with *mugunghwa* blossoms.
Great Korean people, stay true to the Great Korean way!

As the pine atop the near mountain stands firm, as if wrapped in armor
Unchanged through wind and frost, so shall our resilient spirit.

The autumn sky is void and vast, high and cloudless
The bright moon is our heart, undivided and true.

With this spirit and this mind, give all loyalty
In suffering or in joy, to the love of country.

APPENDIX 3

적기가 (Chŏkkiga) Red Flag Song

Lyricist unknown, music based on "O Tannenbaum," composed by Ernst Anschütz in 1824, lyrics taken from "Chŏkkiga," in *Chosŏn kayo 2000-kokchip*, 572; and "Chŏkkiga," video, https://perma.cc/RA66-X984.

민중의 기 붉은기는 전사의 시체를 싼다 시체가 식어 굳기 전에 혈조는 기발을 물들인다 높이 들어라 붉은 기발을 그 밑에서 굳게 맹세해 비겁한자야 갈라면 가라 우리들은 붉은기를 지키리라 원쑤와의 혈전에서 붉은기를 버린 노이 누구냐 돈과 직위에 꼬임을 받은 더럽고도 비겁한 그놈들이다 높이 들어라 붉은 기발을 그 밑에서 굳게 맹세해 비겁한자야 갈라면 가라 우리들은 붉은기를 지키리라 볼은기를 높이 들고 우리는 나가길 맹세해 오너라 감옥아 단두대야 이것이 고별의 노래란다	Minjung ŭi ki pulgŭn ki nŭn Chŏnsa ŭi sich'e rŭl ssanda Sich'e ka sigŏ kutki chŏn e Hyŏljo nŭn kibal ŭl mul tŭrinda Nop'i tŭrŏra pulgŭn kibal ŭl Kŭ mit esŏ kutke maengse hae Pigŏphan cha ya kallamyŏn kara Uri tŭl ŭn pulgŭn ki rŭl chik'irira Wŏnssu wa ŭi hyŏljŏn esŏ Pulgŭn ki pŏrin noi nugunya Ton kwa chigwi e kkoim ŭl padŭn Tŏrŏpkodo pigŏphan kŭ nom tŭl ida Nop'i tŭrŏra pulgŭn kibal ŭl Kŭ mit esŏ kutke maengse hae Pigŏphan cha ya kallamyŏn kara Uri tŭl ŭn pulgŭn ki rŭl chik'irira Porŭn ki nop'i tŭlgo Uri nŭn nagagil maengse hae Onŏra kamok a tandudae ya I kŏt i kobyŏl ŭi norae randa
The flag of *minjung,* the red flag Wraps the corpse of the war dead Before the corpse grows stiff and cold Their heart's blood stains the flag Hold it high, the red flag	

Beneath it make a hardened vow
Cowards, if you want to go, then go
We shall stand by the red flag

In bloody battle with the foe
Who hauled the red flag down
Who accepted the temptations of money and status
It is they, filthy and cowardly

Hold it high, the red flag
Beneath it make a hardened vow
Cowards, if you want to go, then go
We shall stand by the red flag

With the red flag held high
We vow to go forth
Come prison come guillotine
This shall be our parting song

APPENDIX 4

십자가 군병들아 (Sipchaga kunbyŏngdŭl a) Christian Soldiers

Yun Ch'i-ho, lyricist and translator, based on "Onward, Christian Soldiers" (1871), published as Hymn No. 9 in *Ch'anmiga* (Praise hymns, 1905). From Syngman Rhee, "Aegukka wa ch'anmiga," 62–67.

그리스도군사 앞서 나가세 예수 거느리사 적병 치시니 싶자가 앞세우고 전쟁에 가듣 깃발 가는대로 싸움나가세 (후렴) 그리스도군사 앞서 나가세 십자가 앞세우고 전쟁에 가듣 대군 이동하듯 교회나가니 우리 성도 다니던 길 우리도 가네 믿는 형제들아 한 몸과 한 마음 한 바람 한 도리 한 사랑일세 면류관 용상은 있다 없으며 나라와 권세는 잃고 쇄하나 예수의 교회는 하나님 도우사 영원 불편함을 허락하셨네 십자가 가는데 마귀 패하네 예수 군사들아 나아가 이기세 찬송하는 소리 천지 울리니 우리 한 소리로 승전가 하세	Kŭrisŭdo kunsa apsŏ nagase Yesu kŏnŭrisa chŏkpyŏng ch'isini Sipchaga apseugo chŏnjaeng e kadŭt Kitpal kanŭn taero ssaum nagase (Huryŏm) Kŭrisŭdo kunsa apsŏ nagase Sipchaga apseugo chŏnjaeng e kadŭt Taegun idong hadŭt kyohoe nagani Uri to tanidŏn kil uri to kane Minnŭn hyŏngjedŭl a han mom kwa han maŭm Han param han tori han sarang ilse Myŏllyugwan yongsang ŭn itta ŏpsŭmyŏ Nara wa kwŏnse nŭn ilk'o swaehana Yesu ŭi kyohoe nŭn hananim tousa Yŏngwŏn pulp'yŏn ham ŭl hŏrak hasyŏnne Sipchaga kanŭnde magwi p'ae hane Yesu kunsa tŭl a naaga igise Hanŭn sori ch'ŏnji ullini Uri han sori ro sŭngjŏn'ga hase
Christian soldiers lead onward Christ is in command, striking the enemy The cross of Jesus before us, going into war Wherever the flag goes, go forward into the fight Chorus: Christian soldiers, lead onward	

With the cross before you, as if going to war

We go to church like a great army on the move
Thus we too go upon the path of Christ's followers
Brothers in whom our faith is, we are one body and one mind
One hope, one duty, and one love.

When the crown is no longer on the lord's head
Country and authority are lost and in decline
God, help the church of Jesus
He has granted eternal constancy

Wherever the cross goes, demons find defeat
Soldiers of Jesus, march forth to victory
The sound of praise resounds in heaven and earth
With voices joined as one, let us sing a song of victory

APPENDIX 5

소년남자가 (Sonyŏn namjaga) Young Man Song

Yi Sang-jun, composer, An Ch'ang-ho, lyricist, in *Aeguk ch'angga* (Praise hymns, published in Honolulu, 1916), printed as "Yagu" (Baseball) in *Ch'oesin ch'anggajip* (Collection of the latest songs, published at Kwangsŏng hakkyo, Kando, Manchuria, 1914). See "Sonyŏn namjaga," in *Tasi purŭnŭn tongnip ŭi hamsŏng*, 311.

무쇠 골격 돌 근육 소년 남자야 애국의 정신을 분발하여라 다다랐네 다다랐네 우리 나라에 소년의 활동시대 다다랐네 (후렴) 만인대적 연습하여 후일 전공 세우세 절세 영웅 대사업이 우리 목적 아닌가 신체를 발육하는 동시에 경쟁심 주의를 양성하려고 공기 좋고 구역 넓은 운동장으로 활활 나는 듯이 빨리 나가세 충렬사의 끓는 피 순환 잘되고 독립군의 팔다리 민활하도다 벽력과 부월이 당전하여도 우리는 조금도 두려움 없네 돌리고 깨여치는 백륜적기는 신속함이 흑운심천 번개불 같고 보내고 받아 차는 수구 축구는 분분함이 백일청천 소나기로다 해전과 육전에 모든 유희를 차제로 흥미있게 승부결하고 개선문 뚜렷이 열리는 곳에 승전고 울려라. 두둥 두둥 두둥.	Musoe kolgyŏk tol kŭnyuk sonyŏn namja ya Aeguk ŭi chŏngsin ŭl punbal hayŏra Tadaranne tadaranne uri nara e Sonyŏn ŭi hwaltong sidae tadaranne (Huryŏm) Manin taejŏk yŏnsŭp hayŏ huil chŏn'gong seuse Chŏlse yŏngung taesaŏp i uri mokchŏk anin'ga Sinch'e rŭl paryuk hanŭn tongsi e Kyŏngjaengsim chuŭi rŭl yangsŏng haryŏgo Konggi chok'o kuyŏk nŏlbŭn undongjang ŭro Hwarhwal nanŭn tŭsi ppalli nagase Ch'ungnyŏlsa ŭi kkŭllŭn p'i sunhwan chal toego Tongnipkun ŭi p'aldari minhwal hadoda Pyŏngnyŏk kwa puwŏl i tangjŏn hayŏdo Uri nŭn chogŭm to turyŏum ŏmne Tolligo kkaeyŏ ch'inŭn paengnyun chŏkki nŭn Sinsokham i hŭgun simch'ŏn pŏn'gae pul katko Ponaego pada ch'anŭn sugu ch'ukku nŭn Punbunham i paegil ch'ŏngch'ŏn sonagi roda Haejŏn kwa yukchŏn e modŭn yuhŭi rŭl Ch'aje ro hŭngmi itke sŭngbu kyŏl hago Kaesŏnmun tturyŏsi yŏllinŭn kot e Sŭngjŏn'go ullyŏra tudung tudung tudung

Boy-man of cast-iron frame, stone muscles Stir the patriotic spirit It has arrived it has arrived to our country The era of boy's action has arrived (Chorus) Practice all-out confrontation and achieve merit in war tomorrow Is our goal not the grand task of a matchless hero To strengthen the body while Fostering the principle of competitive spirit To the sports field, where the air is good and the grounds broad Go out, as if flying with wings The boiling blood of Ch'ungnyŏlsa* circulates well And the arms and legs of the Independence Army are spry Even if facing lightning and punishment We are not the least bit afraid The baseball [?], spinning and crashing It's speed like lightning in a sky of black clouds Passed and received, kicked, hand ball and foot ball Flying all about, they are a rain shower in the clear bright sky For every game of a sea or land fight Victory and defeat are determined with excitement in the moment And in the place where the triumphal arch opens clear Sound the drum of victory, *tudung tudung tudung*	

* A shrine constructed in Busan for the soldiers who were killed during the Imjin War (1592-1598)

APPENDIX 6

전우야 잘자라 (Chŏnu ya chal chara) Comrade in-arms, Goodnight

Hyŏn In, vocalist, Pak Si-ch'un, composer, Yu Ho, lyricist, 1950. Original recording has not been recovered. Recording with Kim Hŭi-gap on vocals released in 1983, https://perma.cc/9EFK-AK38.

전우의 시체를 넘고 넘어 앞으로 앞으로 낙동강아 흘러가라 우리는 전진한다 원한이야 피에 맺힌 적군을 무찌르고서 꽃잎처럼 떨어져 간 전우야 잘자라 우거진 수풀을 헤치면서 앞으로 앞으로 추풍령아 잘 있느냐 우리는 전진한다 달빛 어린 고개에서 마지막 나누어 먹던 화랑담배 연기 속에 사라진 전우야 고개를 넘어서 물을 건너 앞으로 앞으로 한강수야 잘 있느냐 우리는 돌아왔다 들국화도 송이송이 피어나 반기어 주는 노들강변 언덕 위에 잠 들은 전우야 터지는 포탄을 무릅쓰고 앞으로 앞으로 우리들이 가는 곳에 삼팔선 무너진다 흙이 묻은 철갑모를 손으로 어루만지니 떠오른다 네 얼굴이 꽃같이 별같이	Chŏnu ŭi sich'e rŭl nŏmko nŏmŏ ap ŭro ap ŭro Naktonggang a hŭllŏ kara uri nŭn chŏnjin handa Wŏnhan iya p'i e maech'in chŏkkun ŭl mutchirŭgosŏ Kkonnip ch'ŏrŏm ttŏrŏjyŏ kan chŏnu ya chal chara Ugŏjin sup'ul ŭl hech'imyŏnsŏ ap ŭro ap ŭro Ch'up'ungnyŏng a chal innŭnya uri nŭn chŏnjin handa Talpit ŏrin kogae esŏ majimak nanuŏ mŏktŏn Hwarang tambae yŏn'gi sok e sarajin chŏnu ya Kogae rŭl nŏmŏsŏ mul ŭl kŏnnŏ ap ŭro ap ŭro Han'gangsu ya chal innŭnya uri nŭn torawatta Tŭlgukhwa to songisongi p'iŏ na pan'giŏ chunŭn Nodŭl kangbyŏn ŏndŏk wi e chamdŭrŭn chŏnu ya T'ŏjinŭn p'ot'an ŭl murŭp ssŭgo ap ŭro ap ŭro Uri tŭl i kanŭn kot e samp'al-sŏn munŏjinda Hŭk i mudŭn ch'ŏl kammo rŭl son ŭro ŏrumanjini Ttŏorŭnda ne ŏlgul i kkot kach'i pyŏl kach'i

Over the corpses of fallen comrades, onward, onward
Naktong River, keep flowing on, as for us, we're marching on.
Bad blood grudges all through the veins of the enemy we vanquish
And as though a petal fallen, comrade-in-arms, goodnight

On through the thick of the bush, plowing forth, pushing onward, onward
Ch'upungnyŏng Pass, how have you been? As for us, we marching on.
Upon that hill in the light of the moon, where passed between us for the last time
a Hwarang cigarette, and into the smoke, comrade, you disappeared

Over the hills, over the water, pushing onward, onward
Han River, has the water been well? As for us, we have returned.
Wild chrysanthemums burst into bloom, rejoicing too in delight
Up on a hill of the Nodŭl Riverside, comrade, fallen to sleep,

Braving the fires the bursting of bombs, onward, we push onward
Destined are we to the place of collapse for the 38th parallel
Over helmet buried in dirt, endearing stroke of the hand, I
see a face, of you, memories, as blossoms, as stars, rise

APPENDIX 7

6.25의 노래 (6.25 ŭi norae) Song of 6.25

Written in 1952 by Kim Tong-jin (composer) and Pak Tu-jin (lyricist). Recording with Oasis Music Choir (performers) released in 1983, https://perma.cc/U3G6-JVVM.

아 아 잊으랴! 어찌 우리 이 날을 조국을 원수들이 짓밟아 오던 날을 맨 주먹 붉은 피로 원수를 막아내어 발을 굴러 땅을 치며 의분에 떤 날을 (후렴) 이제야 갚으리 그 날의 원수를 쫓기는 적의 무리 쫓고 또 쫓아 원수의 하나까지 쳐서 무찔러 이제야 빛내리 이 나라 이 겨레 아 아 잊으랴! 어찌 우리 이 날을 불의의 역도들을 멧도적 오랑캐를 하늘의 힘을 빌어 모조리 쳐부수어 흘려온 값진 피의 원한을 풀으리 아 아 잊으랴! 어찌 우리 이 날을 정의는 이기는 것 이기고야 마는 것 자유를 위하여서 싸우고 또 싸워 다시는 이런 날이 오지 않게하리.	A a ijŭrya! Ŏtchi uri i nal ŭl Choguk ŭl wŏnsudŭl i chitpalba odŏn nal ŭl Maen chumŏk pulgŭn p'i ro wŏnsu rŭl maga naeŏ Pal ŭl kullŏ ttang ŭl ch'imyŏ ŭibun e ttŏn nal ŭl Huryŏm: Ijeya kap'ŭri kŭ nal ŭi wŏnsu rŭl Tchotkinŭn chŏk ŭi muri tchotko tto tchoch'a Wŏnsu ŭi hana kkaji mutchillŏ Ijeya pinnaeri i nara i kyŏre A a ijŭrya! Ŏtchi uri i nal ŭl Purŭi ŭi yŏktodŭl ŭl mettojŏk orangk'ae rŭl Hanŭl ŭi him ŭl pirŏ mojori ch'yŏbusuŏ Hŭllyŏ on kapchin p'i ŭi wŏnhan ŭl p'urŭri A a ijŭrya! Ŏtchi uri i nal ŭl Chŏngŭi nŭn iginŭn kŏt igigoya manŭn kŏt Chayu rŭl wihayŏsŏ ssaugo tto ssawŏ Tasi nŭn irŏn nal i oji ank'e hari.
Ah, ah, forget! How could we forget this day The day enemies came and trampled our fatherland Stop the enemies with bare fisted red blood Stomp your feet and beat the ground, the day of righteous indignation Ah, ah, forget! How could we forget this day Injust traitors, wild bandit barbarians With the force of the sky, rout them all And relieve the *wŏnhan* for the precious blood spilled Ah, ah, forget! How could we forget this day For justice to be victorious, to have to win	

For freedom, fight and fight more
For this day to never come again

Chorus:
Now we take revenge on the enemy of that day
The enemy crowd being chased, chase and chase them out
Strike every foe, vanquish them one and all
Now this country shall shine bright with its people

APPENDIX 8

굳세어라 금순아 (Kutseŏra Kŭm-sun a) Be Strong, Kŭm-sun

Performed by Hyŏn In (vocalist), written by Kang Hae-in (lyricist) and Pak Si-ch'un (composer) in 1953. For recording, see https://perma.cc/9J79-L8X6.

눈보라가 휘날리는 바람찬 흥남부두에 목을 놓아 불러봤다 찾아를 봤다 금순아 어디로 가고 길을 잃고 헤매었던가 피눈물을 흘리면서 일사 이후 나 홀로 왔다 일가친척 없는 몸이 지금은 무엇을 하나 이내 몸은 국제시장 장사치기다 금순아 보고 싶구나 고향 꿈도 그리워진데 영도다리 난간 위에 초생달만 외로이 떴다 철의 장막 모진 서룸 받고서 살아를 간들 천지간의 너와 난데 변함 있으랴 금순아 굳세어 다오 북진통일 그 날이 되면 손을 잡고 울어 보자 얼싸 안고 춤도 춰보자	Nunbora ka hwinallinŭn param ch'an Hŭngnam Pudu e Mok ŭl noa pullŏ pwatta ch'aja rŭl pwatta Kŭm-sun a ŏdi ro kago kil ŭl ilk'o hemaeŏttŏn'ga P'i nunmul ŭl hŭllimyŏnsŏ il-sa ihu na hollo watta Ilga ch'inch'ŏk ŏmnŭn mom i chigŭm ŭn muŏt ŭl hana I nae mom ŭn Kukche Sijang changsa ch'igida Kŭm-sun a pogo sipkuna kohyang kkum to kŭriwŏjinde Yŏngdo Tari nan'gan wi e ch'osaengdal man oeroi ttŏtta Ch'ŏl ŭi changmak mojin sŏrum patkosŏ sara rŭl kandŭl Ch'ŏnjigan ŭi nŏ wa nande pyŏnham issŭrya Kŭm-sun a kutseŏdao pukchin t'ongil kŭ nal i toemyŏn Son ŭl chapko urŏ poja ŏlssa an'go ch'um to ch'wŏ poja

In the frigid wind and blizzard snow blowing over Hŭngnam Port
How I'd tried so hard to find you, crying out to you
Kŭm-sun, where did you go, did you wander having lost your way
Shedding blood and tears, January 4th passed by and I came here all alone

Now I wonder what you're doing all alone without family
As for me, I'm a market peddler at Gukje sijang
Kŭmsun, I'm longing to see you, longing more for dreams of my hometown
Above the railing on the Yŏngdo bridge rose a crescent moon in loneliness

Now behind the Iron Curtain bitter sadness
How could anything on earth have changed between you and I
Kŭm-sun, be strong, when the day comes for unification through invasion of the north
We'll hold hands and cry, we'll throw our arms around each other and dance

APPENDIX 9

이별의 부산정거장 (Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan chŏnggŏjang) Busan Station of Farewells

Performed by Nam In-su, written by Ho Tong-a (Yu Ho, lyricist) and Pak Si-ch'un (composer), recorded in 1953, https://perma.cc/9T2E-TLEN.

보슬비가 소리도 없이 이별 슬픈 부산정거장 잘 가세요 잘 있어요 눈물의 기적이 운다 한 많은 피난살이 설움도 많아 그래도 잊지 못할 판자집이여 경상도 사투리의 아가씨가 슬피 우네 이별의 부산정거장 서울 가는 십이 열차에 기대앉은 젊은 나그네 시름없이 내다보는 창밖에 등불이 존다 쓰라린 피난살이 지나고 보니 그래도 끊지 못할 순정 때문에 기적도 목이 메여 소리 높이 우는구나 이별의 부산정거장 가기 전에 떠나기 전에 하고 싶은 말 한 마디를 유리창에 그려보는 그 마음 안타까워라 고향에 가시거든 잊지를 말고 한 두자 봄소식을 전해 주소서 몸부림치는 몸을 뿌리치고 떠나가는 이별의 부산정거장	Posŭl pi ka sori to ŏpsi Ibyŏl sŭlp'ŭn Pusan Chŏnggŏjang Chal kaseyo chal issŏyo Nunmul ŭi kijŏk i unda Han manŭn p'inan sari sŏrum to mana Kŭraedo itchi mothal p'anja chip iyŏ Kyŏngsang-do sat'uri ŭi Agassi ka sŭlp'i une Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan Chŏnggŏjang Sŏul kanŭn sip-i yŏlch'a e Kidae anjŭn chŏlmŭn nagŭne Sirŭm ŏpsi naeda ponŭn Ch'ang pak e tŭngpul i chonda Ssŭrarin p'inan sari chinago poni Kŭraedo kkŭnch'i mot hal sunjŏng ttaemun e Kijŏk to mok i meyŏ Sori nop'i unŭn'guna Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan Chŏnggŏjang Kagi chŏn e ttŏnagi chŏn e Hago sip'ŭn mal han madi rŭl Yuri ch'ang e kŭryŏ ponŭn Kŭ maŭm ant'akkawŏra Kohyang e kasigŏdŭn itchi rŭl malgo Han tu cha pom sosik ŭl chŏnhae chusosŏ Momburim ch'inŭn mom ŭl Ppuri ch'igo ttŏna kanŭn Ibyŏl ŭi Pusan Chŏnggŏjang

Light rain silent as can be,
Busan Station, sad with goodbyes
Go well, be well
The whistle of tears cries
Sorrowful war refuge life, filled too with sadness
But oh, the unforgettable shanty house
The Kyŏngsang-do dialect
Girl cries sadly
The train station of goodbyes, Busan Station

A young vagabond sitting back
In the Twelve Train to Seoul
Staring vacantly out the window
At the sleepy lamplight
Having lived the bitter life of a war refugee
And yet for the pure love that I can't give up
The whistle chokes in shrill cry
The train station of goodbyes, Busan Station

Before you go, before you depart
The few words I want to say
How woeful is this heart that
Draws them out on the window pane
If you go home, please don't forget
To write and pass on but a few tidings of spring
Casting back from a writhing embrace
And departing from those now left behind
The train station of goodbyes, Busan Station

APPENDIX 10

호남가 (Honamga) Southwest Region Song

Recorded by Im Pang-ul (vocalist) in 1930, see https://perma.cc/JVA3-LNJ2. All placenames are followed in Korean text with their Classical Chinese rendering in parenthesis. When needed, explanations of the word-play are provided in brackets in the translation.

함평(咸平) 천지 늙은 몸이	Hamp'yŏng ch'ŏnji nŭlgŭn mom i
광주(光州) 고향을 보랴허고	Kwangju kohyang ŭl porya hŏgo
제주(濟州) 어선 빌려타고	Cheju ŏsŏn pillyŏ t'ago
해남(海南)으로 건너갈 적	Haenam ŭro kŏnnŏ kal chŏk
홍양(興陽)으 돋은 해는 보성(寶城)으 비쳐있고	Hongyang ŭ todŭn hae nŭn Posŏng ŭ pich'yŏ itko
고산(高山)에 아침안개	Kosan e ach'im an'gae
영암(靈巖)을 둘러있다	Yŏngam ŭl tullŏ itta
타인(泰仁)하신 우리 성군	T'ain hasin uri sŏnggun
으약을 장흥(長興)허니	Ŭyak ŭl Changhŭng hŏni
삼태육경으 순천(順天)심은	Samt'ae yukkyŏng ŭ Sunch'ŏn sim ŭn
방백수령 의 진안(鎭安)면이라	Pangbaek suryŏng ŭi Chinan-myŏn ira
고창(高敞) 성으 높이 앉어	Koch'ang sŏng ŭ nop'i anjŏ
나주(羅州) 풍경 바래보니	Naju p'unggyŏng parae poni
만장 운봉(雲峯)이 높이 솟아	Manjang unbong i nop'i sosa
칭칭한 익산(益山)이요.	Ch'ingch'inghan Iksan iyo.
백리 담양(潭陽), 흐르난 물은	Paeng-ni Tamyang, hŭrŭnan mul ŭn
구부구부 만경(萬頃)인데	Kubugubu Man'gyŏng inde
용담(龍潭)으, 맑은 물은	Yongdam ŭ, malgŭn mul ŭn
이 아니 용안(容安)처며	I ani Yonganch'ŏmyŏ
능주(綾州)으, 붉은 꽃츤 고을	Nŭngju ŭ, pulgŭn kkot chŭn koŭl
고을마다 금산(錦山)인가	Koŭl mada Kŭmsan in'ga
남원(南原)으 봄이 들어 각색 화초 무장(茂長)허니	Namwŏn ŭ pom i kaksaek hwach'o Mujang hŏni
나무 나무 임실((任實)이요	Namu namu Imsil iyo
가지 가지 옥과(玉果)로다	Kaji kaji Okkwa roda
풍속은 화순(和順)이요 인심은 함열(咸悅)인디	P'ungsok ŭn Hwasun iyo insim ŭn Hamyŏl indi
기초난 무주(茂朱)허고	Kich'o nan Muju hŏgo
서해난 영광(靈光)이라.	Sŏhae nan Yŏnggwang ira.
챙평(昌平)한 좋은 세상	Ch'aengp'yŏng han choŭn sesang
	Muan ŭl ilsamŭni
	Sanong kongsang ŭ nagan iyo
	Puja hyŏngje, tongbok iroguna.
	Kangjin ŭ sanggosŏn ŭn,
	Chindo ro kŏnnŏ kal chŏk,
	Kŭmgu ŭ kŭm ŭl irŏ, ssain ke kŭmje noda
	Nongsa hŏdŏn okku paeksŏng imp'isang ŭi ka,
	Tullŏssŭni ani nolgo,
	Muŏsŭl halgŏna,
	Kŏdŭrŏng kŏrigo nora poja

무안(務安)을 일삼으니 사농공상으 낙안(樂安)이요 부자형제, 동복(同福)이로구나. 강진(康津)으 상고선은, 진도(珍島)로 건너갈적, 금구(金溝)으 금을 일어, 쌓인 게 금제(金堤)로다, 농사허던 옥구(沃溝) 백성 임피(臨陂)상의가, 둘렀으니 아니놀고, 무엇을 할거나, 거드렁 거리고 놀아보자.	

Hamp'yŏng, heaven and earth, this old body
On the way to go to his hometown, Kwangju
When I catch a fishing boat from Cheju Island
And cross over to Haenam
The sun rise in Hŭngyang is shining on Posŏng
The morning fog in Kosan
Is wrapping around Yŏngam
Our wise T'aein sage Changhŭng ritual and song
Three *chŏngsŭng*, six *p'ansŏ* [high official positions], the heart of Sun'chŏn
Provincal governors, local magistrates, are the people of Chinan
Koch'ang Fortress sitting high
Gazes at the landscape of Naju
Long and high clouds shooting up
Are the terraced Iksan [mountain]
Water flowing from Tamyang, one hundred-*ri*
Meander to Man'gyŏng
The clear waters of Yongdam, are they not Yongan [Iksan region, homonymous with "King's face"]
Red flowers of Nŭngju, perhaps every place is Kŭmsan [Kŭmsan-myŏn, or gold mountain]
Spring comes to Namwŏn, colorful flowers are Mujang [Koch'ang, alternatively, "Namwŏn spring is armed with colorful flowers"]
Trees, trees, Imsil [Imsil-gun], branches branches, Okkwa [Koksŏng]
Scenery is Hwasun and hearts and minds are Hamyŏl
Strange grasses are Muju [or without owner], Sŏhae is Yŏnggwang [or a "bright and beautiful honor"]
Ch'angp'yŏng [or "prosperous and peaceful"] good world, always Muan [or embarrased]
The four occupations [hereditary classes] are Nagan [or "geese landing on the ground in a line"]
Father, son, and brother, are Tongbok [or "born of the same mother"]
When merchant ships of Kangjin
Cross over to Chindo [island]
Gold gathered from Kŭmgu is Kimje [or "something made from gold"]
The farming *paeksŏng* of Okku, wrapped in Imp'i clothing
Cannot play
What can we do
Let us act badly and play

APPENDIX 11

Selected *Minyo* Transcriptions from *TBSM*

A. 정치 민요 (*Ch'ŏngch'i* minyo) Political *minyo* (*TBSM*, 2:387)

미국사람 믿지 말고 쏘련한테 속지 말고 일본놈들 일어난다 한국사람 조심하세	Miguk saram mitchi malgo Ssoryŏn hant'e sokchi malgo Ilbon nomdŭl irŏnanda Chosŏn saram chosim hase
Don't trust the Americans Don't be fooled by the Soviets The Japanese are getting up Koreans be careful	

B. 아리랑 "Arirang" (*TBSM*, 3:215)

아리랑 아리랑 아라리요 아리랑 고개로 도망을 한다 매끈매끈 먹기 좋은 쌀올벼쌀은 호미속(胡米粟) 바람에 도망을 한다 아무렴 그렇지 그렇고말고 이팝 먹기 좋은 줄 누가 모르나	Arirang arirang arariyo Arirang kogae ro tomang ŭl handa Maekkŭnmaekkŭn mŏkki choŭn ssal ol pyŏssal ŭn Homisok param e tomang ŭl handa Amuryŏm kŭrŏch'i kŭrŏk'o malgo Ip'ap mŏkki choŭn chul nuga morŭna
Arirang arirang arariyo Run away over Arirang hill Best rice for eating early-ripening rice Runs away with the wind of foreign grains Indeed that's the way it is, yes indeed Who doesn't know this rice is good	

C. 새야 새야 파랑새야 (Saeya saeya p'arang saeya) "Bird bird blue bird" (*TBSM*, 4:301)

새야 새애야 파아랑 새애야아 녹두우밭에에 앉지 마라아 녹두꽃이 떨어어지이며언 청포장수우우 울고 간다아.	Saeya saeaeya p'aarang saeaeyaa Noktuubat ee anchi maraa Noktukkot i ttŏrŏŏjiimyŏŏn Ch'ŏngp'o changsuuu ulgo kandaa.
Bird, bird, blue bird Do not land in the mung bean field If the mung bean flower falls The mung bean jelly merchant leaves in tears.	

APPENDIX 12

김일성 장군의 노래 (Kim Il Sung Changgun ŭi norae) Song of General Kim Il Sung

Written in 1946 by Ri Ch'an (lyricist) and Kim Wŏn-gyun (composer), lyrics from *Chosŏn kayo 2000-kokchip*, 54.

장백산 줄기줄기 피어린 자욱 압록강 굽이굽이 피어린 자욱 오늘도 자유조선 꽃다발우에 력력히 비쳐주는 거룩한 자욱 아-, 그 이름도 그리운 우리의 장군 아-, 그 이름도 빛나는 김일성장군 만주벌 눈바람아 이야기하라 밀림의 긴긴 밤아 이야기하라 만고의 빨찌산이 누구인가를 절세의 애국자가 누구인가를 아-, 그 이름도 그리운 우리의 장군 아-, 그 이름도 빛나는 김일성장군 로동자 대중에겐 해방의 은인 민주의 새 조선엔 위대한 태양 이십개 정강우에 모두다 뭉쳐 북조선 방방곡곡 새봄이 오다 아-, 그 이름도 그리운 우리의 장군 아-, 그 이름도 빛나는 김일성장군	Changbaeksan chulgijulgi p'i ŏrin chauk Amnokkang kubigubi p'i ŏrin chauk Onŭl to chayu Chosŏn kkot tabal u e Yŏngnyŏkhi pich'yŏ chunŭn kŏrukhan chauk A, kŭ irŭm to kŭriun uri ŭi changgun A, kŭ irŭm to pinnanŭn Kim Il Sung Changgun Manju pŏl nun param a iyagi hara Millim ŭi kin kin pam a iyagi hara Man'go ŭi ppaltchisan i nugu in'ga rŭl Chŏlse ŭi aegukcha ka nugu in'ga rŭl A, kŭ irŭm to kŭriun uri ŭi Changgun A, kŭ irŭm to pinnanŭn Kim Il Sung Changgun Nodongja taejung egen haebang ŭi ŭnin Minju ŭi sae Chosŏn en widae han t'aeyang Isip-kae chŏnggang u e modu ta mungch'yŏ Puksŏn pangbanggokkok saebom i oda A, kŭ irŭm to kŭriun uri ŭi Changgun A, kŭ irŭm to pinnanŭn Kim Il Sung Changgun

Fresh traces of blood on the ridges of Changbaek Mountain
Freash traces of blood in the stream of the Amnok River
Over the fliower bouquets of Free Korea today
Those sacred traces shine clearly

Ah, the name we longed for of our General,
Ah, the distinguished name Kim Il Sung

Tell, blizzards of the Manchurian plains,
Tell, long night of the forest
Who the unsurpassed partisan is
Who the everlasting patriot is

Ah, the name we longed for of our General,
Ah, the distinguished name Kim Il Sung

The savior who liberated the working masses
The great sun of new democratic Korea
Stand united on the Twenty-Point Platform
A new spring has come to each corner of North Korea

Ah, the name we longed for of our General,
Ah, the distinguished name Kim Il Sung

APPENDIX 13

인민항쟁가 (Inmin hangjaengga) People's Resistance Song

Written in 1946 by Im Hwa (lyricist) and Kim Sun-nam (composer). Recorded version performed in 2018 by Norae sesang Wŏn, San orakhoe, and Ch'oe Sang-don, https://perma.cc/5JE2-LWG4.

원수와 더불어 싸워서 죽은 우리의 죽음을 슬퍼 말아라 깃발을 덮어다오 붉은 깃발을 그 밑에 전사를 맹세한 깃발 더운 피 흘리며 말하던 동무 쟁쟁히 가슴 속 울려온다 동무야 잘 가거라 원한의 길을 복수의 끓는 피 용솟음친다 백색 테러에 쓰러진 동무 원수를 찾아 떨리는 총칼 조국의 자유를 팔려는 원수 무찔러 나가자 인민유격대	Wŏnsu wa tŏburŏ ssawŏsŏ chugŭn Uri ŭi chugŭm ŭl sŭlp'ŏ marara Kitpal ŭl tŏp'ŏdao pulgŭn kitpal ŭl Kŭ mit e chŏnsa rŭl maengse han kitpal Tŏun p'i hŭllimyŏ mal hadŏn tongmu Chaengjaenghi kasŭm sok ullyŏ onda Tongmu ya chal kagŏra wŏnhan ŭi kil ŭl Poksu ŭi kkŭllŭn p'i yongsosŭm ch'inda Paeksaek t'erŏ e ssŭrŏjin tongmu Wŏnsu rŭl ch'aja ttŏllinŭn ch'ongk'al Choguk ŭi chayu rŭl p'allyŏnŭn wŏnsu Mutchillŏ nagaja Inmin Yugyŏktae
Do not be saddened by the death We died while fighting with the enemy Cover us with the flag, the red flag The flag beneath which vows of were made to fight to the death Comrade who spoke while his blood poured out warm Resoundingly echoes forth in my heart Comrade, go forth to the path of *wŏnhan* [deep-seated resentment] The boiling blood of revenge gushes out Comrade, who fell to the white terror Bayonet trembling in search of the enemy The enemy who sold off the freedom of the fatherland Vanquish them and go forth, the People's Guerrilla Unit	

APPENDIX 14

빨치산 추도가 (Ppalch'isan ch'udoga) Partisan Dirge*

Origins uncertain. Recording features performance by Cho Ae-ran and Ch'oe Sang-don from 2018, https://perma.cc/LNU4-NJGV. Lyrics from "Ppalch'isan ch'udoga," in *Tasi purŭnŭn tongnip ŭi hamsŏng*, 266.

가슴 쥐고 나무 밑에 쓰러진다 혁명군 가슴에서 흐르는 피 푸른 들을 적신다 만리장천 무주고혼 부모형제 다 버리고 홀로 선 나무 밑에 한을 품고 쓰러졌다 산에 나는 까마귀야 시체 보고 울지 마라 몸은 비록 죽었으나 혁명정신 살아 있다	Kasŭm chwigo namu mit e Ssŭrŏjinda hyŏngmyŏnggun Kasŭm esŏ hŭrŭnŭn p'i P'urŭn tŭl ŭl chŏksinda Malli changch'ŏn muju kohon Pumo hyŏngje ta pŏrigo Hollo sŏn namu mit e Han ŭl p'umko ssŭrŏjyŏtta San e nanŭn kkamagwi ya Sich'e pogo ulji mara Mom ŭn pirok chugŏssŭna Hyŏngmyŏng chŏngsin sara itta
Grasping your chest beneath the tree Where you collapsed, revolutionary soldier The blood running from your chest Soaks the green field Boundless sky, childless soul Left behind all family And beneath a solemn tree Collapsed with heart full of *han* Crow who flies in the mountains Do not cry when you see a corpse Though its body has died Its revolutionary spirit is alive	

*I choose to translate "*ppalch'isan"* as "Partisan" rather than "Guerilla," because the former is used as a shorthand to specifically identify communist partisans in the south while the latter can connote either right-wing or left-wing "guerrilla" forces.

APPENDIX 15

여수 블루즈 (Yŏsu pŭllujŭ) Yŏsu Blues

Written by Kang Sŏk-o (lyricist and composer) in 1948 or 1949. No original recording, song passed down by word of mouth. Lyrics from performance by Yi Kŏn-sŭng Band in 2020, https://perma.cc/8KS7-PULV.

여수는 항구였다 철썩 철썩 파도치는 남쪽의 항구 안개 속에 기적소리 옛임을 싣고 어디로 흘러가나 어디로 흘러가나 재만 남은 이 거리에 부슬부슬 궂은비만 내리네 여수는 항구였다 마도로스 꿈을 꾸는 꽃 피는 항구 어버이 혼이 우는 빈터에 서서 옛날을 불러 봐도 옛날을 불러 봐도 오막살이 처마 끝에 부슬부슬 궂은비만 내리네	Yŏsu nŭn hanggu yŏtta Ch'ŏlssŏk ch'ŏlssŏk p'ado ch'inŭn namtchok ŭi hanggu An'gae sok e kijŏk sori yennim ŭl Ŏdi ro hŭllŏ kana ŏdi ro hŭllŏ kana Chae man namŭn i kŏri e Pusŭlbusŭl kujŭn pi man naerine Yŏsu nŭn hanggu yŏtta Madorosŭ kkum ŭl kkunŭn kkot p'inŭn hanggu Ŏbŏi hon i unŭn pint'ŏ e sŏsŏ Yennal ŭl pullŏ pwado yennal ŭl pullŏ pwado Omaksari ch'ŏma kkŭt e Pusŭlbusŭl kujŭn pi man naerine
Yosu was a port A southern port where waves crashed In the fog the steam whistle carries my old beloved Floating away somewhere, floating away somewhere Only ashes remain on this street Where only the long drizzling rain falls Yŏsu was a port The port of madroos dreams where flowers bloom Father's soul stands on the vacant grounds of tears Though it summons bygone days, though it summons bygone days At the edges of the eaves of a hut Only the long drizzling rain falls	

APPENDIX 16

여수야화 (Yŏsu yahwa) Tale of Yŏsu Nights

Original recording features Nam In-su (vocals), written by Kim Ch'o-hyang (lyricist) and Yi Pong-yong (composer and arranger), and released in 1949. Lyrics and information taken from Yuhaengga aelbŏm video, https://perma.cc/Z87Y-RKHA.

무너진 여수항에 우는 물새야 우리집 선돌아범 어데로 갔나 창 없는 빈집 속에 달빛이 새여 들면 철없는 새끼들은 웃고만 있네 가슴을 파고드는 저녁 바람아 북정 간 딸소식을 전해 주려므나 에미는 이 모양이 되였다만은 우리 딸 살림살인 흐벅 지드냐 왜놈이 물러갈 땐 조용하드니 오늘에 식구끼리 싸옴은 왜 하나요 의견이 안 맞으면 따지고 살지 우리 집 태운 사람 얼골 좀 보자	Munŏjin Yŏsuhang e unŭn mulsae ya Uri chip sŏndol abŏm ŏde ro kanna Ch'ang ŏmnŭn pin chip sok e talpit i saeyŏ tŭlmyŏn Ch'ŏl ŏmnŭn saekki tŭl ŭn utko man inne Kasŭm ŭl p'ago tŭnŭn chŏnyŏk param a Pukchŏng kan ttal sosik ŭl chŏnhae churyŏmŭna Emi nŭn i moyang i toeyŏtta man ŭn Uri ttal sallim sal in hŭbŏk chidŭnya Waenom i mullŏ kal ttaen choyong hadŭni Onŭl e sikku kkiri ssaom ŭn wae hanayo Ŭigyŏn i an majŭmyŏn ttajigo salji Uri chip t'aeun saram ŏlgol chom poja
Crying water bird in the ruins of Yŏsu Port Rock pillar father of our home, where did you go When the moonlight leaks into the empty and windowless house All those childish children do is laugh Evening wind that digs into my heart Do you have news of my daughter whose gone to Pukch'ŏng Mother now is in this state but Daughter's household is plentiful When the Japs left in droves all was quiet Why today are families fighting between themselves When opinions don't match you can argue and live Let's see the face of the one who burned our house down	

APPENDIX 17

목포의 눈물 (Mokp'o ŭi nunmul) Tears of Mokp’o

Sung by Yi Nan-yŏng, written by Mun Il-sŏk (lyricist), and Son Mog-in (composer), and released in 1938, https://perma.cc/6J2F-2JKT.

사공의 뱃노래 가물거리며
삼학도 파도 깊이 스며드는데
부두의 새악시 아롱젖은 옷자락
이별의 눈물이냐 목포의 설음

Sagong ŭi paennorae kamulgŏrimyŏ
Samhakto p'ado kip'i sŭmyŏ tŭnŭnde
Pudu ŭi saeaksi arong chŏjŭn otcharak
Ibyŏl ŭi nunmul inya Mokp'o ŭi sŏrŭm

삼백 년 원한 품은 노적봉 밑에
님 자취 완연하다 애달픈 정조
유달산 바람도 영산강을 안으니
님 그려 우는 마음 목포의 노래

Sambaek nyŏn wŏnhan p'umŭn Nojŏkpong mit e
Nim chach'wi wanyŏn hada aedalp'ŭn chŏngjo
Yudalsan param to Yŏngsan'gang ŭl anŭni
Nim kŭryŏ unŭn maŭm Mokp'o ŭi norae

깊은 밤 쪼각달은 흘러가는데
어찌타 옛 상처가 새로워진는가[9]
못 오는 님이면 이 마음도 보낼 것을
항구에 맺는 절개 목포의 사랑

Kip'ŭn pam tchogaktal ŭn hŭllŏ kanŭnde
Ŏtchit'a yet sangch'ŏ ka saerowŏjinŭn'ga
Mot onŭn nim imyŏn i maŭm to ponael kŏt ŭl
Hanggu e maennŭn chŏlgae Mokp'o ŭi sarang

The song of the boatman flickers
The waves permeate deep into Samhak Island
At the wharf, wet spots on a bride's skirt
Are those tears of farewell, the sadness of Mokp'o

Beneath Nojŏk Peak, harboring a three-hundred-year grudge
The trace of my love is clear, my heartrending chastity
Even Yudal Mountain's winds cradle Yŏngsan River
To long to tears for my love, the song of Mokp'o

Deep night’s crescent moon flowing past
The scars of yesterday are ever so renewed
If my love will not come, then this heart should have gone out
A port-bound fidelity, the love of Mokp'o

APPENDIX 18

동백아가씨 (Tongbaek agassi) Camellia Girl

Performed by Yi Mi-ja, written by Paek Yŏng-ho (composer) and Han Sang-do (lyricist) for eponymous film in 1964, https://perma.cc/5RCM-2CEF.

헤일 수 없이 수 많은 밤을 내 가슴 도려내는 아픔에 겨워 얼마나 울었던가 동백 아가씨 그리움에 지쳐서 울다 지쳐서 꽃잎은 빨갛게 멍이 들었오 동백 꽃잎에 새겨진 사연 말 못할 그 사연을 가슴에 안고 어느덧 기다리는 동백 아가씨 가신 님은 그 언제 그 어느날에 외로움 동백 꽃 찾아 오려나	Heil su ŏpsi su manŭn pam ŭl Nae kasŭm toryŏ naenŭn ap'ŭm e kyŏwŏ Ŏlmana urŏttŏn'ga tongbaek agassi Kŭrium e chich'yŏsŏ ulda chich'yŏsŏ Kkonnip ŭn ppalgak'e mŏng i tŭrŏsso Tongbaek kkonnip e saegyŏjin sayŏn Mal mothan kŭ sayŏn ŭl kasŭm e an'go Ŏnŭdŏt kidarinŭn tongbaek agassi Kasin nim ŭn kŭ ŏnje kŭ ŏnŭ nal e Oeroum tongbaek kkot ch'aja oryŏna
All those nights she spent, well beyond all count Overcome by the pain that burrows my heart out All those tears how much she must have cried, *Tongbaek agassi* Yearing has her all worn down, tearful, and worn down And now bruises on the flower burst and bloom in red Her story carved on the camelia petal That story will not speak of held inside her chest Time stole by, still she's waiting, *Tongbaek agassi* To that love who went away, on that day, someday, Loneliess, *tongbaek kkot,* will he ever return	

APPENDIX 19

흑산도 아가씨 (Hŭksando agassi) Hŭksan Island Girl

Performed by Yi Mi-ja, written by Chŏng Tu-su (lyricist) and Pak Ch'un-sŏk (composer), released in 1966, https://perma.cc/2YCH-CTNB.

남 몰래 서러운 세월은 가고 물결은 천번만번 밀려 오는데 못 견디게 그리운 아득한 저 육지를 바다보다 검게 타 버린 검게 타 버린 흑산도 아가씨 한없이 외로운 달빛을 안고 흘러온 나그넨가 귀향 살인가 애타도록 보고픈 머나먼 그 서울을 그리다가 검게 타 버린 검게 타 버린 흑산도 아가씨	Nam mollae sŏrŏun sewŏl ŭn kago Mulkyŏl ŭn ch'ŏnbŏn manbŏn millyŏ onŭnde Mot kyŏndige kŭriun adŭkhan chŏ yukchi rŭl Pada poda kŏmge t'a pŏrin kŏmge t'a pŏrin Hŭksando agassi Han ŏpsi oeroun talpit ŭl an'go Hŭllŏ on nagŭnen'ga kwihyang sarin'ga Aet'adorok pogop'ŭn mŏnamŏn kŭ Sŏul ŭl Kŭridaga kŏmge t'a pŏrin kŏmge t'a pŏrin Hŭksando agassi
Time goes by full of sorrow no one knows One thousand ten thousand tides come washing in At that far-oiff shore she unbearably yearns for Staring off until she sunburnt all to black Sunburnt all to black *Hŭksando agassi* As he embraces the lonesome light of the moon A vagabond drifting in, is he living his way home For that far away distant Seoul she can't wait to see Pining until she's sunburnt all to black Sunburnt all to black *Hŭksando agassi*	

APPENDIX 20

섬마을 선생님 (Sŏmmaŭl sŏnsaengnim) Island Village Teacher

Performed by Yi Mi-ja, written by Pak Ch'un-sŏk (composer) and Yi Kyŏng-je (lyricist) for radio drama of the same name in 1967, https://perma.cc/6AZB-S63X.

해당화 피고 지는 섬마을에 철세 따라 찾아온 총각 선생님 열아홉살 섬색시가 순정을 바쳐 사랑한 그 이름은 총각 선생님 서울엘랑 가지를 마오 가지를 마오 구름도 쫓겨 가는 섬마을에 무엇 하러 왔는가 총각 선생님 그리움이 별처럼 쌓있는 바닷가에 시름을 달래보는 총각 선생님 서울엘랑 가지를 마오 떠나지 마오	Haedanghwa p'igo chinŭn sŏm maŭl e Ch'ŏlse ttara ch'aja on ch'onggak sŏnsaengnim Yŏl-ahop sal sŏm saeksi ka sunjŏng ŭl pach'yŏ Sarang han kŭ irŭm ŭn ch'onggak sŏnsaengnim Sŏul ellang kaji rŭl mao kaji rŭl mao Kurŭm to tchotkyŏ kanŭn sŏm maŭl e Muŏt harŏ wannŭn'ga ch'onggak sŏnsaengnim Kŭrium i pyŏl ch'ŏrŏm ssainŭn padatka e Sirŭm ŭl tallae ponŭn ch'onggak sŏnsaengnim Sŏul ellang kaji rŭl mao ttŏnaji mao
Haedanghwa bloom and fall away in the island town With the birds of passage the bachelor teacher arrived Island girl of nineteen years gives up innocence The name of that man she loved, bachelor teacher Please don't you go back to Seoul, please don't go All is driven out even the clouds from the island town Why did you come here, bachelor teacher On the seashore of longing piled like the stars Trying to soothe his worries, bachelor teacher Please don't you go back to Seoul, please don't leave	

APPENDIX 21

애수의 소야곡 (Aesu ŭi soyagok) Serenade of Sorrow

Performed by Nam In-su, written by Pak Si-ch'un (composer) and Yi Pu-p'ung (lyricist) in 1938, https://perma.cc/2GK8-N6DE.

Re-recorded in 1966 by Yi Mi-ja and Paek Sŏr-hŭi, https://perma.cc/D4VT-9LFW.

Recorded as instrumental in 1970 by Sin Sŏng-nak, https://perma.cc/6H36-JZQD.

운다고 옛사랑이 오리요마는 눈물로 달래보는 구슬픈 이 밤 고요히 창을 열고 별빛을 보면 그 누가 불어주나 휫파람 소리 차라리 잊으리라 맹세하건만 못 생긴 미련인가 생각하는 밤 가슴에 손을 얹고 눈을 감으면 애타는 숨결마저 싸늘하구나 무엇이 사랑이고 청춘이던고 모두 다 흘러가면 덧없건마는 외로이 느끼면서 우는 이 밤은 바람도 문풍지에 애달프구나	Undago yet sarang i oriyomanŭn Nunmul ro tallae ponŭn i pam Koyohi ch'ang ŭl yŏlgo pyŏlpit ŭl pomyŏn Kŭ nuga purŏ chuna hwitp'aram sori Ch'arari ijŭrira maengse hagŏnman Mot saenggin miryŏn in'ga saenggak hanŭn pam Kasŭm e son ŭl ŏnko nun ŭl kamŭmyŏn Aet'anŭn sumkyŏl majŏ ssanŭrhaguna Muŏsi sarang igo ch'ŏngch'un idŏn'go Modu ta hŭllŏ kamyŏn tŏt ŏpkŏnmanŭn Oeroi nŭkkimyŏnsŏ unŭn i pam ŭn Param to munp'ungji e aedalp'ŭguna
Even though crying doesn't make your old love come back Still through tears soothe away the sadness of tonight If quietly I open the window and look out at the starlight Will anyone sing for me the sound of whistling Even though vowing that I would rather forget Still thinking if an ugly lingering feeling tonight If I lay hand over heart and I close my eyes Even those breaths of worry are frigid cold What was love and what was youth But fleeting when everyone goes drifting away Feeling lonesome and alone and crying tonight The wind too against the door is sad	

APPENDIX 22

황하다방 (Hwangha tabang) Yellow River Teahouse

Performed by Paek Nan-a (vocalist), written by Kim Yŏng-il (lyricist) and Yi Chae-ho (composer), recorded in 1941, https://perma.cc/SFH7-HR28.

목단꽃 붉게 피는 시라무렌 찻집에 칼피스 향기 속에 조으는 꾸냥 내뿜는 담배 연기 밤은 깊어가는데 가슴에 스며든다 아까이 스이렌 쪼각달 걸려있는 사마로 거리에 풀라탄 그늘 속을 한없이 걸으니 꾸냥과 헤어지는 안타까운 이 한밤 저 달을 흘겨본다 쯔끼노 아리랑 비오는 부두에서 말없이 헤어질 때 가슴에 꽂아주던 리라의 꽃송이 테프를 부여잡고 태징소리 들으니 꿈속에 젖어든다 요이마찌쿠사요	Moktankkot pulke p'inŭn siramuren ch'atchip e K'alp'isŭ hyanggi sok e choŭnŭn kkunyang Naeppumnŭn tambae yŏn'gi pam ŭn kip'ŏ kanŭnde Kasŭm e sŭmyŏdŭnda akkai sŭiren Tchogak tal kŏllyŏ innŭn samaro kŏri e P'ullat'an kŭnŭl sok ŭl han ŏpsi kŏrŭni Kkunyang kwa heŏjinŭn ant'akkaun i hanbam Chŏ tal ŭl hŭlgyŏ ponda tchŭkkino arirang Pi onŭn pudu esŏ mal ŏpsi heŏjil ttae Kasŭm e kkoja chudŏn rira ŭi kkotsongi T'ep'ŭ rŭl puyŏ chapko t'aejing sori tŭrŭni Kkumsok e chŏjŏdŭnda yoimatchik'usa yo
Xar Moron River tea house where the peonies bloom red A night woman dozing off inside the scent of Calpis…… The night grows deep, puffing the smoke of cigarettes Sinking into my heart, *Akai suiren* On Sima Road where a crescent moon hangs Walking endlessly inside the shade of platanus trees Tonight, what a shame to part ways with her Leer at the moon, *Tsuki no Ariran* When parting ways without words at the rainy port The Lilas flower that you stuck to my chest Grab the tape, hear the *t'aejing* sound Soaking into dreams, *Yoimachigusa*	

APPENDIX 23

자명고 사랑 (Chamyŏnggo sarang) *Chamyŏnggo* Love

Recorded by Pak Chae-hong (vocalist), and written by Cho Kyŏng-hwan (lyricist) and Kim Kyo-sŏng (composer) in 1949, https://perma.cc/ZD7A-62KF.

호동왕자 말채쭉은 충성 충자요 모란 공주 주사위는 사랑 애잘세 충성이냐 사랑이냐 쌍갈래 가슴 이리 갈까 저리 갈까 별도 흐리네 자명고를 찢고서야 웃어본 공주 승전고를 듣고서야 울어본 왕자 사랑 팔아 충성을 산 호동의 가슴 울어봐도 웃어봐도 모란은 없네 공주님의 무덤 위에 피는 꽃잎은 왕자님의 가슴 속을 헤치는 원한 팔척 장검 둘러잡고 노리는 별은 일편단심 매듭지는 직녀성일세	Hodong Wangja malch'aetchuk ŭn ch'ungsŏng ch'ungja yo Moran Kongju chusawi nŭn aejalse Ch'ungsŏng inya sarang inya ssanggallae kasŭm Iri kalkka chŏri kalkka pyŏl to hŭrine Chamyŏnggo rŭl tchitkosŏya usŏ pon Kongju Sŭngjŏn'go rŭl tŭtkosŏya urŏ pon Wangja Sarang p'ara ch'ungsŏng ŭl san Hodong ŭi kasŭm Urŏ pwado usŏ pwado Moran ŭn ŏmne Kongjunim ŭi mudŏm wi e p'inŭn kkonnip ŭn Wangjanim ŭi kasŭm sok ŭl hech'inŭn wŏnhan P'alch'ŏk changgŏm tullŏ chapko norinŭn pyŏl ŭn Ilp'yŏn tansim maedŭp chinŭn chingnyŏsŏng ilse

Prince Hodong's horse whip is a loyal subject.
Princess Moran's dice are the *ae* of love
At the crossroads, of loyalty and love
To go this way or that, even the stars are faint.

The Princess who laughed only once she tore the *chamyŏnggo* apart
The Prince who cried only when he heard the drum of victory
Ho-dong's heart, sold love and bought fidelity
No use laughing, no use crying, for Moran is gone

Flower petals that blossom over the Princess's grave
The *wŏnhan* that ruined the inside of the Prince heart
The star that grabbed the eight-foot sword and aimed
Is the Vega star that ties the knot of undying devotion

APPENDIX 24

대지의 항구 (Taeji ŭi hanggu) Port of Land

Sung by Paek Nyŏn-sŏl, written by Kim Yŏng-su (lyricist) and Yi Chae-ho (composer), recorded in 1941, https://perma.cc/E3T8-Q6SX.

버들잎 외로운 이정표 밑에 말을 매는 나그네야 해가 졌느냐 쉬지 말고 쉬지를 말고 달빛에 길을 물어 꿈에 어리는 꿈에 어리는 항구 찾아 가거라 흐르는 주마등 동서라 남북 피리 부는 나그네야 봄이 왔느냐 쉬지 말고 쉬지를 말고 꽃 잡고 길을 물어 물에 비치는 물에 비치는 항구 찾아 가거라 구름도 낯설은 영을 넘어서 정처없는 단봇짐에 꽃비가 온다 쉬지 말고 쉬지를 말고 바람을 앞세우고 유자꽃 피는 유자꽃 피는 항구 찾아 가거라	Pŏdŭllip oeroun ijŏngp'yo mit e Mal ŭl maenŭn nagŭne ya hae ka chyŏnnŭnya Shwiji malgo shwiji rŭl malgo talpit e kil ŭl murŏ Kkum e ŏrinŭn kkum e ŏrinŭn hanggu ch'aja kagŏra Hŭrŭnŭn chumadŭng tongsŏra nambuk P'iri punŭn nagŭne ya pom i wannŭnya Shwiji malgo shwiji rŭl malgo kkot chapko kil ŭl murŏ Mul e pich'inŭn mul e pich'inŭn hanggu ch'aja kagŏra Kurŭm to natsŏrŭn yŏng ŭl nŏmŏsŏ Chŏngch'ŏ ŏmnŭn tanbotchim e kkotpi ka onda Shwiji malgo shwiji rŭl malgo param apseugo Yuja kkot p'inŭn yuja kkot p'inŭn hanggu ch'aja kagŏra
Tied beneath a lonely sign covered in willow leaves Wayfarer, tying your horse up, has the sun gone down Don’t relax, do not stop and relax, ask the moonlight for the way In dreams reflected, in dreams reflected, the harbor you must go and find Spinning shadow picture lantern, East-West now North-South Wayfarer playing the flute, has the Spring arrived Don’t relax, do not stop to relax, grab a flower and ask the way Water reflecting, water reflecting the harbor you must go and find Over a mountain crest, foreign even to the clouds On the bundle of rootless wandering flower rain comes down Don’t relax, do not stop to relax, make the wind lead the way Citrus flowers bloom, citrus flowers bloom at the harbor you must go and find	

APPENDIX 25

나그네 설음 (Nagŭne sŏrŭm) Wayfarer's Sorrow

Sung by Paek Nyŏn-sŏl, written by Cho Kyŏng-hwan (lyricist) and Yi Chae-ho (composer), recorded in 1940, https://perma.cc/3KKP-FSQS.

오늘도 걷는다마는 정처 없는 이 발길 지나온 자욱 마다 눈물 고였네 선창가 고동소리 옛님이 그리워도 나그네 흐를 길은 한이 없어라	Onŭl to kŏnnŭndamanŭn chŏngch'ŏ ŏmnŭn i palkil China on chauk mada nunmul koyŏnne Sŏnch'angga kodong sori yennim kŭriwŏdo Nagŭne hŭrŭl kil ŭn han i ŏpsŏra
타관 땅 밟아서 돈지 십 년 넘어 반평생 사나이 가슴속에 한이 서린다 황혼이 찾아들면 고향도 그리워져 눈물로 꿈을 불러 찾아도 보네	T'agwan ttang palbasŏ tonji sim-nyŏn nŏmŏ panp'yŏngsaeng Sanai kasŭm sok e han i sŏrinda Hwanghon i ch'aja tŭlmyŏn kohyang to kŭriwŏjyŏ Nunmul ro kkum ŭl pullŏ ch'ajado pone
낯익은 거리다마는 이국보다 차워라 가야 할 지평선에 태양도 없어 새벽 별 찬 서리가 뼛골에 스미는데 어디로 흘러가랴 흘러갈소냐	Nanigŭn kŏridamanŭn iguk poda ch'awŏra Kaya hal chip'yŏngsŏn e t'aeyang to ŏpsŏ Saebyŏk pyŏl ch'an sŏri ka ppyŏtkol e sŭminŭnde Ŏdi ro hŭllŏ karya hŭllŏ kalsonya

I walk on this aimless path once again today
Every footprint that I passed was filled with tears
The steam whistle at the waterfront, though I long for my old love
The path of the wayfater stretches forth without end

Since I set foot upon foreign land, ten-odd years, half of my life
Inside the young man's chest deep sorrow simmers
When the twilight comes, the longing grows for my hometown
I call with tears upon dreams and try to seek it out.

Each unfamiliar street is colder than a foreign land
There is no sun on the horizon I must go to
Stars of dusk, cold frost seeps down into my bones
Where do I find my way to, where will I go

APPENDIX 26

거짓말이야 (Kŏjinmal iya) It’s a Lie

Sung by Kim Choo Ja [Kim Ch’u-ja], written by Shin Joong Hyun [Sin Chung-hyŏn], first released in 1971, https://perma.cc/PM3Z-K8YZ.

거짓말이야 거짓말이야 거짓말이야 거짓말이야 거짓말이야 사랑도 거짓말 웃음도 거짓말 그렇게도 잊었나 세월따라 잊었나 웃음 속에 만나고 눈물 속에 헤어져 다시 사랑 않으리 그대 잊으리 그대 나를 만나고 나를 버렸지 나를 버렸지	Kŏjinmal iya kŏjinmal iya Kŏjinmal iya kŏjinmal iya kŏjinmal iya Sarang to kŏjinmal usŭm to kŏjinmal Kŭrŏk'e to ijŏnna sewŏl ttara ijŏnna Usŭm sok e mannago nunmul sok e heŏjyŏ Tasi sarang anŭri kŭdae ijŭri Kŭdae na rŭl mannago, na rŭl pŏryŏtchi Na rŭl pŏryŏtchi
It's a lie it’s a lie, It’s a lie, It’s a lie, It’s a lie Even love is a lie, even laughter’s a lie Did you forget just like that, did you forget as time passed Full of smiles when we begin, full of tears when we end Don't let me love again, let me forget you You, how you met me and how you left me behind You left me behind	

APPENDIX 27

봄비 (Pompi) Spring Rain

Written by Shin Joong Hyun. For selected recorded versions, see Yi Chŏng-hwa (1969), https://perma.cc/83YC-MX6P; Pak In-su (1970), https://perma.cc/8ZJP-KN76; Kim Choo Ja (1971), https://perma.cc/6TXG-5CWL; and Pak In-su (1989), https://perma.cc/PXE6-NLHY.

이슬비 내리는 길을 걸으며 봄비에 젖어서 길을 걸으며 나 혼자 쓸쓸히 빗방울 소리에 마음을 달래도 외로운 가슴을 달랠 길 없네 한없이 적시는 내 눈 위에는 밧방울 떨어져 눈물이 되었나 한없이 흐르네 봄비 나를 울려주는 봄비 언제까지 나리- 려나 마음마저 울려 주네 봄비	Isŭlbi naerinŭn kil ŭl kŏrŭmyŏ Pompi e chŏjŏsŏ kil ŭl kŏrŭmyŏ Na honja ssŭlssŭrhi pitpangul sori e Maŭm ŭl tallaedo Oeroun kasŭm ŭl tallael kil ŏmne Han ŏpsi chŏksinŭn nae nun wi e nŭn Patpangul ttŏrŏjyŏ nunmul i toeŏnna Han ŏpsi hŭrŭne Pompi na rŭl ullyŏ chunŭn Pompi ŏnje kkaji nari- Ryŏna maŭm majŏ ullyŏ Chune, pompi
Rain falling lightly down on the road I walk Soaked in the rain of spring walking down the road All alone drearily raindrops fall and even though the sound Brings solace to my mind There is no way for me to sooth this lonely heart Over my eyes as they stay soaked all the time Drops of rain falling down, did they turn into tears Falling without end Spring rain bringing tears to my eyes Spring rain until when will you keep Falling on my heart bring tears to my eyes, spring rain	

APPENDIX 28

님아 (Nim a) Oh, Beloved

Sung by the Pearl Sisters, written by Shin Joong Hyun, recorded and released in 1968, https://perma.cc/MVJ5-6U8A

멀리 떠난 내 님아 언제나 돌아오려나 나의 사랑 내 님아 언제나 돌아오려나 둥근달이떠오르고 또다시 기울어가도 한번 떠난 내 님은 또다시 돌아오지 않네 봄이 가고 푸른잎에 낙엽이 지고 또 지고 온다 하던 그날은 수없이 지나가 버렸네 젊은 날의 내 청춘도 지나가 버렸건만은 변함 없는 내 사랑은 오늘도 기다려지네 지난 날 그가 말했듯이 그날은 잊지 말아요 그날을 기다려줘요 님아 님아	Mŏlli ttŏnan nae nim a ŏnjena tora oryŏna Na ŭi sarang nae nim a ŏnjena tora oryŏna Tunggŭn tal i ttŏorŭgo tto tasi kiurŏ kado Hanbŏn ttŏnan nae nim ŭn tto tasi tora oji anne Pom i kago p'urŭn ip e nagyŏp i chigo tto chigo Onda hadŏn kŭ nal ŭn su ŏpsi china ka pŏryŏnne Chŏlmŭn nal ŭi nae ch'ŏngch'un to chinaga pŏryŏtkŏnmanŭn Pyŏnham ŏmnŭn nae sarang ŭn onŭl to kidaryŏjine Chinan nal kŭ ka mal haettŭsi Kŭ nal ŭn itchi marayo Kŭ nal ŭl kidaryŏ chwŏyo Nim a nim a
Oh my beloved, gone far away, when will you come back My love, oh my beloved, when will you come back The full moon comes rising up and goes falling back down again My beloved, who once left, does not come back Spring goes by and the dead leaves fall and fall on green leaves And the day on which you said you'd come has passed by countlessly Though so too has the youth of my younger days passed by I wait for my unchanging love even today As he said in days gone by Don't forget that day Please wait for that day Oh, beloved, Oh, beloved	

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APPENDIX 29

싫어 (Sirŏ) No More

Written by Shin Joong Hyun, sung by Yi Chŏng-hwa (1969), https://perma.cc/QHL3-C536; and Pearl Sisters (1970), https://perma.cc/S8PG-LTVV.

이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네 이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네 변해 버린 그대여 왜 그런지 알 수 없네 낸들 그대를 어찌하리 내가 싫으면 떠나가야지 이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네 이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네 나무 위에 놀던 새여 저멀리 사라져 갔네 날라가는 새 어찌하리 내가 싫으면 떠나가야지 이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네 이제 다시는 싫어 웃는 것도 싫어졌네	Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne Pyŏnhae pŏrin kŭdae yŏ wae kŭrŏnji al su ŏmne Naen tŭl kŭdae rŭl ŏtchihari nae ka sirŭmyŏn ttŏna kayaji Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne Namu wi e noldŏn chŏmŏlli sarajyŏ kanne Nalla nalla sae ŏtchihari nae ka sirŭmyŏn ttŏna kayaji Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne Ije tasi nŭn sirŏ unnŭn kŏt to sirŏjyŏnne
Now I want no more, no more crying ever again Now I want no more, no more laughing ever again You, who's become someone else, there's no way for me to know why Nothing for me to do with you, if you want no more [of me] then you've got to leave Now I want no more, no more crying ever again Now I want no more, no more laughing ever again Oh bird, who once played on the tree, you have disappeared far away What can I do for the bird flying off, if you want no more [of me], then you've got to leave Now I want no more, no more crying ever again Now I want no more, no more laughing ever again	

APPENDIX 30

바람 (Param) Wind

Written by Shin Joong Hyun, sung by Kim Chung Mi, recorded in 1973, https://perma.cc/5VMW-AV9E.

나뭇가지 사이에 바람 불어가면 어디선가 들리는 그대 목소리 저 산봉우리 위에 움직이고 있는 하얀 구름 속에는 그대 모습이 있네 바람 같이 날아 아무도 몰래 그를 지켜보며 날아가고파 그대 모르게 그를 보고파 나만 사랑하는지 알고 싶구나 보이지 않는 바람과 같이 그대 모르게 지켜보고파	Namutkaji sai e param purŏ kamyŏn Ŏdisŏn'ga tŭllinŭn kŭdae moksori Chŏ sanbonguri wi e umjigigo innŭn Hayan kurŭm sok e nŭn kŭdae mosŭp i inne Param kach'i nara amudo mollae Kŭ rŭl chik'yŏ pomyŏ nara kagop'a Kŭdae morŭge kŭ rŭl pogop'a Na man sarang hanŭnji algo sipkuna Poiji annŭn param kwa kach'i Kŭdae morŭge chik'yŏ pogop'a
When the wind blows between the tree branches Your voice rings forth from somewhere Your shape is within the white clouds moving Over the top of the mountain peak Fly with the wind without anyone knowing I want to fly while watching over you I want to see you without you knowing I want to know if its only me who you love Just like the wind that nobody can see Unbenownst to you I want to watch over you	

APPENDIX 31

아름다운 강산 (Arŭmdaun kangsan) Beautiful Mountains and Rivers

Written by Shin Joong Hyun, performed by The Men (1972), https://perma.cc/9GTP-BSPF., Lee Sun Hee [Yi Sŏn-hŭi] (1988), https://perma.cc/TH49-A9MJ, note that several other versions of the song exist.

하늘은 파랗게 구름은 하얗게 실마람도 불어와 부풀은 내 마음 나뭇잎 푸르게 강물도 푸르게 아름다운 이곳에 내가 있고 네가 있네	Hanŭl ŭn p'arak'e kurŭm ŭn hayak'e Silbaram to purŏ wa pup'urŭn nae maŭm Namunnip p'urŭge kangmul to p'urŭge Arŭmdaun i kot e nae ka itko ne ka inne
손잡고 가보가 달려보자 저 광야로 우리들 모여서 말해보자 새 희망을	Son chapko ka poja tallyŏ poja chŏ kwangya ro Uri tŭl moyŏsŏ mal hae poja sae hŭimang ŭl
하늘은 파랗게 구름은 하얗게 실바람도 불어와 부풀은 내 마음	Hanŭl ŭn p'arak'e kurŭm ŭn hayak'e Silbaram to purŏ wa pup'urŭn nae maŭm
우리는 이 땅 위에 우리는 태어나고 아름다운 이 곳에 자랑스러운 이 곳에 살리라	Uri nŭn i ttang wi e uri nŭn t'aeŏnago Arŭmdaun i kot e charangsŭrŏun i kot e sallira
찬란하는 빛나는 붉은 태양이 비추고 하얀 물결 넘치는 저 바다와 함께 있네 그 얼마나 좋은가 우리 사는 이 곳에 사랑하는 그대와 노래하리	Ch'allan hanŭn pinnanŭn pulgŭn t'aeyang i pich'ugo Hayan mulkyŏl nŏmch'inŭn chŏ pada wa hamkke inne Kŭ ŏlmana choŭn'ga uri sanŭn i kot e Sarang hanŭn kŭdae wa norae hari
오늘도 너를 만나러 가야지 말해야지 먼 훗날에 너와 나 살고 지고 영원한 이 곳에 우리의 새 꿈은 만들어보고파	Onŭl to nŏ rŭl mannarŏ kayaji mal haeyaji Mŏn hunnal e nŏ wa na salgo chigo Yŏngwŏn han i kot e uri ŭi sae kkum ŭn Mandŭrŏ pogop'a
봄 여름이 지나면 가을 겨울이 온다네 아름다운 강산 너의 마음은 내 마음 나의 마음은 너의 마음 너와 나는 한 마음 너와 나	Pom yŏrŭm i chinamyŏn kaŭl kyŏul i ondane Arŭmdaun kangsan, Nŏ ŭi Maŭm nae maŭm ŭn, na ŭi maŭm ŭn nŏ ŭi maŭm, nŏ wa Na nŭn han maŭm nŏ wa na, uri Yŏngwŏnhi yŏngwŏnhi, sarang Yŏngwŏnhi yŏngwŏnhi, uri Modu ka modu ka kkŭt ŏpsi Tajŏng hae

우리 영원히 영원히 사랑 영원히 영원히 우리 모두가 모두가 끝 없이 다정해	

The sky is blue, the clouds are white
A breeze comes blowing in, filling up my heart
The leaves are green, and the river water is green
In this beautiful place there is me, there is you

Let’s grasp hands and go, let’s run toward that frontier
Let us join one and all and speak of new hope

The sky is blue, the clouds are white
A breeze comes blowing in, filling up my heart

We are on this land, we are born
In this beautiful place, in this proud place, we shall live

The bright red sun shines in brilliant light
With that sea that overflows with waves of white
How great is it, this place where we live
With you, the one I love, let us sing

I must go once more today to meet you, to tell you
In the distant future, you and I will live together
Forever in this place, I want to try making our new dream

If spring and summer pass then fall and winter come
Beautiful mountains and rivers
Your heart my heart my heart your heart
You and I, one heart, you and I
Us forever, forever, love forever, forever
All of us, everyone, warmhearted without end

APPENDIX 32

늦기 전에 (Nŭtki chŏn e) Before it's too Late

Sung by Kim Choo Ja, written by Shin Joong Hyun, recorded in 1971, https://perma.cc/K584-HGKT.

늦기전에 늦기전에 빨리 돌아와주오 내 마음 모두 그대 생각 넘칠 때 내 마음 모두 그대에게 드리리 그대가 늦어지면 내 마음도 다시는 찾을 수 없어요	 Nŭtki chŏn e Nŭtki chŏn e ppalli torawa chuo Nae maŭm modu kŭdae saenggak nŏmch'il ttae Nae maŭm modu kŭdae ege tŭriri Kŭdae ka nŭjŏjimyŏn nae maŭm to Tasi nŭn ch'ajŭl su ŏpsŏyo
Before its too late, Before its too late come back quickly to me When all of my thoughts overflow with only you Hoping that I could give all of my heart to you If you wait until it gets too late You'll never be able to find my heart ever again	

APPENDIX 33

햇님 (Haennim) Beloved Sun

Sung by Kim Chung Mi, written by Shin Joong Hyun, recorded in 1973, https://perma.cc/9P76-FEAZ.

하얀 물결 위에 빨갛게 비추는 햇님의 나라로 우리 가고 있네 둥글게 솟는 해 웃으며 솟는 해 높은 산 위에서 나를 손짓하네 따뜻한 햇님 곁에서 우리는 살고 있구나	Hayan mulkyŏl wi e ppalgak'e pich'unŭn Haennim ŭi nara ro uri kago inne Tunggŭlge sonnŭn hae usŭmyŏ sonnŭn hae Nop'ŭn san wi esŏ na rŭl sonjit hane Ttattŭthan haennim kyŏt esŏ uri nŭn salgo itkuna
고요한 이곳에 날으는 새들이 나를 위하여 노래 불러주네 얼마나 좋은 곳에 있나 태양 빛 찬란하구나	Koyo han i kot e narŭnŭn saedŭl i Na rŭl wihayŏ norae pullŏ chune Ŏlmana choŭn kot e inna t'aeyang pit ch'allan haguna
얼굴을 들어요 하늘을 보아요 무지개 타고 햇님을 만나러 나와 함께 날아가자	Ŏlgul ŭl tŭrŏyo hanŭl ŭl poayo Mujigae t'ago haenim ŭl mannarŏ Na wa hamkke nara kaja
영원한 이곳에 그대와 손잡고 햇님을 보면서 다정히 살리라	Yŏngwŏn han i kot e kŭdae wa son chapko Haenim ŭl pomyŏnsŏ tajŏnghi sallira

Over the waves of white, shining red reflection
We are on our way to the land of the Sun
Rising round Sun, rising smiling Sun
Over moutains high, I beckon with a wave
We must be living with the warmth of the Sun by our side

In this peaceful place, the birds are flying
Birds are singing a song, singing a song for me
How great is this place where we are, the light of the sun radiant

Lift your face and turn your eyes to the sky,
As we ride a rainow, on our way to the Sun,
Together come fly with me

In this eternal place, let me take your hand
As we look at the sun let us live and love

APPENDIX 34

리듬 속의 그 춤을 (Ridŭm sok ŭi kŭ ch'um ŭl) The Dance Within the Rhythm

Sung by Kim Wan Sun [Kim Wan-sŏn], written by Shin Joong Hyun, recorded in 1987, https://perma.cc/5Z7X-Z6R9.

현대 음율 속에서 순간 속에 보이는 너의 새로운 춤에 마음을 뺏긴다오 아름다운 불빛에 신비한 너의 눈은 잃지 않는 매력에 마음을 뺏긴다오 리듬을 춰줘요 리듬을 춰줘요 멋이 넘쳐흘러요 멈추지 말아줘요 리듬 속에 그 춤을	Hyŏndae ŭmyul sok esŏ Sun'gan sok e poinŭn Nŏ ŭi saeroun ch'um e Maŭm ŭl ppaetkindao Arŭmdaun pulbiche Sinbihan nŏ ŭi nun ŭn Ilch'i annŭn maeryŏg e Maŭm ŭl ppaetkindao Ridŭm ŭl ch'wŏ chwŏyo Ridŭm ŭl ch'wŏ chwŏyo Mŏsi nŏmch'yŏ hŭllŏyo Mŏmch'uji mara chwŏyo Ridŭm sok e kŭ ch'um ŭl

Inside modern frequencies
Seen inside the moment
By the new dance of yours
My heart was stolen

In the beautiful lights
Your mysterious eyes
By your unforgettable charm
My heart was stolen

Please dance the rhythm for me
Please dance the rhythm for me
Your style overflows
Please don’t stop for me
That dance in the rhythm

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