

**CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE, RITUAL OF MOURNING:
CHEJU SHAMANISM IN KOREA**

by

Seong Nae Kim

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Anthropology)
in The University of Michigan
1989

Doctoral Committee:

Professor Sherry B. Ortner, Co-chair
Professor Michael Taussig, Co-chair, New York University
Assistant Professor Ruth Behar
Associate Professor Carol Karlsen
Assistant Professor Bruce Mannheim

ABSTRACT

CHRONICLE OF VIOLENCE, RITUAL OF MOURNING: CHEJU SHAMANISM IN KOREA

by
Seong Nae Kim

Co-chair: Sherry B. Ortner, Michael Taussig

This thesis explains the way in which the memory of historical violence is reconstituted and deconstructed in people's belief in the spirits of the dead and shamanic healing rituals. Rather than focusing on the propositional and symbolic structure of ritual itself, the thesis illuminates the rhetorical and performative aspects of ritual that are expressed in a particular, concrete context of historical relations. By locating ancestral spirits and healing rites in the modern history of Cheju Island, the thesis interprets shamanic ritual as a discursive practice that demystifies the cultural knowledge of person and history while recapitulating it through performance.

Shamans' divinatory dreams and spirit possession and ritual lamentations of the dead souls (*yŏnggye ullim*) bring the violent events of the past, the April Third Communist Uprising in 1948 in particular, into the cure of memory. The April Third Communist Uprising that occurred in 1948 on Cheju Island, was a tragic ideological battle of the cold war era. While the cold war ideology continually dominates in the state politics, this event was erased in the historical texts and seemed forgotten in the everyday life of Cheju people.

Regarding this violent event as a representative image of the modern history of Cheju Island and Korea as a whole, this thesis pursues the following questions: how does this imagery work to bring together history and the magic of

the shamanic ritual in which that history is imagined, and how are tragedy and a history of violence converted to life-giving forces of healing? By linking the historical imagery of this tragic event to ideological struggles in the process of Korean nation-building, the thesis suggests that the shamanic practice of reliving the tragedy of the April Third Uprising counterposes a popular alternative to the hegemonic narrative logic of contemporary state violence that has suppressed the memory of this uprising and also other modern forms of popular protests.

© Seong Nae Kim 1989
All Rights Reserved

To My Mother and Father

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first thanks go to the people of Cheju Island who provided the space and time for this work. In particular, I thank Cheju's simbangs for their generosity, humor, tolerance, and wisdom which have enriched my life. Ahn Sain Simbang and his apprentices and assistant simbangs introduced me to the world of Cheju shamanism. "Kun Simbang," her daughter "Mizo," and their families kindly opened their homes to me and also their lives of everyday pains and joys so that I could learn to become more humane and mature. I wish to express a deep sorrow for Kang Sin-suk Simbang and Park In-ju Simbang who died during the period of my fieldwork, the simbangs to whom I owe much for their humanity and expertise in the shamanic rites.

For general support from the side of scholarship, I wish to first thank Professor Chŏn Kyŏng-su at Seoul National University, who initially inspired me to study Cheju Island and provided me with basic materials about the island. I also thank Professor Hyŏn Yong-jun at Cheju National University for his scholarship and open-mindedness that provided an invaluable resource and inspiration throughout the course of my research. I thank Professor Kim Yŏng-don and his students of the Study Circle of Cheju Culture at the same university who offered to me a chance to present a preliminary result of my research. My thanks to Han Lim-hwa, Kim Jun-hee, Ko Kwang-min, and Mun Mu-byŏng, for their generosity and broad knowledge of shamans and rituals helped me shape and sharpen my understanding of the "indigenous" perspectives of shamanism. I thank Han Ju-hoon for his assistance for my research and his keen interest in

shamanism as a local Catholic which inspired me to look at the different side of Cheju culture.

I also wish to thank teachers and friends at the University of Michigan. My advisor Michael Taussig who now teaches at New York University, taught me how to look at and think about my work from a broader perspective of folk religion and world politics. His critical insight to the ordinary appearances of irony and magic challenged me to rethink things in new ways. I also thank him for guiding me to Benjamin, whose melancholy I felt sympathetically and whose profound insight to the culture of the 1930s' fascism and modernism opened the horizon of my work to a more engaging analysis of Korean society as a whole. Especially I thank Sherry Ortner for her invaluable criticism, openmindedness, patience, and encouragement. Her interdisciplinary interests about religion and history were much encouraging to broaden the perspective of my work. I thank Ruth Behar, Bruce Mannheim, and Carol Karlen for their constructive comments. My thanks also for Susan Blum, Janise Hurtig, and other regular participants at the Ethnographic Lunch Seminar informally held every other week at the graduate students lounge, for lively discussions on anthropology and anthropologists in general. I also thank staff members at the department, Marjorie Greenman and Susan Wagner, for their help and sympathy with many difficulties I had to get through. In my writing I benefited greatly from the editorial assistances of Jenny Gurahian, Nancy Vaida, and Lars Rodseth, who shared the ethnographic lab.

My fieldwork was supported by jointed grants from the Social Science Research Council and the American Council of Learned Societies, and by a small grant from the Rackham Graduate School of the University of Michigan.

My greatest thanks go to my family. My parents, Dong-Hi Kim and Sun-hee Kim, have constantly trusted me and my work. Their love and

encouragement has helped me through a lengthy and sometimes trying graduate education. Especially my father's example of scholarship and hardwork has been a guide-post throughout my graduate career. My three brothers, Maeng-hwan, Jung-hwan, and Kye-hwan Kim, and two sister-in-laws, Sumi Kang and Eun-kyōng Huh, have morally supported me with their warm letters and surprise telegrams. My nephew, Jae-u, and two nieces, Sō-in and Hae-rang have been a source of warmth and love even by just thinking of them in a foreign country.

The text contains numerous names and concepts in the Cheju dialect. For their transcription into a Roman alphabet, I have followed Maccune-Reischauer Romanization system, which is generally accepted for transcribing the Korean.

To protect the privacy of my informants, all personal names and names of shrines and villages in this disseration except widely publicized and officially granted ones are fictitious.

For permission to reproduce the photographs in this dissertation great acknowledgement is made to the following: plate 1. p. 147 (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyōn 1963, p 194, Munchosa, Osaka); plate 2. p. 148 (photograph by Carl Mydans, Life Magazine, copyright © Time, Inc.,1948).

PREFACE

I originally went to Cheju to study the effects of social and cultural change on the traditional healing practices of Cheju *simbangs*, the native shamans. My contentions were two fold. I wanted to observe how medical pluralism and urbanization may have modified the *simbangs*' healing rites, and how these rites have also had an important role in social and personal experience of illness and misfortune. This interest developed out of my earlier studies of folk concepts of illness and various modes of healing practices six years before. But the fieldwork on Cheju Island went in an unexpected and totally different direction. The problem of shamanic healing loomed much larger than my original idea of a medical anthropology project.

From January 1984 to August 1985 I lived in the villages of Hwabol and Kosalmi, and participated in their daily activities and observed their ritual and religious activities. I returned July 1986 for the collection of an oral history about the April Third Uprising which developed into the focal point for my research. I spent a total of twenty months in the field.

For the first six months I stayed in the village of Hwabol on the coast, one of the small districts of Cheju City. In this village two pairs of husband and wife *simbangs* lived, key members of the Cultural Treasure Preservation Association, a government subsidized folk artist group. As official representatives of the shamanic tradition of the island, they eagerly accepted me. I found that research of their performance activities provided an opportunity to meet other shamans and professional associates.

I spent most of my time traveling the northeastern island, following the simbangs who had memberships in that association. Like a shaman's assistant carrying a sack of ritual paraphernalia and musical instruments, I carried a bag filled with my own paraphernalia--a tape recorder, camera, cassettes and batteries, and field notebooks. Like a good camp follower I went everywhere these simbangs performed. Even if it took more than two days-long trip, I stayed there with the simbangs. When an assistant was needed, I played a small bronze gong, which was easy to learn. Sometimes I was paid for this "labor work" with the partial share of money just as another assistant shaman would be although I returned it in a different manner later on. I, the ethnographer, had both the nearness of a shaman's apprentice as well as the secure distance away of "the impartial spectator" (Bourdieu 1977:1). This initial period of fieldwork as a shamanic apprentice turned out to be the basis for a comprehensive understanding of the basic structure of ritual performance and also of Cheju shamanism. I also conducted individual interviews of the shamans and their clients intermittently at the scenes of performance. Occasionally I visited and conversed with other "professional associates" such as local folklorists and intellectuals to exchange ideas and information.

For the rest of the period from September 1984 to the end, I stayed in Kosalmi village on the northern shore, 50 miles away from Cheju City. In this semi-settlement setting of fieldwork, I could observe village life and social relations where shamans are engaged on the daily basis. I also used this time to concentrate on the life history of one or two key informant shamans. I lived as a fictive "daughter/sister" in the residences of mother and daughter simbangs with whom I had personal acquaintance. It was difficult to have an equivalently personal engagement with male shamans for in-depth interviews, for in spite of their high qualification and significance for the research interest, the traditional

Korean gender barrier inhibited me from approaching them except during performances. The gender barrier was especially strong because I am a native Korean woman.

Each research site provided me not only with a physical space for stay, but also with the symbolic ambience of "the life world," in Alfred Schutz's sense, where I experienced and contemplated the meaning of a life in general and also the meaning of my temporary life as an ethnographer. In the last decade I led a peculiar life as a fieldworker and an ethnographic writer living in two continents between the vast Pacific Ocean. After five years of exile as a graduate student in America, I did not have a "fixed" home place to return to. Cheju Island was certainly not the place I would return home to. Neither was Ann Arbor nor Seoul. Seoul was only a transit stop as I traveled between Cheju and the U.S. I was an exile every place I stayed. My life has been an oscillation between return and exile, from one place to another. In a sense, the ethnography I present here is also the life history of my own intellectual and spiritual development in the life worlds of two places, Cheju Island and the U.S.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
PREFACE	vi
LIST OF TABLE & FIGURES	xiii
LIST OF PLATES	xiv
LIST OF APPENDICES	xv
CHAPTER	
1. ISLAND OF MYTHS: MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE	1
Image of the Dead: A Story of Violence Shamanic Theater of Memory: A Meta-story Project Quandaries of Imagery Image, Memory, and Narrative: Discourse Theory Discourse of Resentment, <i>Wŏnhan</i> Intertextuality Silence and Secrecy: Historical Consciousness The April Third Uprising: Dangerous Memory	
2. FIELDWORK AND WRITING	27
Arrival in a Subtropical Island On the Beach A Native Anthropologist: The Positioned yet Suspect Subject Distance and Time The Ancestral "Hole" on the Shore	
3. AN OVERVIEW OF CHEJU SOCIETY	38
Geography and Natural Environment Population and Social Change Kosalmi: The Village Life Religion: Shrines and <i>Simbangs</i> Client Hierarchy: <i>Tan'gol</i> Leadership and Social Organization Family, Kinship, and Marriage <i>Chesa</i> and Ancestor Worship	

4. SHRINES, ANCESTORS, AND HISTORIES	58
A Borderland Shrines and Identity On the Production of Historical Discourse Landscapes of Shrines and Epics of Shrine Gods Shrine Gods and Exiles: Tragic Heroes Shrine Gods and Governors Conflicts of Power: People and the State Histories of Popular Revolts (1601-1910) The Colonial and Post-nationalist Era (1910-1948) Conclusion: A Critique of Hisotircal Discourse	
5. A LIFE STORY IN THE TIMES: A SHAMAN'S FATE	124
A Painful Story A Brief Biography of Kun Simbang A Life Story: Myth or History Methodology Presentation of a Life Story Death and Poverty in the Turbulent Times Initiation Dream Imagery of Ancestor (<i>Chosang</i>) and Iconic Power Apprenticeship and Initiation Rite: Fate Family Inheritance of the <i>Simbang Chosang</i> Destiny in Conflict: Mizo, A Folk Artist	
6. SIMBANGS, CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE	176
Names of Simbangs The Social Position of Simbangs: Myth and Historical Change The Origin Myth of the Simbang Ancestor The Social Position of Simbangs in the Village: Compliance and Conflict Historical Change Census of "Superstitious Practitioners" The Waning Force of the Village Shrine Ahn Simbang: A Human Cultural Treasure Factions and Alliances	
7. THE MODERN INVENTION OF SHAMANISM	207
Siberian Shamanism as the Universal Category Shaping of Colonial Image: "Superstition" Studies of Korean Shamanism: Nationalist's Perspective Studies of Tradition as a Cultural Object Familiarization of the Exotic: National Emblem The Postmodern Politics of Representations: Culture Movement	

8. LAMENTATIONS OF THE DEAD: A FAMILY SAGA 232

Truth and Popular Memory as Historical Practice
 The Spirit World: Ancestors, Ghosts, and the Dead Souls
Yŏnggye-ullim: the Lamentations of the Dead
 The Mun Family *Kut*: *Chosang Kut*
 The Reason for the *Kut*
 The Chronicle of the Family Tragedy
 The Family Ancestor (*Chipan Chosang*): Maiden Spirit
 Cultural Stories of a Maiden Spirit
 The Parental Ancestor (*Pumo Chosang*)
 Conclusion: The Return of the Dead Souls

9. LESSER EVIL SPIRITS AND REBELS
 IN THE BACKWATER 275

The Spirits of the "Three Thousand Soldiers"
 Genealogy of Rebels in the Backwater of History
 Rhetorical Device of the Oral Chronicle
 The Redemptive Role of Evil Spirits and Rebels
 Memory Practice of the State Ideology of Evil
 A Utopian Space of Laughter in Tears

10. "LET THE ANCESTOR PLAY":
 DANCING RITES OF *TOCH'AEBI*..... 304

Toch'aebi: An Enigmatic Deity
 Ritual Genres and the Structure of A Healing Seance,
Ch'unŭn Kut
 A Case-history of Madness: Sunho
 Heritage of Female Divers (*Chamsu*) or the Women of the Sea
 (*Haenyŏ*)
 Sunho's *Ch'unŭn Kut*
 March 14, Afternoon for Preparation and Organization of
 Ritual Space (*Checkŏng*)
Ch'ogamche, the Summoning of Deities
 The Legacy of the Entangled Resentments (*Han* or
Wŏnhan)
Sŏuje Sori, the Song of Overcoming Waves of *Han*
 The First *Sŏuje Sori*
 "You are a Bachelor, I am a Maiden" : Dialogical Discourse
 Social Imagery of *Han*: Romantic Commitment
 March 15, A Crisis and the Resuscitating Force of Laughter:
 The Simbang's Competence
 March 16, The Whole Day of Farewell Dancing in Rapture
 Paradise Imagery in the Farewell Song
 Bad Sweats and Filthy Money
 March 17, The Last Day, Interrogation and Exorcism of
Toch'aebi
Taekim Pattŭm: Interrogation of the Possessing Spirit
Nŏk Tŭrim and *P'udasi*: The Rites of Soul-Return and
 Exorcism

Yŏnggam nori: The Comic Mask Play of *Toch'aebi*
Conclusion

11. UNMASKING *TOCH'AEBI* AND THE WILD SPIRITS 372

Social Origin of *Toch'aebi*: *Yŏnggam*
The Demonic Mask: The Original Type
Chŏyong Mask Dance: The Prototype
Yŏnggam as *Toch'aebi*
Toch'aebi: Benjamin's Dialectical Images
The Wild Spirit in the Modern World
The Living *Toch'aebi* and Modern Rebels
The Realism of "Laughter in Tears"

APPENDICES 410

BIBLIOGRAPHY 437

LIST OF TABLE AND FIGURES

Table

1. The Statistics of "Superstitious Practitioners" 193

Figures

1. The Family Inheritance of the Kun Simbang's *Chosang* 159
2. The Genealogy of the Mun Family Tragedy 250
3. The Organization of Ritual Setting (*Chechŏng*) 320

LIST OF PLATES

Plate

1. The Dream Image of *Chǒngsal* 147
2. The Montage of the MP, Ancestor, and Massacre 148

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix

A. Religious Foundations: Ceremonial Ladder, Cosmology, the <i>Kut</i> Rite	411
B. The Chronicle Journal of the Apprenticeship: <i>Chðnsu Kirokpu</i> of a Simbang, Mizo	422
C. The Way of Simbang	431

CHAPTER 1

ISLAND OF MYTHS: MEMORIES OF VIOLENCE

Memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre.
It is the medium of past experience as the ground is the medium in
which dead cities lie interred.

Walter Benjamin, "Berlin Chronicle"

Cheju Island is referred to as the island of lamentation, the island of suffering, or the island of eighteen thousand gods, or the island of heroic myths by both Cheju natives and outsiders (Han'guk ilbo 1987; O Sŏng-ch'an 1988). Cheju Island is an island of sorrow, the island of sorrowful people and history. And it is widely known that the secret healing power of the Cheju shamans, called *simbangs* by the natives, relates to their capacity to identify with the sorrow of the unfortunate Cheju people. This cliché of a sorrowful land is a familiar one in the history of anthropology, as found in Levi-Strauss's *Tristes Tropiques* where he used it to characterize the disappearing world at the margin of Western civilization. Often the tone of this motif has permeated ethnographic descriptions of distant cultures to stress their exoticness (Foster 1982). Cheju Island is a subtropical island on a dead volcano. Only in lands like this do bananas, pineapples, and oranges grow. Palm trees line the streets, and sweet breezes from the sea rustle always and everywhere on the island. The most manifest aspect of this island's exoticism, which still scandalizes visitors and outsiders, is the living presence of shamanism in the daily life of the Cheju people (Kim Su-nam 1983).

However, the sorrow which imbues this island is not a nostalgic element of an exotic culture but a *reality*. Its land is devastated, and there are no rice fields. Cheju Island is not only physically but also politically isolated from the mainland. Throughout the history of the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) this island acted as the border, heavily fortified against the invasion of Japanese pirates. It has been a land of exiles whose rebellious potential was always feared by the central mainland government. It was the land of many popular revolts against the state officials who were dispatched as governors and border commanders from the central government. These officials had to share the sorrow of the exiles because their appointments were often made as a form of temporary exile. Cheju Island has a concrete history of violence that bears a collective representation of sorrow. This history of violence and sorrow is imprinted in the heart of shamanic rituals. The sorrowful narratives of Cheju shamans are performances of this violence-ridden history. When Cheju simbangs recite the lamentations of the eighteen thousand gods (*ilman p'alch'on shindo*), they recite this sorrowful history. During the shamanic rituals, the myths of the gods and the life stories of the unfortunate people come together and weave a history of their sorrow and violence.

This thesis explores the way in which the memory of historical violence is reconstituted in people's belief in the spirits of the dead and shamanic healing rites. Rather than focus on the propositional and symbolic structure of the ritual itself, I would like to illuminate the rhetorical and performative aspects of the ritual as a people's social act that is experienced in a particular, concrete context of historical relations.¹ For this purpose, I will focus on the semi-conscious image-realm and dream world of popular imagination which is in turn reenacted for healing rites (Taussig 1984b; Mannheim 1987). I assume that the shamanic rendering of the past in the present through such rites constitutes an

interpretation of historical events--in this case specifically the April Third Event, a tragic ideological battle that occurred on 1948 on Cheju Island. Regarding this violent event as a representative image of the modern history of Cheju Island and Korea as a whole, I pursue the following questions: how does imagery work to bring together the history and the magic of the shamanic ritual in which that history is imagined, and how are tragedy and a history of violence converted to life-giving forces of healing.

In Cheju Island, tragedy has become the common conception of the experiences of suffering and death specifically related to the April Third Event. This "tragedy" is not merely an event or experience on the level of everyday life, but is also "a particular interpretation" of that experience that has become fixed as a historical tradition. Or, using the distinction which Williams makes in his introduction to *Modern Tragedy* (1966:14), it has become *the* tradition of modern Cheju history. This historical tradition is well-expressed in the popular term, *siguk* [the times]. Although the word itself does not specify any particular date and event, it always means the April Third Event. In ordinary discourse, people simply refer to this event as "the 4.3 Incident" (*sasam satae*) or "the 4.3 Event" (*sasam sakŏn*) without specific implications such as 'uprising,' 'insurgency,' or 'rebellion' as historians term it in accordance with their own ideological positions (cf. Ko Chang-hun 1988). The historical imagery of violence disguised by the use of such a plain expression implies a tragic tradition of popular experience. In the rest of the thesis, I will use all these various terms depending on the context. (But, in general, I use "the April Third Event" as the standard reference term for this historical event.)

This thesis is constructed as an ethnographic story about this tragic tradition on Cheju Island. To begin, I would like to describe a Cheju shaman's

dream that struck me as profoundly problematic in terms of its peculiar matrix of historical violence and shamanic healing.

Image of the Dead: A Story of Violence

Mizo, a twenty-five year old Cheju simbang, told me the story of a man for whom she conducted a healing seance. The night before she was approached by the man's aunt, she had had a strange dream. In the dream she saw a young couple, wearing white clothes--clothes of mourning--whose mouths and chests were pierced by bamboo spears and whose wounds gushed blood. Early the next morning a middle-aged woman, Suni, came and asked Mizo to perform an urgent rite of exorcism for her nephew, who was in a life and death situation at a local hospital. For several years, he had suffered from gasping and a feeling of suffocation in his chest. Suspecting a connection with Suni's case, Mizo related her dream. With alarm and trepidation, Suni revealed that her nephew's parents had been killed with a bamboo spear and a gun during the April Third Event. This event was never spoken of. Yet Mizo's dream confirmed Suni's memory.

Mizo then suggested that a special rite, *chilch'im*, for clearing the passage of the dead into the other world, be offered. Later that day Mizo started a *kut*--a shamanic ritual--at Suni's house. Suni's nephew, weak and bedridden, was brought in relatives' arms to the *kut*. During *yǒnggye-ullim*--a segment of the seance in which the dead lament through their spirit mediums, in this case Mizo--the ill man wept as his dead parents told the stories of their death and their sorrow at being unable to enter heaven because they had never received the rite clearing the passage to the other world. After the seance, Suni's nephew did not die, yet he remained sickly.

dream that struck me as profoundly problematic in terms of its peculiar matrix of historical violence and shamanic healing.

Image of the Dead: A Story of Violence

Mizo, a twenty-five year old Cheju simbang, told me the story of a man for whom she conducted a healing seance. The night before she was approached by the man's aunt, she had had a strange dream. In the dream she saw a young couple, wearing white clothes--clothes of mourning--whose mouths and chests were pierced by bamboo spears and whose wounds gushed blood. Early the next morning a middle-aged woman, Suni, came and asked Mizo to perform an urgent rite of exorcism for her nephew, who was in a life and death situation at a local hospital. For several years, he had suffered from gasping and a feeling of suffocation in his chest. Suspecting a connection with Suni's case, Mizo related her dream. With alarm and trepidation, Suni revealed that her nephew's parents had been killed with a bamboo spear and a gun during the April Third Event. This event was never spoken of. Yet Mizo's dream confirmed Suni's memory.

Mizo then suggested that a special rite, *chilch'im*, for clearing the passage of the dead into the other world, be offered. Later that day Mizo started a *kut*--a shamanic ritual--at Suni's house. Suni's nephew, weak and bedridden, was brought in relatives' arms to the *kut*. During *yŏnggye-ullim*--a segment of the seance in which the dead lament through their spirit mediums, in this case Mizo--the ill man wept as his dead parents told the stories of their death and their sorrow at being unable to enter heaven because they had never received the rite clearing the passage to the other world. After the seance, Suni's nephew did not die, yet he remained sickly.

This case story draws on the "forgotten" memory of the April Third Communist Rebellion in 1948 in Cheju Island, and the massacre of innocent islanders by the army and the police under the supervision of American occupation forces. This Cheju insurgency was the most violent event among the major armed communist rebellions before the independent state of Korea was established in the southern part of the peninsula later in August of the same year. During the suppression of this rebellion, the pro-American rightist Rhee Sung-man regime emerged to form the First Republic of Korea, legitimating anti-communism as its official ideology. In contrast to other revolts such as the Yosu Rebellion that broke out in the mainland in October 1948, however, this event has been strangely neglected in public discourse except for brief military records (Kim Chŏm-kon 1978; Kim Nam-sik 1984).² These official records state that casualties incurred during the insurgency totaled 80,065, nearly a quarter of the whole population at that time (Kim Nam-sik 1984:378). Only about 550 of these casualties were acknowledged as armed communist rebels. Thus, except a few hundred armed rebels, the rest of the dead were civilians (ARARI 1988; Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1960). Interestingly enough, the official record of 73,576 "insurgents" (*pŏkto*), which approximates the number of total casualties, indirectly evidences these civilian, perhaps innocent, deaths. Yet the history of violence is below the surface in the memories of the Cheju natives and is only uncovered in the course of the shamanic ritual.

I have retold this story exactly as Mizo had told it me. I have followed her order of storytelling in terms of the evocation of the images of the dead and historical events. What left me in a quandary was the fact that the healing seance originally initiated for the cure of the patient was performed through the medium of his dead parents. The shamanic seance was surely not only intended

to physically cure an illness or reverse misfortune, but also to heal a particular memory of a tragic historical event, that is, the April Third Event. My ethnographic story of Cheju shamanism takes this tragic event as the pivotal point in the modern history of Cheju Island and also in the people's spiritual landscape of suffering and its memory.

Throughout my 1984-5 fieldwork on Cheju island, I found that the agents of people's illness and personal misfortune were directly or distantly identified as the spirits of those who died during the April Third Uprising. I was told many stories of dreams in which these spirits appear in "blood-stained white mourning clothes." I also listened to lamentations of these dead in nearly every shamanic rite, as if every Cheju household had at least one or two people who died during that time. Confucian ancestor worship for those dead souls was done in secret so that not even the crow would notice it. So in a short story by a native Cheju Island novelist, "Aunt Suni" (Hyŏn Ki-yŏng 1979), the dream image of a woman's blood-stained white mourning vest haunted the heroine over thirty years after a 1948 massacre of villagers by the police and army in her sweet potato garden. Because her husband had been mysteriously missing ever since the night before the April Third Uprising, Aunt Suni was suspected of espionage and constantly harrassed and tortured by the police. She ended up with severe autism that finally lead her to commit suicide. As her haunting dream image and suicide silently testify, images of violent death are currently the chief signifier of the personal and collective tragedies of the Cheju people. In fact, these images that had imprisoned Aunt Suni in the memory of the April Third Uprising were doing violence to the people.

By linking the historical imagery of this tragic event to the ideological struggles in the process of Korean nation-building, I would like to suggest that the shamanic practice of reliving the tragedy of the April Third Uprising

counterposes a popular alternative to the hegemonic narrative logic of contemporary state violence that has suppressed the memory of this uprising for the last forty years. The tension between two modes of historical practice, official and popular, highlights the stylistic differences between official history and the narrative realism of the tragic tradition that controls folk memory of the past and establishes the power of truth. Rather than taking shamanism as a unified and seamless religious system filled with the heightened symbolic value of the mysterious, exotic, and the traditional, I approach it as a mode of historical discourse, or a technique of using the power of truth practiced in a particular context of historical relations in a contemporary Korea state. My aim here is to pursue how tragedy, both historical and personal, resurrects the truth of the past by displacing the lies of the present in the form of a shamanic "theater" of memory--that addresses and readdresses the discourse of violence.

Shamanic Theater of Memory: A Meta-story Project

When Benjamin said that "to write history means to *quote* history" (Benjamin 1983-4: N11.3), he intended to bring out the transient status of historical narratives rather than their ontological status. With the notion of "dialectical images," he suggested that history works like a magic which is empowered through material objects whose images are captured in a flashing moment of awareness. In his account, history is "written out in quotation" and is like "a frill on the dress" rather than an idea, seemingly only decorative and yet a focal point. His theoretical stance is suggestive for my approach to the imagistic nature of popular memory and the unofficial narrative tradition.

When the dead appear in the dream with a blood-stained white mourning dress and lament through their spirit mediums, the images and lamentations of the dead do not merely narrativise the unfortunate events in the past. Like

counterposes a popular alternative to the hegemonic narrative logic of contemporary state violence that has suppressed the memory of this uprising for the last forty years. The tension between two modes of historical practice, official and popular, highlights the stylistic differences between official history and the narrative realism of the tragic tradition that controls folk memory of the past and establishes the power of truth. Rather than taking shamanism as a unified and seamless religious system filled with the heightened symbolic value of the mysterious, exotic, and the traditional, I approach it as a mode of historical discourse, or a technique of using the power of truth practiced in a particular context of historical relations in a contemporary Korea state. My aim here is to pursue how tragedy, both historical and personal, resurrects the truth of the past by displacing the lies of the present in the form of a shamanic "theater" of memory--that addresses and readdresses the discourse of violence.

Shamanic Theater of Memory: A Meta-story Project

When Benjamin said that "to write history means to *quote* history" (Benjamin 1983-4: N11.3), he intended to bring out the transient status of historical narratives rather than their ontological status. With the notion of "dialectical images," he suggested that history works like a magic which is empowered through material objects whose images are captured in a flashing moment of awareness. In his account, history is "written out in quotation" and is like "a frill on the dress" rather than an idea, seemingly only decorative and yet a focal point. His theoretical stance is suggestive for my approach to the imagistic nature of popular memory and the unofficial narrative tradition.

When the dead appear in the dream with a blood-stained white mourning dress and lament through their spirit mediums, the images and lamentations of the dead do not merely narrativise the unfortunate events in the past. Like

"quotations," these images and stories in collage form hold still a temporal flow of ordinary consciousness. They are concrete, historically specific forms of matter given a transient status in stocks of memory. Such "quoted" memory is, as Benjamin says, the "creative memory," of the missing, perhaps "inexpressible" meaning of life (1969: 99). Even in a not-yet-conscious perception of the moment, they mediate experiences of life and reveal the coexistence of the opposite realities in which the dead and the living conjoin, that is, life and death, sorrow and hope, and forgetfulness and remembrance. Shamanic images and stories of the dead that inscribe such contradictions of reality form a traditional narrative mode in the sense that they transform reality into narrative fiction--thus I call them "memory narratives." As such, memory, specifically popular memory, is a narrative text, the woven text of remembrance and forgetting, that has given rise to epics and stories. Here the shamanic seance relays an epic theater of tragedy and violence. In short, the major theoretical contention of this thesis is to delineate the poetics of history as expressed in forms of memory narratives like dream images or ritual narratives of the ghost.

Of course, such memory narratives do not dissolve the pain or the misfortune. Shamanic dreaming and lamenting is, like story-telling, as in Benjamin's essay, "The Storyteller" (1969), the interweaving labor that shuttles back and forth in time before the line or thread is cut. In the shamanic context, however, it is important to notice that the thread of story and telling is destined to be cut, because its "blood-stain"--the blood-stained white mourning dress that haunted Aunt Suni and the Cheju shaman, Mizo--must be washed off and purified at the end of the healing rite.

In order to invoke a narrative process similar to what I encountered in Cheju shamanism, I have constructed this thesis as a meta-story that engages in a telling and retelling of stories, memory narratives more precisely, of the Cheju

people and their history. The meta-story is a "a story in the story" or a meta-narrative (Babcock 1977), a frame story which comments upon the narratives in the process of telling. This meta-narrative presents the same event from a different point of view by means of pronoun shift. More explicitly it uses a method of narrative-embedding by placing tales within tales in layers. Although the meta-story or meta-narrative is often hidden in the story-telling, it has the authority to control the telling as well as stories, like a Benjaminian little hunchback who keeps out of sight but, like an expert chess player, both serves and controls the movements of the historical unfolding (1969 b).³ While I tell a story of the Cheju people's memories of the April Third Uprising, my meta-story serves an allegory of their testimonial stance, which is more than performing a commentary.⁴ By doing so I intend to simulate a meta-shamanic act so that my meta-story would heal their painful memories.

If the Cheju simbang Mizo's dream story conjures the April Third Uprising as the key trope of popular story-making or historical discourse, there are other stories that claim authority over the tragedy--that is, the official story, the elite historian's story, and the ethnographer's story. My meta-story contextualizes her "story" in the broad textual dimension of history and shows how this "story" is framed within and also frames (or rather displaces) history. In fact, in the embedded layers of story-telling, which are finally also added to by the ethnographer, Mizo's story itself is a meta-story to other stories, transforming dream images into "dialectical images" which are capable of mediating multiple stories that have developed a different strain of the epic form. Telling these stories throughout the thesis, I intentionally position shamans' stories--divinatory dream stories (Mizo's story), initiation dream stories, lamentful stories of the dead souls and family tragedy, ritual narratives of a life history of a sick factory girl--as allegories of a violent history.

Nevertheless, this meta-story project does not pretend to rewrite the Cheju history of violence with an ambition of digging out a new truth; but rather to dechronologize this history by illuminating the "end" of each story--narrating with alarm. In a way it resembles deconstructionist literary strategy: without presumption of the progressive structure of storytelling, I juxtapose different stories and unfamiliar episodes side by side and let them speak for themselves in anticipation of their own redemption. As you shall see from later chapters, this seemingly disordered storytelling also follows the same poetic strategy of shamanic healing rites where the people with each different story of misfortune come to seek counsel from the shamans.

Quandaries of Imagery

The entire thesis evolves from suspended quandaries I as a Western-educated ethnographer had to face when I encountered the Cheju simbang Mizo's divinatory dream. I remember that morning when Mizo was sought by a strange visitor from Cheju City while I and the other simbangs were busy preparing for a special rite, blessing a newly built house in her resident village. I accompanied her back to her home where the visitor was waiting. At the house shrine for the simbang tutelary deity, she listened to the visitor's story and divined with her two bronze divine knives and coins. Since the visitor called upon Mizo as a virgin fortuneteller, she was performing like a city-type fortuneteller, but she did not usually engage in such fortunetelling to strangers. On the way back to the ritual setting, Mizo told me the story of the dream she had the night before. Even Mizo herself seemed puzzled by the divinatory message of her dream.

More quandaries followed Mizo's puzzle. They are concerned with the process of identification of the unknown images of the dead: how Mizo, who did not experience personally that event, could have this dream, and also how

Nevertheless, this meta-story project does not pretend to rewrite the Cheju history of violence with an ambition of digging out a new truth; but rather to dechronologize this history by illuminating the "end" of each story--narrating with alarm. In a way it resembles deconstructionist literary strategy: without presumption of the progressive structure of storytelling, I juxtapose different stories and unfamiliar episodes side by side and let them speak for themselves in anticipation of their own redemption. As you shall see from later chapters, this seemingly disordered storytelling also follows the same poetic strategy of shamanic healing rites where the people with each different story of misfortune come to seek counsel from the shamans.

Quandaries of Imagery

The entire thesis evolves from suspended quandaries I as a Western-educated ethnographer had to face when I encountered the Cheju simbang Mizo's divinatory dream. I remember that morning when Mizo was sought by a strange visitor from Cheju City while I and the other simbangs were busy preparing for a special rite, blessing a newly built house in her resident village. I accompanied her back to her home where the visitor was waiting. At the house shrine for the simbang tutelary deity, she listened to the visitor's story and divined with her two bronze divine knives and coins. Since the visitor called upon Mizo as a virgin fortuneteller, she was performing like a city-type fortuneteller, but she did not usually engage in such fortunetelling to strangers. On the way back to the ritual setting, Mizo told me the story of the dream she had the night before. Even Mizo herself seemed puzzled by the divinatory message of her dream.

More quandaries followed Mizo's puzzle. They are concerned with the process of identification of the unknown images of the dead: how Mizo, who did not experience personally that event, could have this dream, and also how

immediately Suni could identify the mysterious yet unknown dream figures of the dead with her late brother and his wife who had been forgotten for four decades. And on what terms the patient, the bereaved son of this couple, wept so deeply? How is this lamenting and weeping related to the healing?

The first quandary I struggled to understand concerned the relationship between *the images of the spirits of the dead and the imagery of illness*. As we see in the case of the story, the memory of tragic and violent deaths converges in the overlapping images of the "bleeding heart" of the dead and "a feeling of suffocation in the chest" of the living. The ill man's physical and psychological pain here reflects the presence of an unresolved resentment of his dead parents. In fact, he personally has realistic reasons for this physical symptom. As the only surviving child of the couple he was brought up by his grandmother, and wandered around many foreign places, even to Japan as an illegal worker. Thirty-nine years old now, he lives alone and works as a poor third-rate musician, singing and playing drums at a night club on the tourist streets of Cheju City. Such sorrow and poverty of his own might well explain the reason why he wept so hard at the simbang's recitation of his parents' death stories that he had never been told. Through the medium of *yŏnggye-ullim*, his personal lament for the present misery was intermingled with lamentations for his dead parents.

Secondly, I questioned the relationship between *the imagery of violence and narrative truth*. The available evidence of the event is scarcely mentioned in the major history books both of Korea and elsewhere.⁵ Even radical historians in Korea have dismissed the issue as if this event was completely erased from history. The April Third Uprising was indeed shameful for both sides of the ideological camps. The failure of the communist revolutionary strategy to unify the peninsula and also its performance of atrocities must be forgotten due to its dishonor for the newly born independent nation state of Korea in the south. This

strange taboo on the subject in both north and south Korea mythologizes the official truth. However, this curious vacuity of knowledge about the April Third Event is filled in by shamanic narratives and dream images. The narrative representation of the lamentations of the dead in the medium of the shaman has contributed to the retention of the popular memory of violence through an ontological consensus without any visible political intention.

Image, Memory, and Narrative: Discourse Theory

My theoretical interest is in the relationship between the historical meaning of this violent event and the style of narrative representation, or the narrative configuration of the particular in history. In this section I want to trace the intellectual legacy that has influenced the process of my theoretical formulation. White (1973;1982) is the pioneer in this contemporary theory of history which sees history as verbal discourse and focuses on a poetics and hermeneutics of historiography. White is more concerned with historiographic style than with the facticity of the past event. He assumes every history is metahistorical: he regards history as textuality and thus as a literary text produced mainly by the historian's interpretations of the world of human experiences. His basic idea of history as discourse or modes of tropology of relationships among human thoughts is useful in my meta-story project.

I approach shamanic rites in Cheju as a specific type of *discourse* which produces the magical power of healing. The lamentations of the dead parents of the ill man are not a formulaic recitation or an imaginative narrative of the single narrator, the *simbang*. The Cheju *simbangs'* recitations are folk discourses on misfortune and death in the construction of which the *simbangs* and their clients participate. In other words, the participants in the healing rite, with their implicit sense of the events of the crisis, act as mediums for the *bricolage* of

strange taboo on the subject in both north and south Korea mythologizes the official truth. However, this curious vacuity of knowledge about the April Third Event is filled in by shamanic narratives and dream images. The narrative representation of the lamentations of the dead in the medium of the shaman has contributed to the retention of the popular memory of violence through an ontological consensus without any visible political intention.

Image, Memory, and Narrative: Discourse Theory

My theoretical interest is in the relationship between the historical meaning of this violent event and the style of narrative representation, or the narrative configuration of the particular in history. In this section I want to trace the intellectual legacy that has influenced the process of my theoretical formulation. White (1973;1982) is the pioneer in this contemporary theory of history which sees history as verbal discourse and focuses on a poetics and hermeneutics of historiography. White is more concerned with historiographic style than with the facticity of the past event. He assumes every history is metahistorical: he regards history as textuality and thus as a literary text produced mainly by the historian's interpretations of the world of human experiences. His basic idea of history as discourse or modes of tropology of relationships among human thoughts is useful in my meta-story project.

I approach shamanic rites in Cheju as a specific type of *discourse* which produces the magical power of healing. The lamentations of the dead parents of the ill man are not a formulaic recitation or an imaginative narrative of the single narrator, the *simbang*. The Cheju *simbangs'* recitations are folk discourses on misfortune and death in the construction of which the *simbangs* and their clients participate. In other words, the participants in the healing rite, with their implicit sense of the events of the crisis, act as mediums for the *bricolage* of

healing. Practically, the shaman's counsel and ritual performance reflects a particular sense or knowledge of reality concerning how to understand misfortune and overcome sorrow. What I am concerned with here in regard to the style of shamanic discourse, is the cultural activity of making an interpretive story, an story which is capable of healing, out of reality as experienced in the ailing body as well as in the memory of violence.

What is relevant here is not what these shamanic discourses mean but what they *enable*--their healing power. This question of the power of discourse within the frame of religious practices was also raised by Asad (1983). In his case study of the Western Christian church, Asad has directed attention to the particular historical conditions (movements, classes, institutions, ideologies) that produce religious discourses. Importantly, his emphasis on the *relational* production of power and its historical specificity follows a Foucaultian approach to power and knowledge, to which I myself owe much theoretically. In Foucault's account, power is not defined as the substance or position related to institutional structure, but as a forceful and "moving relation that is produced from one moment to the next at every point, or rather in every relation from one point to another" (Foucault 1980:93). Because power is the effect and strategy of performance of these relations, any form of power contains discursive elements. It is discourse that produces, disseminates, and sustains the truth of power. Following Foucault's discourse theory, what I mean by "shamanism as historical discourse" becomes more clear. I mean shamanism as not only the instrument of (healing) power, but also an an effect of power, which is produced in the particular historical relations of truth-making.

Returning to the Cheju simbang and Mizo's dream story, a Foucaultian discourse theory of power provides us with a useful interpretive frame for understanding the production of the imagery of violence in shamanic discourse.

Initially I wondered why such a violent effect was invoked, rather than the gracious sort such as might be expected of ancestral spirits by their descendants. Indeed, the violent dream image of the bleeding hearts of the ancestral spirits carries dual discourses of power, those of violence and resentment, that are set against each other in the historical relations of truth-making. This violent image of the dead is not an innate trait of the ancestral spirits; rather it is the effect of the historical violence of the dominant power--the South Korean state in the post-war era in this case. But just behind this language of violence, a different interpretation of reality lurks. The specter of those mute dream figures with blood gushing from their hearts is an emblem, a tragic one, of a deep-seated emotion which goes beyond the articulated language of violence. This emotion is *wŏnhan*, that of resentment.⁶ Like a counter-discourse, this discourse of *wŏnhan* mirrors the discourse of violence in reverse, and subverts the state manufactured meaning of the deaths that justified the violent massacre.

The Discourse of Resentment, *Wŏnhan*

In general, all those who die violently under unnatural circumstances are regarded as *chapkwi*, anonymous ghosts, and the spirits of specific dead people are *wŏnhon*, avenging ghosts. Although *wŏnhon* are family ancestors, they are viewed as unwelcome nuisances, even in the Confucian memorial service for dead ancestors (*chesa*). Nevertheless, the dead do return to this world, seeking consolation and purification for their grudging hearts. Ironically enough, they do this by causing misfortune and illness. The inexhaustible passion of the dead for remembrance is a source of vexation and awe among their descendants, who fear the potential malignancy of their ancestors.

Why is it that the lamentations (*yŏnggye ullim*) for those who died in the April Third Event have a particularly potent force for the participating families?

Initially I wondered why such a violent effect was invoked, rather than the gracious sort such as might be expected of ancestral spirits by their descendants. Indeed, the violent dream image of the bleeding hearts of the ancestral spirits carries dual discourses of power, those of violence and resentment, that are set against each other in the historical relations of truth-making. This violent image of the dead is not an innate trait of the ancestral spirits; rather it is the effect of the historical violence of the dominant power--the South Korean state in the post-war era in this case. But just behind this language of violence, a different interpretation of reality lurks. The specter of those mute dream figures with blood gushing from their hearts is an emblem, a tragic one, of a deep-seated emotion which goes beyond the articulated language of violence. This emotion is *wŏnhan*, that of resentment.⁶ Like a counter-discourse, this discourse of *wŏnhan* mirrors the discourse of violence in reverse, and subverts the state manufactured meaning of the deaths that justified the violent massacre.

The Discourse of Resentment, *Wŏnhan*

In general, all those who die violently under unnatural circumstances are regarded as *chapkwi*, anonymous ghosts, and the spirits of specific dead people are *wŏnhon*, avenging ghosts. Although *wŏnhon* are family ancestors, they are viewed as unwelcome nuisances, even in the Confucian memorial service for dead ancestors (*chesa*). Nevertheless, the dead do return to this world, seeking consolation and purification for their grudging hearts. Ironically enough, they do this by causing misfortune and illness. The inexhaustible passion of the dead for remembrance is a source of vexation and awe among their descendants, who fear the potential malignancy of their ancestors.

Why is it that the lamentations (*yŏnggye ullim*) for those who died in the April Third Event have a particularly potent force for the participating families?

Their sorrowful tales form a specific type of historical discourse, that which claims their *innocence*. As the dead return to this world and speak their tragic stories, via the simbang's rites, this shamanic discourse shatters the commonsensical reality and contradicts the conventional interpretation of their actions, which have been condemned as unpatriotic, and so, evil.

However, it is not clear if the three participants in the specific rite discussed above, Mizo, Suni, and her sick nephew, had full consciousness of the official truth about the dead couple and the April 3rd Event. Each came with rather an implicit theory about the cause of the misfortune of the sick man. Suni assumed it was a sudden attack of wild evil spirits. The patient physically suffered from tuberculosis. The simbang, Mizo dreamt about a strange couple with bleeding hearts, and felt they must be related to the sick man somehow. But who *really* knows if those spirits of the dead parents are what was afflicting the sick man? In fact, those dream figures did not speak any word to Mizo the simbang or Suni the aunt of the ill man. There is doubt about the reality. The narrative process of the rite gives form and meaning to the three participants' ideas about the illness, producing a culturally informed knowledge of the man's condition.

In this complex and unstable space of unknowing and uncertainty, each one's implicit knowledge of truth fills up with discourse. There is no clear-cut definition of who heals whom. The mysterious power attributed to shamanic healers whose esoteric knowledge is often assumed in the literature of shamanism is no longer taken for granted during the actual ritual. This situation of uncertainty has curiously curative effects for the sick man, admitting, but not relying on, the possibility of magic curing powers of the simbang healer, Mizo, who carried on her craft conscientiously, narrating a sorrowful story of the dead, and defending their petition for innocence. In this dialogical context of the

healing rite, the dead and the living come together through the medium of the shaman's voice and construct stories of personal misfortune and historical tragedy-- this is the discourse of resentment, *wŏnhan*. Through the medium of ritual performance, this discourse of resentment is transmuted to the magical discourse of power for healing.

Intertextuality

At this point I turn to the notion of the contextual construction of the discourse of power. We must ask what are the most immediate, the most local power relations at work that produce that particular type of discourse. In fact, the personal misfortunes of the sick man are not a direct effect of the violence of anti-communist operations or of the suppression of memory. Rather, it is misfortune itself which expresses the image of violence. In other words, the "suffocating chest" of the patient is the present rendering of the past violence that had struck his parents down. Put differently, the shamanic discourse of resentment is *intertextually* related to the state discourse of violence. If I borrow the concept of intertextuality (Kristeva 1969[1980]; Mannheim 1989; Stewart 1979), the Cheju shaman's ritual narratives of misfortune and the reality of the state's anti-communist violence imply two domains of meaning and textuality-- the interpreted. These domains become a matter of discourse through a particular context, the rite, that frames their relationship which is not only harmonious but also in conflict.

Bakhtin has explained this matter of intertextuality with a notion of polyvalence of discourse (1981). According to him, discourse implies a particular style of narrative action that is "populated--*overpopulated*--with the intentions of others" beside the narrator's generic intentions (Bakhtin 1981:294, my emphasis). He considers here contextual overtones of discourse among the author's, hero's

healing rite, the dead and the living come together through the medium of the shaman's voice and construct stories of personal misfortune and historical tragedy-- this is the discourse of resentment, *wŏnhan*. Through the medium of ritual performance, this discourse of resentment is transmuted to the magical discourse of power for healing.

Intertextuality

At this point I turn to the notion of the contextual construction of the discourse of power. We must ask what are the most immediate, the most local power relations at work that produce that particular type of discourse. In fact, the personal misfortunes of the sick man are not a direct effect of the violence of anti-communist operations or of the suppression of memory. Rather, it is misfortune itself which expresses the image of violence. In other words, the "suffocating chest" of the patient is the present rendering of the past violence that had struck his parents down. Put differently, the shamanic discourse of resentment is *intertextually* related to the state discourse of violence. If I borrow the concept of intertextuality (Kristeva 1969[1980]; Mannheim 1989; Stewart 1979), the Cheju shaman's ritual narratives of misfortune and the reality of the state's anti-communist violence imply two domains of meaning and textuality-- the interpreted. These domains become a matter of discourse through a particular context, the rite, that frames their relationship which is not only harmonious but also in conflict.

Bakhtin has explained this matter of intertextuality with a notion of polyvalence of discourse (1981). According to him, discourse implies a particular style of narrative action that is "populated--*overpopulated*--with the intentions of others" beside the narrator's generic intentions (Bakhtin 1981:294, my emphasis). He considers here contextual overtones of discourse among the author's, hero's

(character's), and readers's voices that intersect within the constraints of the genre (what he means is 'novelistic prose'). "Population" of intentions indicates the arena of conflict between the different "inner speeches" of those voices. By "inner speech", he means the ideological content of language. He assumes that each inner speech arises out of the actual practice of ideology--the "already said" in the formation of consciousness. Bakhtin's assumption of a pre-conceptualized arena of intertextuality suggests an important point: the social formation of all consciousness of language.

Then whose consciousness? What are the intentions of *others*?⁷ Bakhtin means here the voice of the social Other or "alien discourse" (Stewart 1978). In the case of the Cheju people and their violent history, what constitutes this 'alien utterance' or 'alien discourse'? The spirits of the dead couple in Mizo's dream? These spectors might have surrounded shamans and people in the shamanic healing situations with always significant silence. And it is this very silence which is the "alien discourse". Their violent deaths were imaged in the "silence" of flashing images that are soaked in their blood-stained mourning dresses. Their "silence" in the dream is not their own utterance but someone else's silence, the silence of forty years after the April 3rd Event. This someone else is the state, which in the particular historical situation concerned here, has kept silent about the Event on the one hand, and has imposed silence on the Cheju people, on the other. The state's hegemonic discourse of anti-communist nationalism has served to justify the massacre of civilian islanders as communist rebels and the secrecy surrounding it.

Silence and Secrecy: Historical Consciousness

The alien discourse of this social Other, which has had to maintain silence about the massacre, is manifested in the terrifying image of the dead victim. The

(character's), and readers's voices that intersect within the constraints of the genre (what he means is 'novelistic prose'). "Population" of intentions indicates the arena of conflict between the different "inner speeches" of those voices. By "inner speech", he means the ideological content of language. He assumes that each inner speech arises out of the actual practice of ideology--the "already said" in the formation of consciousness. Bakhtin's assumption of a pre-conceptualized arena of intertextuality suggests an important point: the social formation of all consciousness of language.

Then whose consciousness? What are the intentions of *others*?⁷ Bakhtin means here the voice of the social Other or "alien discourse" (Stewart 1978). In the case of the Cheju people and their violent history, what constitutes this 'alien utterance' or 'alien discourse'? The spirits of the dead couple in Mizo's dream? These spectors might have surrounded shamans and people in the shamanic healing situations with always significant silence. And it is this very silence which is the "alien discourse". Their violent deaths were imaged in the "silence" of flashing images that are soaked in their blood-stained mourning dresses. Their "silence" in the dream is not their own utterance but someone else's silence, the silence of forty years after the April 3rd Event. This someone else is the state, which in the particular historical situation concerned here, has kept silent about the Event on the one hand, and has imposed silence on the Cheju people, on the other. The state's hegemonic discourse of anti-communist nationalism has served to justify the massacre of civilian islanders as communist rebels and the secrecy surrounding it.

Silence and Secrecy: Historical Consciousness

The alien discourse of this social Other, which has had to maintain silence about the massacre, is manifested in the terrifying image of the dead victim. The

image of the dead bears upon or contains the present situation in complicity, yet with an other consciousness--it is the subversive side of discourse. Foucault's insight into the dialectical performance of discourse is crucial to understanding this intertextual meaning of misfortune and violence:

"...discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it. In like manner, *silence and secrecy* are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions; but they also loosen its holds and provide for a *relatively obscure area of tolerance*" (Foucault 1980:101).

According to Foucault's theoretical frame, the "silence and secrecy" that had been imposed on the people conversely plays a role as the safety valve which has been closed off in complicity. But even in the shaman's dream, which would remain a "relatively obscure area of tolerance," the image of the dead couple once erased in memory appears dangerous, triggering terror in both the dreamer Mizo and the listeners to the stories, Suni and her nephew. On the one hand, the image itself is the representation of the history of violence, and its silent inner speech both contains the intensity of repression metonymically and at the same time critiques the cumulative forces of this history metaphorically. In short, the image of the dead conjures their lamentable story, *real* as death itself.

In this context, I consider the non-discursive expression of the dream image. The meaning of the image is not unitary but indeterminate and unfamiliar, either overdetermining or condensing the historical reality. Ritual opens the hiatus between external social reality and the internal truth of that image. In the process of shamanic invocation, the images carry the multiple texts of truth--official, popular, or radical discourse--simultaneously. Ritual itself embodies the form or reality of intertextuality--its condition of secrecy and silence open to all possibilities of interpretations of meaning and truth. Through shamanic ritual, the image constitutes a narrative event--lamentation of the dead

(*yŏnggye-ullim*) in the exemplary case story or parodic plays inserted during the rite in other cases. Such possibilities of polyphonic discourses of misfortune and tragedy ground the space of uncertainty of reality--mixture of terror, fear, and solitude. With conviction and responsibility as a life-saver, real shamans carry on their craft conscientiously, warmly defending the technique of memory and lament-filled narratives of sorrow against the evils of life and history (like the Zuni shaman Quesalid in Levi-Strauss [1967], and the Colombian Indian shaman, Santiago in Taussig [1988]). In this way, the traditional imagery of Cheju shamanism is "seized" and filled with the "now time" of post-war politics, and will continue to be "reconstellated" on the terrain of history itself.⁸

The April Third Uprising: Dangerous Memory

How then, does this popular memory of the historical event contradict the official version that has rationalized the historical violence of the state and established the modern myth of a democratic nation? Whereas in the shamanic invocations, the dead appear as mournful innocent souls, for the official version, the dead figures of the massacred islanders are used as objects in the construction of the myth of state justice. These same images of the dead are constantly remembered in the context of the political theatre of national security--not for memorialization, but for vilification. The dead appear as communist rebels exorcized in a national cleansing of "impure elements" (*pulsun punja*). They are used by the state to initiate and sustain a process of colonization of national consensus about the importance of vigilently maintaining a "communist-free" nation, through the constant ritual of persecuting and torturing of leftists and radical dissidents.

The image of the couple in the mourning dresses with bleeding hearts in Mizo's dream, provides a counterpoint to the state ritual of cleansing. This

(*yŏnggye-ullim*) in the exemplary case story or parodic plays inserted during the rite in other cases. Such possibilities of polyphonic discourses of misfortune and tragedy ground the space of uncertainty of reality--mixture of terror, fear, and solitude. With conviction and responsibility as a life-saver, real shamans carry on their craft conscientiously, warmly defending the technique of memory and lament-filled narratives of sorrow against the evils of life and history (like the Zuni shaman Quesalid in Levi-Strauss [1967], and the Colombian Indian shaman, Santiago in Taussig [1988]). In this way, the traditional imagery of Cheju shamanism is "seized" and filled with the "now time" of post-war politics, and will continue to be "reconstellated" on the terrain of history itself.⁸

The April Third Uprising: Dangerous Memory

How then, does this popular memory of the historical event contradict the official version that has rationalized the historical violence of the state and established the modern myth of a democratic nation? Whereas in the shamanic invocations, the dead appear as mournful innocent souls, for the official version, the dead figures of the massacred islanders are used as objects in the construction of the myth of state justice. These same images of the dead are constantly remembered in the context of the political theatre of national security--not for memorialization, but for vilification. The dead appear as communist rebels exorcized in a national cleansing of "impure elements" (*pulsun punja*). They are used by the state to initiate and sustain a process of colonization of national consensus about the importance of vigilently maintaining a "communist-free" nation, through the constant ritual of persecuting and torturing of leftists and radical dissidents.

The image of the couple in the mourning dresses with bleeding hearts in Mizo's dream, provides a counterpoint to the state ritual of cleansing. This

terrifying image also embodies the cleansing power of truth, by which the psyche of a poor sick musician, the patient in Mizo's dream story, is levered open, and the accumulated forces of sorrow across the generations are relieved. However, there is a danger to this revelation because it penetrates the veil of historical secrecy. This is because that dangerous memory contains an alternative knowledge of history as a critique of exclusion and repression. Dangerous memories of conflict and exclusion are a social act of insurrection, too. This revolutionary quality of dangerous memory calls forth a lamenting cry from the surviving descendants of the innocent dead. Not only shamanic ritual but also the radical students' anti-dictatorship demonstrations are the vehicles of that dangerous memory. The April 3rd Event is the space of historical contradiction and also of transformation, where old imperial internal colonialism transfers its legacy to the post-colonial era dominated by Cold War ideology.

In describing this space of transformation, I consider two modes of historical consciousness: official 'truth' which establishes the mandate for an anti-communist nation state and popular 'truth' which keeps its memory in the tombs of the anonymous spirits of the dead. I examine the historical-political conditions of truth-making and culture-making in the two contradictory yet interlocking styles of discourse to fight the solitude, fear, and silence of the dead and also of the living. My ethnographic story-telling aims at invoking two different discourses of truth and power, not as factual but as fictional or factitious, and also the dialectical development of these two types of discourses in the stories of the everyday misfortunes of Cheju people.

Chapter 2 describes the process of fieldwork and writing from the perspective of personal reflection. The particular problems I had as a native anthropologist will be explored in terms of advantages and disadvantages of that

given position. Chapter 3 presents a contemporary picture of Cheju society and shamanism as an introduction to the area and background.

Chapter 4 presents the image of Cheju Island in history, particularly the history of violence. By using the spatial image of a border, I illuminate the colonizing process of Cheju Island. The island is perceived by the indigenous people as an ancestral land where ancestor-gods have always lived and governed the people from village shrines. It is said that there are more than 250 myths of the origins of the shrines. Some are preserved in written texts which were collected by folklorists and local historians. The myths of shrines are an effective oral record of local history which is transmitted through memory and shrine ceremonies. Although some of the gods are foreigners, most of the shrine gods are geneologically related in a large divine family group. They are referred to as the ancestors or *chosang* of the whole Cheju people. In a word, the whole island is spiritually constructed as the land of ancestors, forming a single universe and cosmology. Their stories of birth, growth to adulthood, and settlement in villages make up the particular cosmological texture of Cheju history. These indigenous narratives of the mythic life histories of gods have existed hand in hand together with the broader history of Korean society as a unified state. Since the 12th century, during the Koryŏ dynasty, Cheju has been incorporated into the central state in the peninsula. The mythic life stories of Cheju gods not only show the indigenous local sense of reality but often also the confrontational relationship between the ruler and the ruled. This conflict is represented metaphorically in the relationship between the state and the local shrine, the governor and the shrine gods. By illustrating a few critical oral traditions and myths that accentuate the relationship between the state and the people, I will explore the geneological origin of the history of violence. I will delineate the historical

process by which the rhetoric of space and self, expressed in different forms of discourse, produced the structure of political domination and internal colonialism.

In Chapter 5, I tell the life story of Kun Simbang who lived in the turbulent times of the April 3rd Event. I intend to present the subaltern rewriting of a social text of modern conquest of the Cold War ideology through the personal history of a simbang. Not only her own life story but also the saga of her family ancestors with the same fate as the simbang epitomizes the historical transformation of Cheju society. The family geneology of her simbang heritage may provide us with a typical picture of the way one becomes a shaman in Cheju. Particularly, I focus on her initiation dream in which her tutelary deity (*simbang chosang*), who promised to her a self-sufficient life as a simbang, appears as a giant man wearing an American MP helmet and carrying a club, the weapon of the new colonialism of the post-war era. By delineating the historical irony represented in the images of heroic ancestors overlapping with a new ruler, the American Occupation forces, I want to show how the history of violence is condensed in the iconic power of the images for healing. Her stories are true stories of how history works as a life-giving force and has the power of healing.

As an interlude, Chapter 6 describes the social position of simbangs and historical changes in their position. By presenting the origin myth of the simbang ancestor, it shows the way in which the mythic origin of the simbangs resonates with their contemporary class position. This chapter will show how the "official" image of the shaman and of shamanism, portrayed as the disappearing "original form" of national tradition, contradicts the government's long-term policy of carrying out an anti-superstition campaign.

In Chapter 7, I describe the modern invention of shamanism. I wish to present the process by which the colonial image of shamanism is reconstructed in the two cultures of state nationalism and the popular liberal movement. In these

two terrains of political tradition, the shaman is idealized as the icon of "primordial" tradition or the uncolonized native mind to be modelled into a new ideal national identity. In the official tradition, shamanism is recreated as the essential folk tradition under government subsidy, and preserved in written texts or in live performances of government-subsidized shaman-artists, as pure and as close as possible to its original form.

In the counter-hegemonic discourse of the radicals, the shaman is the popular hero of modern society, representing oppressed people. I want to show how these two dominant discursive practices of power contradict each other but also converge in the context of their common ground of colonizing discourse. Their paternalistic gesture colonizes the landscape of human emotions and desires by overlooking a cooperative construction of shamanic culture in which the spirits and the patient participate with diverse life histories. Such an "idealistic" representation of shamanism is an ironical one that promotes consumption and reproduction of the mythic realities of the national culture. This chapter provides insight into how this irony itself establishes the unchangeable tradition of shamanism as a subversive art-form, which will be more fully discussed in the next four chapters.

Chapter 8 presents a long text of lamentations of the dead (*yǒnggye ullim*) which was performed during a special rite for family ancestors of the Mun family. This chapter presents at great length discourses of misfortune. The time span of this family saga of tragedy partly overlaps with the life story of Kun Simbang in the previous chapter, but it relates the more recent history of the military regimes which still disrupt the ordinary lives of Cheju people in a incessant state of emergency of anti-communism and national security. Chapter 9 describes shamanic beliefs about the lesser evil spirits and the spirits of war victims. By bringing out the subconscious identification of the images of the lesser evil spirits

and those of contemporary political dissidents, this chapter foresees the redemptive power of healing rites, which will be described in the case story of a factory girl in the next chapter. The purpose of Chapter 9 is to contrast how different styles of narratives about evil and misfortune produce the power of healing.

In Chapter 10, I illustrate in detail a healing rite for a twenty-one year old factory worker who was possessed by *toch'aebi* spirits. The purpose of this chapter is to show the way in which a shamanic healer narrativizes and interprets personal misfortune. Here I intend to delineate the poetics of shamanic healing. The image of evil force is first constructed and then exorcized through the performances over several days and nights of narration of the life story of a young woman whose body and mind were destroyed in her lonely struggle in the export-oriented industrial society which is modern Korea. In this description of a healing rite, I want to position the *simbang* healer within the scene of healing. Particularly, I will describe his technique of montage in which earnest chanting of the elegy of sorrow is juxtaposed with constant theatrical buffoonery and laughter. I will illuminate the social realism of sorrow and laughter, which might be called the poetics of transgression, in which the shaman's parodic refraction of reality in ritual narratives and comic play leads to the cure of a patient.

In Chapter 11, I describe the image of *toch'aebi* spirits as they are reflected in the history of Korean popular tradition. The most feared evil spirits, *toch'aebi* are tricksters--foreign-origin spirits often portrayed as a fun-loving, hot tempered, frivolous group of half-wild and half-human creatures. By examining the ambiguity in the identity of these lesser human and wild creatures whose characters are often identified with those of the lower class, I trace the historical transformation of the popular idea of evil spirits and their power from the

perspective of class relations and conflicts throughout Korea history. This chapter intends to conjure up a political iconography where the dialectic between the popular fear of evil and the desire for its magical supernatural power is transcoded into the collective representation of a *toch'aebi* image.

My conclusions are summarized at the end of each chapter. Like Bertolt Brecht's 'theater of alienation effect,' each chapter plays like a separate act or drama stage, telling its own story to other stories, proceeding or prospecting, in their own relational framework. I could not make a conclusive statement as a separate chapter at the end of the thesis as is normally done, because it would violate the rule of the meta-story project with which I am experimenting in this thesis. This sort of project resists the temptation to provide resolution of problems and questions. In this sense, my strategy is to avoid rationalizing the disorder and ambiguities of meaning and translating it into a transparent discourse of social order and structure. By illuminating the obviously non-verbal forms of dreams and gestures in juxtaposition with narrative discourse, I intend to show a particular poetics of ritual. As the modern invention of shamanism as a folk tradition tends to exaggerate the romantic poetics of suffering and fear and, thus, idealize the monstrous effect of evil as perpetually beautiful, the Cheju shaman breaks down that monstrosity of evil and cures the unfortunate people of Cheju Island with laughter in tears that penetrate the impenetrable so lightly and conscientiously.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹Although there is a slight difference in methodology between individual anthropologists, there has been a steady historical trend in the anthropological study of ritual and religious practices. See Asad (1983), Bloch (1984), Comaroff (1985), Dirks (1988), Geertz (1983), Ortner (1988), and Sahlins (1985).

²There are a few civilian publications about the event. They are published outside Korea, either in English by an American historian (Merrill 1980) or in both Japanese and Korean by pro-North Korean historians living in Japan (Kim Minju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1960).

³Similarly Hurtig (1989) has constructed her critical essay on South American Indian's cultural history as a meta-story.

⁴In this sense, my "meta-story" is close to what Clifford suggests for allegorical or narrative ethnography. This approach does not say "this represents, or symbolizes, that" but rather "this is a *story* about that" (1986:100).

⁵In his review of Cummings' book, *The Origin of the Korean War*, Henderson (1983:119) also makes the same point about the lack of information and scholarly study on the Cheju case of ideological struggles and violence, that is, on the April Third Uprising. Even Cummings' book did not treat the Cheju case. Henderson says that the Cheju case is "the least studied of all post-1945 wars except Madagascar's."

⁶Barthes' notion of "the third meaning" in his essay on a film image (1977:61) has been inspiring to my interpretation of shamanic dream images. The connotation of "the third" that is used in the sense of "obtuse" is particularly significant because it implies an independent, shadowy operation of discourse, which I try to explore in my discussion of the ghost-inhabited world of shamanic discourse. This independent (or other worldly) aspect of discourse is well-presented in Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia (1981:263), which presupposes that previous meanings and differing interpretations will impinge on the current discourse. In Bakhtin's theory, discourse "lives ...beyond itself, in a living pulse" (1981:292) of concrete social forces of narrative consciousness. For a study of the non-discursive aspects of the third and obtuse meaning of image, see Mannheim (1989).

⁷Bakhtin's "overpopulated" discourse is close in this respect to the political unconscious that Frederic Jameson portrays in the post-modern world of magical narratives (1981).

⁸I adopt Benjaminian metaphoric expressions about time and history (Benjamin 1969).

CHAPTER 2

FIELDWORK AND WRITING

Arrival in a Subtropical Island

I arrived in Cheju at the International Airport in February 1984, well in tune with the lunar New Year season of ceremonies. It was the spring season in the supernatural world, when all gods and ghosts wake up and become active again as the hard earth melts, and plants sprout. It was also a good time to immediately launch into fieldwork on the collective ceremonies of village shrines. However, the island was too big for me to grasp in an instant. The Cheju dialect sounded like a foreign language and put me in a position of an anthropologist visiting from afar. Viewed in the subtropical landscape of rows of palm treed streets filled with the sweet fragrance of orange orchards that covered the middle slope of volcanic Mt. Halla, Cheju was indeed an alien world I had never visited. Like a tourist, or honeymooners, I was initially allured by this exotic "otherness" of Cheju island.

After this initial allure diminished, I came to realize that the subtropical landscape and air-filling orange fragrance were artifices, painstakingly introduced over the last two decades for the sake of national and international tourism. As the word "fieldwork" literally means a particular type of "work" (Dwyer 1977), the ethnographic task hinges on a "break of senses" (Bourdieu 1977:3) from the allure of first impressions. Entering "the life world" of Cheju society demanded an awareness of underlying artifice and then a courage to stand

CHAPTER 2

FIELDWORK AND WRITING

Arrival in a Subtropical Island

I arrived in Cheju at the International Airport in February 1984, well in tune with the lunar New Year season of ceremonies. It was the spring season in the supernatural world, when all gods and ghosts wake up and become active again as the hard earth melts, and plants sprout. It was also a good time to immediately launch into fieldwork on the collective ceremonies of village shrines. However, the island was too big for me to grasp in an instant. The Cheju dialect sounded like a foreign language and put me in a position of an anthropologist visiting from afar. Viewed in the subtropical landscape of rows of palm treed streets filled with the sweet fragrance of orange orchards that covered the middle slope of volcanic Mt. Halla, Cheju was indeed an alien world I had never visited. Like a tourist, or honeymooners, I was initially allured by this exotic "otherness" of Cheju island.

After this initial allure diminished, I came to realize that the subtropical landscape and air-filling orange fragrance were artifices, painstakingly introduced over the last two decades for the sake of national and international tourism. As the word "fieldwork" literally means a particular type of "work" (Dwyer 1977), the ethnographic task hinges on a "break of senses" (Bourdieu 1977:3) from the allure of first impressions. Entering "the life world" of Cheju society demanded an awareness of underlying artifice and then a courage to stand

in the creative tension between the fear of yet unknown gods and ghosts of this tropical island and arduous intellectual pursuit of knowledge about shamanism. In the midst of the exotic ambience of the island, the entire fieldwork was invested for this hermeneutical struggle for questioning and arriving at an always new horizon of cultural understanding and interpretation of the Cheju people's life and history, which is expressed in illnesses and misfortunes as well as in the bustling prosperity of the international tourist resort.

On the Beach

The critical "break of the senses" occurred when I came to know the historical significance of the April Third Uprising in 1948. The frequent tourist spots such as beach areas turned out to be the places where the civilian massacres by the police and army took place forty years before. The April Third Uprising was a tragic ideological battle between the leftists and mostly Cheju native communist guerrillas, and the rightist-nationalists and their supporting forces such as the army and police from outside. In the course of repression of this uprising, many civilians were massacred. According to unofficial records of the event, just in two months between November 18, 1948 and January 1949, one thousand people were massacred for the charge of communist complicity at several beach areas (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963; ARARI 1988). The names of the victims and the massacre locations as well as the names of the victimizers and their methods, are now revealed and in the process of publication by their surviving family members (O Sŏng-ch'an 1988).

However, during fieldwork I never heard of stories about the violence of this event other than just as one of bygone days, and I did not recognize the significance of this event. Normally unspoken, and redeemed only through shamanic dreams and lamentation narratives (until April 1988 when oral

in the creative tension between the fear of yet unknown gods and ghosts of this tropical island and arduous intellectual pursuit of knowledge about shamanism. In the midst of the exotic ambience of the island, the entire fieldwork was invested for this hermeneutical struggle for questioning and arriving at an always new horizon of cultural understanding and interpretation of the Cheju people's life and history, which is expressed in illnesses and misfortunes as well as in the bustling prosperity of the international tourist resort.

On the Beach

The critical "break of the senses" occurred when I came to know the historical significance of the April Third Uprising in 1948. The frequent tourist spots such as beach areas turned out to be the places where the civilian massacres by the police and army took place forty years before. The April Third Uprising was a tragic ideological battle between the leftists and mostly Cheju native communist guerrillas, and the rightist-nationalists and their supporting forces such as the army and police from outside. In the course of repression of this uprising, many civilians were massacred. According to unofficial records of the event, just in two months between November 18, 1948 and January 1949, one thousand people were massacred for the charge of communist complicity at several beach areas (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963; ARARI 1988). The names of the victims and the massacre locations as well as the names of the victimizers and their methods, are now revealed and in the process of publication by their surviving family members (O Sŏng-ch'an 1988).

However, during fieldwork I never heard of stories about the violence of this event other than just as one of bygone days, and I did not recognize the significance of this event. Normally unspoken, and redeemed only through shamanic dreams and lamentation narratives (until April 1988 when oral

testimonies were compiled and published in the tide of people's democratization process), this tragic event concealed the "otherness" of Cheju culture and society, but did so implicitly in contrast to its external romantic posture. I went to back to Cheju a year later in July 1986 in order to do more research on this historical event.

Nevertheless, my short return trip for collection of oral testimonies of the April Third Uprising was in vain. It was difficult to get information or people warned me to stop researching on this subject because public speech about this event was still politically dangerous. Therefore, in the initial period of my writing I had to supplement fragmentary sources such as fictional stories by native novelists and a brief record of the event in the official history texts that I initially collected for minor background materials. Although this critical moment of "break of the senses" came much later in the write-up period in the U.S., far from the place of the ethnographic experience, it was not be too late to start the fieldwork over again. I would call this a second round of fieldwork that was mainly conducted in a mass of images contained in memories as well as in field notes.

In spite of the novelty of this new "discovery" of the April Third Uprising, however, I could not celebrate it. Due to the culture of anti-communist red-complex that has been inculcated in the psychology of South Korean people in the post-war era, I had to go through the difficult process of self-censorship in deciding if I should mention this nearly forgotten event in the ethnography. Especially under the political repression of the Chon Too-hwan regime, I had to consider the result of writing about this event; the danger could be real there (perhaps not real in the U.S.). I pondered how far I could reveal the historical truth of this event in my ethnography.

A Native Anthropologist: the Positioned yet Suspect Subject

This kind of agonizing self-censorship in the process of writing ethnography would be an unique case of a native anthropologist who cannot be immune from the effects of power from her or his home country. Regardless of its political import, my being Korean was an important element of my position in the ethnographic practice--thus "the positioned subject" what Rosaldo (1984) has suggested. My position was structurally located as a native anthropologist, having a particular angle of vision to grasp certain ethnographic phenomena. Given the generic nature of my Korean identity, I was also "positioned" as such in my relationship with Cheju people and with the island as a whole.

This "native position" put me in an ironic situation depending on whether the Cheju people would accept or resist my position. In spite of the virtues of the distance, I secured myself self-consciously as an alien visitor from the U.S. However, I was treated as a native Korean by Cheju people without the curiosity that would be usually applied to foreign anthropologists. I was integrated into the household of Kun Simbang whom I called "mother." She mentioned she did the same forty years before to refugees from the mainland during the Korean War. She also took me as a lonely unmarried woman into her house out of compassion and in memory of her past experience as an exile for three years in the mainland to hide from debtors (see Chapter 5 for details of her life story). In addition, because local people were accustomed to seeing folklorists at the scenes of shamanic ritual performances, my presence in the village did not draw particular attention from them if I was introduced once. I gradually felt home at the local events.

However, being native had a disadvantage. As an American-educated elite woman coming from Seoul my research motives were suspect. In the eyes of a native young college graduate living in Kosalmi village, my study of shamanism

A Native Anthropologist: the Positioned yet Suspect Subject

This kind of agonizing self-censorship in the process of writing ethnography would be an unique case of a native anthropologist who cannot be immune from the effects of power from her or his home country. Regardless of its political import, my being Korean was an important element of my position in the ethnographic practice--thus "the positioned subject" what Rosaldo (1984) has suggested. My position was structurally located as a native anthropologist, having a particular angle of vision to grasp certain ethnographic phenomena. Given the generic nature of my Korean identity, I was also "positioned" as such in my relationship with Cheju people and with the island as a whole.

This "native position" put me in an ironic situation depending on whether the Cheju people would accept or resist my position. In spite of the virtues of the distance, I secured myself self-consciously as an alien visitor from the U.S. However, I was treated as a native Korean by Cheju people without the curiosity that would be usually applied to foreign anthropologists. I was integrated into the household of Kun Simbang whom I called "mother." She mentioned she did the same forty years before to refugees from the mainland during the Korean War. She also took me as a lonely unmarried woman into her house out of compassion and in memory of her past experience as an exile for three years in the mainland to hide from debtors (see Chapter 5 for details of her life story). In addition, because local people were accustomed to seeing folklorists at the scenes of shamanic ritual performances, my presence in the village did not draw particular attention from them if I was introduced once. I gradually felt home at the local events.

However, being native had a disadvantage. As an American-educated elite woman coming from Seoul my research motives were suspect. In the eyes of a native young college graduate living in Kosalmi village, my study of shamanism

was perceived as a colonialistic study of "superstitious" religion of the "primitive" backwaters. His suspicion of my research motive was a justifiable one in the times that the nationalistic spirit of radical students was mixed up with anti-Americanism that was understood identically with anti-imperialism.

Furthermore, his emotional judgement of my "position" in Cheju represented a typical indigenous ethos concerning the cultural and political independence of Cheju Island as a whole (cf. Yŭ Chŏl-in 1984). Ever since their lands had become eroded by tourist industry and outside visitors, especially in the last two decades, islanders' hostile attitude toward mainlanders seemed to be more openly expressed. Yet if I were a foreigner, my interest in *them* could be forgiven or understood. From a different angle, my academic, seemingly innocent, interest in Cheju tradition could be also acceptable as a cliché of a noble sense of "mission" on the part of Korean liberal intellectuals.¹ But because I was a Korean from the mainland, the same interest was politically suspect to Cheju local intellectuals. This was exactly the reverse of the conventional social advancement expressed in a traditional adage; "A wise man goes up to Seoul, and a horse comes down to Cheju." I was a native anthropologist, but still a suspicious alien.

Distance and Time

This is a disconcerting irony that I never seem to gain any vantage point as either a native or an alien. Rather than "distance" between the native and the ethnographer positioned as such, the shifting power relations involved varying degrees of distance and intimacy (cf. Kondo 1986; Rosaldo 1989). The indigenous people's interpretive move toward the ethnographer, whether judgemental or favorable, is also positioned in the relational frame of my presence and interest. The virtues of distance that the ethnographers claim to acquire for

was perceived as a colonialistic study of "superstitious" religion of the "primitive" backwaters. His suspicion of my research motive was a justifiable one in the times that the nationalistic spirit of radical students was mixed up with anti-Americanism that was understood identically with anti-imperialism.

Furthermore, his emotional judgement of my "position" in Cheju represented a typical indigenous ethos concerning the cultural and political independence of Cheju Island as a whole (cf. Yŭ Chŏl-in 1984). Ever since their lands had become eroded by tourist industry and outside visitors, especially in the last two decades, islanders' hostile attitude toward mainlanders seemed to be more openly expressed. Yet if I were a foreigner, my interest in *them* could be forgiven or understood. From a different angle, my academic, seemingly innocent, interest in Cheju tradition could be also acceptable as a cliché of a noble sense of "mission" on the part of Korean liberal intellectuals.¹ But because I was a Korean from the mainland, the same interest was politically suspect to Cheju local intellectuals. This was exactly the reverse of the conventional social advancement expressed in a traditional adage; "A wise man goes up to Seoul, and a horse comes down to Cheju." I was a native anthropologist, but still a suspicious alien.

Distance and Time

This is a disconcerting irony that I never seem to gain any vantage point as either a native or an alien. Rather than "distance" between the native and the ethnographer positioned as such, the shifting power relations involved varying degrees of distance and intimacy (cf. Kondo 1986; Rosaldo 1989). The indigenous people's interpretive move toward the ethnographer, whether judgemental or favorable, is also positioned in the relational frame of my presence and interest. The virtues of distance that the ethnographers claim to acquire for

the sake of objective knowledge of other cultures could not be celebrated² but contested at the crossing of discordant realities of the field.

In a critical commentary, Ohnuki-Tierney, herself an American-educated native anthropologist, has suggested a unique contribution native anthropologists could make to anthropology if they could gain "*enough* distance between their personal selves and their collective selves--their cultures" (1984:585). Although it is still questionable how enough of this distance could be gained, my dual identities as a Western-trained anthropologist and an elite Korean were not neatly separable in the Cheju case. Yet, they were converging to the extent that they were both perceived as external agents that are threatening to the indigenous self-consciousness of independence and authenticity, culturally and politically. In the light of the history of Cheju Island in the recent past, I represented a figure of domination and invasion, whose memory still lingers in shamanic dreams and ritual narratives.

The historical reality of the neocolonial era--internally and internationally--that had once evaded the ethnographer's consciousness was redeemed in the native's resistance (yet with cautious compliance) to provide the ethnographer with information.³ This redemptive moment happened in a flash when I was struggling to interpret the shaman's initiatory dream after I returned to the U.S. Ironically, at a farther distance and much later after I got to know the meaning of the April Third Uprising, I could gain an access to the "local knowledge" of Cheju shamanism in the way that the natives knew. This historical event posed itself as the signifier of the indigenous sense of self and reality in the recent past.

In my case, time drew me significantly closer to what the Cheju people think. Initially, this temporal pilgrimage pushed me ineluctably to the colonizing context of ethnographic encounter, but in order to decolonize it in the end. As far as there exists a structure of inequality as such, any ethnographic knowledge

could never claim its neutral objectivity and transparency. But this pilgrimage demanded a radical engagement to *their* past, rather than to the ethnographic past Fabian (1983) suggested in his critique of ethnographic production of the other cultures.⁴ If the ethnographic past is epistemologically constructed as a result of the deferred time dimension of fieldwork and ethnography, the native past is ontologically constructed. The urgency of Cheju people's memory of a violent past history has disturbed my perception of disengaged ethnographic endeavour.

The Ancestral "Hole" on the Shore

In short, I did not benefit from "intimate knowledge" of Cheju culture simply because I was a Korean, a knowledge which we often assume the native anthropologist has (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:585). My fieldwork was a whole new learning experience as I had to learn Cheju dialect, which is considered to contain archaic remnants of the sixteenth century Korean language. When I lived in Hwabol village, I rented a room at an elderly female diver's house. One morning I accompanied a village shaman and her client with the surname Kim-ssi to the shore surrounded by wind-protecting walls of black stones. At the bottom of the walls they stopped and spread offerings of rice and fruits. As they lifted a stone (perhaps specially marked), there appeared a wrist-size small snake-hole hardly recognizable between stones. The hole was empty. The shaman invoked the patron spirit of the clients' family. At the end of ritual the shaman poured a cup of rice liquor over the hole. In fact, this hole which looked like a snake-hole, was the family shrine, the sacred locus of the patron spirit of the Kim-ssi family. If I had walked alone on the shore, I would have never recognized that particular hole.

could never claim its neutral objectivity and transparency. But this pilgrimage demanded a radical engagement to *their* past, rather than to the ethnographic past Fabian (1983) suggested in his critique of ethnographic production of the other cultures.⁴ If the ethnographic past is epistemologically constructed as a result of the deferred time dimension of fieldwork and ethnography, the native past is ontologically constructed. The urgency of Cheju people's memory of a violent past history has disturbed my perception of disengaged ethnographic endeavour.

The Ancestral "Hole" on the Shore

In short, I did not benefit from "intimate knowledge" of Cheju culture simply because I was a Korean, a knowledge which we often assume the native anthropologist has (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984:585). My fieldwork was a whole new learning experience as I had to learn Cheju dialect, which is considered to contain archaic remnants of the sixteenth century Korean language. When I lived in Hwabol village, I rented a room at an elderly female diver's house. One morning I accompanied a village shaman and her client with the surname Kim-ssi to the shore surrounded by wind-protecting walls of black stones. At the bottom of the walls they stopped and spread offerings of rice and fruits. As they lifted a stone (perhaps specially marked), there appeared a wrist-size small snake-hole hardly recognizable between stones. The hole was empty. The shaman invoked the patron spirit of the clients' family. At the end of ritual the shaman poured a cup of rice liquor over the hole. In fact, this hole which looked like a snake-hole, was the family shrine, the sacred locus of the patron spirit of the Kim-ssi family. If I had walked alone on the shore, I would have never recognized that particular hole.

Apprehensively, yet ever more excited from witnessing a strangely shaped shrine, I returned home and reported the hole proudly to my landlady. "Dear grandmother, now I know where Kim-ssi old lady has her *chosang*, patron ancestral spirit. Did you know that too?" I expected the same excitement from her. She quickly rebuked my loud-voiced reporting and whispered in my ears, as if somebody or that patron spirit would hear over our conversation: "Someone else's ancestor is secret. Even when you know it, you should pretend not to know of this." Then she closed our conversation on this matter. I stood in dismay.

This episode was another experience of "the break of the senses" that challenged the possibility of knowing the Other's culture in depth. As Clifford has pointed out about the risk of establishing authority by using personal experience (1983:120-124; cf. Handler 1987:180), my ethnographic knowledge could have frozen at the point of discovery: "There is an indigenous concept of a patron family spirit." However, my landlady's act of closing the conversation and her refusal of warm exchange of ideas about the concept of ancestral spirit, rather, opened up a dialogical space against her will. In this space, the secrecy of family patron spirit was positioned as "the native discourse" that is to be worked into the ethnographer's writing.⁵ In the native discourse of Cheju people, "knowing" someone else's ancestral spirit does not guarantee one any particular privilege or authority. This knowledge, perhaps overly "intimate," has such a formidable force as to make happen the reality of the other's ancestor, so that the spirit of ancestor might affect the person who knows it. Then, it would be worse if the person were to mention it in words. The mention of someone else's ancestor announces the possession of knowledge which becomes the discourse of power, malevolent power in particular. If secrecy were the native cultural protocol concerning family shrines, my ethnographic rigorous inquiry and endeavour to "know" that native secrecy could itself be intrusive.⁶

What the ethnographer knows may be just a momentary glimpse at that native "secrecy" as long as the ancestral hole shrine remains forgotten most of time after a once-a-year ceremony. This critical tension between the ethnographic pursuit of knowledge and native defiance to yield to that desire, challenged my initial monological approach. The hole shrine, disguised small enough to keep its secrecy, stood as a blank text within a dialogical space that was to be filled with memories, stories, and life histories of indigenous people and their ancestors. As originally invisible ancestral spirits became meaningful to their descendants by being spatially positioned in a hole, the ethnographic work of cultural interpretation involved contextualization of their secrecy in a particular social and historical reality. The "sacred hole" had particular virtues based on particular circumstances. Likewise, I needed a particular reading of the interplay of native culture and politics that surround the modern form of the secret hole--the April Third Uprising.

Unwittingly but appropriately, I carried out the work of ethnographic writing as the novice of a Cheju shaman whose most important performative task is to recognize the secrets of ancestral spirits and deliver their wishes to their descendants, perhaps in my case, the readers of this thesis. Like a Cheju shaman, who has a privileged access to the secrets of someone else's ancestors and whose privileged knowledge of ancestors empowers him or her to heal people, I was privileged to listen to the stories of Cheju people, the stories of historical violence, and this ethnography as well might be empowered so as to heal someone and somewhere else. This is the moral vision I wish to propagate as a social critic in the line of Cheju shaman's tradition.

Notes to Chapter 2

¹This cliché also finds a model along the ethnographic pastoral frontier characterized as engendering "democratic values, rugged individualism, fierce pride, and a warrior spirit" (Rosaldo 1986:96).

²There has been much self-conscious criticism of conventional anthropological celebration of the Other. See Bourdieu (1977), Clifford (1988), Fabian (1983), Fisher and Marcus (1986), and Rosaldo (1989).

³See Taussig (1984) who has suggested the attitude of "redemptive listening" as a critical sensibility of the ethnographer, the scientific-minded Marxist anthropologists in his case. I understand what he means by this "redemptive" imagery as a hermeneutic circle of suspicion that requires the ethnographer of conscious restraint from a monological, paternal gesture of the ethnographer to redeem the unknown reality of the other people and cultures.

⁴Fabian (1983:89) correctly has said that fieldwork has "a certain time-economy," and ethnography thus evolves out of "the autobiographic past." Such an epistemological significance of Time (as he uses it with the capital letter) in anthropological discourse appears saliently in his call for the hermeneutic and reflexive distance--temporal and spatial.

⁵Leenhardt, an missionary anthropologist in the early 1950s, has had a similar insight to the sacred object such as "a sacred stone" (Clifford 1982:4-5). He stresses that the meaning of that object lies in its application rather than in the sanctity the anthropologist would think it has inherently.

⁶In the introduction of his book, Dirks (1987) has described with candor the similar "break of sense" experience when he tried to get a chance to observe a collective ritual in a village of south India.

CHAPTER 3

AN OVERVIEW OF CHEJU SOCIETY

This chapter presents a brief exposition of the social context in which the shamanic ritual and religion I will later describe occurs. To begin, a glance at the geographical and natural environment of Cheju will help to provide a context for the contemporary situation.

Geography and Natural Environment

Cheju is the largest island in Korea and also one of the nine provinces of the Republic of Korea (see Map). Cheju acquired provincial status in 1946 after Korea was liberated from 36 years of Japanese colonial occupation. Cheju Province comprises 51 islands besides the main island, Cheju Island. Lying in the middle of Korea's Southern Sea, Cheju Island is the eastern point of the juncture where the Yellow Sea meets the East China Sea. From Cheju Island, one can see in the distant west the Chinese city of Shanghai, on the southern Shantung peninsula; to the south, Nagasaki, in Kyushu Island of Japan. Cheju Island is located some 80 miles south of the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula in the north, and about twice that distance from the nearest Japanese island to the northeast. From this geographical location it is inferred that the original natives of the island consisted of various ethnic groups from those areas, and its cultural features are closely linked to their ethnic cultures.

The 700-square-mile (1,819 Km²) Cheju Island is a volcanic island centering around the extinct crater of Mt.Halla, at 6,000 feet the highest peak in

CHAPTER 3

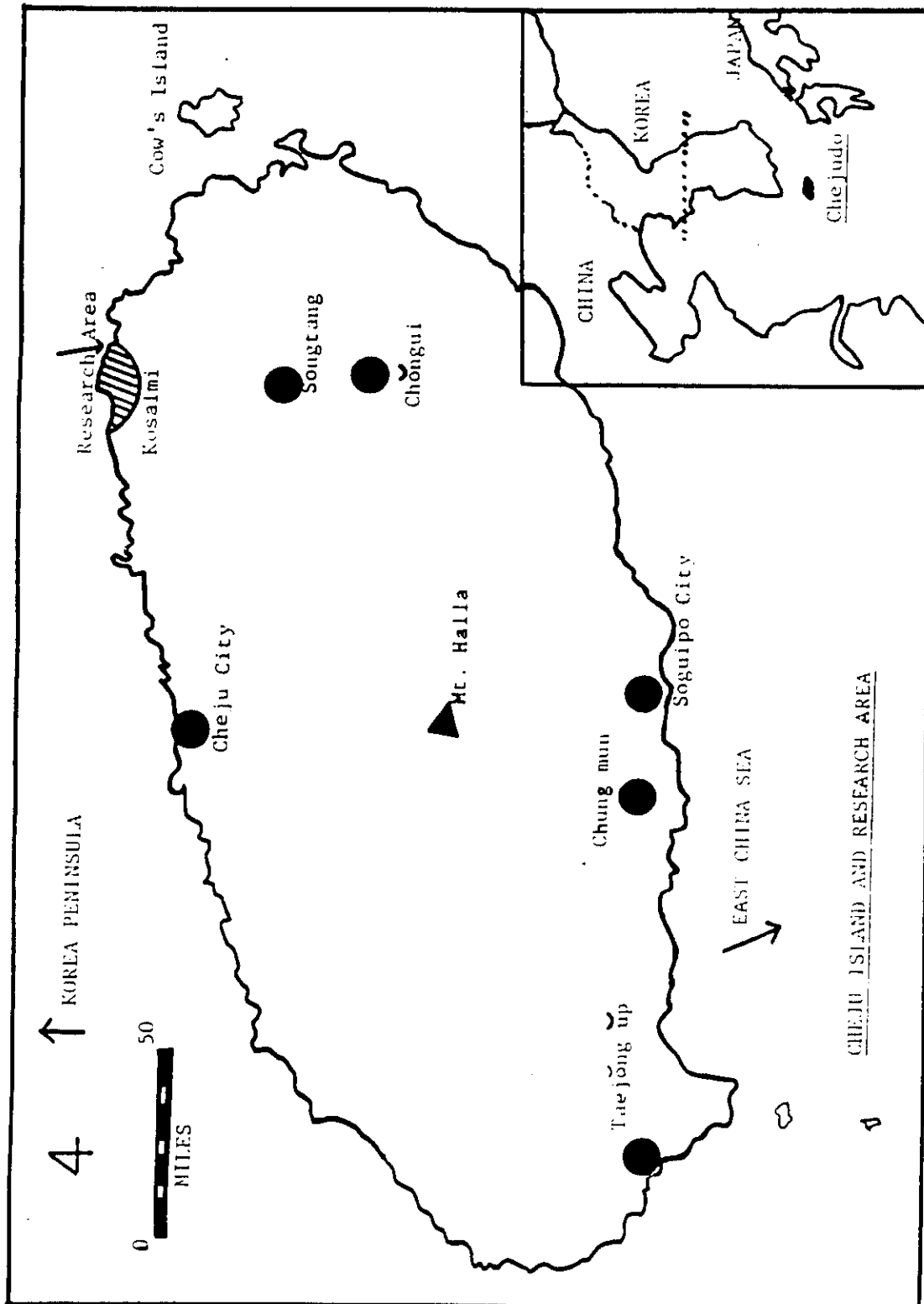
AN OVERVIEW OF CHEJU SOCIETY

This chapter presents a brief exposition of the social context in which the shamanic ritual and religion I will later describe occurs. To begin, a glance at the geographical and natural environment of Cheju will help to provide a context for the contemporary situation.

Geography and Natural Environment

Cheju is the largest island in Korea and also one of the nine provinces of the Republic of Korea (see Map). Cheju acquired provincial status in 1946 after Korea was liberated from 36 years of Japanese colonial occupation. Cheju Province comprises 51 islands besides the main island, Cheju Island. Lying in the middle of Korea's Southern Sea, Cheju Island is the eastern point of the juncture where the Yellow Sea meets the East China Sea. From Cheju Island, one can see in the distant west the Chinese city of Shanghai, on the southern Shantung peninsula; to the south, Nagasaki, in Kyushu Island of Japan. Cheju Island is located some 80 miles south of the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula in the north, and about twice that distance from the nearest Japanese island to the northeast. From this geographical location it is inferred that the original natives of the island consisted of various ethnic groups from those areas, and its cultural features are closely linked to their ethnic cultures.

The 700-square-mile (1,819 Km²) Cheju Island is a volcanic island centering around the extinct crater of Mt.Halla, at 6,000 feet the highest peak in



Map. Cheju Island and Other Areas

South Korea (Hy n Yong-jun 1974:13). Geologically the island was originally formed of granite, but a later volcanic eruption of whinstone (basaltic rock) during the Late Pleistocene period contributed to its present shape. After whinstone erupted again later on and penetrated an already existing lava bed, 360 tiny volcanoes of less than one hundred meters high with smooth rounded shapes were formed. The most recent volcanic activity in recorded history was in 1202 and 1207 A.D. (Yang Sun-pil 1975). The landscape of the island consists of 360 tiny volcanoes lying side by side all around the island along the gentle slope from the White Deer Crater or Paekrokdam at the peak of Mt. Halla, which is visible from virtually everywhere on the island.

The island, 80 kilometers from east to west and 40 kilometers from north to south, is a long oblong shape, and, due to the high peak of Mt. Halla standing at the center, it looks like a witch's hat when viewed from the sea at the proper distance (Chin S ng-gi 1983). The coast line is monotonous. But due to its overhanging cliffs along the coastal line there are only a few ports naturally appropriate for marinas. Because the length from east to west is double that from north to south, the island is divided ecologically into two distinct areas: north and south. Because of the protective effect of Mt. Halla against strong winds from the northwest of the island, the southern part is much warmer and milder. This ecological difference parallels differences in language, and the temperament of the people, as well as cultural traditions.

There are rivers along the valleys on the slopes of Mt. Halla. Yet due to the porosity of the whinstone, the rivers remain dry most of time except during the heavy rainy season in July and August. The rainfalls instead submerge to form an underground water table which rises to ground level at the shores. Because the springs of this underground water table that are used as drinking water are formed at the shore, most of the settlements are concentrated along the

coast. Historically, administrative centers and towns are located at coastal areas and near the sites of the springs.

Being a volcanic island, Cheju Island is not suitable for agriculture. The area fit for rice-cultivation is limited, and surface soil and drainage conditions are generally unfavorable. Both land and sea contribute to the livelihood of the coastal villagers. The great majority of families own farms and supplement their income from the land with ocean resources. The main crops of the island are distinctly drought-resistant, and include barley, millet, sweet potatoes, soybeans, foxtail millet and vegetables.

There are three types of settlements: coastal villages (*haean maŭl*), middle-mountain villages (*chung'sankan maŭl*), and mountain villages (*sankan maŭl*). They are all located below the 500-meter hills.

The coastal areas are the most densely inhabited and include two major cities, Cheju City and Sogwipo City. They also include major administrative centers and commercial markets. For their livelihood, however, most of the coastal villagers combine farming and fishery including diving.

The middle mountain villages are on the plateau between the 100- and 200-meter hills. The mountain villages are sparsely located between the 200- and 500-meter hills. Because there are no spring waters in these mountain villages, people collect rainfall in tanks. They combine farming and livestock-raising of cows for milk and lambs for wool. Horse raising, which was once the major industry on the island, has declined since the thirteenth century.

Because the settlements are partitioned into administrative districts along a radial line on the gradual slope of Mt. Halla running down from the peak of the crater, all three types of villages are included in the smallest administrative unit (*li*). Cheju-do as a province has two counties (*kun*), two cities (*si*), six towns (*ŭp*), five subcounties (*myŏn*), and 193 villages (*tong* or *li*) (Hankul Hakwhoe 1984).

The fact that this radial type of district partitioning is of considerable historical depth is well reflected in the geographical distribution of the local shrines and also the genealogical relationships among the shrine gods. According to their myths it is known that the first ancestors and shrine gods of Cheju Island started settlements at the mountain villages, and thereafter moved down to the coastal villages in search of water sources (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1965).

That the shortage of drinking water is one of the imminent concerns of everyday life is expressed well in the symbolic power of the word "water" (*mul*) in ordinary language use; for example, *mul* is like a suffix attached to many nouns such as baby (*mul aeki*) and deity (i.e., the Water Grandmother, *mul halmang*, who is in fact the tutelary deity of the village shrine at Kwayang-dong in Cheju City, one of the four most powerful shrines in Cheju) (Chang Chu-kŭn 1973). Along the shores beside springs there are many human-shaped stone statues enshrined within stone walls. Usually wearing a white paper Buddhist monk hat (*songnak*), these statues are worshipped as Maitreya (*mirŭk*, the Merciful Buddha) and a source of life and fertility, particularly favored by married women who wish to bear a child.

Cheju Island has a typically oceanic climate because a warm current runs in the adjacent seas. It enjoys the warmest weather in Korea. The mean annual temperature is 14.7⁰ Centigrade. Even the coldest month never gets below 5⁰ C (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1974). Snow is very rare. July and August are the rainy season, with an average rainfall of 742.3 mm. The climate is in general mild with four distinct seasons. However, all year round strong winds blowing from both the northwest and southwest of the island make people feel colder. Frequent tornadoes in August and September cause severe crop damage at the harvest season.

In short, the physical features of Cheju Island can be summed up as the 'three calamities' of stone, water, and drought as recorded in the official report of the governors (Cheju-si 1985). The island is covered with stones and rock so that it has little in the way of fertile land; it easily experiences drought if there is little rain; and its dry riverbeds quickly flood even when a minor shower or tornado occurs. In an ironic twist, these three calamities can be translated into the 'three abundances (of misfortune)', testifying to the natural conditions the Cheju people have had to cope with. In this sense, the well-known popular adage, *samda*, three abundances of stone, wind, and women, which are a standard cliché of tourist guide books for the island, are indeed only partly adequate to represent the true picture of this island. The so-called "indomitable spirit" of self-reliance--what native intellectuals often stress as the traditional spirit of Cheju people--is thus a hard-won virtue--wisdom combined with a particular sense of destiny rather than a natural faculty (Yang Chung-hae 1980).

Population and Social Change

All of the inhabitants of Cheju Island are Korean-speaking Koreans. According to the Statistical Yearbook of Cheju-do (Lee Ch'ang-ki 1982:160), the population of Cheju in 1980 was 462,423. The population growth is remarkable considering that the population in 1955 was 288,801. The population grew rapidly since 1960 after an economic development program was initiated and outsiders moved in for investments and employment. Its annual natural growth rate is 2.32%, higher than that of the general population growth rate for Korea. Particularly, the urban population in the two cities, Cheju City and Sogwipo City, has grown to comprise 30 percent of the whole population. This is influenced by development of effective transportation and also of the tourist industry that was boosted first in the 1970s, then much expanded in the 1980s. The Cheju

In short, the physical features of Cheju Island can be summed up as the 'three calamities' of stone, water, and drought as recorded in the official report of the governors (Cheju-si 1985). The island is covered with stones and rock so that it has little in the way of fertile land; it easily experiences drought if there is little rain; and its dry riverbeds quickly flood even when a minor shower or tornado occurs. In an ironic twist, these three calamities can be translated into the 'three abundances (of misfortune)', testifying to the natural conditions the Cheju people have had to cope with. In this sense, the well-known popular adage, *samda*, three abundances of stone, wind, and women, which are a standard cliché of tourist guide books for the island, are indeed only partly adequate to represent the true picture of this island. The so-called "indomitable spirit" of self-reliance--what native intellectuals often stress as the traditional spirit of Cheju people--is thus a hard-won virtue--wisdom combined with a particular sense of destiny rather than a natural faculty (Yang Chung-hae 1980).

Population and Social Change

All of the inhabitants of Cheju Island are Korean-speaking Koreans. According to the Statistical Yearbook of Cheju-do (Lee Ch'ang-ki 1982:160), the population of Cheju in 1980 was 462,423. The population growth is remarkable considering that the population in 1955 was 288,801. The population grew rapidly since 1960 after an economic development program was initiated and outsiders moved in for investments and employment. Its annual natural growth rate is 2.32%, higher than that of the general population growth rate for Korea. Particularly, the urban population in the two cities, Cheju City and Sogwipo City, has grown to comprise 30 percent of the whole population. This is influenced by development of effective transportation and also of the tourist industry that was boosted first in the 1970s, then much expanded in the 1980s. The Cheju

International Airport which was built in 1980 promoted tourism and seasonal population movement. Every hour shuttle airplanes fly to eight locations on the mainland, and there is one international route to Osaka, Japan. Regular tourist ferries to Mokpo and Pusan, ports on the southern shore of the mainland, run two times a day. For the convenience of carrying tourists and also for industrial development, highways that run along the coastline and cross the island from north to south were constructed.

The tourist industry has become the focal point of local economic development in Cheju society since the first government-directed regional reconstruction plan in 1963 (Pu Man-kŭn 1975). This plan aimed at the solid establishment of Cheju as an international tourist resort like Hawaii or Hongkong. By 1981 already one tourist area, Jungmun, had opened. It features a Hyatt-Plaza Hotel and a casino. Two more areas are under construction. As this tourist development continues to absorb local lands which are bought at a low price by the government, native farmers have less land. Ninety percent of all farmers are poor small farmers having less than 1.5 ha. of land. More and more farmers are giving up even that small parcel of land and are moving to urban areas or tourist resorts on the island for better income sources. Or some live as seasonal labourers at cash crop farms where oranges, sweet potatoes, onions, and hops are grown.

Every year two million tourists visit the island, and they spend 550 million *won* (roughly 8 million dollars) which comprises the major income source for Cheju province. According to the economic statistics of 1984 (Chejudo 1985), the service sector takes 63.3% of the total industrial productivity. By contrast, the manufacturing sector shows the very low productivity of 3.0 %. This growing dependence of the Cheju economy on the tourist/service sector, however, contradicts the rather low employment rate (36.3%) in that sector. Sixty percent

of the Cheju population is still engaged in farming and fishery. This means that most of the Cheju people do not benefit from the lavishly growing economy in the service sector--originally invested in by mainlanders; the profits return to them without reinvestment in Cheju. The enormous growth of the tourist industry has had a significant impact on Cheju natives, uprooting them from their land and weakening the economic forces in their hands, which is greatly resented.

Kosalmi: the Village Life

In the midst of the recent economic and social changes described above, the villages such as *tong* or *li* still form the significant units of Cheju society. The following description is based on my experience at Kosalmi village where I stayed for over a year. The statistical data presented below are gathered from interviews with the village administrator (*lijang*) and also from the official briefing charts displayed on the walls of the local administrator's office, *li samuso*.

Kosalmi village is on the northeastern coast of Cheju and has a sandy beach to the north of the settlement. It is a typical farming and fishing (including diving) village. The coastal road crosses the center of the village. Transportation to cities and markets is easy, taking 30 minutes. According to the record provided by the village office in 1984, the village population was 2,253 from 513 households (491 farm households). The sex ratio is 1,045 male : 1,208 female. The area is 1,020 ha. The average amount of farmland per household is 0.7 ha. Orange orchards owned by two persons amount to 3 ha. The major cash crops are onions, garlic, and sesame. In 1984, the yearly income from onions was 17 million *wŏn*. Most of the households raise pigs, cows, and chickens. There are three pig and chicken farms. Annual income per household is 3,497,000 won (U S \$ 5,000) which is rather below the average income per capita of Cheju

of the Cheju population is still engaged in farming and fishery. This means that most of the Cheju people do not benefit from the lavishly growing economy in the service sector--originally invested in by mainlanders; the profits return to them without reinvestment in Cheju. The enormous growth of the tourist industry has had a significant impact on Cheju natives, uprooting them from their land and weakening the economic forces in their hands, which is greatly resented.

Kosalmi: the Village Life

In the midst of the recent economic and social changes described above, the villages such as *tong* or *li* still form the significant units of Cheju society. The following description is based on my experience at Kosalmi village where I stayed for over a year. The statistical data presented below are gathered from interviews with the village administrator (*lijang*) and also from the official briefing charts displayed on the walls of the local administrator's office, *li samuso*.

Kosalmi village is on the northeastern coast of Cheju and has a sandy beach to the north of the settlement. It is a typical farming and fishing (including diving) village. The coastal road crosses the center of the village. Transportation to cities and markets is easy, taking 30 minutes. According to the record provided by the village office in 1984, the village population was 2,253 from 513 households (491 farm households). The sex ratio is 1,045 male : 1,208 female. The area is 1,020 ha. The average amount of farmland per household is 0.7 ha. Orange orchards owned by two persons amount to 3 ha. The major cash crops are onions, garlic, and sesame. In 1984, the yearly income from onions was 17 million *wŏn*. Most of the households raise pigs, cows, and chickens. There are three pig and chicken farms. Annual income per household is 3,497,000 won (U S \$ 5,000) which is rather below the average income per capita of Cheju

farmers.¹ The reason for the low productivity in Kosalmi stems from the poor soil and rocky fields. As agricultural machinery is introduced, transportation of good quality soil from nearby hills or from neighboring villages to the sandy land has become common.

Together with a neighboring village which was separated from it in 1944, Kosalmi is the administrative and economic center of the surrounding area. At Kosalmi, there is a *li*-unit administrative office, a village center for the welfare of the elderly and for sports, an elementary school, a middle school, a post-office, a police station, two pharmacy shops, a public clinic, an Agricultural Cooperative Bank, the Fishery Cooperatives Office, the government-run Agricultural Development Office, two Buddhist Temples, a Presbyterian Church, and a Catholic Mission Church. Besides these public places, there are three coffee shops, four restaurants, and one billiard game room.

Religion: Shrines and *Simbangs*

In Kosalmi village, shamanism plays a large part in the religious life of the villagers in the everyday context. The villagers regularly participate in the collective shrine ceremonies, and shamans are active. People are tolerant of other religions. They go to shrines as well as to Buddhist temples, but for different reasons. In general, people consider religions like Buddhism and Christianity superior to shamanism or what they would call "the belief in the *tang* shrine" (*tang mit'nŭn kŏt*). They tend to feel much closer to the Buddhist temples than to Christian churches, and they think *tang mit'nŭn kŏt* is a close cousin to "the belief in the [Buddhist] temple" (*chŏl mit'nŭn kŏt*). There is a tendency toward growing membership in the temples. But Christian churches are only popular among children and the younger generation and also to socially marginal groups

farmers.¹ The reason for the low productivity in Kosalmi stems from the poor soil and rocky fields. As agricultural machinery is introduced, transportation of good quality soil from nearby hills or from neighboring villages to the sandy land has become common.

Together with a neighboring village which was separated from it in 1944, Kosalmi is the administrative and economic center of the surrounding area. At Kosalmi, there is a *li*-unit administrative office, a village center for the welfare of the elderly and for sports, an elementary school, a middle school, a post-office, a police station, two pharmacy shops, a public clinic, an Agricultural Cooperative Bank, the Fishery Cooperatives Office, the government-run Agricultural Development Office, two Buddhist Temples, a Presbyterian Church, and a Catholic Mission Church. Besides these public places, there are three coffee shops, four restaurants, and one billiard game room.

Religion: Shrines and *Simbangs*

In Kosalmi village, shamanism plays a large part in the religious life of the villagers in the everyday context. The villagers regularly participate in the collective shrine ceremonies, and shamans are active. People are tolerant of other religions. They go to shrines as well as to Buddhist temples, but for different reasons. In general, people consider religions like Buddhism and Christianity superior to shamanism or what they would call "the belief in the *tang* shrine" (*tang mit'nŭn kŏt*). They tend to feel much closer to the Buddhist temples than to Christian churches, and they think *tang mit'nŭn kŏt* is a close cousin to "the belief in the [Buddhist] temple" (*chŏl mit'nŭn kŏt*). There is a tendency toward growing membership in the temples. But Christian churches are only popular among children and the younger generation and also to socially marginal groups

of people who have just moved in from outside of the village or who are highly educated.

Kosalmi has several religious sites: four shamanic shrines (*tang*), an altar to a Confucian tutelary deity of the village (*p'och'e tan*), two Buddhist temples, a Protestant Church, and a Catholic Church. The *P'och'e tan* is a simple stone-walled tower with one flat cement altar table. Standing in the middle of an outdoor garden, it is used only once a year on a certain day in January for the New Year ceremony, *p'och'e*. *Poch'e* is a solemn ceremony to worship the deity, *P'ocheshin*, who symbolically represents the Confucian deity that governs the village. In order to avoid the noise of animals and human voices, *p'och'e* is conducted after midnight. This ceremony in which only men can participate is carefully prepared by three ritualists, the official village leader (*lijang*) and two other selected village leaders who observe at least one week of abstention from sex and tabooed food as well as from social duties related to the dead or the sick. One ox is sacrificed, and after the ceremony its meat and broth are distributed to every household of the village. Money for the ritual is collected by one village district's residents, and the assignment rotates every year among eight districts. These residents also have to observe food and behavioral taboos until the ceremony ends. However, except the time for the solemn New Year ceremony, *p'och'e tan* remains unattended and nearly forgotten for the rest of the year.

In contrast to *p'och'e tan*, the shamanic shrines (*tang*) are well attended and constantly visited by the *simbangs* and their clients for private ceremonies rather than collective ceremonies. There are four *tang*: the Original Shrine (*ponhyang tang*) where the primary tutelary deity resides, the cave shrine for the powerful male diety, and two shrines for female deities who take care of fishermen and divers, and guard against children's disease. These four deities are related to each other as a family: the primary tutelary deity is the noble-class wife to the

male deity for fishermen who has also the two female deities against children's disease as his second wives; and the cave shrine deity is the adopted son of the primary tutelary deity. Marked by a 300-year-old elm tree and a flat rectangular concrete table altar, the *ponhyang tang* is big enough for seatings of more than 50 people. This shrine has an open space with a narrow entrance, approximately 10-foot-long, without a door.

In terms of ceremonial participation, as *poche* is an exclusively male collective ceremony, *tangche* is an exclusively female ceremony. There are four shrine ceremonies (*tangche*) in a year: the New Year Greeting Ceremony (*sin kwaseche*) on January 12, the *Kut* for Divers (*chamsu kut*) on March 8, the Cleaning Fungus Ceremony (*mabulimche*) on July 7, and the Thanksgiving Harvest Ceremony (*simankok taechae*) on September 14. Among the five "village *simbangs* (*tongne simbang*)," the one priestly *simbang* (*tang maein simbang*) must officiate the New Year Greeting Ceremony. There are five *simbangs* in the Kosalmi village, one male and four female *simbangs*. The one male *simbang* who is in his fifties is the priestly *simbang*, and the rest of the (female) *simbangs* are supposed to assist the priestly *simbang* during the major collective ceremonies at the shrines. On behalf of his priestly prestige, the priestly *simbang* tends to have more clients than other *simbangs*. Until ten years before, *tang maein simbang* was subsidised as "the shrine priest" (*tang-jigi*) by a sack of millet and barley twice a year seasonally which were donated by villagers. The grain is called *kahogok*. However, this obligatory collection of grain for the *simbang* no longer exists, and the *simbangs'* payment has been replaced by cash on an individual basis.

Client Hierarchy: *Tan'gol*

The villagers of Kosalmi call the shrine deity with reverence and awe in the name of the ancestors (*chosang*) or grandmother and grandfather (*halmang* and *harubang*). Whenever they visit the shrine, they refer to it as "going to see our ancestor" (*tang e chosang porŏ kanda*)." As an offering for these "ancestors", the villagers prepare a special bowl of rice or barley (*kojang ssal*) for the shrine deities. This bowl of grain is saved from the first harvest or from every sack of grain the household purchases, and is kept in a jar all year long. This rice is used only for ritual occasions. When people offer this bowl of grain, they speak to the shrine deities: "I offer it to the ancestor (*chosang*)."

This kinship relationship between the shrine deities and the villagers is also shown in the ceremonial hierarchy among the village clients or *tan'gol*, who worship the shrine deities: *sang tan'gol* [the high client], *chung tan'gol* [the middle client], *ha tan'gol* [the low client], and *chemin tan'gol* [the rest of clients]. This hierarchy is ordered by clan and not by individual status. Until recent times, the village was a kinship-based society where patrilineal descent was of fundamental importance, and this ceremonial hierarchy was identical with the social class hierarchy. For instance, the Kimhae Kim clan was the dominant group in Kosalmi. The Kim clan members are 350 people of 150 households among 439 total households of several other surname groups in the village (Kang Tae-won 1979; Park Su-yang 1985). Besides being the largest group, the Kim clan is also *sang tan'gol*, the highest client group for the village shrine, which is respected as the founder of the shrine. As the symbolic owner of the shrine spot, the Kim clan holds the symbolic door key of the collective shrine ceremonies. Any transgressor who enters the shrine grounds before the initial announcement by this clan risks punishment by the shrine deity. During the ceremonies, only after the representative (usually the eldest daughter-in-law) of this Kim clan offers a

Client Hierarchy: *Tan'gol*

The villagers of Kosalmi call the shrine deity with reverence and awe in the name of the ancestors (*chosang*) or grandmother and grandfather (*halmang* and *harubang*). Whenever they visit the shrine, they refer to it as "going to see our ancestor" (*tang e chosang porŏ kanda*)." As an offering for these "ancestors", the villagers prepare a special bowl of rice or barley (*kojang ssal*) for the shrine deities. This bowl of grain is saved from the first harvest or from every sack of grain the household purchases, and is kept in a jar all year long. This rice is used only for ritual occasions. When people offer this bowl of grain, they speak to the shrine deities: "I offer it to the ancestor (*chosang*)."

This kinship relationship between the shrine deities and the villagers is also shown in the ceremonial hierarchy among the village clients or *tan'gol*, who worship the shrine deities: *sang tan'gol* [the high client], *chung tan'gol* [the middle client], *ha tan'gol* [the low client], and *chemin tan'gol* [the rest of clients]. This hierarchy is ordered by clan and not by individual status. Until recent times, the village was a kinship-based society where patrilineal descent was of fundamental importance, and this ceremonial hierarchy was identical with the social class hierarchy. For instance, the Kimhae Kim clan was the dominant group in Kosalmi. The Kim clan members are 350 people of 150 households among 439 total households of several other surname groups in the village (Kang Tae-won 1979; Park Su-yang 1985). Besides being the largest group, the Kim clan is also *sang tan'gol*, the highest client group for the village shrine, which is respected as the founder of the shrine. As the symbolic owner of the shrine spot, the Kim clan holds the symbolic door key of the collective shrine ceremonies. Any transgressor who enters the shrine grounds before the initial announcement by this clan risks punishment by the shrine deity. During the ceremonies, only after the representative (usually the eldest daughter-in-law) of this Kim clan offers a

rice bowl (*hojang ssal*) and makes a libation to the shrine deity and announces that the shrine door is open, can the rest of villagers worship at the shrine.

The headman of the Kim clan has decision-making power over the issues and disputes about the village shrines and *simbangs* in charge of ceremony performances. The official village leader, *lijang*, can offer his opinion in negotiations but never holds the determining authority on matters relating to the shrines. Accordingly, the dual structure of village collective rituals--Confucian *p'oeche* and shamanic *tangche*, is reflected similarly in the secular dimension of the political authority relations--traditional and modern leadership.

But as population movement increases due to better education opportunities and various alternative means of making a living in island cities and also on the mainland, the old village hierarchy among clan groups based on the temporal order of settlement has lost its binding force for the village society. Although the Kim clan still remains the dominant social group in terms of numbers and kinship ties, their high social position is based on wealth and decision-making power, and stems from their official positions in the village political and social organization, and not from the ceremonial hierarchy. However, ceremonial hierarchy, which is reaffirmed every time the shrine myth is recited, remains a prestige system. On occasions such as funerals and weddings or collective ceremonies such as *p'oeche*, the traditional village leaders including members of the Kim clan are invited to supervise the ceremonies.

Leadership and Social Organization

The official village leaders are elected by the villagers. A village has one representative leader, *lijang*. He has a two-year appointment. As the head of the Village Association (*hyang whoe*), he mediates between villagers, government organizations, and cooperatives of farmers, fishermen, divers, and stockmen of the

rice bowl (*hojang ssal*) and makes a libation to the shrine deity and announces that the shrine door is open, can the rest of villagers worship at the shrine.

The headman of the Kim clan has decision-making power over the issues and disputes about the village shrines and *simbangs* in charge of ceremony performances. The official village leader, *lijang*, can offer his opinion in negotiations but never holds the determining authority on matters relating to the shrines. Accordingly, the dual structure of village collective rituals--Confucian *p'oeche* and shamanic *tangche*, is reflected similarly in the secular dimension of the political authority relations--traditional and modern leadership.

But as population movement increases due to better education opportunities and various alternative means of making a living in island cities and also on the mainland, the old village hierarchy among clan groups based on the temporal order of settlement has lost its binding force for the village society. Although the Kim clan still remains the dominant social group in terms of numbers and kinship ties, their high social position is based on wealth and decision-making power, and stems from their official positions in the village political and social organization, and not from the ceremonial hierarchy. However, ceremonial hierarchy, which is reaffirmed every time the shrine myth is recited, remains a prestige system. On occasions such as funerals and weddings or collective ceremonies such as *p'oeche*, the traditional village leaders including members of the Kim clan are invited to supervise the ceremonies.

Leadership and Social Organization

The official village leaders are elected by the villagers. A village has one representative leader, *lijang*. He has a two-year appointment. As the head of the Village Association (*hyang whoe*), he mediates between villagers, government organizations, and cooperatives of farmers, fishermen, divers, and stockmen of the

village collective ranch. He also supervises the collective Confucian ceremony (*poche*) for the deity of villages, in which only male leaders participate. (This deity is distinguished from the deity of village shrines which are worshipped exclusively by women.) He gets a little pay for his service from the villagers. But his leadership role affords him has very important privileges besides respect and authority, for example, in getting government loans for buying a boat, remodelling his house, or improving his farming methods.

As village societies have increasing contacts with the outside through transportation and administrative facilities, village politics and economy become more dependent on external financial sources such as the government's lavish loans for promoting the maintenance of agricultural and fishing practices and also innovative farming techniques like risk-taking cash crop experiments. Established by the government in 1969 as an advisory organization, *lijang* is the Village Council for Development. It is made up of the eight heads of the neighborhood associations (*panjang*), one selected for each subsection of the village, and each serving a one year non-salaried term. This Council decides what activities the village as a whole should pursue, such as voting, mending roads, laying sewers, renovating outdoor toilets (which were used also for pig raising) for sanitary purposes, or managing the five village warehouses.

The village social structure is internally organized by interest groups composed mainly of non-kinship fraternal associations (*chinmok whoe*) and age group associations (*tongkap kye*). These groups are basically organized as mutual aid groups among men or women of the same age group. Most of villagers are linked up into one or two associations. The members of these groups play the role of fictive kin to one another as sworn brothers and sisters. There are many more women's age-groups than men's age-groups. Whereas women's age-groups tend to

focus on emotional support and mutual aid in family affairs, men's groups have more direct influence on village politics beyond family concerns.

Although men and women organize gender-exclusive associations, they together form a fictive kinship network as a family. Commonly, they call each other elder or younger brothers and sisters and participate in each other's *chesa*, ancestral memorial services. They are of great assistance to one another, particularly at weddings and funerals. They bring significantly greater amounts of rice or money (*pujo*) to these ceremonies, compared with neighbors and relatives, and do most of the labor. Especially in the case of *chinmok whoe*, they have a written set of rules for meetings and memberships. They gather monthly and collect membership fees and deposit them in the bank for future use as scholarships for the members' children who go to college-level schools. Besides this internal mutual aid among members, *chinmok whoe* play a role in informal village leadership, forming public opinions about village development and moral purification, i.e., the reduction of violent fights caused by the drinking of alcohol on the beach in the summer season. Because of the significant political power exercised by *chinmok whoe*, sometimes there are conflicts of interests among different groups.

This mutual aid system among the members of informal groups is one instance of the institution of the *sunulŭm* or "working together" (*ŏullyŏ ilhanda*). *Sunulŭm* is a traditional system of ritual exchange of labor and social duties. The word comes from a verb, *sunulda*, to share or divide. Thus *sunulŭm* means a formal debt or obligation that every member of a designated group must perform for all the other members of the group. These days the word *sunulŭm* is mostly used for exchange of farm labor such as ploughing and weeding. Depending on the intensity of work and time consumption there are specified requirements for *sunulŭm*: for instance, one day of work of ploughing equals four days of weeding.

One day of weeding is exchanged mutually one for one among the five to six *sunulŭm* members. Weeding is the major item of exchange. Because weeding takes the most work and time in the Cheju type of farming that is practiced where surface soil only slightly covers the rocky ground, the institution of *sunulŭm* is important in village economic life. This exchange is organized more often among neighbors than among kin groups.

Family, Kinship, and Marriage

The typical type of Cheju family is a conjugal and nuclear family, which consists of a married couple and their unmarried children, instead of the patrilineal extended family common in mainland Korea (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979; Cho Haejoang 1979). Upon marriage, all sons move out and set up a separate household of their own. The rule of inheritance stipulates equal sharing among sons. This rule supports the relative independence of their conjugal families. Except for the ceremonial duties of *chesa*, or ancestral memorial service, virtually everything necessary for starting-up a new family, such as a house, land, furniture, farming tools, and livestock, are inherited. Daughters get a dowry of furniture as a share of the inheritance. The eldest son inherits *chesa* duties and its accompanying land called the ancestor's spot (*chosang chŏn*). Even in the case that the newly wed couple lives in the same household as their parents, they live in a separate building and cook separately. If the children, sons in particular, live in the same village, they are supposed to help with their parents' livelihood.

In Cheju a person is identified as a member of his or her patrilineage. Although household headships, property, names, and responsibility for performing *chesa* are all inherited through the patrilineal line, patriarchal authority is weak. The relative weakness of the Confucian idea of mutual avoidance between men and women and also heavy demand for women's work such as weeding may be the

One day of weeding is exchanged mutually one for one among the five to six *sunulŭm* members. Weeding is the major item of exchange. Because weeding takes the most work and time in the Cheju type of farming that is practiced where surface soil only slightly covers the rocky ground, the institution of *sunulŭm* is important in village economic life. This exchange is organized more often among neighbors than among kin groups.

Family, Kinship, and Marriage

The typical type of Cheju family is a conjugal and nuclear family, which consists of a married couple and their unmarried children, instead of the patrilineal extended family common in mainland Korea (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979; Cho Haejoang 1979). Upon marriage, all sons move out and set up a separate household of their own. The rule of inheritance stipulates equal sharing among sons. This rule supports the relative independence of their conjugal families. Except for the ceremonial duties of *chesa*, or ancestral memorial service, virtually everything necessary for starting-up a new family, such as a house, land, furniture, farming tools, and livestock, are inherited. Daughters get a dowry of furniture as a share of the inheritance. The eldest son inherits *chesa* duties and its accompanying land called the ancestor's spot (*chosang chŏn*). Even in the case that the newly wed couple lives in the same household as their parents, they live in a separate building and cook separately. If the children, sons in particular, live in the same village, they are supposed to help with their parents' livelihood.

In Cheju a person is identified as a member of his or her patrilineage. Although household headships, property, names, and responsibility for performing *chesa* are all inherited through the patrilineal line, patriarchal authority is weak. The relative weakness of the Confucian idea of mutual avoidance between men and women and also heavy demand for women's work such as weeding may be the

reason for this less strict role differentiation between husband and wife in general. With respect to decision-making on domestic affairs, consensus between husband and wife is highly valued (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979: 100-107). There has been a theory about the "matrifocal" family, particularly in the case of the female divers' families (Cho Haejoang 1979;1983).² Although this theory cannot be applied unequivocally to the Cheju family type, it confirms the uniqueness of Cheju culture and society which shows a relative absence of the Confucian tradition which has taken the dominant ideological position for hundreds of years in Korea (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979).

Mutual assistance through the kinship network is an important form of collaboration in social life. Especially, brothers and patrilineal male relatives up to eight *ch'on* cooperate in performing *chesa*. Women in the same patrilineal family also form intimate collaboration groups, calling each other *tongso*. Like sworn sisters, they support one another emotionally as well as economically, helping one another prepare *chesa*, weed and harvest farmland, and market.

As on the Korean mainland, lineage exogamy is strictly practiced as a marriage rule. In Cheju, however, village endogamy is more frequent. Consequently, the people maintain close relationships with their maternal kinsmen, living in the same village in everyday life. Kin ties are bilateral. The same kinship terminology is used for kinsmen on both sides. The cooperative activities among kinsmen follow the same pattern. After marriage, a married couple settles in the domicile of the husband's family. But this virilocal residence rule is flexible. When there are no practical advantages to living in the husband's village, the couple may decide to settle in the wife's village instead. If a man has not inherited any property from his parents, for example, newly-weds may profit by settling in the wife's village where the wife can earn income from diving, particularly in the villages of women divers (Cho Haejoang 1983:87).

Romantic marriage is more common than arranged marriage. Confucian sexual avoidance between men and women is weak in the island. Under the weak patriarchy in a conjugal and nuclear family, marriage is decided by individual choice, and divorce and remarriage are quite frequent. Many islanders have experienced divorce and remarriage at least once (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979). It is not uncommon that divorces are initiated by wives rather than husbands. Cheju women are well known for their independent and self-reliant spirit. Their technique of diving and concomittent economic self-sufficiency enables them to act without hesitation (Cho Haejoang 1979).

***Chesa* and Ancestor Worship**

Chesa, or ancestral memorial services, serve as the focal point for family rituals and kinship activities. All patrilineal ancestors within four generations are worshipped. Sometimes, maternal side ancestors are also worshipped in cases where there are no male descendants. Although the formal obligation of *chesa* is inherited by the eldest son, other sons can inherit minor status ancestors. In addition, I saw one case in which their mother served *chesa* for the spirit of her husband, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law.

As Cheju people often boast of their solemn and proper performance of *chesa*, *chesa* takes a significant position in their social and religious practices (Cho Haejoang 1979; Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979). The ideological significance of Cheju ancestor worship, *chesa*, is well demonstrated in a particular system of adoption and ghost marriage (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979:219-244). In Cheju, ghost marriage is a prevalent custom. Those who died at 15 to 16 years of age without marrying often are used for this kind of marriage. In principle, the purpose of the marriage is to prevent the family line from being discontinued. But the more important purpose is to prevent the spirit of the unmarried dead man from wandering

around in the void between this world and the other world without receiving *chesa*. The unmarried dead man or woman is greatly feared for their potential malice resulting from their unfulfilled initiation to adulthood. However, we must take note of more than this in the practice; the spirit of the dead has no offspring who can offer *chesa* to him. Thus, even divorced men without children and divorcees also often go through the ghost marriage, precisely ghost remarriage. The procedure of the wedding ceremony in this case is almost the same as that of the living ones, and the relationship between both families of bride and bridegroom is also similar to that of the normal marriage alliances.

The practice of adoption is directly linked to ghost marriage. It is conducted as a device for actualization of ancestral rites. The adoption is arranged after the death of the adopted father instead of during his lifetime which is the common custom on the mainland. Even an unmarried dead man can adopt his heir after ghost marriage. Therefore, the purpose of adoption is not to get financial support during old age, but to guarantee the *continuity of ancestral rites*.

The significance of this "continuity of *chesa*" has for Cheju people is well expressed in a rather unusual case history of ghost marriage summarized below. Usually ghost marriage is arranged between a dead man and a dead woman regardless of marriage status in their life time. But, this case story is concerned with a ghost marriage between a living woman and a dead man (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979:236-238). A fifty-year old woman living alone without children married a dead man who had never married and had disappeared as a teenager in Japan. Although it is not known whether he was dead or not, his elder brother regarded him as dead and has offered a regular memorial service on his birthday. But this dead man needed a geneological son who could offer *chesa* properly. Therefore, the adoption of the son of his distant cousin was arranged. In order to have an

adopted son, he needed to be married. So that lonely woman who was once married but was without offspring was contacted. She also needed an adopted son who would offer her *chesa* after her death.

At this point, a question arises: Why this almost obsessive concern with "continuity of *chesa*" and "receiving or offering *chesa*" after death? In a sense, Cheju people's intensive concern with a geneological "continuity of *chesa*" seems to resemble the patrilineal Confucian ideology of ancestor worship. However, their self-consciously strict observance of *chesa*, which is the prime moral code of Confucianism, seems ironical in contrast to the relative absence of other Confucian traditions on the island. For example, village endogamy, bilateral kinship ties, the lack of sexual avoidance between men and women, and the permissableness of divorce and remarriage are all non-Confucian customs (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979:336). It seems that this anxious concern with a patrilineal "continuity of *chesa*" maintained through the artificial means of adoption and ghost marriage serves to recapitulate deep desire of both the dead and the living for "receiving or offering *chesa*." Rather than a normative observance of ancestral rites, emotions such as fear and vengeance are more deeply expressed in the Cheju rites of ancestor worship. Cheju people are more concerned with "the other worldly realm", where they believe the spirits of the dead live, than with their life in this world. People's fear of the potential malevolence of the spirits of those dead whose deaths are violent and who are thus asocial has a historical origin in the Cheju case. Hyŏn Yong-jun (1983) has suggested that Cheju shamanism has a different type of ancestor worship than Confucian ancestor worship. The difference lies in the fact that Cheju people have a strong belief in the spirits of the dead which goes beyond the idea that their geneological position must be revered. Cheju *simbangs*' ritual lamentations and healing rites mediate Cheju people's perceptions of death and ancestors.

Notes to Chapter 3

¹From growing oranges and other exotic fruits such as pineapple and kiwi in greenhouses, Cheju farmers in general earn the highest income per capita in Korea (Hyŏn Hak-sun 1983).

²Cho Haejoang's theory of the "matrifocal" family is based on her ethnographic research in a female divers' village on Cow Island in the adjacent northeast sea nearby Cheju (1979;1983). What she means by matrifocal family is the family in which the mother is ideologically and structurally central. Mothers are the breadwinners, who insure comfortable lives for members of their families and finance their children's formal education.

Romantic marriage is more common than arranged marriage. Confucian sexual avoidance between men and women is weak in the island. Under the weak patriarchy in a conjugal and nuclear family, marriage is decided by individual choice, and divorce and remarriage are quite frequent. Many islanders have experienced divorce and remarriage at least once (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979). It is not uncommon that divorces are initiated by wives rather than husbands. Cheju women are well known for their independent and self-reliant spirit. Their technique of diving and concomittent economic self-sufficiency enables them to act without hesitation (Cho Haejoang 1979).

***Chesa* and Ancestor Worship**

Chesa, or ancestral memorial services, serve as the focal point for family rituals and kinship activities. All patrilineal ancestors within four generations are worshipped. Sometimes, maternal side ancestors are also worshipped in cases where there are no male descendants. Although the formal obligation of *chesa* is inherited by the eldest son, other sons can inherit minor status ancestors. In addition, I saw one case in which their mother served *chesa* for the spirit of her husband, sister-in-law, and mother-in-law.

As Cheju people often boast of their solemn and proper performance of *chesa*, *chesa* takes a significant position in their social and religious practices (Cho Haejoang 1979; Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979). The ideological significance of Cheju ancestor worship, *chesa*, is well demonstrated in a particular system of adoption and ghost marriage (Ch'oe Che-sŏk 1979:219-244). In Cheju, ghost marriage is a prevalent custom. Those who died at 15 to 16 years of age without marrying often are used for this kind of marriage. In principle, the purpose of the marriage is to prevent the family line from being discontinued. But the more important purpose is to prevent the spirit of the unmarried dead man from wandering

CHAPTER 4

SHRINES, ANCESTORS, AND HISTORIES

Two foreign anthropologists and I entered a shrine at a coastal village. We stepped over the two stairs of the entrance which looked recently cemented. There were only two nettle trees and altars made of several wide flat stones, and a small ground for ritual gatherings. It was around noon, and the surroundings were quiet and peaceful. The sky was the high and transparent blue of September. The shrine was surrounded by stone walls of human height, standing out from rather flat surrounding fields. I was familiar with this shrine because I visited here before, during the New Year Shrine Ceremony. The foreign anthropologists seemed to feel at ease and took pictures of each corner of the shrine. I was standing there to watch outside. Suddenly a young woman appeared over the stone wall and asked why we came to see "her grandmother and grandfather." I explained to her we were interested in her religious tradition and examining the shrine. She did not enter in, but was watching us for a while with cautious eyes. Another woman passer-by asked her what she was doing here. She replied to her, "I came to see the ancestor (*chosang*). I am just checking on what these strangers are doing at the shrine (*tang*)."

Soon I felt uneasy and ashamed of intruding on their sacred shrines of ancestral Grandmothers and Grandfathers. I hurried to leave the shrine.

Cheju Island is the land of shrines, and the shrines are the lands of ancestors. Just as I and other anthropologists have done like in the episode above, outsiders, from the mainland and abroad, have visited and invaded this

island. The history of Cheju Island is the story of this contact and conflict between the natives' and the outsiders' conceptions of this land. This history of conflict also overlap with the history of Cheju as a border, of the geo-political position in which the Cheju people live and lament.

A Borderland

Located some 50 miles below the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula, and about twice that from the nearest tip of Japan, Cheju Island is the southern-most border of Korea. The geo-political reality of Cheju's border status is closely bound with the particular social conditions of Cheju society. This chapter has two folds. First, this describes the process in which Cheju Island is placed and constructed as a *border* in the landscape of history, the history of violence in particular that may represent the sense of place and self of the indigenous people. Secondly, this shows how this history of a border develops in confrontations with the history of shrines and ancestral deities.

Originally Cheju was an independent tribal state, called variously Yongju, T'akla, T'ammora, or T'amna; T'amna is the most popular term used until now.¹ In the origin myths, the T'amna Kingdom was founded by three brother deities representing three major clan groups in the island, Ko, Yang, and Pu. According to the genealogical records of the three clans (Yang Chung-hae 1970), the deities were born in B.C. 65. It was not a natural birth. They arose from the crater of Mt. Halla. Because there is no mention of their parents, their mythical births were autogenic. They lived by hunting deer and roe deer. They married three princesses who drifted to the shore and began farming with five grain seeds each of the princesses brought with them, and settled down in three separate villages. Most likely, the actual indigenous people of Cheju probably consisted of exiles or runaways from the mainland and drifters off of shipwrecks from various countries

island. The history of Cheju Island is the story of this contact and conflict between the natives' and the outsiders' conceptions of this land. This history of conflict also overlap with the history of Cheju as a border, of the geo-political position in which the Cheju people live and lament.

A Borderland

Located some 50 miles below the southernmost tip of the Korean peninsula, and about twice that from the nearest tip of Japan, Cheju Island is the southern-most border of Korea. The geo-political reality of Cheju's border status is closely bound with the particular social conditions of Cheju society. This chapter has two folds. First, this describes the process in which Cheju Island is placed and constructed as a *border* in the landscape of history, the history of violence in particular that may represent the sense of place and self of the indigenous people. Secondly, this shows how this history of a border develops in confrontations with the history of shrines and ancestral deities.

Originally Cheju was an independent tribal state, called variously Yongju, T'akla, T'ammora, or T'amna; T'amna is the most popular term used until now.¹ In the origin myths, the T'amna Kingdom was founded by three brother deities representing three major clan groups in the island, Ko, Yang, and Pu. According to the genealogical records of the three clans (Yang Chung-hae 1970), the deities were born in B.C. 65. It was not a natural birth. They arose from the crater of Mt. Halla. Because there is no mention of their parents, their mythical births were autogenic. They lived by hunting deer and roe deer. They married three princesses who drifted to the shore and began farming with five grain seeds each of the princesses brought with them, and settled down in three separate villages. Most likely, the actual indigenous people of Cheju probably consisted of exiles or runaways from the mainland and drifters off of shipwrecks from various countries

such as China, Japan, Okinawa, and Vietnam. The Cheju dialect shows traces of the different cultural origins of islanders: it is a unique combination of ancient Korean and Japanese languages (Hyŏn P'yŏng-hyo 1962). In fact, the T'amna Kingdom carried out broad diplomatic relationships with those countries through the offering of formal tributes to the kingdoms of the peninsula and through the exchange of formal visits with China, Japan, and Okinawa (Kim T'ae-nŭng 1970).²

Cheju maintained political and cultural autonomy until the early twelfth century when it was completely subjugated by the mainland state. Before then, the T'amna Kingdom was ruled by an indigenous king and several princes who formed a federation of separate estates owned by major clan groups. The kingship was not strictly inherited along the blood line of a single dominant family. In 938, however, the T'amna kingdom became integrated into the Koryŏ dynasty when the king of T'amna, Ko Cha-kyŏn, sent a prince to attend the Royal court and pledged to the new ruler of the mainland an official tribute regularly every generation. In exchange for the tribute, the Koryŏ royal court offered noble titles to the princes and local elites. As a result, the kingship (*kug'ju*) of Ko Cha-kyŏn was reduced to the lower rank of the feudal lord, *sŏngju*, and the princes to the military as only honorary generals. These amicable exchanges of titles and tributes were indeed the pacification strategy of the Koryŏ dynastic ruler which partly colonized the island (Cheju-si 1985; Yang Jung-hae 1970).

Gradually the T'amna Kingdom came under the direct control of the Koryŏ dynasty. In 1105, its status was degraded into one of a local province (*kun*). As all administrative authority was transferred to the official appointed by the central government, the lord and princes were left with only titles, which symbolized T'amna's previous cultural heritage. The T'amna Kingdom was virtually incorporated into the centralized bureaucracy of the mainland kingdom.

In spite of this administrative reform, the T'amna was still treated respectfully by the royal court as a half-independent colony, maintaining its political autonomy. This colonial status was abused by the Chinese Yuan imperial armies when they occupied the island, claiming their colony had deliberately separated itself from the mainland. At that time, the Yuan dynasty occupied the Koryŏ kingdom after thirty years of warfare. For over one hundred years (1275-1369) the Yuan royal court directly controlled T'amna, using it as a pasture to raise horses exclusively for the imperial family and for the military, in preparation for Yuan's invasion of Japan. For this purpose specifically, the Yuan armies established the Office for Subjugation, and exploited the labor of all islanders, including women, as slaves. During this period the Cheju people's enmity against foreign colonial forces became deeply rooted in the indigenous culture of resistance and separatism that typified the island later in history as the island of rebellions (Cheju-si 1985:162).

Nevertheless, the total break-down of the T'amna Kingdom occurred in 1402, when the king and a prince dedicated their noble titles of lordship to the new ruler of the Yi dynasty in the mainland. The highly centralized bureaucracy of the Yi dynasty, established after the Koryŏ dynasty in 1392 with the Confucian ruling ideology exercising a strong internal colonization policy on the Tamna kingdom. For the first time on this island official registers of slaves were made, and after a land survey in 1413, taxes were imposed. Even worse, in 1445, the official ranks of the king and princes as symbolic local rulers (*t'ojikwan*), which had substituted for their previous lordships, became completely invalid. They became commoners. At that moment, the sovereignty of the Tamna as an independent state ended (Cheju-si 1985:164).

For eight hundred years, from the early twelfth century when the Tamna was incorporated into the mainland state to the end of the Yi dynasty, there were five hundred administrators who governed the island (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986; Cheju-do

1982). Most of them were commonly characterized as corrupt and exploitative by the native historians who wrote official history. Even local elites and powerful figures whose influence was not strong enough to withstand the corruption of the governors cooperated with them. This political and economic exploitation aggravated the destitution of the indigenous people who already suffered from harsh natural conditions and the poor productivity of the volcanic soil. Many people escaped from the island and lived on the sea as pirates or wandered about the mainland. No soldiers or laborers for building a fortress and the tribute offerers could be found in the land. As the situation worsened, the central regime imposed the Law of Exit Ban on all islanders, especially women, in 1629. This exit ban was not abolished until 1830. The people lived virtually in a prison (Yang Sun-pil 1984).

Cheju Island was not only a tacit prison for all islanders, it was also used as an open air prison for political exiles. Since it had been subjugated by the mainland dynastic state, it had degenerated into a land of the persecuted and abandoned. (In a sense, even the governors who were sent down from the central regime could belong to such a category.) Cheju Island was treated as a colony of exile. Precisely speaking, the island was made a border of internal feudal politics, as well as a southern military border afflicted with a heavy burden as a military fortress against the invasion of Japanese pirates. As the title of a historical novel that reconstructs a history of an indigenous revolt in 1901 shows (Hyŏn Ki-yŏng 1983), the Cheju people perceive themselves as the crying birds at the border, longing to have their exile lifted and to return to the center, Seoul. In contrast to the image of a Cheju border, Seoul, which is the center of power, became the dominant image of escape and liberation from harsh environments and social and economic oppression (Kim Yŏng-don 1968).

In fact, the imagery of violence pervasive in Cheju history as described in the introduction relates to this spatial imagery of a border and also the indigenous sense of cultural identity as a border people in exile. Populated by the political exiles and their descendants, Cheju was always suspected of harbouring rebels and traitors and thus was continuously under intense surveillance by the central government. The official account of the Yi dynasty commonly described the indigenous people as barbarians with a "rough and rebellious character" who need to be enlightened and civilized by culture, that is, Confucian dominant culture (cf. Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986). Therefore, if any indigenous revolt broke out, it was promptly and severely crushed by the central army to eliminate that imagined seed of sedition. Furthermore, due to its political isolation and geographical distance, violent clashes between the indigenous people and the central officials were carried to their extremity. In such a way, the border embodied the space where the state could try out its martial power. The state's violence erupted freely on the wild frontier of power.³ This Cheju border constituted the frontier where the indigenous tradition of rebellion was created and consistently practiced to subvert the historical reality of violence.

Nevertheless, this image of Cheju Island as the wild frontier infiltrated by violent energy is the officially imagined landscape. The objective history of this border as such consists in imagining the past--a mode of narrativity formed in a particular narrative context, and with textual strategies and devices.⁴ The realist landscape of the history of violence is constructed in the historical context of internal colonialism. On the other hand, the indigenous people imagined this reality and history differently. Their oral traditions such as myths of shrine gods and goddesses present us with the way the indigenous people created their society as the center of world and life, and also perceived the perilous history of a border from that center. The oral traditions use mythic figurations that have

different constitutive elements from the realist historical interpretation. They evolve from the different narrative contexts such as mythic landscapes where the 18,000 deities inhabit in the island, taking a permanent seat at the *tang* shrines and ruling the lives and deaths of the islanders.

Shrines and Identity

Cheju Island is the ancestral land where ancestor-gods have inhabited and built foundations for life and community. Ancestor-gods were the first families of the indigenous people and the first settlers of villages. As these deities are revered as ancestors (*chosang*), the indigenous people are referred to their descendents (*chason*) (Hyon Yong-jun 1982). Therefore the places where these deities dwell are called "the original villages" (*ponhyang*) and are marked as sacred shrines, *tang*. *Tang* was the key institution in the formation of village society and religion. The collective sacrificial rites are regularly performed at shrines by the *simbang* who is appointed as the priest of the shrine (*tang-maein-simbang*) by the villagers. The deity of the *tang* shrine is called "the lord of the original land" (*ponhyang hanjip*) or simply the land official (*t'ojikwan*).⁵ This deity is an omnipotent ruler over the village land, holding the register of the births and deaths of his or her "people" (*paeksŏng*).

In light of the ancient history of Korean shamanism, this notion of supernatural land ownership originates from the notion of a sacred territory or *sodo*, or *pyŏlŭp*, wherein even criminals were protected from retribution by the mystical power surrounding the heaven pole (Kim Inwhoe 1974). The ancestor-descendant relationship between the *ponhyang hanjip* and the villagers embodies the territorial bond of supernatural nationhood centering around the *tang* shrine. The personal identity stemming from this supernatural nationhood does not change even when a villager goes abroad and lives there permanently. These

different constitutive elements from the realist historical interpretation. They evolve from the different narrative contexts such as mythic landscapes where the 18,000 deities inhabit in the island, taking a permanent seat at the *tang* shrines and ruling the lives and deaths of the islanders.

Shrines and Identity

Cheju Island is the ancestral land where ancestor-gods have inhabited and built foundations for life and community. Ancestor-gods were the first families of the indigenous people and the first settlers of villages. As these deities are revered as ancestors (*chosang*), the indigenous people are referred to their descendents (*chason*) (Hyon Yong-jun 1982). Therefore the places where these deities dwell are called "the original villages" (*ponhyang*) and are marked as sacred shrines, *tang*. *Tang* was the key institution in the formation of village society and religion. The collective sacrificial rites are regularly performed at shrines by the *simbang* who is appointed as the priest of the shrine (*tang-maein-simbang*) by the villagers. The deity of the *tang* shrine is called "the lord of the original land" (*ponhyang hanjip*) or simply the land official (*t'ojikwan*).⁵ This deity is an omnipotent ruler over the village land, holding the register of the births and deaths of his or her "people" (*paeksŏng*).

In light of the ancient history of Korean shamanism, this notion of supernatural land ownership originates from the notion of a sacred territory or *sodo*, or *pyŏlŭp*, wherein even criminals were protected from retribution by the mystical power surrounding the heaven pole (Kim Inwhoe 1974). The ancestor-descendant relationship between the *ponhyang hanjip* and the villagers embodies the territorial bond of supernatural nationhood centering around the *tang* shrine. The personal identity stemming from this supernatural nationhood does not change even when a villager goes abroad and lives there permanently. These

mythic rulers of indigenous people have their own life histories, called "the original myths of the lords of the land" (*ponhyang ponp'uri*). In a sense, the epics of local shrine deities that numbered more than 260 and are still recited during the ceremonies reflect the histories of the indigenous people who compose and narrate them. Whenever the priestly *simbangs* of the shrines recite these epics at collective ceremonies, people's histories of ancestral lands are recounted and transmitted from generation to generation.

How do these people's histories of ancestral lands relate to the history of violence represented in the official accounts such as dynastic chronicles? This is the central question of this chapter. I am concerned here with two historical streams of discourse about the spatial imagery. The *tang* shrines constitute the dominant image of mythical landscape wherein the world and life history of shrine deities produce the empowering oral traditions. In contrast, the imagery of a border constitutes the historical landscape of (internal and international) colonial rulers and the dynastic historians that produced the history of violence.

Such a dual structure of spatial imagery--ancestral land and a border--epitomizes the particular history of political dominance on Cheju Island. Cheju history tells of stone statues of human shape that stood guard everywhere on the island (Nemeth 1985). They are popularly known today as 'stone grandfathers' (*tol harubang*). According to Nemeth's interpretation, they were built as part of the Neo-Confucian cosmography during the Yi dynasty times (A.D.1392-1910). The spatial organization of stone guards on Cheju Island was done very systematically following the principle of celestial order and Confucian ethics concerning the good government and virtuous leaders. There are six types of paired stone images which function as guards at the entrance-ways to local human dwellings. The scale of these figures decreases in size-order according to the scale of the place they are guarding: island, city, town, village, farmstead,

and tomb. These six different-sized dwelling units were regarded as sacred seats of virtue or as human sanctuaries (Nemeth 1985:14). In other words, these celestial guardian statues represent the ideal virtuous leaders of government. A cultural geographer, Nemeth's interpretation illustrates the Yi dynasty government's arduous pursuit of Confucian principles for cosmological restructuring of the "virtuous" land. However, they might have been constructed for defensive purposes as well. As Nemeth himself has observed, the fact that this Neo-Confucian celestial cosmography was constructed and preserved much better in remote Cheju than in any other place on the mainland has something to do with the island's political and cultural landscape as a *border*: this island has been under the total control of the central government. Cheju Island's political and military vitality, noticeable in the historical sketch described above, is linked to this official spatial imagery. Its indigenous counterpart is the shamanistic cosmography which is exemplified in the landscape of the ancestral lands which their shrine ancestor-gods inhabit. These two cosmographic principles have always struggled over the political power and supernatural ownership of Cheju land (see Governor Lee Hyŏng-sang's iconoclastic incident later in this chapter).

In a nutshell, focusing on the historical construction of Cheju Island as a border, this chapter describes the way the history of violence is perceived and inscribed in the sense of land and sense of self of the indigenous people by reconstructing their oral narratives along with other written records of historical events to contextualize their contents.⁶ Oral traditions such as origin myths of shrine deities and legends of heroes are not merely a manifestation of a culture like art or religion, but deploy a mode of narrativity, specifically an indigenous narrative tradition. My primary contention in this task of reconstruction is to trace the geneological origin of the history of violence and ground historical pre-

texts of recent nationalist violence which peaked during the April 3rd Event and its aftermath.

On the Production of Historical Discourse

By "history of violence," I mean here an historical discourse that signifies a reality of violence. The reality of violence at the Cheju border does not merely imply actual events experienced in the past, but is invented or structured in a particular language that gives meanings to those event. What Roland Barthes (1970) argued in his article on historical discourse might be suggestive conceptually to clarify my theoretical starting position. While distinguishing historical discourse from "pure and simple" narratives of the past events, Barthes asks a question about the place of 'reality' in the structure of discourse:

It [historical discourse] is reality, but surreptitiously changed into shamefaced meaning: historical discourse does not follow reality, it only signifies it; it asserts at every moment: *this happened*, but the meaning conveyed is only that someone is making that assertion. (1970:154)

As he conclusively contends that "the touchstone of history is not so much reality as intelligibility" (Barthes¹⁹⁷⁰:155), the question of historical discourse presupposes a particular someone's (that is, an historian's) meaning embedded in her or his discursive practices.⁷ In rewriting the history of Cheju people in this chapter, I am under pressure to re-create the meaningfulness of history--the history of violence in particular. This rewriting task involves eliciting a pattern from a succession of events. This attempt to see patterns focuses on the configurational dimension of narrative discourses rather than chronological dimensions. In this discursive dimension, my task of rewriting a history would be to connect and organize "in such a way as to replace the vacuousness of the pure catalogue with *positive meaning*," (Ibid.:153) 'positive' to the extent that the meaning has a capacity for the cultural production of discourse.

texts of recent nationalist violence which peaked during the April 3rd Event and its aftermath.

On the Production of Historical Discourse

By "history of violence," I mean here an historical discourse that signifies a reality of violence. The reality of violence at the Cheju border does not merely imply actual events experienced in the past, but is invented or structured in a particular language that gives meanings to those event. What Roland Barthes (1970) argued in his article on historical discourse might be suggestive conceptually to clarify my theoretical starting position. While distinguishing historical discourse from "pure and simple" narratives of the past events, Barthes asks a question about the place of 'reality' in the structure of discourse:

It [historical discourse] is reality, but surreptitiously changed into shamefaced meaning: historical discourse does not follow reality, it only signifies it; it asserts at every moment: *this happened*, but the meaning conveyed is only that someone is making that assertion. (1970:154)

As he conclusively contends that "the touchstone of history is not so much reality as intelligibility" (Barthes¹⁹⁷⁰:155), the question of historical discourse presupposes a particular someone's (that is, an historian's) meaning embedded in her or his discursive practices.⁷ In rewriting the history of Cheju people in this chapter, I am under pressure to re-create the meaningfulness of history--the history of violence in particular. This rewriting task involves eliciting a pattern from a succession of events. This attempt to see patterns focuses on the configurational dimension of narrative discourses rather than chronological dimensions. In this discursive dimension, my task of rewriting a history would be to connect and organize "in such a way as to replace the vacuousness of the pure catalogue with *positive meaning*," (Ibid.:153) 'positive' to the extent that the meaning has a capacity for the cultural production of discourse.

Nonetheless, history does not remain in a vacuum awaiting the meaningful act of an ethnographic historian. The history of violence represented in the oral narrative forms already contains meaning for someone else beneath this seemingly unemphatic narration or simple chronicle of disconnected events. As the ethnographer engages in the critical (re)writing of an indigenous history, the indigenous narrators of those epics of shrine deities and heroes make writing a critical production of reality; they are the authors of "positive meaning" in history.⁸ Here we might compare the indigenous narrators (mostly simbangs) as producers of discourse to Benjamin's "author as producer." Benjamin notes that it is only as a producer that the writer makes his or her mission "not to report but to struggle; not to play the spectator but to intervene actively" (1978c:223) in the relations of the production of reality within which the writer is positioned. To the extent that they are authors struggling to produce their own history through the consumption and manipulation of the histories produced by outsiders, they are able to resist and rework the forces of the violence of history.⁹

Yet even this positive meaning is not easily textualized in a coherent symbolic system as Geertz would do cogently with the theoretical model of culture as a text (1973). The positive meaning of a particular history is not achieved through monological interpretation by either the ethnographer or the indigenous author. It is produced in the multiple contexts of historical discourses. The "positive" meaning of history is not "autonomous" but contained in the dialogical texts of cultural performances in which the indigenous people, the governing power, and the ethnographer, all with their own various interests, engage in particular historical relations, and contest with one another. As I stated in the introductory chapter, the telling of a meta-story is the task of evoking a positive meaning of history as dialogically produced in polyphonic stories of different traditions--stories of the state, the people, and the ethnographer.

Crucial to such a project is to recognize what Frank Lentricchia has described as those "*histories within history*...[which] thicken and make heterogenous historical textures that tradition and system would homogenize" (Lentricchia 1983; cf. Mullaney 1988:xii) (emphasis mine). Through this line of thought, we can see that not only oral traditions but also indigenous revolts in the last hundred years in Cheju are "the strategic acts," in de Ceauteau's term (1984), of the indigenous people to reappropriate the colonial image of them as rebellious "barbarians" and enact it as the *raison d'être* of their collective resistance that in turn provokes counter-insurgency violence. In short, violence itself serves as a tactical act that creates a positive meaning from indigenous history. In this circuit of violence and counter-violence between the central regime and the Cheju border, those rebellious indigenous people are the producers of violence as well as the authors of a critical "(re)writing" of its history that is constantly rehearsed and renegotiated in their relationship with the internal colonial force.

In order to evoke the indigenous (re)writing of a violent history of Cheju here I deliberately make a critical effort at illuminating the "autonomous domain" of the "indigenous" production of meaning, following Ranajit Guha's definition. (What he means by independent "autonomous domain" is different from a conventional theory of autonomy of meaning as a symbol, capable of producing social forms.) He uses this term when considering the colonial history of Third World countries, asserting that this domain implies "a non-conscious comprehension of history as opposed to the elitist professional historians' conscious comprehension of history". An Indian social historian who has edited a series of subaltern studies of colonial India (1981,1983), Guha illuminates this domain which has evolved from the politics of the people, in contrast to the domain of elite politics. By "the people" he specifies "the subaltern classes and

groups constituting the mass of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country." (1981:4) According to him, the autonomous domain "neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter." He continually suggests a useful definition of the autonomous domain of people's discourse, which is

traditional only in so far as its roots could be traced back to pre-colonial times, but it was by no means archaic in the sense of being outmoded. Far from being destroyed or rendered virtually ineffective, as was elite politics of the traditional type by the intrusion of colonialism, it continued to operate vigorously in spite of the latter, adjusting itself to the conditions prevailing under the Raj and in many respects developing entirely new strains in both form and content. As modern as indigenous elite politics, it was distinguished by its relatively greater depth in time as well as in structure (Guha 1981:4).

In the next section, I will delineate this autonomous domain of the production of historical discourse in which the indigenous people of Cheju island themselves obtain an intelligibility of the history of violence--whether it takes the form of oral narratives or that of rebellious acts.

Landscape of Shrines and Epics of Shrine Gods

According to materials already researched, there are more than 260 *tang* shrines throughout the island (Chang Chu-gŭn 1973; Hyŏn Yong-jun 1964, 1974b, 1979a). This amounts to one to two shrines at a single village on average and five shrines at a maximum. *Tang* is the sacred place where a shrine deity (*hanjip*) resides, and sacrificial ceremonies are performed on a regular basis. *Tang* shrines are usually located outside, either in the middle of fields or at the seashore, distant from the residential area because divine gods dislike human noise and cock-crows. Their locations are marked by a tree, stone walls, a rock, or cave. The stone altars are set under trees. Sometimes shrines have a house wherein the priestly *simbangs* keep precious offerings such as colorful silk cloths or imitation pearl necklaces from their worshippers, who are called *tan'gol*. There

groups constituting the mass of the labouring population and the intermediate strata in town and country." (1981:4) According to him, the autonomous domain "neither originated from elite politics nor did its existence depend on the latter." He continually suggests a useful definition of the autonomous domain of people's discourse, which is

traditional only in so far as its roots could be traced back to pre-colonial times, but it was by no means archaic in the sense of being outmoded. Far from being destroyed or rendered virtually ineffective, as was elite politics of the traditional type by the intrusion of colonialism, it continued to operate vigorously in spite of the latter, adjusting itself to the conditions prevailing under the Raj and in many respects developing entirely new strains in both form and content. As modern as indigenous elite politics, it was distinguished by its relatively greater depth in time as well as in structure (Guha 1981:4).

In the next section, I will delineate this autonomous domain of the production of historical discourse in which the indigenous people of Cheju island themselves obtain an intelligibility of the history of violence--whether it takes the form of oral narratives or that of rebellious acts.

Landscape of Shrines and Epics of Shrine Gods

According to materials already researched, there are more than 260 *tang* shrines throughout the island (Chang Chu-gŭn 1973; Hyŏn Yong-jun 1964, 1974b, 1979a). This amounts to one to two shrines at a single village on average and five shrines at a maximum. *Tang* is the sacred place where a shrine deity (*hanjip*) resides, and sacrificial ceremonies are performed on a regular basis. *Tang* shrines are usually located outside, either in the middle of fields or at the seashore, distant from the residential area because divine gods dislike human noise and cock-crows. Their locations are marked by a tree, stone walls, a rock, or cave. The stone altars are set under trees. Sometimes shrines have a house wherein the priestly *simbangs* keep precious offerings such as colorful silk cloths or imitation pearl necklaces from their worshippers, who are called *tan'gol*. There

are three classes of *tan'gol*, the higher, the middle, and the lower groups of villagers, distinguished by clan groups which achieved their class according to the order of their settlement in the village. The higher *tan'gol* takes care of the shrine for cleaning the altar and mowing the surrounding areas. No animal or person, except the shrine-appointed priestly *simbang* or a worshipper with a ceremonial purpose, can enter and use the shrines without divine punishment. (See Chapter 3 for the detailed description about the religious life at the village level.)

In a village, only one shrine is called *ponhyang tang*, the shrine of an original ancestor. This original ancestor or *ponhyang* is the lord of village land and also the sacred focal point of solidarity and permanence of cultural identity for the villagers. Whenever the villagers move to other places, they carry this supernatural identity of *ponhyang* with them and memorize it at shamanic rites. Shrines other than *ponhyang tang* are established for the deities of the sea, or the deities of children's diseases of the skin and the eye. These deities are related to each other by marriage and family relations such as husband and wife or mother and adopted son. In terms of social function of shrine deities, the origin myths of shrine deities (*ponp'uri*) are divided into four groups, and each group is associated with the proper name of a *tang* shrine (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1964). The four groups (whose numbers are in the brackets, indicating the number of myths first and the number of shrines next) are the shrines of the deities of the sea (17/26), the shrines of *ponhyang* (62/92), the shrines of the seventh ceremonial day (*ch'il'il tang*) (90),¹⁰ and the shrines of the eighth ceremonial day (*p'al'il tang*) (22)--in total 191 *tang* and 230 deities. The first groups of deities control sea resources and the well-being of the divers and fishermen. The second groups are the lords of village lands and supernatural ministrators of villagers. The third groups of deities are in charge of children's diseases from environmental causes such as

diarrhea, eye diseases, and asthma. The fourth group of deities are related to the wealth and prosperity of the worshipers. Not every village has four groups of deities, but any village has at least one *ponhyang tang*. I here focus more on the lords of the land, *ponhyang*, and their origin myths, *ponhyang ponp'uri*. The *ponhyang* groups are again divided into three groups, depending on the places where *ponhyang* originate: the descendant deities (17) of Songtang village (which refers to the first village of the first divine family), the purely indigenous deities (28), who arose from the crater of Mt. Halla, and foreign-born deities (17) (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1970a).

Among many resident simbangs, usually four or five in a village including novices, one simbang is appointed as the priestly shaman, *tang main simbang*, whose title is inherited through generations. Other simbangs can use shrines for individual rites but not for collective ceremonies. The priestly simbang officiates at four major annual ceremonies, in January for the beginning of year, in February for greeting the visitor god from the sea and for good harvest at the sea, in July for releasing horses and cows in the field, and in September for thanksgiving of good harvest. As the spiritual center, the shrine deities control the villagers' daily lives. During the shrine ceremonies, the religious solemnity expected is never abstract and aloof from an ordinary sensibility to human affairs. The epic stories of shrine deities and mythic figures recited by the simbang are intertwined with the living myths related to the ordinary fears and anxieties of the worshippers.

In this sense, the origin myths of deities (*ponp'uri*) are not the solitary product of the oral narrator, the simbang. They are the changing literature that is produced through the collective consciousness of the participants. There is no final and complete product. Many versions of the same *ponp'uri*, or many *ponp'uri* with a similar plot, contain the particular perceptions of social and

cultural reality of Cheju people, and therefore reflect the indigenous people's lives at a certain historical period. In other words, the gods of village shrines are not solitary beings; rather, as residents of the same land, they derive their sustenance from the sacrifices of village worshippers, who thereby control their fortunes and misfortunes. Therefore, when *ponp'uri* are recited by the *simbang*, the audience listens to them as if to their own life stories, responding with tears, laughter or sighs. The magical power endowed with *ponp'uri* is not separate from but identical with the power of aesthetic effect. Because *ponp'uri* not only reflect the changing perceptions of time and space but also are enacted for the purpose of gaining the audience's interest and sympathy, they remain a living literature that grows together with a local history of the villages and the life situations of the villagers (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986).

Particularly, *ponhyang ponp'uri* embody social histories of the indigenous people, a form of historical consciousness deployed dynamically to construct the Cheju identity. Usually, they sum up the several motives or core plots of the life stories of the shrine deities. First, *ponhyang ponp'uri* explains the reason why the shrine gods settle down at a particular village and the process by which the first settlers establish a new village. Most of Cheju villages consist of one or two clan groups. In this case, once the shrine deities settle down in certain villages, they call upon the representatives of the clan groups, and declare their sovereignty, and instruct their charges on when and how to worship them. Thus the mythical time of the shrine's establishment approximates the historical time of the initial formation of a village. In a few cases, the graves of the deities are located precisely at specific spots, and the relics of the deities, such as the matted braids of a goddess, are displayed at the altar. Secondly, concrete historical events and customs appear in the *ponp'uri*. Typical cases are the origin myth of General Kim

Tong-jong, the administrative investigation stories of a local ministrator such as O Ch'al-bang, and so on (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1964).

In terms of epic structure of *ponp'uri*, the primordial type was the simple prayer for particular matters: for example, "the original ancestor, merciful lord, the dragon lady, this man of such and such an age from such and such a village prays to you," like *ponp'uri* of the Kacksi Tang in Cheju City. Once it becomes more complex with more mythic figures in the story, the content of *ponp'uri* develops into an epic story, revealing the genealogical history among the deities in the island. Their genealogical relationships do not indicate precise kinship relations such as husband-wife, parents-offspring, brothers and sisters; rather, they imply a spatial relationship among the shrines. This spatial construction of the epics of shrine deities reflects the historical consciousness of the indigenous people who perceive and imagine the island as a single universe or community sharing the same destiny of deities. The *simbang*'s special skill as a narrator is required to entertain both the gods and the audience worshipers, and this aesthetic effect helps to identify deities with worshipers. The plots of these oral epics are highly complex, possibly to create the desired pleasurable effect. In this sense, the life histories of *ponhyangs* as such are the life histories of the Cheju people. Although they do not produce historical facticity in itself, they historicize the Cheju identity, and the recitation of these stories establishes the reality of the social experiences of the Cheju people as a distinct group--a group of exiles.

Shrine Gods and Exiles: Tragic Heroes

In the oral epics of the shrine deities, the Cheju people reconstitute their historical status as exiles. In the nearly two hundred and fifty versions of *ponp'uri*, the gods usually represent the indigenous deities, and the goddesses who are their wives, the foreign-origin drifters who became natives after marriage.

Tong-jong, the administrative investigation stories of a local ministrator such as O Ch'al-bang, and so on (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1964).

In terms of epic structure of *ponp'uri*, the primordial type was the simple prayer for particular matters: for example, "the original ancestor, merciful lord, the dragon lady, this man of such and such an age from such and such a village prays to you," like *ponp'uri* of the Kacksi Tang in Cheju City. Once it becomes more complex with more mythic figures in the story, the content of *ponp'uri* develops into an epic story, revealing the genealogical history among the deities in the island. Their genealogical relationships do not indicate precise kinship relations such as husband-wife, parents-offspring, brothers and sisters; rather, they imply a spatial relationship among the shrines. This spatial construction of the epics of shrine deities reflects the historical consciousness of the indigenous people who perceive and imagine the island as a single universe or community sharing the same destiny of deities. The *simbang*'s special skill as a narrator is required to entertain both the gods and the audience worshipers, and this aesthetic effect helps to identify deities with worshipers. The plots of these oral epics are highly complex, possibly to create the desired pleasurable effect. In this sense, the life histories of *ponhyangs* as such are the life histories of the Cheju people. Although they do not produce historical facticity in itself, they historicize the Cheju identity, and the recitation of these stories establishes the reality of the social experiences of the Cheju people as a distinct group--a group of exiles.

Shrine Gods and Exiles: Tragic Heroes

In the oral epics of the shrine deities, the Cheju people reconstitute their historical status as exiles. In the nearly two hundred and fifty versions of *ponp'uri*, the gods usually represent the indigenous deities, and the goddesses who are their wives, the foreign-origin drifters who became natives after marriage.

Their offspring are also characterized as exiles who were abandoned at an early age by parents but later return for revenge. Indeed, these descendants became the lords of the village lands. Why are these mythical ancestors of the Cheju people remembered as exiles who return to revenge? The origin myths of the Cheju ancestors who came to this island as exiles embody the indigenous view of history. My purpose here is to argue that this myth constitutes historical evidence.

The plot of exile and revenge appear as the constant element in the different versions of *ponp'uri*. It acts as a *cliche* in Joseph Miller's term, that is, as a mnemonic device that aids in recalling, representing, and transmitting culturally significant historical details (1980). Each ceremonial recitation of the *ponp'uri* of the shrine deity reproduces cliches so that one learns to expect and indeed hear regularity in different versions. In spite of not having a fixed form of transmission like a literary narrative text, oral narrations show a striking convergence among themselves. This similarity among the different versions of the same tradition, the occurrence of the same plots, images and formulaic ritual use results in the highly structured character of the *ponp'uri*.

The regularity of plot development among oral traditions explains how actively culture can be engaged in structuring history. In exploring the role of culture in the historical transformation of Tibetan monastery Buddhism, Ortner has proposed the theory of "cultural schemas" (1988), which are applicable broadly to the arena of political and historical practices as well as the cultural realm. Offering a slightly different approach from Bourdieu's view on the reproduction of *habitus* (1977), she explains her position as follows: "a cultural schema represents a hegemonic selection, ordering, and 'freezing,' of a variety of cultural practices into a particular narrative shape, by virtue of representation in cultural stories--myths, legends, folktales, histories, and so forth" (Ortner

1988:7). Instead of focusing on the narrative plot and structure itself, Ortner gives actors more room for choice and agency. If these actors are textually "positioned" authors and simultaneously protagonists of those cultural stories, their storytellers must be also regarded as those actors who are actual authors of stories.

In so far as oral traditions are not antiquarian remnants of the past but a form of historical consciousness deployed dynamically to construct the Cheju identity, it is necessary to see traditions as living processes. What makes the constant elements in *ponp'uri* are the cultural practices by which they are remembered, transmitted, and performed as *ponp'uri*. Because the traditions are remembered in terms of formulaic themes, plots, and images, the mythic trope figures an interpretive account of the Cheju history--the people's history-writing. In fact, this writing reflects reinterpretation of the Cheju identity because each *ponp'uri* is a new rendition of the tradition, a new attempt to reconstitute their narrative context. Interestingly enough, as Ortner's Tibetan "cultural" stories are stories of heroism (Ortner 1988), the mythical stories of Cheju shrine gods are also stories of heroism. Their stories are of tragic heroes, who attempt deeds of filial piety, but failing, can only achieve victory through revenge. I will now focus on the cliché of exile and revenge which exists in the form of core plot in *ponp'uri*.

Among many *ponp'uri*, particularly *ponp'uri* of the lord of the village land, the *ponp'uri* of three shrines at Songtang village is regarded as the primordial version. As a deity of a shrine is the ruler and lord of the village land and people, the apical ancestors in the genealogy of the shrine deities can be called the lord of lords of the island as a whole. The deities of three shrines at Sondang village form such a group of primordial ancestors from whom 18 sons, 28 daughters, and 378 grandchildren (or 18-18-38 in another version of *ponp'uri*) were born and scattered to every village in the island. This numbering, together with the same

number eight at the end, implies only mythical figurations of an ideal portrait of Cheju as a single-genealogy society. I will present the short version of this *ponp'uri* in order to call to mind the original event in which the central theme is that historical consciousness--the cliches of exile and revenge.

The Lady Paekcho, born as the daughter of Imjungkuk at the foothill of Mt. Namsan in Seoul, came to Cheju and married Soro Soch'onguk. After giving birth and bringing up seven sons, living became difficult. At the request of Paekcho, they started farming. One day Soch'onguk was ploughing a wide field alone but which required ploughing by ninety-nine cows. A monk called Samjinsan passed by and begged for lunch. Soch'onguk gave him lunch and continued to work on the field. But after the monk left, he realized that the monk finished all of the lunch. He was hungry so he ate all ninety-nine ploughing cows and also the cows from his neighbor's field. Because of this he was rebuked and divorced by Paekchu. He moved to a neighboring village and took a concubine, a daughter of 500 mountain generals. He subsisted by hunting. Paekchu, who was pregnant at the time of the divorce, survived on wild plants and grains. She now gave birth to the eighth son. When he became seven, he was sent to a private school for Chinese Classics. He was insulted by his friends for being a son without a father. He asked his mother where his father lived. Together with his mother, the son visited his father. He sat on his father's lap and played with his beard. His father scolded him as an ill-mannered son. The father put the son in a iron-trimmed stone box, and sent it away to the sea. The box was stopped at the coral branches and guided to the palace of the sea kingdom. There he married the third daughter of the king. His appetite for food was great. He ate meat and rice in a great quantity everyday until the entire food storehouse of the palace was emptied. The king lamented that the sea kingdom would soon perish. He commended that the son and his wife be put inside the iron box and ostracized. Their box arrived at the foreign country of the Chinese King. Just in time the son predicted a great warfare in that country. By calling on the

name of his father, Soch'ŏnguk, he made a great victory in the war. The Chinese king wanted to reward him with half of that country and also a very high office. But the son missed his parents. He refused all offerings and instead returned to Cheju by a trading vessel with many gifts from the king. At the news of their returning son who was supposed to have been dead at the age of seven, Paekchu and Sochonguk were frightened and ran away in different directions. They hid themselves and died in those places. The father Soch'ŏnguk had run to the lower Songdang, the mother, Paekchu, to the upper Songdang, stopping at a place under a huge tree, his oldest brother to Kimili, the second brother to Taejung Kwanjungtang, the third brother to Jungui Sisontang, the fourth to Cheju town Naewattang, the fifth to Kwoenegi To, the sixth to Kulmori Muntonguk, the seventh to Tori Mountain god, the eighth to Tosan *ponhyang tang*, all went and settled as *ponhyang hanjip* of each village.

This *ponp'uri* is structured by five episodes: 1) the initial migration of the wife goddess from Seoul and her marriage to the Cheju native husband; 2) her divorce from her giant and voracious husband who moves to a new village; 3) the exile of their son god who is confined in an iron box and sent to sea due to his disrespect for his father; 4) his marriage to a princess from the sea kingdom, and second expulsion in an iron box with her due to his greed for food; and 5) his victorious return to Cheju, where his parents, Paekchu and Soch'ŏnguk, frightened at the news of their dead son's return, run away to nearby villages, die of fright there, and later became their *ponhyang*.

In the context of actual recitation of this *ponp'uri*, more than half of the story among five episodes is focused on the marriage of the son god with the daughter of the king of sea, and his return to Cheju. This means that the son god is the protagonist. If the son god is the projection of the narrator and also the Cheju people in reality, his mother and father represent truly mythical

figures. The reason there are several versions of *ponp'uri* of the son gods is that the oral narrator composes episodes with the same cliches of exile and return.¹¹

The first cliché in this oral epic of the son god represents his exile as being caused by his disrespect of father. The son was born in the absence of father because his mother divorced him while she was pregnant. at the age of seven the son visits his father living in a different village with his second wife. The son sat on his father's lap and plucked his father's beard. That act made the father angry at him, rebuking him for showing disrespect to his father, a violation of Confucian morality. He imprisoned the son in the iron box and sent it away to the sea.

This cliché of abandonment and forced exile, as it appears in the story of the son god, is very common in most of the life histories of Cheju gods as if it represents the historical fate of the island itself. More interesting is the fact that the insignificant act of plucking father's beard could enrage the father. Such an act might ordinarily be considered negligible as the affectionate expression of child for a pure fun. But under the charge of great immorality, the son was expelled when he was three or seven.¹² His exile alone in the box means his death. His drifting in the box and growing hunger throughout this period creates the great desire for food that caused his second exile from the sea. But his death and exile is not the end. He wanders and discovers a foreign land where he meets his wife and starts a new life. The son's rebellious act has another meaning. It denies the hierarchical Confucian moral bond of father-son which was the dominant ideology of the feudal Yi dynasty. His social status as an unfortunate exile explains the historical reality that the Cheju perceived themselves as the people who could not be socially acceptable due to their rebellious nature.

The second cause of the son god's exile is related to his voracious appetite for food. The son god's voracity is a trait shared with most of the gods in the

ponp'uri. Both the son god and his father Soch'ŏnguk are the giant hunters who "eat nine jars of soup and nine jars of rice," and are very fond of meats.

Unfortunately, however, they are always hungry because reality cannot satisfy their great appetite. For the same reason, the father god, Sochonguk, was divorced by his wife, ostracized by others, and driven to another village nearby. The son god and his wife, the princess of the sea kingdom, were exiled in the iron box. They are abandoned and killed--literally, meaning they become the spirits of the dead. When the son god returned to this world and settled at the village shrines, those gods demanded from worshipers a sacrifice of a whole roast pig for ceremonies, called *Totche*, as if they wish to satisfy their insatiable hunger. In order to communicate their desire to the living people, those shrine gods cause twelve kinds of misfortunes to them. Their malignancy and rage appears to be their last recourse if they wish to survive. As Hyŏn Ki-rŏn interprets it (1986), this may be another expression of their resistance against that insatiable hunger, fatefully conditioned. The more powerful the gods' malignant forces appear, the more easily their desire could be gratified. Also, the power relationship between the shrine gods and their people is different from an exploitative relationship. It is a symbiotic relationship in which the shrine gods are dependent on their people (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1982; Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982). If living persons told *ponp'uri* to one another, clarifying the causes of anger and ill-feeling, they would become enemies; but if the *ponp'uri* of a deity is recited, that deity would be filled with joy. Likewise, the shrine deities and their worshipers have a relationship of mutual identification rather than that of domination.

Indeed, the mythic protagonists' insatiable hunger for food not only reflects the economic and social reality of Cheju Island, but also embodies the indigenous view of history. The son god's voracious appetite for food, so great that it was feared it would ruin the kingdom of the sea, bespeaks the great desire for self-

sufficiency and the defiance of the Cheju people rather than an easy compliance with the given reality. In other words, this is a desire for power, for liberation from the state of exile. It is well expressed in the core image of the son god as a warrior. The son god's giantism and the resulting voracious appetite for food are articulated in his warrior character. His extraordinary military feats in warfare are greatly feared. His giant body and physical prowess show convincingly the tragic fate of an exile. For example, in the *ponp'uri* of Sewhari village, General Kumsang nim is a very brave warrior who beheads twelve monsters with one to twelve extra heads and leads an army to victory. In spite of his merits, he was ostracized by the mainland king who feared his potential power for destroying the nation. Exiled in Cheju, he married Paekchu who was also exiled due to her disrespectful behavior toward her parents. Developed in the different versions of the son god's stories, these two cliches of voracity for food and military prowess must be seen together to see the hidden motive of the indigenous storyteller--the justice of rebellion.

As such the core image of an exile, the son god, contains the Cheju people's historical memory of abandonment and rebellion. In other words, history becomes *intelligible* through the acts of exiled deities--their transgression of the Confucian morality of the dominant society and also their voracity and military prowess. These two acts of the son god are related developmentally. His first, almost ludicrous, act of plucking his father's beard, which causes the original event of severe punishment and exile, is fulfilled by his second act of extraordinary voracity and military prowess which causes the second exile. It shows the mature growth of the original act of transgression. Once the son god's image is thus culturally constructed, it allows the Cheju people to remember and transmit their historical memories by giving these memories a mythic structure. The repetition of the theme of exile in the narrative time of *ponp'uri* helps the

people remember the reality of their exile. In general, the epic structure of *ponp'uri* follows the conventional mythical order that begins with the suffering of the protagonist and his victorious conquest after wandering in exile, like in many western folk tales of tragic heroes. However, as Hyŏn Ki-rŏn observes in his literary essays on the hungry super-human generals (1981), the oral epics of the Cheju *ponp'uri* do not accomplish fully the avenging conquest of the victors over the dominant society in the mainland because they sadly stumble as the hungry deities of the Cheju shrines. The resultant image is that of a sorrowful god with few alternatives or realistic means to get out of the dead-end fate of exile in a barren land.

Nonetheless, the Cheju people seek a more concrete yet still supernatural means of overcoming their fate. Within the same mythical structure as in the origin myths of the shrine deities, they secure the propitious site for a grave, *myongtang*, in expectation of posthumous prosperity for the family groups (Nemeth 1985). If the shrine is the grave site of the mythical ancestor, *myongtang* is that of the actual family ancestor. Both the *tang* shrines and *myongtang* are, in practice, the sites of death, yet are also the symbols for the hope of redemptive rebirth from generation to generation. This religious belief in the after-life blessings of the dead ancestors attests to the popular conviction in the continuity of history no matter what happens in the present time.

Such a people's redemptive hope to overcome the fate of destitution and social ostracism is well expressed in the legends of baby generals who are born with mysterious wings at the armpits. Here the wings symbolize two things: the extraordinariness of the baby general's identity and also the desire to fly, to escape from the given condition of reality. Like the oral traditions of *ponp'uri*, this legend shows the way the indigenous people adjust themselves to the given reality as an exile, recreating Cheju history. In fact, this legend is known widely,

contesting the strictly class-bound social system of the Confucian Yi dynasty (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986:250-251). The core plot of this legend goes like this:

Once upon a time a baby was born to a poor peasant. Within a few days after birth, the parents found the wings at the armpits. Out of fear that a rebel would come out in the family, they killed the baby. Then a dragon horse cried and died. At that place a big pond appeared.

It is a tragedy that an extraordinary baby is born in the commoner's class. In the case of the mainland legend, the baby whose wings are laden with supernatural power is promptly killed by his parents themselves due to their acute fear of the dominant morality that represses any rebellion against the kingship. But the Cheju version of the legend shows a different treatment of the wings. The wings are found rather later, after the baby grows up. Until then the wings are kept secret by the boy. When the parents find them, they remove only the wings by cutting with scissors or burning with irons, not by killing the baby himself. These extraordinary babies grow continually and live lesser lives as generals or as strong men with physical prowess. Such extraordinariness in the baby is not socially accepted because he is born in the family of a commoner and especially since the wings are the signs of a potentially rebellious will. This is the reason why the parents cut them off in fear of the counterrebellion. The act of cutting off the wings symbolizes the suppression of this desire and a careful attitude of adjustment to reality. If the wings are cut off, the baby general grows up and becomes a rebel general like General Kim Tong-jŏng in the thirteenth century who fought against the imperial army of the Chinese Yuan Dynasty allied with the royal army of the Koryŏ Dynasty in the mainland.

In the Cheju version, a tragic hero is feared for the rebellious potency of the invisible wings at his armpits. But this ominous sign that could bring persecution hides in itself a dragon-like force of resistance within the spectrum of oral traditions. The legend of a tragic hero embodies the popular imagination of

the Cheju people whose critique of the ruling class is represented in the redemptive image of the flying wings of the baby general. Even if the legendary hero fails to fly, the people's dream of escape from destiny represents the wisdom of life at the Cheju border (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986:248). The oral epics of the shrine gods are reiterated in the legends of concrete personages in history, but through a redemptive power of imagination, harbored secretly. Nevertheless, this secrecy does not end up with the shrewd self-resignation of the baby general. Under an oppressive situation, this secretive desire surfaces in more explicit confrontation with the dominant power. In the next section, I will examine the way in which this popular desire is expressed in the legends of the Cheju governors who committed themselves to the official destruction of local shrines and the exile of the priestly simbangs.

Shrine Gods and Governors

If the shrine deities are the supernatural lords of the land, the governors represent the sovereign power of the state over the island. Following local legends of famous governors demonstrates another trend in the oral traditions, situating the core image of shrine deities in the ideological world of internal colonization. In the history of the internal colonization policy during the Yi dynasty, the governors of Cheju Island used destructive means to implement the policy more effectively. They demolished the local shrines and secularized the priestly simbangs into farmers (Chejusi 1985). They ruled the island with restrictive Confucian elitist ideology that degraded local shamanism as the barbaric superstition of a stupid and unenlightened folk. Through this process, the shrine deities lost their grounds for existence and as well the supernatural landownership of the indigenous people. In the arena of dominant relations defined in terms of land ownership, the relationship of the state and the people is

the Cheju people whose critique of the ruling class is represented in the redemptive image of the flying wings of the baby general. Even if the legendary hero fails to fly, the people's dream of escape from destiny represents the wisdom of life at the Cheju border (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1986:248). The oral epics of the shrine gods are reiterated in the legends of concrete personages in history, but through a redemptive power of imagination, harbored secretly. Nevertheless, this secrecy does not end up with the shrewd self-resignation of the baby general. Under an oppressive situation, this secretive desire surfaces in more explicit confrontation with the dominant power. In the next section, I will examine the way in which this popular desire is expressed in the legends of the Cheju governors who committed themselves to the official destruction of local shrines and the exile of the priestly simbangs.

Shrine Gods and Governors

If the shrine deities are the supernatural lords of the land, the governors represent the sovereign power of the state over the island. Following local legends of famous governors demonstrates another trend in the oral traditions, situating the core image of shrine deities in the ideological world of internal colonization. In the history of the internal colonization policy during the Yi dynasty, the governors of Cheju Island used destructive means to implement the policy more effectively. They demolished the local shrines and secularized the priestly simbangs into farmers (Chejusi 1985). They ruled the island with restrictive Confucian elitist ideology that degraded local shamanism as the barbaric superstition of a stupid and unenlightened folk. Through this process, the shrine deities lost their grounds for existence and as well the supernatural landownership of the indigenous people. In the arena of dominant relations defined in terms of land ownership, the relationship of the state and the people is

made evident through the relationship between the governor and the worship of the shrine deities, as interpretation of the legends below will show.

Concerning the local worship of shrine deities and the official prohibition of this indigenous custom, there are two contradictory histories of the events: the Confucian elitist and official historian's written records and the local legends. In the sixteenth century, a political exile, Kim Sang-hŏn wrote about the Cheju people's superstitious practice at the shrines as follows:

"Cheju people worship their shamanic gods, and there are too many shamans who readily exploit much property from the clients who consult with them at every misfortune... Their shrines number more than 300 and seem to grow every year. Accordingly, these futile and wrong affairs are widespread. People do not try medicine in the case of illness and instead rely on the shrine gods, then die." (cited from Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1983:104)

With a disdainful gaze, the elite historians like Kim basically looked at the local shrine worshipers as "ignorant and stupid barbarians" who required an edification program in Confucian ethics. This kind of description, that was the product of a short visit or depressing life of an exile, indicates the typical level of comprehension of the island culture by the governors, who were also sent from the central regime as dishonored officials nearly exiled to a remote border. Envious of the power of the local shamans on whom the local people relied more than on the officials, the governors destroyed the shrines, the place of supernatural power. They also never treated the shrine deities with proper respect: the latter were always referred to as lesser supernatural beings like ghost-spirits (*kwisin*) rather than as revered ancestors or gods and goddesses. They replaced the local shrine-bound deities with new kinds of Confucian-origin tutelary spirits (*p'ose sinwi*), who are called by the same name throughout the island, ignoring local distinctiveness. These new spirits did not have their dwelling places as *tang* shrines do, nor origin myths like *ponp'uri*. A new ceremony, *p'ose*, was also established, imitating the elite society's Confucian ancestor worship rites, and

which required only male participation. This policy of standardization of local shrines effectively forced a division of the indigenous society into two domains of cultures: the male-oriented Confucian culture and the female-oriented shamanic culture. According to Hyŏn Yong-jun (1971:248), both men and women originally participated in the shrine ceremonies before the Yi dynasty imposed official performance of Confucian rites. The contemporary picture of the dual system of the village ceremonies along with the gender segregation, the men-only Confucian *p'oeche* and the women-only shamanic ceremony (*tangche*), resulted from that internal colonial policy of the Yi dynasty.

There are many historical legends about those governors, good and bad, focused on the relationship between the governor and the people. Among them, Governor Lee Hyungsang's legend of official iconoclasm of local shrines is the most famous and frequently told. Governor Lee was one of the most respected governors who did not commit corruption and administered the island with order and law, according to official records of the dynastic history. He came to Cheju in 1702 when he was forty-nine and governed the island for two years. After the first year of administration, he implemented a restructuring policy which aimed at reformation of local customs and re-edification of the superstitious people. He abolished 129 shamanic shrines, including the four most powerful ones, and Buddhist temples. He ordered the burning of all privately possessed ritual paraphernalia taken from the simbangs' houses. He imposed a special tax on the simbangs who would not be able to pay, and would therefore lose their licenses. He forced more than 400 simbangs who lost their priestly role back to farming. What he called a civilizing procedure was accomplished within a year. In his memoirs he explained the reason for such harsh measures: to curb the influence of the simbangs, whose solidarity with thousands of men and women exercised more power over the people than the officials (cited in Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1983:4-5). His

remarkable accomplishment in such a short time had been praised as a significant success until now. Governor Lee's iconoclastic policy was positively accepted and supported by the local elite class and Confucian scholars at that time, and even now by contemporary official historians who wrote local history. According to the dynastic record made a century later in 1819, he was officially worshipped at a Confucian temple in response to a local Confucian literati's petition to commemorate his good work. A monument that inscribes Governor Lee's good work still stands at the shrine of the Cheju Confucian school.

Nevertheless, the local people's interpretation of the same historical events shows a subversive counter-discourse that opposes the official justification of the destruction of the shrines. As you shall see below, local legends convey a contradictory understanding of Governor Lee's accomplishment and the ruling ideology it represented. The summary of this type of legend follows below:

Governor Lee destroyed five hundred *tang* shrines and five hundred temples, but he also rebuilt the old abandoned graves which were in danger of exhumation by the villagers. After he wound up his service, he was about to leave for the mainland. One night an old gentleman with a long white beard appeared in his dream and warned him that he should leave tomorrow at a certain time. That day was a special day on which no ghosts-spirits were active. Thus Governor Lee could leave Cheju safely. The ghosts-spirits of the *tang* shrines and temples ran to the shore in order to chase him. But it was too late. Governor Lee already had left. For revenge, they killed his three sons living at his home village even before he arrived.

In this story, the episode of the restoration of the abandoned ancestral graves was originally a separate story of Governor Ki-kŏn who came to the island and introduced the Confucian ritual of burial two hundred years earlier. Governor Ki-kŏn's episode implies the intensification of the Confucian ideology that encourages ancestor worship. The insertion of this previous episode into the legend of Governor Lee is the result of a popular interpretation of colonial history. In contrasting Governor Lee's destruction of *tang* shrines with Governor Ki-kŏn's restoration of the old abandoned graves, the storyteller illuminated ideological

contradictions between the dominant culture and the subjugated culture, precisely differentiating the Confucian conception of ancestor and the shamanic conception of ancestor. Instead of being subjugated to the dominant ideology of ancestor, the people's ancestors survive side by side with the Confucian ancestor and take a revenge.

By highlighting this contradiction, the storyteller reveals the people's conviction that the destroyer of *tang* shrines was not able to leave the island without trouble and was eventually revenged by the shrine gods. The governor's three sons were immediately killed before he arrived home. Their deaths signify the governor's death. Nevertheless, even after the governor was buried, he was not safe, according to another version of legend which was contested among several storytellers in a village when it was recorded by a folklorist (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982:322). Mixed with another legend of Kimnyong Snake Cave, the legend says that the spirit of the shrine god (Kimnyong Snake Cave's god in this case) who was changed into many snakes, resided in the Governor's grave in order to obtain revenge. Although the governor won the victory in actual history, it is the ghost-spirit of the shrine gods who win finally in the oral traditions. This fictional victory shows the people's redemptive desire to overcome the oppressive rule of the centralization of power in the Confucian Yi dynasty.

An important theme of this legend of Governor Lee is concerned with the revenge of the shrine gods and also their local worshipers. The people's will for revenge is expressed in more detail in another legend of colonial conflict with the local shrine gods--the legend of Judge Sŏ-ryŏn. This legend relates to the Kimnyong Snake Cave where a memorial epitaph for Judge So-ryon still stands in front of its gateway. The epitaph was built by his descendants living in the mainland. (When I visited the island in 1985 it was still there.) Judge Sŏ-ryŏn was a more militarily oriented governor when he came to Cheju at the age of

nineteen. Soon he made a special effort to abolish the superstitious practices of the Cheju people. He killed the great snake which was the shrine god of the cave. The great snake was notorious for receiving the living sacrifice of a virgin from Kimnyŏng village every year. But after two years, the governor died from a disease during his term of office. The motif of revenge against the shrine gods is present in this legend of Judge So-ryon as it was in the legend of Governor Lee. Hyŏn Ki-rŏn compares this peculiar motif of revenge in the Cheju case with the absence of revenge in the legends about the spirits of snakes in the mainland (1982:15).¹³ The Cheju legends imply a firm conviction of the indigenous people to anticipate the failure of colonization and hegemonic rule by the central government. At the latter part of story, the death of Judge Sŏ-ryŏn is told like this:

Judge assured the horseman not to speak to him until they arrived at home. Without a word, he rode a horse back to his residence. When he arrived near the border of Cheju City, suddenly fist-sized bloody rain began to shower. His horseman broke the command and spoke to Judge, "Dear governor, blood is falling like rain." Immediately Judge died without leaving a word (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982:323).

In this story, the agent of revenge is the horseman, the servant of Judge. The indigenous horseman represents the third personage in this conflict of power between Judge and the local god. In practice, he is the actual agent of revenge and not the shrine god. In other words, the confrontation between Judge and the shrine god in this narrative is a projection of the negative consciousness of the indigenous people toward the ruling power. This negative consciousness of reality is well manifested in the structure of the antinomies in the oral narratives: the tense confrontation between Paekchu and Soch'ŏnguk that resulted in divorce, between the Confucian father and the unfilial son that brought exile and death to both, between the governors and the shrine gods. In such a way, the oral narratives of power show a conflict over the rulership of the island, reflected in

the violence-filled historical relations between the indigenous people and the state, which brought about peasant revolts and their counter-insurgency under the Confucian regime in the past and under the modern nation state in the twentieth century. By means of the mythic tropes of the shrine deities' victory over the governors, the history of violence and resistance is remembered and performed in the rituals. If the written records appear to only document history, it is by bringing every bit of the social and the cosmological world into the ritual enactment of history that the Cheju people represent their past and present in their folk culture.

Conflicts of Power: People and the State

Thus far, I have tried to illuminate the extent to which the indigenous sense of self-identity is expressed and accentuated in the historical fate of the shrine deities (*ponhyang hanjip*) who are imaged as exiles or vengeful snakes in the origin myths and historical legends. Except for three indigenous clan groups of Ko, Yang, and Pu, most of the Cheju people are actually the descendants of exiles who came to Cheju for political or economic reasons. Their deep distrust of the external force such as governors originates from their self-consciousness of this state of exile and the attendant fear of being accused of being rebels. Accordingly, the Cheju people's dependence on the shrine deities was interpreted by the authorities as the counter-hegemonic strategy to defy the dominant power. A tale concerning the reason why Governor Lee destroyed shrines and temples succinctly illustrates the intensity of this confrontation between the governor and the people (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982:13). It says that "once Governor Lee came to Cheju, he tried to summon people for mandatory work for the government. Everytime they were summoned, the people excused themselves for going to the *tang* shrines or to the temples, and did not appear. The Governor resented their

the violence-filled historical relations between the indigenous people and the state, which brought about peasant revolts and their counter-insurgency under the Confucian regime in the past and under the modern nation state in the twentieth century. By means of the mythic tropes of the shrine deities' victory over the governors, the history of violence and resistance is remembered and performed in the rituals. If the written records appear to only document history, it is by bringing every bit of the social and the cosmological world into the ritual enactment of history that the Cheju people represent their past and present in their folk culture.

Conflicts of Power: People and the State

Thus far, I have tried to illuminate the extent to which the indigenous sense of self-identity is expressed and accentuated in the historical fate of the shrine deities (*ponhyang hanjip*) who are imaged as exiles or vengeful snakes in the origin myths and historical legends. Except for three indigenous clan groups of Ko, Yang, and Pu, most of the Cheju people are actually the descendants of exiles who came to Cheju for political or economic reasons. Their deep distrust of the external force such as governors originates from their self-consciousness of this state of exile and the attendant fear of being accused of being rebels. Accordingly, the Cheju people's dependence on the shrine deities was interpreted by the authorities as the counter-hegemonic strategy to defy the dominant power. A tale concerning the reason why Governor Lee destroyed shrines and temples succinctly illustrates the intensity of this confrontation between the governor and the people (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982:13). It says that "once Governor Lee came to Cheju, he tried to summon people for mandatory work for the government. Everytime they were summoned, the people excused themselves for going to the *tang* shrines or to the temples, and did not appear. The Governor resented their

attitude, and decided to destroy the shrines and temples." In such a plain tone, the teller eloquently tells us how the indigenous denounced the absolute authority of the governor's power, while not failing to imply the irrationality of Governor Lee's reaction. The vengeance of the snake spirits lying coiled up inside the Governor's grave represents acutely such a negative consciousness of history.

Nevertheless, such an spiritual massacre of the shrine gods by the iron hand of Governor Lee did not spare the Cheju people the autonomy of their traditions. In his memoirs of his one-year term on Cheju, the Governor Lee described shamanic practices of the Cheju people as useless and the most perilous evil in the world, and believed them the result of the people's "ignorance and stupidity" (Hyŏn Kir-ŏn 1983:16). In terms of practical objectives, his destruction originally aimed at civilizing the superstitious "barbarians" (as he called them), with the neo-Confucian morality (Hyŏn Kir-ŏn 1982:17-18). But ideologically this destruction with a good intention of edification was an hegemonic move toward consolidation of the local power to the central state. Besides the *tang* shrines, the Governor Lee abolished locally-based folk festivals such as the street parade of *simbangs*' dancing and playing music for the blessing of each household in the village and the collective ceremonies in reverence of awesome natural phenomena such as cloud, rain, wind, and lightning. Instead he replaced them with the government-officiated new ceremonies for the reverence of the deity of Mt. Halla--*sanchon-che*. Governor Lee petitioned that Mt. Halla should be celebrated as one of splendid mountains and rivers at the national ceremony. Although Mt. Halla was not included in that celebrated groups of mountains as he petitioned, the king allowed that it receive a second-rate ceremony (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982:19).¹⁴

However, virtually the purpose and mode of worship of awesome nature itself in both cases does not differ in terms of the object of performance. The only change is whether it is the state or the indigenous people who perform the

ceremony for the sacred mountain. This domestication of indigenous deities and shamans was involved in much deeper strategic exercise of dominating power: subjugation of the magical power of the sacred mountain, Mt. Halla, to the state. It implies not only domestication of local ruling power but also colonization of land as well.

At this point, it must be noted that most of shrine gods indeed are the offspring of this Sacred Mountain, and, on top of that, they are called identically with the name of mountain, *haro-yŏngsan* (Hyŏn Yŏng-jun 1968b). Without parents, these indigenous gods arise from the crater of that volcanic mountain. Their autogenic birth attests to the spirit of independence and cultural autonomy of Cheju people, which is considered as the major ignition for indigenous revolts against colonization of the land, precisely supernatural land within the frame of subaltern consciousness of history. In the next section I will delineate actual events resulting from the conflicts between the state and the indigenous people, focusing on the period around when Korean ports were forced open to foreign capitalism by the year of 1876, and feudal social relations were shaken up. For this purpose, I will illustrate people's or peasant revolts in a chronical order and describe the fluctuation of popular consciousness of subjugation.

Histories of Popular Revolts (1601-1910)

In this section I sketch aspects of history of the subaltern people of Cheju on the basis of written records. One noticeable characteristic of this literary history is the specificity of the names of actual places and persons. This specificity is indeed the discursive mode of literary history in contrast to that of oral history.¹⁵ This specificity of written records helps in documenting history, particularly in confirming information of exact dates and numbers. For chronicling of histories of popular revolts I use mainly secondary materials of

ceremony for the sacred mountain. This domestication of indigenous deities and shamans was involved in much deeper strategic exercise of dominating power: subjugation of the magical power of the sacred mountain, Mt. Halla, to the state. It implies not only domestication of local ruling power but also colonization of land as well.

At this point, it must be noted that most of shrine gods indeed are the offspring of this Sacred Mountain, and, on top of that, they are called identically with the name of mountain, *haro-yŏngsan* (Hyŏn Yŏng-jun 1968b). Without parents, these indigenous gods arise from the crater of that volcanic mountain. Their autogenic birth attests to the spirit of independence and cultural autonomy of Cheju people, which is considered as the major ignition for indigenous revolts against colonization of the land, precisely supernatural land within the frame of subaltern consciousness of history. In the next section I will delineate actual events resulting from the conflicts between the state and the indigenous people, focusing on the period around when Korean ports were forced open to foreign capitalism by the year of 1876, and feudal social relations were shaken up. For this purpose, I will illustrate people's or peasant revolts in a chronical order and describe the fluctuation of popular consciousness of subjugation.

Histories of Popular Revolts (1601-1910)

In this section I sketch aspects of history of the subaltern people of Cheju on the basis of written records. One noticeable characteristic of this literary history is the specificity of the names of actual places and persons. This specificity is indeed the discursive mode of literary history in contrast to that of oral history.¹⁵ This specificity of written records helps in documenting history, particularly in confirming information of exact dates and numbers. For chronicling of histories of popular revolts I use mainly secondary materials of

official historians such as *Cheju-do chi* (The Chronicle of Cheju Province), *Cheju-si sa* (The History of Cheju City). These secondary materials are written with a perspective of the governing forces, and thus their description of historical events already contain official interpretation of original versions of the dynastic records written in Chinese character at the period much closer to the actual time of events. Furthermore, the repertoire of the chronicles of the indigenous revolts is dependent on the ideological selection of the writers, which was focused on the relationship between the state and the indigenous people. Because these writers are Cheju natives on the one hand and represent the ruling class as the literati on the other, their interpretations of events oscillate between the ruler's side and the rebel's side, depending on the scale and components of the revolts. Because I am dependent on their description, my interpretation of the history of the popular revolts might not wholly avoid their class-bound opinion, but I add to it my own comments based on non-official written sources other than the natives' ones.

When we examine the legacy of Cheju people's revolts in the past, we can see the specificity of their historical consciousness. Many of these people's rebellions chose directly the state as the object of struggle without the mediation of feudal class relations between the landlord and the peasant tenant (Yang Han-kwŏn 1987). In Cheju Island, due to the shortage of land and its low productivity, land concentration by feudal lords did not take place. Small-scale self-employed farmers were the standard type of peasant, and virtually everybody had a small portion of land. Therefore, there was no obstinate class division along with land ownership and also no feudal subjugation relations even between the landlord and the peasant tenant (Cumings 1979). In these circumstances, the state acted directly as the landlord as officially stated according to law. As a result, direct and systematic exploitation by the state, enacted through the taxing of boats and sea products, and also indirect exploitation, accomplished through

regular tributes, was frequent. In this context, the Cheju people fought directly against the state in their anti-feudalism struggle. Accordingly, this type of resistance took on the characteristics of a separatism or independence movement that denied the subjugation of the island itself to the feudal state (Yang Han-kwŏn 1987; Merrill 1980). In other words, the history of the rebellion reflects the history of internal colonization.

In terms of this tradition of separatism and rebellion, we have to be very careful to interpret the motives and effects of the revolts. This tradition is closely related to the peculiar component of Cheju history: political exiles. Except in a few cases, most of the revolts were agitated by the political exiles who used the particular circumstances of the indigenous people's suffering and grudges. It was not the indigenous people who initiated the events. In 1601, Cheju was referred to as "the land of rebel" for the first time after the exile, when So-dŏkyu, attempted to rebel against the state (Cheju-si 1985:166). He was punished with political exile to Cheju rather than capital punishment. It was the period when power feuds among political factions became harsh and bloody enough to bring forth extreme measures of mutual revenge. High-ranking officials or even royal family members were exiled to Cheju. They had to live many years and even die there unless political power on the mainland changed somehow. Cheju was like an open air prison. Even worse, the exit ban on the islanders, which lasted 200 years, added to this punishment of exile. In great distress, those political exiles' did frequently become treasonous--about once every 40 years, for example, in 1763, in 1813, in 1860, until 1890. After 1890 when the Korean kingdom underwent a gradual disintegration of the social and economic order, every one or three years there were popular revolts, as in 1894, in 1896, in 1898, and in 1901. Around the nineteenth century, the Yi dynasty society already began to break

down from the bottom. Popular revolts could arise and spread widely due to the political weakness of the dominant powers.

The Cheju symptom of separatism indeed sprouted from the loosened grip of government control during this period of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I want to give a short description of the social situation of this period. The dominant society of the Yi dynasty in the eighteenth and the early nineteenth century experienced radical change in every aspect of social economic life and social class relations. The technological development of agriculture and its enhanced productivity accelerated the disintegration of the peasant class; the monetary economy of commodities was introduced into the market exchange; and these structural changes to the social base brought about the collapse of the feudal social status (estate) system. The people's revolts of this period reflect the social and economic crisis that occurred as the Confucian feudal society decayed. The first peasant revolt during this period in Cheju broke out in 1813. This revolt related to the event in which a native elite Yang Che-hae and three fellow local officials organized an armed rebellion in order to achieve the right of self-government independent from the mainland. Because their conference was detected 10 days before the undertaking, their revolt failed. The rebel leaders were beheaded, and their followers were exiled. However, their purpose and strategy of rebel organization offers an important clue for an understanding of the characteristics of subaltern rebellions in Cheju. On the basis of the conviction that Cheju could prosper only when it established a self-government, the rebel elites formed a secret society, gathering strong men, and making arms. They schemed to attack three major government offices, kill their magistrates, close the sea route, and establish a self-government.

Indeed, Cheju people's nearly millenarian dream of self-government was not initial cause of the rebellions. Peasant revolts always started from concrete

complaints of the Cheju people about coercive measures of heavy taxes and unreasonable tributes. The government's arrogantly unfaithful reaction to the people's petitions always led to more indigenous claims for self-government and violent resistance against the internal conquest of the state. Several popular revolts throughout the nineteenth century exemplify this evolutionary development of the seditious actions of the Cheju people. In 1862, a peasant revolt broke out three times during three months. Initially, 1,000 angry slash-and-burn peasants' rose up to request a reduction of tax. But later it developed into a revolt of the entire island. More than 10,000 people gathered from three counties. They attacked the governor's resident castle and expelled the governor. They burnt the houses of the tax collectors and rich people, and killed corrupt officials.

The opening of Korean ports to foreign forces and markets in 1876 marked a shift in the history of popular rebellions. In Cheju, Japanese fishing boats freely came to the inner shore of the island and exploited its sea products with higher technology. At that time, Cheju fishermen petitioned the central government to ban Japanese fishermen's work. But the Korean regime was already weak and could not protect the people from the foreigners' illegal exploitation. It is known that the Yi dynasty government was not aware of the depth of the Japanese colonial exploitation at the time, and out of fear of insurgency it just tried to appeal to the Japanese government to adopt conscientious measures against such fishing practices. Even worse, the Korean government, which tried to adopt the Western economic system as a part of modernization, imposed a tax payment based on the monetary system. This new tax payment system not only made for an easy economic invasion by the colonial forces and political domination as well, but also enhanced the state finances through standardized acquirement of taxes. During this period, the civilian

army, in the cause of justice, was formed among the conservative Confucian elites in alliance with peasants throughout the whole country in order to resist against this radical renewal of the economic system and colonialization in general. In fact, this anti-colonial and anti-modernization resistance movement was the indigenous nationalist movement in its rudimentary form, the movement that continued throughout the next generation of independence movements during the Japanese imperial rule (1910-1945).

Nevertheless, foreign colonialism, either of Japanese or of Western forces, had reinforced a spirit of self-reliance and the millenarian dream of self-government, pervasive in the Cheju people's minds (cf. Hwang Sŏn-myŏng 1980). The indigenous people defied all foreign forces, including the central government, and justified their actions as anti-colonialism. The millenarian dream of self-government and also separatism easily appealed to the people and enabled the rebel leaders to rouse huge numbers of people immediately for action. A peasant revolt called the Riot of Pang Sŏng-ch'il was a revolt that was led by a secret society called Namhak-tang, a federation of south country. For its purpose, it tried to appeal to people's consciousness of separatism. Namhak-tang was a secret religious society organized by "fire-field" farmers who had immigrated from the southern province of the mainland after the Tonghak Peasant War in 1896. They also started from a small-scale protest against heavy taxes on farming. But once the governor tried to suppress the peasants' disturbance with military forces, the federation summoned up one from each household to join the revolt. Tens of thousands of rebel armies gathered. They attacked and fell in the Cheju citadel. After the fall of the citadel, Pang Sŏng-ch'il discharged three county magistrates, broke in the weaponry and armed the rebels. After reorganizing battle lines, Pang attempted to establish a new nation in Cheju because the force of the old regime was weakened. Igniting the indigenous people's spirit of

independence, he denied feudal government institutions and constituted a new government by giving offices to the exiles. However, his effort to establish a self-government failed due to counter-insurgency attacks from the government officials allied with the local elites and the exiles. The governor spread rumors about Pang's intention to submit the island to Japan, and called upon the formation of the counter-traitors' army in the cause of justice (*ch'angui kun*) among the peasants. As a result of this counter-attack, the Pang Sŏng-ch'il's revolt was defeated in 50 days. But it must be noted that it was the peasant revolt which developed into the first major independence movement. Its legacy of independence flared up in full scale in 1901 when the whole indigenous people arose regardless of social class in order to protest foreign forces.

The peasant revolt that burst out in 1901 is referred to as the most serious incident of armed struggle against foreign forces among the violent pre-nationalist incidents (Merrill 1980:143). Around that time, the Cheju governors and also the indigenous people were conscious of western colonial forces and prepared themselves for clashes in the future. In 1845, the Cheju governor constructed a long fortress with stones along the shore circling the island after he witnessed a few British boats and soldiers appearing on a small island nearby Cheju. Under this complex political situation, the popular revolt in 1901 stands as more critical resistance against feudalism and colonialism and also a very well organized armed rebellion. The direct causes of this event were the establishment of a new tax administration and the introduction of Catholicism to the island. Beset by financial difficulties, the Korean court decided to create a special tax agency on Cheju to tap the revenues it had unwittingly shut off after the rebellion of 1863. The tax officials who now descended on the island went about their task with a vengeance. A new system of cash taxes was imposed, attempts were made to collect taxes remitted years before, and new levies were instituted

on farming and fishing. The tax burden became so heavy that nearly 50 percent of "trees, fishing grounds, cows, horses, chickens, and even fish and eggs were taken away." As if this were not enough, communal lands and government property were auctioned off to raise additional revenue. Because the new tax agency from the central government appeared as a new exploitative feudal agency of the people and also as the new agent who supplanted the local native officials--the local power elite--they needed a new collector. In this context, the new tax agency employed the then relatively well organized and unified group of Catholic converts by luring them with a special economic privilege to evaluate the products for tributes (Yang Han-kwŏn 1987:68). Christianity was relatively new to the island. Although some Catholics had been exiled to Cheju during the Taewon'gun's persecutions in the 1860s, the first congregation was not founded until the visit of a Korean lay missionary just after the 1898 rebellion. The island's Catholic community grew rapidly following the arrival of French missionaries the next year, to about one percent of the island's population. An unfortunate, but not entirely unfounded, linkage was thus established between the arrival of the new religion and the economic exploitation of the island (Merrill 1980:143-144).

This unfortunate linkage actually followed the scenario of French colonialism in Korea. According to a Japanese historian's interpretation of French capitalism and the Japanese opening of ports (c f. Yang Han-kwŏn 1987:67), France then competed with Japan for colonial advancement over Korea, and used Catholicism for this purpose. In other words, the French Catholic mission work "did not aim at the conversion of the gentiles on a religious level, but became the most powerful means and political weapon for expansion of overseas markets and the colonialization of Asian countries." (Yang *ibid.*:67) After French priests Marcel Laccouts came in 1900 and made a great effort to

expand the church, the total numbers of converts were about 1000 (242 baptized and 700 in catechism class) in 1901. The appeal of the new religion was not just spiritual. "Rice Christians" attached themselves to the missionaries and Tonghak supporters who had been exiled to the island and remnants of Pang Seong-chil's Rebellion also joined for shelter against the government. From the beginning, the Catholic converts in Cheju enjoyed and abused the diplomatic privileges of legal exemptions originally assured to the foreign priests by lynching native people at the church yard who did not respond to their proselytization.

As a result, Catholics became recognized notoriously as the feudal exploiters of the peasants, as the invaders of the local merchants, as a new power group which robbed the tax right from the local dominant class, and also as the religious invader of the women, who were the major believers of shamanism. Under these circumstances, the native converts, French priests, political exiles, and tax collectors formed an alliance against which stood many local officials, Japanese traders and smugglers, and most of the population of the island. In such a way, the opinion on the island rapidly polarized. The indigenous people soon began to organize themselves into a secret society for self-defence, *sangmusa*, under the leadership of O Tae-hyŏn, the head of the local Confucian society and Yi Chae-su, a former slave employed by a Japanese fishing concern at Taejong. The self-defense groups included local officials and were aided by Japanese residents mostly involved in fishing, who saw their positions being undercut by the French priest and tax collector.¹⁶

These mounting tensions finally exploded into large-scale violence when the missionaries left the island in mid-April on a trip to Seoul. The rebellion was precipitated by a minor brawl between the two sides that rapidly escalated into serious clashes. The island's badly outnumbered Catholics, around 500 to 700 in total, sought refuge behind the walls of Cheju city where they seized the

government arsenal and armed themselves. The initial response of the French after the priest returned to the island was to stage a foray into the countryside to quell the rebellion. O Tae-hyon and a dozen of his followers were captured and brought back into the city. This adventurous act only served, however, to further inflame the islanders. A circular letter (*tong'mun*) condemning the missionaries was drawn up and sent round the island.¹⁷ As excitement built up, the crowds surrounding Cheju city swelled to a "wild mob estimated at ten thousand islanders." With food supplies running out, the townspeople turned on the beleaguered Christians and threw open the gates of the city.¹⁸ In the next two days over 500 persons were massacred. The killing was not confined to Christians: "Everyone who had a grievance, public or private, or a debt, seized his opportunity and killed and looted, ally or enemy alike" (Sands 1930:170; cf. Merrill 1980).

Under these circumstances, the peasant revolt of 1901 originated in the Catholics' incitement to attack one of the three magistrate offices and developed into an armed rebellion of the entire island against non-native forces. For a month, the native armies captured the citadel and murdered 500 to 600 native Catholics. The rebels stormed the local government offices and revenged the local dominant class, exiles, and officials who were involved in the suppression of the Pang Song-ch'il revolt. After the citadel was captured, internal conflicts occurred among the rebel leaders over the leadership and battle strategy. In the meantime, the rioting ended abruptly on May 29 when a squadron of French warships appeared offshore. The French landed a company of marines on June 1 to secure the gates of the city. The next day, 100 Kangwha soldiers, with William Sands, an American advisor to the Korean court, arrived on a coastal steamer. Negotiations were finally opened with the leaders of the rebellion, with

political exiles on the island serving as intermediaries. The whole rebel army surrendered.

As Merrill sees it (1980:147), the Yi Cha-esu Uprising, so named after the 25-year-old commoner rebel leader, was a major, if short-lived, internal war. At least 1,000 persons, out of a total population variously estimated at 40,000 to "less than 100,000," were killed within the space of a single month. Things could have been much worse. The incident might have provoked foreign military intervention on a large scale, and the rebellion might have dragged on for months. As it was, the traditional formula for settling disturbances could still be applied. Tax policies were eased, and local officials who had collaborated with the rebels were punished. In spite of negotiations, thirteen leaders were sentenced at the trial court, which was governed solely by French judges. According to Sands, it was "the last trial on the Western model as well as the first" (Sands 1930:178). Surely not only Western but imperialist justice was imposed on the Cheju people. It was the moment of contesting powers. The peasant revolt, which originally started as a tax revolt, was blamed for the massacre of Christians and the damaging of foreigners' rights. The whole island was required to pay a great amount of reparations by the French government. It was paid three years later. After this peasant revolt was suppressed by the royal army, the Korean Empire abruptly degenerated into the colony of competing imperialist's forces.

The long-range result of this armed indigenous uprising was to reinforce an already existing tradition of separatism and resistance to excessive governmental demands that was heavily conditioned by the remoteness and strong local traditions of the island. A similar pattern of collective response reasserted itself again in the 1948 communist rebellion, though the conditions that made such protests effective in the past had changed radically. Perhaps

even the memory of the Yi Chaesu Uprising was strong enough, two generations later, to be mobilized as part of the revolutionary myth justifying the 1948 rebellion.

In summary, the indigenous revolts before the April Third Event show common characteristics, according to Yang (1987). First, those revolts were always targeted directly at the state. Secondly, as the Cheju border is open towards the vast sea from every direction, it has been invaded always earlier and more directly than the mainland by foreign colonial forces. The Cheju people resisted against these foreign forces and left an important legacy of anti-colonial struggle in Korean history. Yang interprets the communist strength during the American military occupation from 1945 to 1948 as the contemporary expression of this legacy. Thirdly, the Cheju people are well experienced in organized armed rebellion. Although several revolts failed due to their disorganization and spontaneity, their subjective capacity for struggle was strengthened. Through collective armed rebellion they learned how to achieve their goals.

As such, stressing the anti-colonial nature of the people's revolts, Yang's view represents the newly emerging nationalist-oriented interpretation of the people's history as opposed to the official elitist interpretation of history that emphasizes the reactionary rather than the voluntary resistance side of popular revolts. In light of the recent political trend of a shift towards democratization in Korea, Yang's interpretation seems convincingly proper and enlightened, challenging the oppressive power of the state which had tried to silence people's voices and feelings. Certainly, the legacy of armed struggle and the history of violence which has been attributed to the particular character of Cheju popular history is indeed the product of the colonization process, militarily and also politically. Yet it does not so much testify to the authentic capacity of the indigenous people for anti-colonial struggle as Yang Han-kwŏn (1987) and other

nationalist-spirited radical historians may claim (ARARI 1988). The tradition of armed revolts in Cheju is not only the justifiable means of self-defence and resistance, but also a people's tactical use of the fortified condition of the whole island and its abundant resources of arms in order to subvert the governing authorities. Throughout its history, 20 percent of the island's population consisted of military men who were recruited from among the indigenous people aged 16 to 60, and also from among some mainlanders. In order to understand this "tactical" side of the indigenous oppositional acts before we take for granted their almost fateful legacy of resistance, we must focus on the history of militarization and fortification of Cheju as a whole and examine how this external condition was subverted occasionally by the indigenous people. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Yuan imperial army controlled directly and fortified the island as the forefront for the attack on Japanese invaders. During the Yi dynasty, the island was used as a military border to protect the country from invasion by Japanese pirates. In 1845, the long rocky walls were built for the purpose of defence along the coastline to defend the western invasion. Now I move to the contemporary period beginning from the Japanese annexation (1910-1945) until the April Third Event in 1948, which was the latest popular revolt in Cheju.

The Colonial and Post-nationalist Era (1910-1948)

The Japanese colonial regime was foremost in building up its armaments in the campaign to defeat the Allied Forces during the Pacific War, particularly in the late 1930s. When the Japanese imperial army and air force left the island after they were defeated at the end of World War II, their enormous quantity of arms and facilities, mainly strategic caves for defense use, were left intact. These weapons were used fully until their resources were exhausted during the

nationalist-spirited radical historians may claim (ARARI 1988). The tradition of armed revolts in Cheju is not only the justifiable means of self-defence and resistance, but also a people's tactical use of the fortified condition of the whole island and its abundant resources of arms in order to subvert the governing authorities. Throughout its history, 20 percent of the island's population consisted of military men who were recruited from among the indigenous people aged 16 to 60, and also from among some mainlanders. In order to understand this "tactical" side of the indigenous oppositional acts before we take for granted their almost fateful legacy of resistance, we must focus on the history of militarization and fortification of Cheju as a whole and examine how this external condition was subverted occasionally by the indigenous people. In the middle of the thirteenth century, the Yuan imperial army controlled directly and fortified the island as the forefront for the attack on Japanese invaders. During the Yi dynasty, the island was used as a military border to protect the country from invasion by Japanese pirates. In 1845, the long rocky walls were built for the purpose of defence along the coastline to defend the western invasion. Now I move to the contemporary period beginning from the Japanese annexation (1910-1945) until the April Third Event in 1948, which was the latest popular revolt in Cheju.

The Colonial and Post-nationalist Era (1910-1948)

The Japanese colonial regime was foremost in building up its armaments in the campaign to defeat the Allied Forces during the Pacific War, particularly in the late 1930s. When the Japanese imperial army and air force left the island after they were defeated at the end of World War II, their enormous quantity of arms and facilities, mainly strategic caves for defense use, were left intact. These weapons were used fully until their resources were exhausted during the

communist rebellion on April third 1948. The nationalist historians call it the indigenous people's revolt, regarding it as one a line of peasant revolts against the dominant power. The April Third Event was the latest battle during which the potential danger of these fortifications was realized. In this section, I delineate the uses to which these heavy fortifications were put for social and political transformation, throughout the critical period of Korean and Cheju history from 1910 to 1948.

The Japanese colonial period was a time of rapid social and economic change on Cheju. The Japanese colonial government sent down to Cheju a Japanese governor who was given all the administrative and judicial power. Through land surveys, they plundered former public properties as well as private land. Many farmers lost their land after cadastral surveys were conducted by the new colonial administration. Others were forced to sell their holdings to meet new taxes levied on their land. The Japanese helped the islanders' modernize their traditional fishing industry, but it was still dominated entirely by Japanese interests. In 1919, they forced Korean farmers to grow silk worms and cotton trees. They controlled farmers through production cooperations officially organized. Small canning, brewing, ranching, and porcelain concerns established by Japanese interests did not provide enough employment to absorb the large number of unemployed persons on the island. When direct ferry service was established to Osaka and passport requirements were removed in the early 1920s, many residents seized the opportunity to escape the poverty, overpopulation, and harsh economic conditions of the island. Emigration to Japan, and later Manchuria, swelled. By 1935, 50,000 islanders were living in Japan, mostly employed in low-wage jobs in Japanese textile, mining, and fishing industries. Five years later, three times that number of Cheju-do natives were residing overseas (Abe 1983; Lee Kwang-kyu 1984).

Socialist thought arrived on the island through Japan during the 1920s after the March First 1919 independence movement. The first Marxist study group was organized in 1922 and a branch of the Korean Communist party three years later. Their party had a broad network of organizations all around the island. Police cracked down on leftists in several waves of arrests over the next few years. Merrill believes that anti-imperial-Japanese resistance was not as strong as on the mainland due to the island's historical tradition of separatism. Despite occasional strikes and demonstrations by dockworkers, farmers, and diving women, there was little resistance to Japanese rule. On the whole, though, according to occasional remarks in American resources, the islanders got on well with the Japanese who encouraged their separatist feelings.

The Japanese military presence on Cheju also grew rapidly during the 1930s. Local labor was mobilized to build roads, port facilities, and other military installations. A large airbase was constructed at Mosulpo that was later used to stage bombing raids on Nanking during the war with China in the 1930s. Settlement of Japanese on the island was encouraged. Cheju took on even greater strategic importance for Japan after the start of the Pacific war. Fearing that an invasion of the home islands might come through Cheju, the Japanese heavily garrisoned Cheju and turned Halla-san into a labyrinth of fortifications in preparation for an American attack. There were more troops than civilians on the island during the last year of the war, probably numbering at their peak nearly a quarter of a million men. This intense militarization of the island must have greatly affected the lives of the residents remaining on Cheju.

After Imperial Japanese military forces left the island in 1945, socialist thoughts neatly grafted onto the independence and nationalist movements prevailing in Cheju as it was also in the mainland. Throughout the whole country, both the rightist and the leftist ideology of national self-reliance emerged

as a positive and new order, yet competing hard for hegemonic control of a newly forming nation until the American occupation forces representing the Allied Forces arrived in Korea on September 8, 1945. Once the rightists, mainly consisting of the landlord class and bureaucrats from the Japanese colonial period, quickly allied with the occupational forces, the leftists became oppressed and gradually went underground. Bloody struggle between the two ideological groups had begun, terrorizing each other with mutual violence. In Cheju the same thing happened with slight variations from the mainland. The April Third Event broke out at the last conclusive moment of this hegemonic struggle which resulted in the unique political solution of a national division into two ideologically opposite nation states, still remaining in the tense state of warfare and social oppression. In South Korea, the national policy of anti-communism, which South Koreans now take for granted, was invented. It was consistent with the ideology of foreign colonialism and was sustained continually by means of a nationalistic rhetoric that was interestingly without visible frictions with the colonial force.

In this context, it must be important to know the basic policy of the American military government regarding anti-communism. The American occupation forces arrived at Inchon port on September 8, 1945. On September 20, it declared that its military government was the only government in South Korea. By this declaration, it became clear that the American military came to Korea not as a liberator but as an occupier. This declaration denied the already acting communists' People's Republic of Korea, and that exiled government formed far earlier than did the democratic Korea in Shanghai. This policy reflects American policy of Asian occupation in the post-war era. This policy was based on their interpretation of the ideological character of anti-colonial movement. Thus it presented dual faces in dealing with newly independent countries. It

supported the anti-colonial force in the country where conservative nationalists held superior power. On the other hand, in the countries where leftists were superior, it supported trusteeship or continuous maintenance of the colonial system (Yang Han-kwŏn 1987: 93). The American military policy-maker in Korea chose the second measure, anti-communist policy. Their policy was to crush the indigenous leftists forces and then build a bulwark against communism. Their original trusteeship, which was enacted in agreement with the Soviet Union, then taking power in the north part of Korea, was dropped. Their policy for building the bulwark against communism led them to plan to establish a separate government in south Korea. This plan ignited opposition from the leftist groups which in turn induced the the occupation government's drastic attack against them. In 1946, the occupation government established a south Korean national guard on the basis of former Japanese military officers. It arrested leftist political party leaders and closed leftist newspapers. Because of this anti-communist mood, violent clashes broke out between the rightist terrorists and the leftist terrorists.

The American forces first arrived on Cheju on September 28, 1945. A small party of officers flew in to receive the surrender of the Japanese on the island. But five days before, the People's Committee was established on Cheju on September 23. At first it was only one of the several competing youth groups and political associations that sprang up on the island after liberation. The U.S. military government was slow to extend its control of the island. Until mid-November when the Fifty-ninth Military Government Company finally arrived, the committee managed to firmly establish itself as "the only party on the island, and to all extents and purposes, the only government." In February 1946, the "central revolutionary organ" of the Democratic People's Front was established under the main faction leadership of the South Korean Labor party (SKLP). The

whole constellation of mass organizations spun off from the committee (including women's groups, a farmers' cooperative, a fishermen's guild, a consumers' club, labor unions, a teachers' guild, and a cultural association) and convened to pass resolutions condemning the "colonial policy of the American imperialists and supporting the decision of the (four power) Moscow Conference" that provided for a period of trusteeship for Korea.

From the start, however, the Cheju-do committee displayed a strong spirit of independence. It was reluctant to subordinate itself to the South Cholla provincial committee. The committee was adamant in insisting that Chejudo should now revert to its pre-colonial status as a separate province. This long-established pattern of independent action by the Chejudo committee should be borne in mind when analyzing the causes of the April Third 1948 rebellion.

Let me describe the general social and economic conditions that affected the prevailing leftist's forces in Cheju that made possible the April Third Event. I follow Yang's analysis which adopted Cummings' hypothesis on the relationship between political turmoil and environmental factors (cf. Yang Han-kwŏn 1987). First, after liberation in August 15, 1945, the population of the island greatly increased 26% between 1944 and 1946. Many immigrants to Japan and Manchuria, who had left for new employment at factories and industries during the 1930s and early 1940s, had returned. When they returned, they were neither peasants nor working class, but somewhere in-between. There were also the people who had experienced the Chinese communist army. Those who were forcefully inducted into the Japanese Imperial Army and mining camps in Japan or who lost their land to colonialists and thus went to Japan for a job were especially strongly influenced by progressive socialist ideologies, and they were the leading rebels who instigated the islanders with communist ideology. Second, geographical isolation contributed to make the people's committee long-lasting

and powerful. Third, previous communist groups such as the Red Peasant Association, which was formed in the thirties for the purpose of the self-defense of the natives' economic rights against the Japanese monopoly of agricultural production (including shell collection by divers) contributed to radicalize the people's action. Fourth, the relatively high percentage of self-employed independent peasants contributed to the ease of their political participation without the intervention of the landlord class, as occurred on the mainland. Fifth, during the interim period after the liberation neither the rightist nor the leftist was dominant, and the slightly superior leftists controlled with moderate policy. Because communication and transportation between the island and the mainland was so bad at that time, the leftists occupied the public media such as the newspapers. As natives they also found it easier to persuade people to join communist organizations. Even the American military government determined that more than 70% of the population was sympathetic with the leftists politically (Yang Han-kwŏn 1987:83). The Korean military history explains that because of the undifferentiated class relations of the peasants and the closed clan-based community life, if one leader was influenced by communism, the whole island was easily infected. This interpretation, representing the official understanding of that period, in fact, offered a reasonable clue to the civilian massacre of the anti-communist operations during the April Third Event.

Besides, there was economic turmoil after the American military government enforced the same Japanese colonial policy to collect rice and grains with violent methods. The American principle of free market competition did not work for Cheju grain products and instead caused monopolization by a few in the landlord class. On Cheju, the American coercive policy of collection met with strong opposition from the natives which was encouraged by the leftists. In response to this native opposition and leftist instigation of anti-Americanism, the

military government sent down the rightist youth groups--the West-North Youth Group--in order to suppress this indigenous riot. These rightist youth groups called the island "red island" and expressed straightforwardly their enmity. Because they were not subsidized by the government, they had to rely on blackmail or usurps for livelihood. Their violence created conflicts with the natives.

In November 1946, the Ninth National Guard Constabulary and Offshore Guard were established in Cheju. The American military government's initial moderate attitude toward the leftist groups became tougher by importing 800 rightist groups from the mainland. In response to this tough attack on the leftists, the former reacted with anti-American propaganda. In 1947 on March 1,¹⁹ 2000 people gathered to memorialize the 1919 March First Independent movement and demonstrated on street, shouting "Get away the American army from south Korea." Around 2500 young men were arrested, and three of them were tortured and murdered, their bodies thrown into a stream. The whole island was enraged and formed an ad hoc committee for a general strike. In total, 40,852 people including government officials participated. It was the first strike in which government official participated.

Indeed, this phenomenon is not unfamiliar to the islanders. As we see the former incidents of peasant rebellion in the nineteenth century such as Pang Song-ch'il's Rebellion and Yi Chae-su's Rebellion, the spirit of anti-foreignism could unify different social classes and interests for a single purpose--self-government. Anti-Americanism must be understood in this context this desire for indigenous independence and separatism (Ko Ch'ang-hun 1988). After this March First event, the military government's arrest and imprisonment of the leftists had increased, and many leaders and their followers ran away and hid themselves deep in the Halla-san. This event was a direct cause of further armed

struggle one year later in 1948. From that autumn of 1947, the leftists strengthened their armaments and recruited more membership at the communist party--the number reached to 60000, nearly 80% of the whole population (Merrill 1980: 157). The party leadership was strengthened with the addition of young radicals with higher education and military experiences. They organized self-defense troops called *chawi-tae* in each village and trained them at secret places such as caves or deep in the mountains.

Meanwhile, the American military government foresaw the impossibility of forming a unified government of north and south Korea, and asked the United Nations to help establish a separate government for each part of Korea. As a result, the UN delegated UNTCOK for this purpose, and UNTCOK decided to enforce a national election on May 10 in 1948. All leftists and communists rejected this idea of two separate governments and called for a general strike on February 7, 1948. The leftists' terrorism to demonstrate their rejection of national election heated up. They attacked police, public offices, assassinated the rightists, and destroyed communication networks. In Cheju, the leftists also attacked police buildings and killed police. After that, the battles of attack and counter-attack between the trained communist guerrillas and police escalated until they blew up on April third, when torch fire on the top of Halla mountain signaled the armed uprising.

Conclusion: A Critique of Historical Discourse

In this chapter I delineated the genealogy of the history of violence to which I compare the particular historical imagery of Cheju. I brought together the two styles of narratives, the oral traditions and the written chronicles of actual events, into an ethnographic story. My primary task here has involved the reconstruction of the history of violence. In doing so, I have tried to convey the

struggle one year later in 1948. From that autumn of 1947, the leftists strengthened their armaments and recruited more membership at the communist party--the number reached to 60000, nearly 80% of the whole population (Merrill 1980: 157). The party leadership was strengthened with the addition of young radicals with higher education and military experiences. They organized self-defense troops called *chawi-tae* in each village and trained them at secret places such as caves or deep in the mountains.

Meanwhile, the American military government foresaw the impossibility of forming a unified government of north and south Korea, and asked the United Nations to help establish a separate government for each part of Korea. As a result, the UN delegated UNTCOK for this purpose, and UNTCOK decided to enforce a national election on May 10 in 1948. All leftists and communists rejected this idea of two separate governments and called for a general strike on February 7, 1948. The leftists' terrorism to demonstrate their rejection of national election heated up. They attacked police, public offices, assassinated the rightists, and destroyed communication networks. In Cheju, the leftists also attacked police buildings and killed police. After that, the battles of attack and counter-attack between the trained communist guerrillas and police escalated until they blew up on April third, when torch fire on the top of Halla mountain signaled the armed uprising.

Conclusion: A Critique of Historical Discourse

In this chapter I delineated the genealogy of the history of violence to which I compare the particular historical imagery of Cheju. I brought together the two styles of narratives, the oral traditions and the written chronicles of actual events, into an ethnographic story. My primary task here has involved the reconstruction of the history of violence. In doing so, I have tried to convey the

ways in which the historical relations of violence, whether originating from marital strife or class conflicts or hegemonic struggles of political ideology, are imaged in the oral or written narratives and are structured in their particular discursive forms.

First I presented the oral traditions in order to examine the way in which the history of violence is constructed with a "positive meaning" to the indigenous people. The oral narratives reflect how the indigenous people interpreted the past and the present as well. At first, I tried to discover the common motif of the mythical life-histories (*ponp'uri*) of shrine gods--who are the lords of the native land and people--and the legends of the local heroes and historical personages, which are thematically connected to the former type of narratives. Those myths and legends were structured by the pairs of polar oppositions between the indigenous and the foreigner (often identified with the mainlanders from the dominant society such as governors). Then I related the conceptual frame revealed in the motif of the oral traditions to the geographical and political reality of this island--as the border and the land of exiles and rebels. The cliché of exile in the tales of mythic figures is conjoined with the actual tragic failure of peasant rebel leaders. This preeminent cognition of the tragic conflict among the mythic figures and their destiny of ostracism produces the popular consciousness of history as tragedy. Once the original event of exile in the myths of the shrine deities is experienced over time repetitively, this experience constitutes the destiny of a people. Put differently in Ricoeur's sense (1980:184), the narrative time of the original event of exile transforms into the "public time" of tragic reality in which the collective memory of violence is rehearsed in ritual recitation.

In fact, this tragic sense of history emerging in those tales of ancestors and heroes is closely articulated to the rhetoric of place of a border and the self-identity of a border people. In the origin myths of the shrine gods and the legends

of baby generals, the mythical heroes who are exiled, hungry, and oppressed, are the self-image of the Cheju people. Living in the same devastated reality as his or her ancestral heroes, the storyteller imagines these mythic protagonists flying and escaping the island or returning from exile in order to avenge. These fantastic elements of stories reflect the indigenous narrators' redemptive desires for liberation from the dominant society. In fact, their millenarian dream of independence and separatism, and for the reestablishment of the lost ancient kingdom--whose kingship was completely subjugated into the Yi dynasty in 1405--was repeatedly tested and also realized in the historical events of the peasant revolts in the nineteenth century and the armed uprisings of the indigenous communist guerrillas in 1948. My analysis has focused on the way in which the rhetoric of place and identity is socially constructed through both oral narratives and also the historiographies of the conquest and subjugation of Cheju Island.

In this context, I proposed that the history of violence should be understood in terms of a set of power relations between the center and the border. This imagery of center-border relations is concretely manifested in the contradiction between the state as the absolute landlord and the local people who claimed their ancestral ownership of the supernatural land--the *tang* shrines. The governors had an ambivalent attitude towards the local practices of the shrine ceremonies: on the one hand they greatly feared them as potentially rebellious, and detested them as barbarism on the other. Governor Lee's destruction of five hundred *tang* shrines was justified by this ideology of moral order and feudal conquest. On the other hand, the indigenous people, regardless of class difference, reacted against the hegemony of the state with the intense violence of vengeance that, in turn, provoked the counter-insurgency violence from the governing regime (see Yi Chae-su's rebellion). Indeed, the history of violence cannot be explained without a reference to the legacy of resistance which has been naturalized as a distinct

Cheju culture by the indigenous people themselves. In justifying their acts of revenge, the indigenous people used the characteristics of defeat and submission attributed to them by the ruler as the pre-condition for resistance against the hegemonic power of the center, represented by the governor and the parasitic native Confucian elites. In this sense, the collective sense of tragic fate (*han*) that permeates the Cheju oral tradition must be interpreted as an expression of the people's subversive will of justice. As such, the power relation between the state and the local people spatially framed as the center and the border constitutes the history of violence and accentuates the popular tragic consciousness of the reality of life at a border.

Nevertheless, my concern is not to reiterate the objective status of the historical reality of a border; rather it lies with the procedures by which the spatial sense of a border as being the "real" and also the experience of what "actually happened" are produced linguistically.²⁰ The meaning of reality is constructed through language. I want to analyze the imagery of a border through the notion of discourse, that is, language as social text. Paraphrasing Bakhtin's discourse theory, Stewart emphasizes the social production of discourse and its intertextual construction:

Language can "make present" others who are physically absent, move one situation into another through the stock of knowledge at hand, even objectify the biographical situation by which the very notion of the self emerges... Any instance of discourse can be seen as a social event in that any utterance always implies and produces a possible listener, and, as well, a possible society. Conversely, social events can be seen as "textual" in that their borders, contents, and results are a matter of convention and interpretation that are themselves subject to the ongoing social process(1978:13).

Stewart assumes that there exist multiple texts or intertexts of discourse that produce specific rules of reading or interpreting any other text. Each reading and interpretation of a text operates by the different rules of the epistemological principles as well as moral principles. Indeed, the border image

attributed to Cheju was a hegemonic projection into, and will to govern over, Cheju Island. If I use Williams' term (1977), it was the mimetic reproduction of "the structure of feelings," which is created and sustained by the system of differences--that constructs a moral topography of conquest and subjugation (cf. Taussig (1984b). Nonetheless, this system of differences is not generic as Stewart predicts,²¹ but framed by a whole set of forces that brought the border into the dominant sense of moral justice and also the sovereign power of a state in the center, whether "the state" is the feudal society of the Yi dynasty, Japanese colonial government, the American occupation forces or the modern nation-state of South Korea which has anti-communism as a national policy. In the concrete, the spatial image of Cheju as the borderland of exiles is based upon an epistemological distinction between "the border" and "the center," two domains of power. Particularly under the intense colonial control of Cheju during the Yi dynasty, this spatial frame of opposition constituted a body of knowledge in which the border people were "contained and represented" as exiles by the dominating frameworks of knowledge.

This simple, passionate framework of the center-border imagery is so pervasive that it produces endlessly the structure of differences in such a way that the Cheju people internalize their fate of being exiles from the dominant society, constantly scheming flight despite two hundred years of exit ban or revenge through peasant revolts.²² On the other hand, the governing authorities interpret the indigenous people's petitions for legal justice and self-reliance such as religious ceremonies for ancestors and the worship of village gods as seditious resistance, and justifiably suppress them with violence. In short, the Cheju 'border' is intertextually constructed as the 'imagined frontier' of sovereignty and justice. The strong regionalism and independent cultural identity of the Cheju people are indeed the products of dialectical (rather than consensual) interaction

of indigenous local discourse and state discourse of power--that is, control of space and self--which are mutually embedding and inverting each other.

The discourse over the control of a border--whether local or state discourse--makes meaningful the Cheju history of violence and not the reality itself.

Moreover, in search of the 'positive meaning' of history in Barthes' term, this history of violence has been reproduced through intertextual dialectic between hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse. The typical mode of hegemonic discourse can be seen in the realist discourse of the elite literary historian, whose mentality is formed around the political ideology of dominance and cultural colonialism. Not only the dynastic record of events (*silok*) but also the written records of personal reminiscences such as Governor Lee's memoirs and, the political exile of the late Yi dynasty. Kim Yun-sik's journals of the Yi Chae-su's Insurgency in 1901 are traditional examples of this type of discourse. Recent records of the April Third Event by the military official historians follow this traditional historiography that intend to justify the sovereign power of the state and the violent oppression of indigenous resistance.

On the other hand, the radical historiography that emphasizes class-bound polarity as the momentum of popular revolts and the motifs of oral traditions represents the counter-hegemonic discourse. This discourse was originally constructed as the indigenous rhetoric of rebellion (Yi Sun-ok 1932; Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982), but was later reframed in the Marxist ideology of class-conflicts. This later development of counter-hegemonic discourse is well illustrated in the recent heated debate on "the people's history" (*minjung sa*) or popular historiography (cf. Song Kŏn-ho et al., 1983). These historiographies are quite recent trends of less than one year in Korea, and originally purport to break the oppressive secrecy and silence about the April Third Event. They start with the rediscovery of the nineteenth century's peasant revolts as pioneer struggles for anti-feudalism and

anti-imperialism that could provide the legitimate model for the current political struggles of anti-Americanism and reunification of Korea.

Yet in spite of its initial intention to demystify the hegemonic narrative and its achievement to uphold moral purity of the indigenous resistance, the effort for the rediscovery of the past heroic actions of the indigenous people has a danger of mystifying the people's history. In fact, this danger of mystification, at odds with its original good intention, lies in the fact that the counter-hegemonic discourse starts with the same assumption as the the hegemonic discourse that interprets indigenous practices as organized and consciously enacted resistance led by the mighty leaders such as Pang Song-ch'il or Yi Chae-su. Although most of the indigenous uprisings are referred to by the name of the rebel heads, any idealization of the mighty leaders' conscious ideology would make their followers innocent dupes of prophetic men. Such a purely ideological discourse tends to see nothing but solidarity in rebel behavior adorned with "the glare of a perfect and immaculate consciousness," failing to see its other, the betrayal which was oftentimes the direct cause of the failure of the indigenous uprisings (Guha 1983:37). As Guha puts it, this type of radical historiography commits itself to "the same disdain for political unconsciousness of the peasant masses" as the elitist nationalist historiography does, and thus fails to acknowledge its mediation of the peasant's idea of power and all the resultant contradictions (Guha *ibid.*:35). Rationalizing the ambiguities of rebel politics which is usually permeated by local sectarianism (*Ibid.*:37) with a totalizing logic of Marxist revolution, even the radical historiography falls into an abstract and sterile discourse. Moreover, by directly addressing the dominant discourse, the counter-hegemonic discourse maintains the rather dependent relationship to the latter. In spite of the differences in narrative structure, the historical meaning of violence and the effects of truth in both forms of discourse appear identical.

Unwittingly, their parasitic relationship reproduces the 'positive meaning' of the history of violence that makes inescapably present the reality of violence. This is a true tragedy of history.

The tragedy of these two forms of historical discourse stems not only from their failure to end violence but also from their perverse rationalization of violence by means of narration of events. Both historical discourses tend to narrate particular historical events with dramatic impulses seeking solutions of the power conflicts at stake. By dealing with the crisis events in history as the space of *liminality*--the state of transition--they accept the truth of the fateful impossibility to escape violence. They believe that there is a certain rule of transgression in violence which is permissible. As a result, in line with the Turnerian scheme of ritual process (1969:95; cf. Guha 1983), both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourse justify violence as the process for the preparation of reordering society, and even further formulate tragic actions as an art form, necessary for the rejuvenation of social sentiment.

Such a rationalization of violence in both forms of historical discourse is based on the premise that people's thought and action are consciously planned, therefore readable and persistent through time.²³ However, there is a realm of non-reality that evades common sense and conscious experiences and is therefore unreadable and inconsistent through time. This realm is non-hegemonic in that it defies any conscious act of structuring or reordering conflicts of power. Broadly speaking, this is the realm of shamanism in which such various historical streams of discourse collide to become accessible to the magical act of healing. As illustrated in the introductory chapter, for example, Mizo's dream images of the bleeding man and woman signify this realm where people present "the intimate perspective" of the innocent deaths during the April Third Event that elude or slip through the inter-network of discourses, either the official or the

radical. Without conscious ideological claims, the shamanic dream conveys the mystery of power and the magic of the history of violence, "embodying both a presentation and a counter-presentation of the historical time." The magical power of Mizo's divinatory dream that eventually brought about the patient's cure lies in its oppositional practice in complicity. The dream images reveal the negative truth of the April Third Event, that is, civilian massacres by state power, while congealing its popular memory into a political unconsciousness. The two victims' dream appearance to the neophyte shaman who had no sense or experience of that particular historical event is a displacing (not merely a denying) gesture of the popular memory that reverses the interdict against the oppressive rule of silence and secrecy. It was in 1985, only after having dreamt those terrifying images when Mizo first read a short story about the April Third Event, *Suni Samch'on*, written by Hyŏn Ki-yŏng (1979).

In short, the Cheju shaman's divinatory dreams featuring such terrifying images is such an unemphatic, ad hoc, subaltern rewriting of the social text of the civilian massacre as much as the hegemonic account of the anti-communist state policy. In the next chapter, I will present a Cheju simbang's life story, focused on her initiation dream. I will show how the shamanic healing rites serve to mediate the subaltern contradictions of the historical relations of power and reproduce artfully the difference in meanings and the effects of violence. I will also show how this subaltern rewriting of the history of violence through the media of dreams and life stories brings about the healing of tragic memories and personal wounds, which eventually results in a new way of life, as she herself becomes a shamanic healer.

Notes to Chapter 4

¹There are thirty names of the island in the ancient records. This plurality indicates the weak identity of the kingdom (Cheju-si 1985).

²There are still ports on the southern shore, whose names are identical with the name of Chinese Tang Dynasty in the sixth century implying a broad and frequent trade relationship with foreign countries (Cheju-si 1985:154; Kim T'ae-nung 1970). These places were also the spots where some Dutch sailors drifted to the island on the way to Nagasaki, Japan in the seventeenth century. These sailors were captured by Cheju soldiers and imprisoned for a while in Cheju before they were sent up to Seoul. They spent three more decades in captivity in a southern province. One of the sailors, Hamel, who ran away to Japan and then back to his country, wrote a record of his adventures. It was the first book that introduced Korea to the west (Hamel 1813).

³It is known through legend that people preferred daughters to sons because men were needed for defensive armies, and thought the dead more blessed than the living due to the soldiers' high death tolls (Hyon Ki-ron 1982).

⁴See White (1979;1983) on historical narrative or metahistory as the textualization of the historical discourse.

⁵This term of *tojikwan* sounds the same as *dojikwan* which was the honorary title of governorship given to the former feudal lords of the Tamna kingdom after they, the king and the prince dedicated back their royal titles in 1404. The Yi dynasty withdrew even this honorary title in 1445 (Cheju-si 1985:165). I presume these two words are related although it is not scholarly proven.

⁶For the Cheju people, the *tang* shrine exists not merely the key institution in the formation of social continuity; but also the physical space they appropriate and reappropriate in order to express their awareness of historical struggles for territorial defense. See Poole (1987) and J. Rappaport (1985) for the ethnohistorical studies of South American Indians' practice of territory-building and territorial defense through allegiance to the mythical chiefs and ancestors.

⁷What Barthes means by intelligibility of history indicates the particular speech-act or narrativity (of a single historian) in White's term, more than realism of concrete details. According to him, any historical reality is the representation of *someone's* meaning that "can be to *meet the needs of history* (my emphasis)" (Barthes 1970:155). Such a Barthian theoretical contention of historical discourse focuses on the monological production of discourse, which is quite different from Bakhtin's concept of discourse as contextually produced without the authorial signature of that *someone*. Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia (1981), the discourse which is populated by multiple voices and consciousness, is the theoretical model I follow and use in this chapter.

⁸See Rosaldo (1980), Tedlock (1985), Willis (1981) for further interest in an anthrohistorical approach to indigenous history as "orally written" as the natives themselves interpret it.

⁹For the insight to this connection between Benjamin's notion of "author as producer" and the idea of the indigenous author as a positioned subject in the colonial situation, I thank Janise Hurtig.

¹⁰These shrines are called the seventh or eighth day shrines by folklorists, indicating the particularly fixed date of ceremonies, for example, the seventh, the seventeenth, and the twenty-seventh day. Each deity has a specific name and *ponp'uri* although all of them are in charge of children's disease. Mostly they are portrayed as elderly women whose husbands are the lords of the village land, *ponhyang* (Hyön Yong-jun 1970).

¹¹Miller calls this device of chronological distance between exile and return, and of making an abrupt change of mythic protagonist leading to final victorious conquest the "magical" rhetoric of the oral traditions (1980:36).

¹²This difference of age corresponds to the different versions of *ponp'uri* of the son gods. In the case of Kimnyong Kwoenegi Tang, he was three at the time of exile.

¹³It has been well known that the Cheju people have strong spirit of independence and self-defiance. This character is expressed concretely in their offensive attitude toward outside visitors and tourists and also in their constant claim for political separatism (Yu Chöl-in 1985).

¹⁴Ever since then, *sanchon-che* has been performed once a year in the spring. These days, this ceremonial date marks the peak of tourists from the mainland because its timing is attuned to the season of full bloom of the spring flowers at Mt. Halla.

¹⁵There are very few legends based on those events of the popular revolts. (The most recent one is about the Yi Chae-su Uprising in 1901.) Perhaps new legends are in the process of formation; yet it might take time for temporal distancing and sedimentation of immediate experience and feelings under the subterranean level of consciousness.

¹⁶The Japanese owner of the fish processing company, Kosen Ryujuro, was particularly instrumental in aiding the militia groups, supplying them with several hundred swords and rifles and instigating them to kill the priests and converts at a crucial point in the rebellion (Merrill 1980). A contemporary Catholic nun and also historian, Kim Ok-hee stresses this aspect of the power conflict between Japanese and French colonial forces in her documentary book on this event (1980). Feeling indignant about the rebel army's violent massacre of Catholic converts, she rather purposefully pictures a passive undertaking of the indigenous uprising under the colonial scheme of Japanese. By contrast, non-Catholic historians tend to focus on the anti-western colonialism character of the local self-defence group (Chang Chin-gak 1983; Kim T'ae-nŭng 1962-3) or to glorify the heroic acts of the rebel head (O Sŏng-chän 1967).

¹⁷Mass slaughter of Christians and sympathizers remaining in the countryside began. O Tae-hyon was released under pressure from the strengthened militia forces. The indignant O stirred up the people of the island further, calling on them "to kill the Catholics like a wolf kills sheep." (Merrill 1980)

¹⁸According to the court record of the criminals from the uprising, a thousand women were the leading mob who stirred up townspeople to rise up against the Catholics and French priests who held the armory (Kim Ok-hee 1980).

¹⁹The underlined dates of the indigenous insurgencies such as March 1, 1947, and February 7, 1948 indicate the events which are often remembered by date in Cheju simbangs' recitation of the origins of lesser evil spirits (*chapkwŭi*) during the shamanic rites.

²⁰Not only the domain of common sense as being "the real" but also a domain experienced through the senses, through the "actually happened." (Stewart 1978:13)

²¹Stewart says, "specific rules for interpretation will depend on culture-bound concepts emergent in the stock of knowledge at hand, and upon members' perceptions of generic differences between speech events" (1978:154).

²²See Yu Chŏl-in's article (1985) on the cognitive identity of the Cheju people as opposed to the mainlanders.

²³See Comaroff (1984) for further interest in the cultural history of violence as are structured in religious practice.

CHAPTER 5

A LIFE STORY IN THE TIMES: A SHAMAN'S FATE

A Painful Story

"Aih, it is hurting! Whenever I think about it, my heart aches severely," Kun Simbang lowered her voice, bringing herself close to me. After a pause, she blew cigarette smoke as if sighing. Her sons and their wives were in another room across the floor. Kun Simbang was worried that one of her sons, the middle one, would notice she was telling the story to me. He had reacted very sensitively to the story-telling of his mother's past. Around the time of my fieldwork, I was staying at her house, sharing her daughter's room. It was around 9 o'clock in the evening. She was whispering. The son she was concerned was born in the year when her husband was shot to death.

Tonight Kun Simbang volunteered to tell her life story to the tape. She asked me to write a personal statement in order to apply to the government for reconsideration of her veteran pension on behalf of her dead husband. The pension was stopped twenty years ago. The government recently announced that they would reimburse lost or unclaimed pensions to the people whose pensions had been stopped for some reason. If people reapplied with cogent background stories of why they were stopped, they would receive the pension again monthly. Kun Simbang's husband had been serving a local militia for defense of the village when the gun accident had occurred in 1953.

¹⁹The underlined dates of the indigenous insurgencies such as March 1, 1947, and February 7, 1948 indicate the events which are often remembered by date in Cheju simbangs' recitation of the origins of lesser evil spirits (*chapkwŭi*) during the shamanic rites.

²⁰Not only the domain of common sense as being "the real" but also a domain experienced through the senses, through the "actually happened." (Stewart 1978:13)

²¹Stewart says, "specific rules for interpretation will depend on culture-bound concepts emergent in the stock of knowledge at hand, and upon members' perceptions of generic differences between speech events" (1978:154).

²²See Yu Chŏl-in's article (1985) on the cognitive identity of the Cheju people as opposed to the mainlanders.

²³See Comaroff (1984) for further interest in the cultural history of violence as are structured in religious practice.

CHAPTER 5

A LIFE STORY IN THE TIMES: A SHAMAN'S FATE

A Painful Story

"Aih, it is hurting! Whenever I think about it, my heart aches severely," Kun Simbang lowered her voice, bringing herself close to me. After a pause, she blew cigarette smoke as if sighing. Her sons and their wives were in another room across the floor. Kun Simbang was worried that one of her sons, the middle one, would notice she was telling the story to me. He had reacted very sensitively to the story-telling of his mother's past. Around the time of my fieldwork, I was staying at her house, sharing her daughter's room. It was around 9 o'clock in the evening. She was whispering. The son she was concerned was born in the year when her husband was shot to death.

Tonight Kun Simbang volunteered to tell her life story to the tape. She asked me to write a personal statement in order to apply to the government for reconsideration of her veteran pension on behalf of her dead husband. The pension was stopped twenty years ago. The government recently announced that they would reimburse lost or unclaimed pensions to the people whose pensions had been stopped for some reason. If people reapplied with cogent background stories of why they were stopped, they would receive the pension again monthly. Kun Simbang's husband had been serving a local militia for defense of the village when the gun accident had occurred in 1953.

"Then. The month of winter solstice. The second eighth day. The year of snake. The day of his death. Then he was shot to death during the turbulent times (*siguk*)."

I took out a notebook and started to write down what she was telling as she was watching what I was doing. She suggested that tape her story. She stressed that her life story would sound like a novel. To me, it was actually the first time she told me her life history in the mode of a formal interview, and in chronological order. She knew I always wanted to get her life history although she never responded with enthusiasm. This interview was requested by her, and not the other way around. Moreover it was involved in her economic cause as well as her personal honor. Kun Simbang was getting old, and these days was doing shamanic rites less and less due to her declining health. If she succeeded in getting the pension again, it would be a good regular income source. She asked me where she might start her story. I suggested she would begin with the time of her marriage to her dead husband. After some brief introductory information about the age of both people when they married and the place they lived together, she quickly moved to the story of her husband's death event.

"The people's militia. He went to the upper village on the mountain area in order to protect the thousands of villagers who were going there to collect fire wood. I did not go there with him. It is said that he was shot by the guerrillas (*p'okdo*)...It is also said that although a fellow militia man from the same village warned him not to load bullets in his rifle, he ignored it and then loaded them. When they fell down together later, he was shot. Thus, do not write in such a way that the two did it to each other, but please just write he was shot by a gun. Aih! The time was so unpredictable because the guerillas surfaced frequently. The law people came and did a funeral. They paid all funeral costs. And on a monthly basis, I received some money like that for a soldier's compensation."

This story Kun Simbang told is not merely a life story of a distinct individual as a shaman. Her autobiographical story attests to the history of modern Korea as it had shaped her personal suffering and also transformed her into a simbang. In this chapter I present the life story of Kun Simbang, a 64-year-old female shaman who lives in the Kosalmi Village, a seashore fishing village in northeast Cheju Island. In general, my story line follows the chronology of her life story, ranging from her birth and widowhood to the self-transformation into a simbang at the late age of forty-two. The purpose of this telling is to show how much an autobiographical story of a shaman's fate is entwined with the construction of modern history of Korea, and illuminates its progress.

Brief Biography of Kun Simbang

The following is a brief summary of the chronological sequence of the main events that Kun Simbang recounts. Although her life story was told several times with slight variations and changes in the arrangements of the life events for different audiences, it recounts a series of incidents (including the April Third Event) that Kun Simbang herself regards as significant in shaping her life as a shaman.

She was born in 1922 in a rich local gentry family in a northeast coastal village of Cheju Island. When her mother died of sudden illness when she was six and at the same time her father, having lost land to Japanese land survey officials, left for Japan with her brother; she alone moved to her grandmother's house in Kosalmi. She has been living in the same village ever since. At that time her grandmother was an active simbang and midwife. At 18, she was forced by her grandmother to marry a 22-year-old man from the neighboring village. They lived as day laborers on others' farms because they had no piece of land of their own nor any other way of earning money with their hands.

This story Kun Simbang told is not merely a life story of a distinct individual as a shaman. Her autobiographical story attests to the history of modern Korea as it had shaped her personal suffering and also transformed her into a simbang. In this chapter I present the life story of Kun Simbang, a 64-year-old female shaman who lives in the Kosalmi Village, a seashore fishing village in northeast Cheju Island. In general, my story line follows the chronology of her life story, ranging from her birth and widowhood to the self-transformation into a simbang at the late age of forty-two. The purpose of this telling is to show how much an autobiographical story of a shaman's fate is entwined with the construction of modern history of Korea, and illuminates its progress.

Brief Biography of Kun Simbang

The following is a brief summary of the chronological sequence of the main events that Kun Simbang recounts. Although her life story was told several times with slight variations and changes in the arrangements of the life events for different audiences, it recounts a series of incidents (including the April Third Event) that Kun Simbang herself regards as significant in shaping her life as a shaman.

She was born in 1922 in a rich local gentry family in a northeast coastal village of Cheju Island. When her mother died of sudden illness when she was six and at the same time her father, having lost land to Japanese land survey officials, left for Japan with her brother; she alone moved to her grandmother's house in Kosalmi. She has been living in the same village ever since. At that time her grandmother was an active simbang and midwife. At 18, she was forced by her grandmother to marry a 22-year-old man from the neighboring village. They lived as day laborers on others' farms because they had no piece of land of their own nor any other way of earning money with their hands.

The times were very hard for most of the islanders in the late thirties. The Japanese colonial government used Cheju Island as a military base in preparation for the Pacific War against the U.S.A. They constructed an Air Force airpost and numerous hiding posts for soldiers along the seashore. They also established a new technology of fishing and a processing industry for export. Many floating labor forces from the landless farm workers and hungry but poorly-equipped fishermen were recruited with cheap wages. One factory for fish and shell processing was established in the village of Kosalmi. Kun Simbang's husband got a job there. They moved there and lived together with Kun Simbang's grandmother.

In 1948 the April Third Event of the communist guerrillas broke out. Internal war lasted for six years until 1957. In the midst of this turmoil, Kun Simbang's husband, then a member of the village militia, was killed *by the communist guerrilla* in 1953 when the Korean War was nearly over. After her husband's death, she was left with six children and the prospect of poverty. Born as an independent-spirited Cheju woman, however, she survived for six more years until she failed completely in her own onion-trading business and ended in serious debt. Being unable to pay the debt and as a result losing her house and all her possessions to her creditor, she fled to an isolated island to the south of the peninsula, carrying her seven-year-old son on her back. For three years of exile in the island, she tried to save money from diving and hawking sea shells she herself caught. Then she met a married rich farmer and had two daughters with him. When she got seriously ill and used up all her savings in vain for medical treatment, the man betrayed her and fled. She had to return to Cheju again empty-handed and with two daughters, since their father had refused to take custody of them. Her eldest daughter had married, but that still left Kun

with five children. She barely survived with government's free welfare food, was given as compensation for her husband's death.

At the age of 42 she had her first healing experience, and subsequently had a mysterious dream in which a giant man prophesied that she would be released from poverty and was destined to become a simbang. That dream came true in reality. As her clients in the village increased in number and brought rice and money as payments for her healing practices, her family could then live securely. At 45 she became ill again; then she was advised to have a formal initiation rite. She had this rite. Afterwards she expanded her activities outside the village and traveled around widely as the chief director of five or six assistant shamans' ritual performance troupes.

Although now she wishes to retire from her activities at the age of 64 and pass her career on to her daughter, Mizo, she maintains a strong sense of self-dignity as a self-supporting woman and a qualified simbang. Four years ago in 1981, she herself attended as the host of Mizo's initiation rite. She takes great pride in Mizo's current social success as a government-appointed apprentice of Ahn Simbang, a great simbang whose performing art is officially designated as the Invisible Cultural Treasure in 1981. However, because Kun Simbang insists that the priority of the simbang's ritual service for the villagers as a community servant as traditionally defined (and Kun Simbang is actually serving as a priest of the Sea God Shrine among four village shrines), she conflicts with Mizo who prefers working outside for better payment in cities and on a publicly splendid career as a folk artist. Mizo is a well-known artist to Cheju people because she appears in the mass media occasionally at cultural events in Cheju. Besides, she is spot-lighted by folklore scholars as well as by other modern artists for her performing art; this fame has come to her specifically because she is the only

young *simbang* who has had a formal initiation rite, a formality that has been neglected by young novices these days.

A Life Story: Myth or History

In the literature about Korean shamanism, the shaman is most often presented as a *folk hero*, whose life was once weighted with poverty, low social ranking, and a series of tragic experiences such as the deaths of the beloved or incurable illnesses, but who in the end achieves a respectable position, divine in nature (Harvey 1979; Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1978; Kim T'ae-gon 1981). The importance of the initiation sickness or *shinbyŏng*, an illness caused by a god, is emphasized to explain this heroic transformation, which conjures up a sense of mystery. For example, a prospective shaman suffers from an unidentifiable illness for a long time, perhaps even a sudden fit of hysteria. He or she dreams of a particular image in the painting of shamanic gods; has a hallucinogenic experience of hearing drumming sounds, or receives in a dream a mysterious command from unknown dead shamans to pick up ritual paraphernalia buried in certain places. There is a certain truth to this mythologizing tendency. Even ordinary people can predict that a person afflicted by such symptoms becomes a shaman; he or she can become one in no other way because he is fated to be one. Such experiences of mysterious initiation and transformation are often made mythic, into ecstasy or an archetype of primordial religion to represent shamanism in general. Hence the conventional scholarship on Korean shamanism tends to concentrate on the mystery of initiation. Only certain facts of a shaman's life are selected in the presentation of a shaman's life story, for example, the initiation sickness and its divine manifestation. Even the shamans themselves focus on these facts of their own life stories.

young *simbang* who has had a formal initiation rite, a formality that has been neglected by young novices these days.

A Life Story: Myth or History

In the literature about Korean shamanism, the shaman is most often presented as a *folk hero*, whose life was once weighted with poverty, low social ranking, and a series of tragic experiences such as the deaths of the beloved or incurable illnesses, but who in the end achieves a respectable position, divine in nature (Harvey 1979; Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1978; Kim T'ae-gon 1981). The importance of the initiation sickness or *shinbyŏng*, an illness caused by a god, is emphasized to explain this heroic transformation, which conjures up a sense of mystery. For example, a prospective shaman suffers from an unidentifiable illness for a long time, perhaps even a sudden fit of hysteria. He or she dreams of a particular image in the painting of shamanic gods; has a hallucinogenic experience of hearing drumming sounds, or receives in a dream a mysterious command from unknown dead shamans to pick up ritual paraphernalia buried in certain places. There is a certain truth to this mythologizing tendency. Even ordinary people can predict that a person afflicted by such symptoms becomes a shaman; he or she can become one in no other way because he is fated to be one. Such experiences of mysterious initiation and transformation are often made mythic, into ecstasy or an archetype of primordial religion to represent shamanism in general. Hence the conventional scholarship on Korean shamanism tends to concentrate on the mystery of initiation. Only certain facts of a shaman's life are selected in the presentation of a shaman's life story, for example, the initiation sickness and its divine manifestation. Even the shamans themselves focus on these facts of their own life stories.

However, there remains something else as yet untold or un-mythologized which would be seen from outside the life story itself. Instead of easily lapsing into rehearsing a life story, here I want to pay careful attention to the complexities of the relationships between the storyteller and the life story as a text, the text as it is told and its context, the storyteller and the self-images with which the storyteller represents herself. In short, the project is to de-mystify the version of "shamanism" that has been made into an abstract academic object. The mysterious character of the shaman's personal experiences must be tentatively eliminated in order to reveal the objective truth which can not be so easily construed by the singular voice of the shaman storyteller or the interpreter. Instead of evoking the mystery of a shaman's life, I want to discuss the discourse of contradictions which have inhered in that mystery allowing the life story to appeal to us as "history" rather than "myth". If a shaman is a folk hero among Cheju Islanders, then I am more interested in the way in which the shaman is made to be so within the context of the social reality of Cheju Island.

It is not only the actual social and historical reality in which the shaman lives that constitutes the background of the "mysterious" experiences. The individual shaman also uses the reality, either consciously or unconsciously, to form his or her own personal identity as a shaman. In other words, the myth of a shaman as a folk hero serves as a medium for his or her self-transformation, not the outcome. At this point, however, I must clarify the fact that the first task of this demystifying project is to erase the "mysterious" image of the shaman. For this purpose I leave *empty* the locus of the subject of storytelling and let a discourse of contradictions among elements of the life story fill this space.

Methodology

Often, life stories of shamans are collected through either formal or informal interviews over a period of research by the researcher whose questions were prepared in advance, depending on the particular objectives of the research project itself. Therefore, the significance of those stories lies in the mind of the researcher rather than in that of the storyteller. However easy or difficult it is to make the person interviewed open his or her heart, a certain degree of compliance and compromise between the interviewed and the interviewer is involved in the process of storytelling. It is hard to judge whether the story given or recorded conveys the truth-content of the life of the storyteller. In order to get the highest plausibility of the life story as demanded for the purpose of analytic discourse, the recorder concentrates on developing a technique of interviewing and analyzing the interviewed text.

Besides these practical questions, several interpretive questions arise: Whose demand or desire for storytelling is involved here and how much does it manipulate the situation of storytelling? To what degree is the dialogue of both the interviewer and the interviewed considered significant to the analysis of the story? How do we measure the pleasure or pain of evoking the often tragic events of one's past life? With respect to the particular genre of storytelling of own one's life rather than someone else's, where do we locate this genre in the history of oral traditions and how can we explain the epistemological gap between the life story told as a living part of personal experience and its textual representation in the form of literary discourse? (Cf. Crapanzano 1980; Connor 1986; Kendall 1988).

Although it is not my primary purpose here to go deeper into these theoretical questions, I will keep them in mind throughout the process of my presentation of the life story of Kun Simbang. My specific interest in bringing

Methodology

Often, life stories of shamans are collected through either formal or informal interviews over a period of research by the researcher whose questions were prepared in advance, depending on the particular objectives of the research project itself. Therefore, the significance of those stories lies in the mind of the researcher rather than in that of the storyteller. However easy or difficult it is to make the person interviewed open his or her heart, a certain degree of compliance and compromise between the interviewed and the interviewer is involved in the process of storytelling. It is hard to judge whether the story given or recorded conveys the truth-content of the life of the storyteller. In order to get the highest plausibility of the life story as demanded for the purpose of analytic discourse, the recorder concentrates on developing a technique of interviewing and analyzing the interviewed text.

Besides these practical questions, several interpretive questions arise: Whose demand or desire for storytelling is involved here and how much does it manipulate the situation of storytelling? To what degree is the dialogue of both the interviewer and the interviewed considered significant to the analysis of the story? How do we measure the pleasure or pain of evoking the often tragic events of one's past life? With respect to the particular genre of storytelling of own one's life rather than someone else's, where do we locate this genre in the history of oral traditions and how can we explain the epistemological gap between the life story told as a living part of personal experience and its textual representation in the form of literary discourse? (Cf. Crapanzano 1980; Connor 1986; Kendall 1988).

Although it is not my primary purpose here to go deeper into these theoretical questions, I will keep them in mind throughout the process of my presentation of the life story of Kun Simbang. My specific interest in bringing

them forth in those introductory remarks is to emphasize the *non-identity* between the facts of life told and their representations, either subjective (and autobiographical) or objective (and literary). Depending on the particular situation of the storytelling and the desire of the storyteller, the life story varies in terms of the arrangement of the life events and the performative effect of the storytelling itself, both for the storyteller and the audience. In short, we must consider the multiple vocality of a life story as well as its multiple versions that may relativize the pre-eminence of an authorial story.

There are eight versions of Kun Simbang's life story, including two of her daughter's, Mizo. All of them are characterized as autobiographical narratives except two that were collected through formally arranged interviews. These collected biographical materials, on tape or in field notebooks, display some commonalities in the contours of their accounts. One interview of Kun Simbang was conducted for the purpose of a video-taping in August 1985, and another interview of her daughter, Mizo, was done in my presence by two female reporters from a tourist magazine publisher in Cheju. Among the six autobiographical narratives, two texts come from these two mother-and-daughter's recitations of their own life histories during the special rituals at their house shrine conducted exclusively for the sake of their tutelary deities or *chosang*. One occasion was the daughter's initiation rite in 1982 (from the field notes of Ms. Han Lim-hwa who kindly lent me many valuable materials), and another occurred on both simbangs' common *chosang*'s birthday on September 29 (according to the lunar calendar) in 1984. The other four texts are excerpted from fieldwork notebooks; they are mostly taken from Kun Simbang's improvisatory storytelling of her own life history (*saraon-yŏkdae*, literally meaning the chronicle of life as lived) in a casual and ordinary situation, like idle talk after dinner in the presence of neighbors, close friends, and family members. Depending on the circumstances of the

storytelling, the texts vary, and the tone of the storyteller's voice also varies, between forceful and passive. And each story conveys different moral values of her own about human affairs and the historical events that she experienced.

In this context I want to re-emphasize that there can be no single-voiced life story which can represent the typical life history of the Cheju simbang. Each text of Kun Simbang's autobiographical narratives is not complete enough to articulate the reality of her life in an ideal order. My presentation of her life story here is drawn from many anecdotes that are not well inter-connected in terms of facts or themes. If there is an integrity in one's life experiences, there might not be an integral logic connecting each different anecdote. However, I present the way in which Kun simbang's life story becomes her autobiography posing as a mythical charter of her professional qualifications. In the ordinary scenes of Korean village life, it is easy for us to think of a story-teller's retelling of her own life story as that of a person recounting a story in which she is the legendary protagonist of the life adventures. Even I myself felt embarrassed listening to the stories of internal and external experiences, not all of which were happy. More often than ordinary people, however, the simbangs tend to tell and retell their life stories, which are deeply tinged by regrets and resentment against their fate of becoming a member of the lowest and most neglected social class. They indeed have led extraordinary lives. Their sufferings, social and also physical (from the divine illness caused by their tutelary gods), are expressed in the native term as "fated life which is turned upside down." Thus their life stories tend to break in on the lethargic ordinary sense of human sufferings and make clear to the audience the invincible truth of social injustice engraved in their ill-fated lives.

In terms of their textual representations, the life stories of the simbangs told either privately or in the public rituals take on a mythic aura. For example,

the odd constellation of the noble birth of Kun Simbang in a local elite family and her drastic downfall to that of a social outcast after the age of 42 without any plausible explanation may sufficiently suggest something of a mythic quality. This mythic aura indeed does justice to the extraordinary portrayal of the simbang as a folk hero. However, at the moment of the retelling of those unfamiliar stories by the familiar persons sitting beside them, the audience awakens and witnesses with sobriety the ordinariness of those mythical stories and characters. De-mystification of the "heroic" posture of the simbang occurs right here in the ordinary context of telling as well as in the process of textual transference. As I set out in the beginning of this chapter, I claim to engage in the project of the de-mystification of Cheju simbang's image as a folk hero by exposing the ordinariness of the extra-ordinary life of Kun Simbang and her daughter, Mizo.

There are two reasons why I chose Kun Simbang and Mizo to present the life story of a Cheju shaman. These two are the simbangs with whom I had been acquainted for the longest time, living near them for the first four months and in their house afterwards. Therefore I thought it would be much easier for me to get an intimate sense of their personal lives on a daily basis and also to follow up the contour of their interpersonal relationships both with village clients and other simbangs as well as their economic and social relationships. Another reason is the fact that their case represents the traditional mode of family-line inheritance of the shamanic career, the mode which rarely takes place these days because those once socially destined to take up the profession can now seek various other careers. Kun and Mizo's biographical data thus illuminate not only the realization and practice of their profession as shamanic healers but also the way in which they personally perceive their career and enact it to make sense of their ill-fated lives.

I present the life story, relying on several versions of the same life story. For a more sensible understanding of the story, I rearranged the biography, paying less attention to a strict chronological order but more to the anecdotes which make up the autobiography. Nevertheless I tried to preserve the structural integrity of key anecdotes as stressed by the storytellers themselves, by translating with little editing. As an exemplary version of the life story, I use the text of an interview which was video-taped toward the end of my fieldwork, and organized to enable one to grasp the sequential sense of Kun Simbang's life as both an ordinary Cheju woman and a traditional priestly shaman of the village shrines. Occasionally I will add other anecdotes from the seven other versions of her life story in order to ratify the biography.

Presentation of a Life Story

The presentation and discussion of Kun Simbang's life story is divided into two sections. The first section will deal with the impacts and meaning of the turbulent times in the late 1940s and early 1950s for Kun Simbang and her family. The reason I choose to start with this specific historical period lies in Kun Simbang's own emphasis on that period in relation to the event of her husband's death and her subsequent personal suffering. She always began her story with this event as if her previous life before that event was insignificant to her. After my own inquiry into this critical period, I arrived at the conclusion that her personal tragedy was not limited solely to her own private experience but was rather a part of the collective tragedy of the people of Cheju at that time. I present here the way in which the collective experience of ideological warfare and violent destruction intervenes in a person's life and in the transformation of one's fate, and how this historical tragedy is imaged in one's personal memory and biographical narrative.

I present the life story, relying on several versions of the same life story. For a more sensible understanding of the story, I rearranged the biography, paying less attention to a strict chronological order but more to the anecdotes which make up the autobiography. Nevertheless I tried to preserve the structural integrity of key anecdotes as stressed by the storytellers themselves, by translating with little editing. As an exemplary version of the life story, I use the text of an interview which was video-taped toward the end of my fieldwork, and organized to enable one to grasp the sequential sense of Kun Simbang's life as both an ordinary Cheju woman and a traditional priestly shaman of the village shrines. Occasionally I will add other anecdotes from the seven other versions of her life story in order to ratify the biography.

Presentation of a Life Story

The presentation and discussion of Kun Simbang's life story is divided into two sections. The first section will deal with the impacts and meaning of the turbulent times in the late 1940s and early 1950s for Kun Simbang and her family. The reason I choose to start with this specific historical period lies in Kun Simbang's own emphasis on that period in relation to the event of her husband's death and her subsequent personal suffering. She always began her story with this event as if her previous life before that event was insignificant to her. After my own inquiry into this critical period, I arrived at the conclusion that her personal tragedy was not limited solely to her own private experience but was rather a part of the collective tragedy of the people of Cheju at that time. I present here the way in which the collective experience of ideological warfare and violent destruction intervenes in a person's life and in the transformation of one's fate, and how this historical tragedy is imaged in one's personal memory and biographical narrative.

The second section will illuminate the process of Kun Simbang's self-transformation into the way of the simbang or *simbang-chill* and its family-line inheritance to her daughter. This transformation occurs in two dimensions: the socio-economic and the religious. The problem of Kun Simbang's extreme poverty was solved after her acceptance of the call to the healing career as recognized as a family tradition. Kun Simbang, half-reluctantly and half-resignedly, accepted this family-inherited destiny because it was her only means of survival. The description of this section starts with Kun simbang's sympathetic identification of her destiny with her grandmother's life as a deserted wife of a gentry man and as a prominent simbang later on. As remembered vividly even now, Kun Simbang's dream that assured her call to the shamanic destiny will be analyzed in great detail in terms of its iconographic power and its significance for her acceptance of the destiny. Kun Simbang's case of self-transformation is contrasted with that of her daughter. The former is regarded as a rather traditional type in that she stresses the "servant role" of the village priestly simbang. On the other hand, the daughter aspires to the independent role of a government-subsidized folk artist, which draws more public attention.

Death and Poverty in the Turbulent Times

Kun Simbang's new life as a folk healer and also as an independent household head began when her husband died in 1953 at gunpoint while he was working as a village militia. An excerpt from a video-taped interview illustrates the social situation before and after the event.

Q: What happend to you in the year of 1953 when the Korean war ended?

A: (She continued to talk about her married life.) After that I stayed on in my marriage life once I had sons and daughters. My husband worked in the laver processing plant as a supervisor and earned well. But once the Pacific War broke out [in 1941], that plant was closed. So he got a new job at a rice mill. Because he worked in the

The second section will illuminate the process of Kun Simbang's self-transformation into the way of the simbang or *simbang-chill* and its family-line inheritance to her daughter. This transformation occurs in two dimensions: the socio-economic and the religious. The problem of Kun Simbang's extreme poverty was solved after her acceptance of the call to the healing career as recognized as a family tradition. Kun Simbang, half-reluctantly and half-resignedly, accepted this family-inherited destiny because it was her only means of survival. The description of this section starts with Kun simbang's sympathetic identification of her destiny with her grandmother's life as a deserted wife of a gentry man and as a prominent simbang later on. As remembered vividly even now, Kun Simbang's dream that assured her call to the shamanic destiny will be analyzed in great detail in terms of its iconographic power and its significance for her acceptance of the destiny. Kun Simbang's case of self-transformation is contrasted with that of her daughter. The former is regarded as a rather traditional type in that she stresses the "servant role" of the village priestly simbang. On the other hand, the daughter aspires to the independent role of a government-subsidized folk artist, which draws more public attention.

Death and Poverty in the Turbulent Times

Kun Simbang's new life as a folk healer and also as an independent household head began when her husband died in 1953 at gunpoint while he was working as a village militia. An excerpt from a video-taped interview illustrates the social situation before and after the event.

Q: What happend to you in the year of 1953 when the Korean war ended?

A: (She continued to talk about her married life.) After that I stayed on in my marriage life once I had sons and daughters. My husband worked in the laver processing plant as a supervisor and earned well. But once the Pacific War broke out [in 1941], that plant was closed. So he got a new job at a rice mill. Because he worked in the

mill, we lived well with sufficient rice and money. In the midst of living well like that, then *he was shot to death* while he was leading the reed-collecting group of villagers. A doctor at Nazaro Hospital in Cheju City came to operate on him immediately but he died in vain. That operation was well done, indeed. But due to the lack of good medicine. If it is now, he could have been brought to life. After I buried him, I built a new small house by myself. Yes, a small house then. I renovated it all two parts of inside and outside compartments of an old house. My neighbors bought earth to me and helped me build the house. Then *I worked in the mill*.

The year of 1953 in general indicates the end of the Korean War when Korea was divided into communist North Korea and democratic South Korea along the demilitarized zone. At least theoretically, the communists working underground in the south were expelled or were forced to move up to the north. However, according to Kun Simbang's account it seems clear that the remnant communist guerillas threatened the islanders. And the coastal villages had to protect themselves by forming civilian militia. According to the historical record, this militia was mobilized as a secondary force to supplement the constable armies and police forces that were recruited mostly from the mainland. Because the native militias knew well about the surroundings or plausible hiding places of the remnant guerillas, they were often placed in the front lines of the surveillance groups.

In this manner, Kun Simbang's husband also guided hundreds of people deep into Mt. Halla. Those people from several neighboring villages needed to collect mountain-growing reeds in order to renew their grass roof and feed cattles and horses. Around that time, from 1948-1953, the Cheju people had to stop farming and raising cattle in the middle region of the Halla Mountain due to the guerilla warfare and the Korean War. The food supply was extremely short, and famine widespread. Barley and sweet potato farming, the major source of staple food, was severely damaged. It is easy to imagine how the tension between securing these basic necessities and protecting themselves from this implacable

ideological confrontation could break out in a tremendous sense of terror on a daily basis.

Although Kun Simbang did not explain explicitly the circumstances surrounding her husband's death, in fact, her seemingly apathetic and brief statement of the event, which sounds almost like a newspaper report, suggests to us more than the fact itself. In public she described the event as if he were shot by the communist guerillas although she always omitted the part of "by whom." "*He was shot to death,*" said she without specifying the agency of this violence. The statement of "being shot" in the context of ordinary consensus means that one is shot by the communist guerrilla; therefore it would be an unnecessary redundancy to identify the real agent. On the other hand, there might be a sense of fear of exposing the truth, of which side the of confronting ideologies, communist or democratic, her husband had faced. Nobody would request a clear-cut explanation from her. The Cheju people in general do not talk about the April Third Event in ordinary conversation; when they do refer to it, it is simply known as "those turbulent times." Only through shamanic rituals and regular ancestral worship services does the event reappear as a historical fact, and the tragedy of thousands deaths is recapitulated in the ritual lamentation of the dead (*yonggye-ullim*). However, open discussion of the event is banned. Kun Simbang portrayed those turbulent times of the late 1940s and early 1950s as the *dark* times. The dark times never walk in the ordinary daytime, but roam in the shadow of people's memory in complicity with collective muteness.

Only once Kun simbang told me about the truth behind the objective fact of her husband's death; he was "shot to death" *not* by the communist guerillas as publicly sanctioned in consensus but accidentally by his own machine gun while wrestling with his fellow militia who warned him not to load the bullets. It remains a mystery still whether this truth was judged rightly by the authorities

at the moment of the accident. According to her account, the authorities came to help out at the funeral ceremony as well as to give a relief fund every month which was compensation in principle to the bereaved family of dead soldiers and policemen. Not only that, the prominent doctor from the city came to perform an immediate operation, which could only be seen as a truly honorable act toward this poor, uneducated, landless widow. Even more, the whole village sympathized with the widow, helped her renovate the old house, and offered her a job at the mill as a substitute for her dead husband. In short, her husband was treated here as a national hero whose death (definitely his fault) was glorified by the authority's fictional narrative of patriotic deaths in those turbulent times.

But what was the consequence of this honorable death which occurred for the sake of building a new democratic nation-state through the oppression of the communist rebels, particularly to this bereaved family of the war dead? Poverty. *"Then I worked in the mill,"* said Kun simbang continually.

Q: How could you manage to live on with your four children afterwards?

A: With those four children, I had to observe memorial services (*chesa*) for family ancestors ten times a year! And I worked in the mill. That work in the mill as a technician was very hard. It was for men, not for women. I went to the mill at five o'clock in the morning and came home around midnight. No time for rest. Never. Like a man, right after breakfast, I went out for a work and returned home at midnight. That had repeated every day [for six years].

At that time she was left with four children: a 12- year-old daughter, a six-year-old son, a four-year-old daughter, and the one-month-old infant son. Once she herself lamented that she did not die together with her children at that time. After the Korean War, Cheju Island was stricken by extreme famine and shortages of staple food, barley and sweet potato. Because one-fourth of the total population (mainly adult men) died during the guerilla warfare and the Korean War, there was also a shortage of labor forces for farming and cattle growing.

Widows of the war dead took charge of previous male labors and assumed responsibilities for supporting their families. This woman-headed family is a common model of the family type, which is defined as a "matrifocal family" (Cho Haejoang 1979).

Kun Simbang's case was rather exceptionally advantageous, as she was permitted to hold her husband's old job as the result of favorable governmental policy toward the bereaved families of war dead. However, most widows whose husbands or sons were killed dishonorably in the name of communist rebels or their collaborators (who were categorized as anti-national figures) did not benefit from this beneficial relief fund. Around 1950, after two-thirds of the rebel forces were already defeated, the central army and police massacred many innocent civilians, whole families and whole villages, in the guise of anti-communist operations. Strategically apologetic through the offering of relief funds, the government tried hard to soften the stony hearts of the traditionally rebellious Cheju Islanders. The popular image of Cheju women as independent-spirited and hard-working ones is here again embellished in order to cover up the reality of the poverty and hardship of those war widows.

Q: You had such a hard time then. When did you start your trading business with onions?

A: A few years later. I decided to start this business instead of that hard work at the mill. In the beginning my business [of wholesaling onions] thrived. Much encouraged I expanded it to the Seoul market. I bought onions from greater producers in the mainland and transported them to Seoul. But on the way to Seoul the onions began to decay. When I arrived at Seoul, I could sell only small portion which had survived from decay. At Daejun train station on the way back home, I was robbed of all the money. With no money I barely returned to Cheju. At home I saw my creditors already took my house. Even bunches of reeds which my 12-year-old son had collected at Songdang village up in the mountain were also taken away by them. I should have paid off those debts when I was doing business well. I was stupid. Because I failed to pay debts, they [my properties] were taken away in a day. On! On! All household goods also were taken away. One creditor requested me to give my second daughter of ten years old for the payment of a

debt. After I left her in the creditor's charge, I ran away at night to the mainland. But who would help me there too?

Q: How did you make a living there?

A: I lived on by diving. I tell you this, therefore, either woman or man must learn any skill whenever chances are given. As you know, I stopped it once [after her marriage] but resumed it at that time. Shells and fishes caught during the one neap tide I ate for myself, and those caught during the another neap tide I sold out for money. But I soon got ill. I went to every hospital nearby but no clear diagnosis was given. I could not dive and soon fell into poverty. About then my eldest daughter and her husband came to take me back to Cheju. So I returned to Cheju. Living in a tiny deserted grass hut, we were again very poor without money and food. We were hungry.

Kun Simbang was 37-years-old when she started her trading business.

She was a middleman, buying whole stacks of onions from the local producers and selling them for a small profit to the middlemen from the Seoul markets. It was around the early 1960s when the new era of modernization began to dawn under the whim of the military regime and the western-educated technocrats' idealism. Frequent contacts between Cheju Island and the mainland had resumed then over all the spheres of politics, trade, and cultural communications. It was not long before President Park launched the five-year planned economic development in 1965 on the island and constructed a tourist highway criss-crossing from the south to north of Halla Mountain. In general, life was hard, and public sentiments were not so generous, as the people were stricken with the austerity measures issued by the new military regime.

Around that time the mainland middlemen did not yet rush to Cheju in as great numbers as in recent times. Although Kun Simbang had less than a year of business experience, she was able to profit from the still decentralized marketing network. She became ambitious to expand her business to the Seoul markets. Borrowing money from her neighbors she bought a warehouse of onions in the biggest producing place, Muan, in the south of the peninsula. She traveled widely and transported hundreds of sacks of onions to Seoul wholesale

markets directly. Twice she was successful in selling them for good prices. But at the third round, the onions decayed and she could not profit at all at the market. Instead she fell into a serious debt at home. Without professional knowledge of marketing and market principles, she failed to predict the fall of prices due to the over-competition among the middlemen in the Seoul market. Even worse, the episode of the robbery of her last money on the train reveals the disorderly state of Korean society at that time. She described this episode in detail at another time. At one o'clock in the morning when everybody in the train was sleeping, a robber broke into the window of her compartment with stones and snatched her bag out of her hands. Penniless now, she had to sell her wrist watch for the ferry fare back to Cheju.

In comparison with the compassionate attitudes of her neighbors when Kun Simbang had to renovate her old house after her husband's death, those tight-fisted creditors' reactions to her debt seem hostile and merciless. Her house was taken away without any prior negotiation. Within six months she was supposed to pay back the whole debt. She tried to borrow money from her mother-in-law who had just got back from Japan. Her petition was rejected. Even her young daughter had to be hostaged to one creditor's house. Kun then flew to the mainland. She met a rich idle landlord who already had a wife and children, and had two daughters from him. But she was abandoned by the man who refused to take custody of the two daughters later on. She expressed bitterness at this experience of betrayal when she described the births of the two daughters as "picking up on the street." Even during the video-taping interview, she refused to mention this affair.

She was 42 when she returned to Cheju with two illegitimate daughters. It was December 1965. She explained the urgent situation as follows:

Who would give us rice or money? No one. We survived with wild green and soybean paste soups and small fishes that my oldest son

caught. Around that time I received a relief fund, which was released twice a year and could at least cover ritual expenditures for ancestral ceremonies. The government also gave free rice.

Even this source of subsistence stopped in the next year when Kun simbang was judged no longer eligible for the relief fund due to her breach in marriage chastity by having extra-marital affairs. She was investigated twice by the local government officials on this matter. Two illegitimate daughters were the clear evidence of the charge. Somebody who was envious of the minute amount of relief awarded her tattled on her, which was in fact forgivable with respect to the particular circumstances. To Kun Simbang, even remembering and talking about that extremely poverty-stricken period seemed sharply painful because it exposed this shameful incident related to her young daughters; one of them is Mizo, who inherited Kun Simbang's fate. It seems that the tragic history of the April Third Event in 1948 doubly betrayed Kun Simbang by once glorifying her husband's death but soon exposing its illusory honor by morally punishing her with social alienation and poverty.

In general, Kun Simbang's personal tragedy reflects the overall fate of the poor and the victims during those transitional periods when Cheju society was changing from a self-reliant peasant community to a market-oriented, modernizing province of the centralized nation-state. Beneath the mirage of democratization (as claimed ideologically by the anti-communist government) and economic development, Kun Simbang was burdened with the heroic death of her husband and the popular myth of the independent hardworking Cheju woman. Half proud and half resigned, Kun Simbang portrayed herself as the mythical Cheju woman when we were gossiping on one evening about our neighbor, a young wife who was frequently battered by her husband. Kun simbang insisted that the young wife leave her husband and live by herself with a child because a woman alone could support herself. To convince us, me and an old neighbor

woman, she started to tell her own life story, filled with an heroic sense of self-sufficiency. Indeed she lived a truly heroic life because she never succumbed to the deadlock of each tragic event. This heroic sense of her life is what she conveyed to her audience at the scenes of her life story-telling. Impassioned with that sense, her stories stand out as the almost legendary tales of extraordinary lives. At least I felt so. The 75-year-old woman diver, whose life has been hard as Kun simbang's, looked dismayed. Kun simbang is now a fully qualified simbang, owning her own house and a piece of land too. However, her self-assured heroism at this point is deceptive because she had to pay the high price of social degeneration into the role of an social outcast, the simbang.

Transformation into the Way of the Simbang

Not long before Kun simbang could secure enough food for her family, she had a crude healing experience and subsequently a mysterious dream that prophesied her destiny to become a simbang. Kun simbang continued to describe her severe poverty and her first healing experience as follows:

We barely survived this way. My second daughter, then a house maid in the neighboring village, occasionally brought rice, soybean paste, and vegetables. One day when she visited us with food, I saw a cataract in her one eye. Poor daughter! Even when I quarrel with her these days, I myself thaw toward her whenever I recall that difficult time. So next day early in the morning when sun rises, I brought her to the seashore and made her stand in front of sun and bow three times to the rising sun while I was praying, "Here is one of such an age. Please clear this membrane covering her eye." Soon after this prayer, she got cured.

She did not explain how she came into making that prayer which was indeed instantly improvised. She herself did not predict its curing effect. At the moment of crisis, she simply clung to luck. However, despite her denouncement of the mysterious healing power in herself, a continuous rush of neighboring clients came to her for cures, ranging from blindness to soul-loss children. She

emphasized that since then her "destiny had been turned upside down," *chõnsũng-kũrũchida*, as phrased typically to refer to the fate of the simbang.

Initiation Dream

Kun simbang's initiation dream afterwards justified this sense of fate. In the dream, a mysterious man, perhaps the ancestor of a simbang, prophesied her destiny to serve thousands of spirits of dead people. She told me about this dream with vivid imagery:

At the crossroads near the chicken farm house now, there had been a *chongsal*. I was hung to that. My hands and feet were tied up as if I was praying. Then a giant man in several yards width of tree trunk, wearing a hat like an American GI iron cap of room size, walked down the street from the southeast. He had a huge iron club, red on the one side and black on the other side. As he approached to me closely, I saw thousands of people, children and adults, men and women, coming toward me from every direction. Some of them held spears in their hands; some were working in the outdoor field. That man [*ũrũn*, saying a respectable person] stood by me and said angrily, "Who bound her? Who chained her?" And he touched me three times with the red side of iron club. Thereafter I was released from the *chongsal*. As I turned away my face while crying from him, he held and comforted me. He said, "Don't cry. I will offer you one straw-sack of rice and two sacks of barley. Don't cry and go back home." Walking back home in the dream, I woke up. Next day I told an old neighbor woman about my dream rather cautiously. I dreamt last night. A big gentleman wearing a half-moon shaped GI cap on his head approached to me and touched me three times with a iron club. He said that as I went home, he would send a sack of rice and two sacks of barley to my house. You see, that old woman responded, saying "That sounds really queer!"...But next day around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, unexpectedly a special relief food arrived at my house. A gourd bowl of flour and two bowls of corn powder! So they were equivalent to one sack of rice and two sacks of barley exactly as predicted in the dream!

When I first heard this dream story I could not figure out why the giant man wore an American GI iron cap and carried with him an iron club, nor why Kun simbang was hung at the gate of the village. Usually the gate, *chongsal*, is located in front of a private house. I wondered if this village gate really existed. And who are those thousands people, especially those carrying bamboo spears? Later Kun simbang explained to me that they were the "three thousand soldiers":

emphasized that since then her "destiny had been turned upside down," *chõnsũng-kũrũchida*, as phrased typically to refer to the fate of the simbang.

Initiation Dream

Kun simbang's initiation dream afterwards justified this sense of fate. In the dream, a mysterious man, perhaps the ancestor of a simbang, prophesied her destiny to serve thousands of spirits of dead people. She told me about this dream with vivid imagery:

At the crossroads near the chicken farm house now, there had been a *chongsal*. I was hung to that. My hands and feet were tied up as if I was praying. Then a giant man in several yards width of tree trunk, wearing a hat like an American GI iron cap of room size, walked down the street from the southeast. He had a huge iron club, red on the one side and black on the other side. As he approached to me closely, I saw thousands of people, children and adults, men and women, coming toward me from every direction. Some of them held spears in their hands; some were working in the outdoor field. That man [*ũrũn*, saying a respectable person] stood by me and said angrily, "Who bound her? Who chained her?" And he touched me three times with the red side of iron club. Thereafter I was released from the *chongsal*. As I turned away my face while crying from him, he held and comforted me. He said, "Don't cry. I will offer you one straw-sack of rice and two sacks of barley. Don't cry and go back home." Walking back home in the dream, I woke up. Next day I told an old neighbor woman about my dream rather cautiously. I dreamt last night. A big gentleman wearing a half-moon shaped GI cap on his head approached to me and touched me three times with a iron club. He said that as I went home, he would send a sack of rice and two sacks of barley to my house. You see, that old woman responded, saying "That sounds really queer!"...But next day around 4 o'clock in the afternoon, unexpectedly a special relief food arrived at my house. A gourd bowl of flour and two bowls of corn powder! So they were equivalent to one sack of rice and two sacks of barley exactly as predicted in the dream!

When I first heard this dream story I could not figure out why the giant man wore an American GI iron cap and carried with him an iron club, nor why Kun simbang was hung at the gate of the village. Usually the gate, *chongsal*, is located in front of a private house. I wondered if this village gate really existed. And who are those thousands people, especially those carrying bamboo spears? Later Kun simbang explained to me that they were the "three thousand soldiers":

in the shamanic pantheon, the hungry and low-ranked group of spirits of the dead who died violent deaths such as suicide or murder, or were war victims.

Kun simbang herself, however, did not pay attention to *my* questions. She simply took for granted the appearance of the giant man as the sign of a revelation from the ancestor of the simbang. Instead, she gave more emphasis to the fact that she was released from the bondage of poverty and offered with a promise of abundant food. Although the real quantity of relief food was much less than the promised amount, her dream came true; it would never betray her hope for the future. After this initiation dream, Kun simbang had more clients rushing to her house. She once cured a mute child with a simple prayer, saying, "please help her speak, speak." If any particular patient was to come, the night before she always had a divinatory dream in which the ancestor of the simbang appeared. On the next day she would cure the patient with any method she tried, for example, acupuncture, simple prayer, or a rite for the soul-loss (usually babies). Thereafter white rice or barley were brought as payments to her house, and her children could be fed well.

The kind words and promises of the giant gentleman--that is, her spiritual ancestor--were indeed the only source of consolation and also compensation for her poverty and social alienation as the unchaste widow. It seems a painstaking irony that the warmth from the ancestor and the hungry ghosts was the single source of hope and welfare. Indeed this logic of balance between this-worldly alienation and the other-worldly compensation represents Kun simbang's sense of justice, which is saturated with the popular perception of a utopian dream. However, the questions I myself raised earlier about her dream images must be clarified. (See Plate 1 & 2.)



Internal Castle and Chōngsal

Plate 1. The Dream Image of Chōngsal



Caption 1: "An American adviser looks on silently
where no advice will help."
(Life Magazine, October, 1948).

Caption 2: Look! Here is our implacable enemy!
Look at this Yankee soldier who is
standing shamelessly and coldly watching
this mourning women at the scene of
merciless massacre!
(Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963:259).

Plate 2. The Montage of the MP, Ancestor, and Massacre

Imagery of the Ancestor (*Chosang*) and Iconic Power

It was after I saw some pictures in a book about the April Third Event in 1948 that the crucial clues to that mysterious imagery were discovered (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963). The *chŏngsal*, the village gate to which Kun simbang was hung and tied up by her hands and feet, actually existed during the turbulent times (1948-1953). It was the surveillance gate, standing in front of a sentry post which was temporarily placed at the village boundary for the purpose of self-defense against the communist guerillas. It was constructed with four three-foot-high wooden poles on each side and two horizontal ones lying across the vertical poles. Indeed the *chŏngsal* stood there symbolically to signify the physical limits of village safety. Each village was surrounded by a protective stone wall. At the gate stood two seven-foot-high, three-foot-wide, stone towers, between which was the *chŏngsal*. Each village militia ordered curfew between sunset and dawn. When the villagers had to work on the fields outside the fortress, some of the armed village militias accompanied them. Outside the *chŏngsal* anyone was susceptible to the rebels' attack or the danger of being suspected to be a communist compatriot. Kun simbang was hung there as if she were awaiting a public condemnation like a captured communist rebel and their compatriots. In reality, the captured rebel was usually dragged to the school ground in the village and punished publicly by the villagers with stones (as depicted in the short stories, Hyŏn Ki-yŏng 1980).

The giant man wearing a MP cap and carrying an iron club resembles the image of American MPs who came to Cheju Island as military advisors to the Korean central armies, and whom the police dispatched from the mainland during the war (Cumings 1988). In 1948, Korea was not yet an independent nation ; she was in the process of holding national elections (held on May 10) for the establishment of a new government in the south, separate from the pro-

Imagery of the Ancestor (*Chosang*) and Iconic Power

It was after I saw some pictures in a book about the April Third Event in 1948 that the crucial clues to that mysterious imagery were discovered (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963). The *chŏngsal*, the village gate to which Kun simbang was hung and tied up by her hands and feet, actually existed during the turbulent times (1948-1953). It was the surveillance gate, standing in front of a sentry post which was temporarily placed at the village boundary for the purpose of self-defense against the communist guerillas. It was constructed with four three-foot-high wooden poles on each side and two horizontal ones lying across the vertical poles. Indeed the *chŏngsal* stood there symbolically to signify the physical limits of village safety. Each village was surrounded by a protective stone wall. At the gate stood two seven-foot-high, three-foot-wide, stone towers, between which was the *chŏngsal*. Each village militia ordered curfew between sunset and dawn. When the villagers had to work on the fields outside the fortress, some of the armed village militias accompanied them. Outside the *chŏngsal* anyone was susceptible to the rebels' attack or the danger of being suspected to be a communist compatriot. Kun simbang was hung there as if she were awaiting a public condemnation like a captured communist rebel and their compatriots. In reality, the captured rebel was usually dragged to the school ground in the village and punished publicly by the villagers with stones (as depicted in the short stories, Hyŏn Ki-yŏng 1980).

The giant man wearing a MP cap and carrying an iron club resembles the image of American MPs who came to Cheju Island as military advisors to the Korean central armies, and whom the police dispatched from the mainland during the war (Cumings 1988). In 1948, Korea was not yet an independent nation ; she was in the process of holding national elections (held on May 10) for the establishment of a new government in the south, separate from the pro-

communist North Korea. Therefore she was still under the temporary trusteeship of the American military government. A big, tall image of an American MP in a jeep driving fast without inhibition on rough roads, anywhere he pleased (like the giant man walking freely from the outside of the village defense castle in Kun simbang's dream) could deeply impress Cheju natives. Despite their formidable posture, the GIs were also the victors of the internal ideological warfare and, moreover, the source of relief food and clothes. This image of the GI as a super-human and nearly divine benefactor (which was actually used by pro-American political propaganda) overlapped allegorically with that of the beneficent ancestor in Cheju popular culture.

Furthermore, at the historically deeper level of popular imagination, the divine image of "a giant man" and the ancestor has its roots in the folk tales of divine winged heroes. In the tales, the protagonist is portrayed as a tragic hero like a warrior or general who lost the battle or a peasant rebel who represented the oppressed peasant class in the rebellion against corrupt bureaucracy but was killed afterwards. The common plot of their stories is as follows: although they were born with a sign of divinity or novelty such as small wings in the armpits, they could not become noblemen or victors in the battlefield because their wings were discovered in their infancy and cut off in the fear of their "excessive rebellious spirit" and its tragic outcome. They are portrayed as superhuman, very big or strong in comparison with ordinary men.

In general, the tragic imagery of those heroes' stories is identified with the historical fate of Cheju Island in the popular imagination (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1982). If the heroes' tragic deaths represent the fateful history of Cheju Island's natural devastation, hunger, political neglect and oppression, their divine births do justice to her desire for freedom from the force of fate. This island had been always isolated politically (and used as an asylum for political exiles) and

exploited by corrupt governors. And she could identify herself with the heroes whose intrinsically divine character remained intact forever through oral traditions even after the castration of their wings. Interestingly enough, the divine wings are often discovered *after* their tragic deaths; thus their superhuman power in the battlefield is justified through this tale of divine wings and they are glorified as powerful ancestors of their native villages or family groups. There is one example. In 1901, Yi Chae-su, who was originally a servant of a local magistrate became a rebel general leading the Cheju native insurgents against foreign forces, then seven hundred Catholics and two French priests. After he was sentenced at a court in Seoul, strange wings in his armpits were found, according to his biography written by his sister thirty years later (Yi Sun-ok 1932). This posthumous discovery and mythologization of the divine wings as well as the ancestor worship testify to the power of the narrative invocation of the popular hope for rebellion and the overthrow of the existing hegemonic power.

Going back to the initiation dream story, we can see here the cultural logic depicting the relationship between the giant benefactor and the thousands of hungry ghosts in the background. In the dream, the giant man obliged Kun simbang to feed those ghosts; here the latter represents the hungry, oppressed, neglected Cheju people. The giant man manifests himself the paramount ancestor and popular hero of the Cheju people as a whole, specifically the socially alienated, such as simbangs. In short, we can postulate here the redemptive function of Kun simbang's initiation dream as a transcendence from the immediate reality of poverty and social alienation.

However, it is not Kun simbang who inquires into this question of the imagery of social reality; it is I, the anthropologist, who stands back at a distance and looks at the picture on the wall or watches the movie screen, so that I can see objectively through the historical spectacles in which images or events in different

times and places overlap, or endlessly disperse, or sit next to each other meaninglessly. Therefore, there is no use in questioning the intention or reasoning in Kun simbang's mind during that dream. What is significant is the fact that the dreamer, who at least can remember it vividly later on, is *half-sleep* and *half-awake* and actually staying in the fantastic dream world while pondering over the content of the dream on an empty stomach (cf. Buck-Morss 1983). Therefore, I cannot draw any symbolic meaning from this or that image in the dream by the same token that Kun simbang herself could not explain why she dreamt in that way. To put it bluntly, I deal with those dream images as objects as if they existed independently; I see their spurious alliance and configurations like a montage.

In Kun simbang's dream, three important images, that is, *chongsal*, the giant man, and the thousands of spirits of the dead, are *ideals* as Benjamin suggested with subtlety (1978) in which the people seek "to transcend the immaturity of the social product and the deficiencies of the social order of production. In these ideals there also emerges a vigorous aspiration to break with what is out-dated--which means, however, with the most recent past. These tendencies turn the fantasy which gains its initial stimulus from the new, back upon the primal past." The vigor to break with "the most recent past"--a betrayal of modern Cheju history--to which Kun simbang would not consciously aspire but unconsciously and only in a dream state would desire, indeed fills the gap between the ideal of self-sufficiency and political freedom and the present reality of subjection and poverty. Despite the fact that the American military presence in Cheju Island was actually threatening to her nationalistic autonomy, the American GI's beneficent posture, ironically associated with the iron club and cap like a collage, transcends the unforgettable terror of the vicious massacre of innocent people together with Kun simbang's husband's death. This

transcendence is certainly the popular expression of a utopian ideal in the political unconsciousness of the Cheju people, which is indeed manifested in Kun simbang's unquestioning recognition of the GI man as the ancestor of the simbang and also the Cheju people in general.

However, the image of American GI and that of the ancestor is not precisely identical; rather they are oppositional. The non-identical images of the American GI and the tragic heroic native rebels does not hamper a more advanced interpretation of the dream; instead, it stimulates a further understanding of the complexity of the history of ideological warfares and their violent effects on Cheju Island. Not in terms of symbolic meaning, but in terms of the iconic power of emancipating benediction and prophesying, these two images correspond; also in the mythic account of dream representation, they transform from their intrinsically tragic language (one as the foreign invader and the other as the native rebel against the former) so as to glorify the future. In waking reality, the two images of the "ancestor" may feed the thousands of hungry ghosts and liberate the Cheju people from political turmoil.

This is the revolutionary moment in sobriety that transcends "the deficiencies" of past history that has been infiltrated by violent ideological conflicts, their historical depth that traces back to the Japanese colonial era and Yi dynasty Confucian state. Yi Chae-su, a rebel commander-in-chief who led native revolts against foreign religion (Catholicism) and the newly-imposed monetary tax system in 1901, was beheaded by the imperial court; and all of the legendary generallisimo or Hercules in folk tales and village shrine myths died. But they reappear in the popular imaginations through dreams or ritual chantings. And this redemptive power of the ancestral images and mythic heroes in the recent past is condensed into the popular conception of the ancestors,

chosang, and in the theatrical enactment of their return to the present time through shamanic rituals.

Apprenticeship and Initiation Rite

Kun Simbang started her healing practices from the minor role of an acupuncturer--in a rudimentary way, without professional certificate or training. She herself described this initial stage as similar to that of a doctor, treating patients with obvious physical symptoms. On the second stage of her career, she advanced to blessing sick children whose souls were lost during a surprise or accident by means of a simple prayer and advice to keep their spirits and souls strong until they safely grew to 15 years of age. She was then called *puldo-halmang* or *samsŭng-halmang*, which means literally, the grandmother of the Buddhist way or the goddess of childbirth and fertility. She began to gain a reputation as a village healer. In most of the villages there are two or three simbangs and *samsŭng-halmang*, and most are middle-aged women.

Within a year of the first healing experience of her own daughter, Kun simbang was often invited to the village simbangs' rituals and also befriended them. Despite her initial inner resistance to join them due to the general social indignation towards them, she gradually adapted herself to the subculture among the simbangs. Once determined to become an expert like them, she rigorously learned how to perform the techniques involved in the various types of rituals, such as playing drums and percussion instruments as well as dancing and chanting hundreds of shrine myths.

But she was still a novice until her expertise fully blossomed at the age of 46, when she had the first initiation rite, *ch'osin-chil*, saying the first clearing of God's way. (A simbang must experience three initiation rites in her lifetime in order to be fully registered in the world of *simbang chosang*.) In the meantime, her

chosang, and in the theatrical enactment of their return to the present time through shamanic rituals.

Apprenticeship and Initiation Rite

Kun Simbang started her healing practices from the minor role of an acupuncturer--in a rudimentary way, without professional certificate or training. She herself described this initial stage as similar to that of a doctor, treating patients with obvious physical symptoms. On the second stage of her career, she advanced to blessing sick children whose souls were lost during a surprise or accident by means of a simple prayer and advice to keep their spirits and souls strong until they safely grew to 15 years of age. She was then called *puldo-halmang* or *samsŭng-halmang*, which means literally, the grandmother of the Buddhist way or the goddess of childbirth and fertility. She began to gain a reputation as a village healer. In most of the villages there are two or three simbangs and *samsŭng-halmang*, and most are middle-aged women.

Within a year of the first healing experience of her own daughter, Kun simbang was often invited to the village simbangs' rituals and also befriended them. Despite her initial inner resistance to join them due to the general social indignation towards them, she gradually adapted herself to the subculture among the simbangs. Once determined to become an expert like them, she rigorously learned how to perform the techniques involved in the various types of rituals, such as playing drums and percussion instruments as well as dancing and chanting hundreds of shrine myths.

But she was still a novice until her expertise fully blossomed at the age of 46, when she had the first initiation rite, *ch'osin-chil*, saying the first clearing of God's way. (A simbang must experience three initiation rites in her lifetime in order to be fully registered in the world of *simbang chosang*.) In the meantime, her

family, particularly her married daughter, rebuked her harshly. Once Kun simbang was attending at one healing seance to assist her fellow simbang. Suddenly her daughter came in and angrily told her to get out of there. Wielding a knife, she threateningly proposed that she and her mother commit suicide together. But Kun simbang refused to do so, replying, "There is no reason for me to die now. I am going to live. Let us live together." Her resolute decision to "live" would defy the recurring force of fate, "the life which is turned upside down."

At the age of 46, when she already could handle the grand-scale kut rituals, Kun simbang was caught again by the same mysterious illness she had during her exile on the isolated island. She lost strength, felt weak and lost her appetite. Her body would turn suddenly cold or hot. This symptom is typical of a *sinbyŏng*. She learned from a fortuneteller that she had to have an initiation rite. So she went to see a well-known male simbang, Jubyung *harubang* (meaning a grandfather). He became her "teacher simbang" because he officiated her initiation rite and inherited one pair of his bronze divine knives, representing the *simbang chosang*. (One simbang can have several pairs of divine knives which are inherited from one's teacher simbangs.) And afterwards, the "teacher simbang" will become one of Kun simbang's ancestors who must be memorialized by name in every kut ritual. It is clear that only after the initiation rite had she become a fully established shaman.

At this time again her ancestor of simbang (*simbang chosang*) revealed itself in her dream. That ancestor was a woman with a good and strong body posture, wearing a round chignon (a traditional hairstyle for a married woman) and fully dressed with a typical ritual attire of simbang (which is similar to a police officer's formal robe during the Yi dynasty). In the dream, the woman displayed one turn of dancing in front of Kun simbang and disappeared. This

revelatory dream gave her a definite sense of reassurance about her fated career as a *simbang*.

After the initiation rite, all symptoms were gone, and Kun *simbang* daringly traveled around many places such as Sŏgwip'ŏ, Cheju City, Sŏngŭp-li, Pyosun-li, Sŏngsanp'ŏ, and so forth for ritual performances. She was then the chief *simbang* of each grand ritual. Once she stressed that her expertise in *kut* ritual was not given from birth but was something anybody could learn through study. Here again it must be noted that Kun *simbang*'s sense of *fate* is not that of a helpless resignation, but rather of a self-creation that can make sense of the invincible forces of immediate reality and also transform it into a life-giving force. The redemptive power of ancestral revelation is quite well evidenced in her mastery of the healing practices.

Family Inheritance of the *Simbang Chosang*

It is not only the mythical ancestor of *simbang* (*simbang chosang*) but also actual family ancestors who take a significant part in her self-transformation.

Q: When and how could you learn dancing and chanting in the *kut* ritual?

A: By watching what other *simbangs* do. You see, no stupid person can learn this art of *simbang*. Go to the seance and get a quick grasp of what the performing *simbang* is doing. So I always tell my daughter, Mizo, that if she learns well how to assist the chief *simbang* as instructed, she would be able to carry out confidently the more important role as a mature and qualified *simbang*, the great *simbang* (*kun simbang*).

[Although I did not ask, she began to tell the story of her family inheritance of the *simbang* career.] You know, our Kim-ssi *harubang* [the great-grandfather on her grandmother's native family], Imm-ssi Halmang, my father, my uncle [father's younger brother], and me, this way, generation to generation. My aunt in Japan too, and my another uncle too. They are all engaged in the way of *simbang*. My only brother living in Japan once got sick, you know, like me. My father was an intellectual with a good literary skill and could choose an auspicious day from a book [almanac] and practiced the art of acupuncture while living in Japan. But after he died my brother burnt all of the reference books and acupuncture

revelatory dream gave her a definite sense of reassurance about her fated career as a *simbang*.

After the initiation rite, all symptoms were gone, and Kun *simbang* daringly traveled around many places such as Sŏgwip'ŏ, Cheju City, Sŏngŭp-li, Pyosun-li, Sŏngsanp'ŏ, and so forth for ritual performances. She was then the chief *simbang* of each grand ritual. Once she stressed that her expertise in *kut* ritual was not given from birth but was something anybody could learn through study. Here again it must be noted that Kun *simbang*'s sense of *fate* is not that of a helpless resignation, but rather of a self-creation that can make sense of the invincible forces of immediate reality and also transform it into a life-giving force. The redemptive power of ancestral revelation is quite well evidenced in her mastery of the healing practices.

Family Inheritance of the *Simbang Chosang*

It is not only the mythical ancestor of *simbang* (*simbang chosang*) but also actual family ancestors who take a significant part in her self-transformation.

Q: When and how could you learn dancing and chanting in the *kut* ritual?

A: By watching what other *simbangs* do. You see, no stupid person can learn this art of *simbang*. Go to the seance and get a quick grasp of what the performing *simbang* is doing. So I always tell my daughter, Mizo, that if she learns well how to assist the chief *simbang* as instructed, she would be able to carry out confidently the more important role as a mature and qualified *simbang*, the great *simbang* (*kun simbang*).

[Although I did not ask, she began to tell the story of her family inheritance of the *simbang* career.] You know, our Kim-ssi *harubang* [the great-grandfather on her grandmother's native family], Imm-ssi Halmang, my father, my uncle [father's younger brother], and me, this way, generation to generation. My aunt in Japan too, and my another uncle too. They are all engaged in the way of *simbang*. My only brother living in Japan once got sick, you know, like me. My father was an intellectual with a good literary skill and could choose an auspicious day from a book [almanac] and practiced the art of acupuncture while living in Japan. But after he died my brother burnt all of the reference books and acupuncture

needles out of abhorrence [of the family heritage]. Afterwards he failed in his business and, even worse, his [strange] illness did not get better at all.

Although Kun simbang has an unquestioning faith in this family inheritance of her career, in the light of her statement about her brother's resistance, she also seems to have a sense of awesome fear of its potential malignancy. He resisted the fate so hard that he ruined his life and business. Without any explanation about ancestral punishment, she suggested an ineluctable response to the ancestral call.

This family inheritance, however, does not strictly follow the natural principle of birth or blood relations. Just for the purpose of "continuous inheritance of the *simbang chosang*," non-lineage adoption of the novice to the genealogy of a simbang family has been quite frequent in the case that no heir is found within the family. If no adopted novice is found, the whole ritual paraphernalia must be buried as if the *simbang chosang* dies. Anyone who picks up the buried *chosang* (in this case referring to the ritual paraphernalia) by chance is destined to become a simbang. Even this accidental acquisition of the *chosang* is scrutinized so as to discover something in the far distant past of the family history that will explain destiny. Concerning this "fate of simbang," no one is reckoned to make a choice voluntarily; it is the fate "that turns one's life upside down."

What is at stake in the relationship between ancestral revelation and personal acceptance of fate is the way that this image of the ancestor embodies the narrative of redemption. The simbangs endure their ill-fated lives in this world and laugh satirically at their destiny as social outcasts; but they lay their hope in the deliverance after death to the "three heavens" where only simbangs can enter and receive greetings from the dead ones. "Three heavens" (*sam-hanul*) are separated from the rest of heaven, or paradise, paraphrasing the Buddhist

cosmology (see Appendix A). The simbangs are already registered in that "three heavens" as their foreheads were stamped with two bronze coins (inscribed with four Chinese characters of heaven, gate, sun and moon) and two bronze saucers during their initiation rites. This redemptive narrative is still left with further questions whether the simbangs really believe it or not. At least I can suppose that, although the novice simbangs do not start the career with this belief in redemption, they may progressively appropriate this after their knowledge of the ancestral revelation builds.

There are two simbang *chosangs* which are particularly responsible for the family inheritance of the way of the simbang: *puldo chosang* (the ancestor of the Buddhist way) and *ch'aekbul chosang* (the ancestor of the Book Master). These two *chosangs* are related to particular vocations respectively: the *puldo chosang* to simbangs, lay Buddhist healers, or *samsŭng halmang* and the *ch'aekbul chosang* to the teacher of Chinese classics, acupuncturer, or geomancer. Persons with the vocations listed above are however broadly regarded as simbangs; therefore, if there is any family ancestor with one of those vocations, that ancestor becomes the origin of the simbang's fate and its family inheritance. (See Figure 1.)

Kun simbang has a *ch'aekbul chosang* along her grandmother's (Im-ssi *halmang's*) genealogy. Im-ssi *halmang* was the Kosalmi village native and a great simbang during her lifetime. She brought up Kun simbang since she was only six after her mother died. Im-ssi *halmang's* mother's father, Kim-ssi *harubang*, was a Chinese classics teacher and had a good reputation as a literary man. He was the first ancestor who established the family tradition of the way of the simbang. As the literary men equipped with good knowledge of Chinese classics often did in the countryside, he became engaged in "choosing an auspicious day in the almanac" and geomancy, besides his teaching a private circle of pupils. He also practiced self-learned acupuncture in his later years.

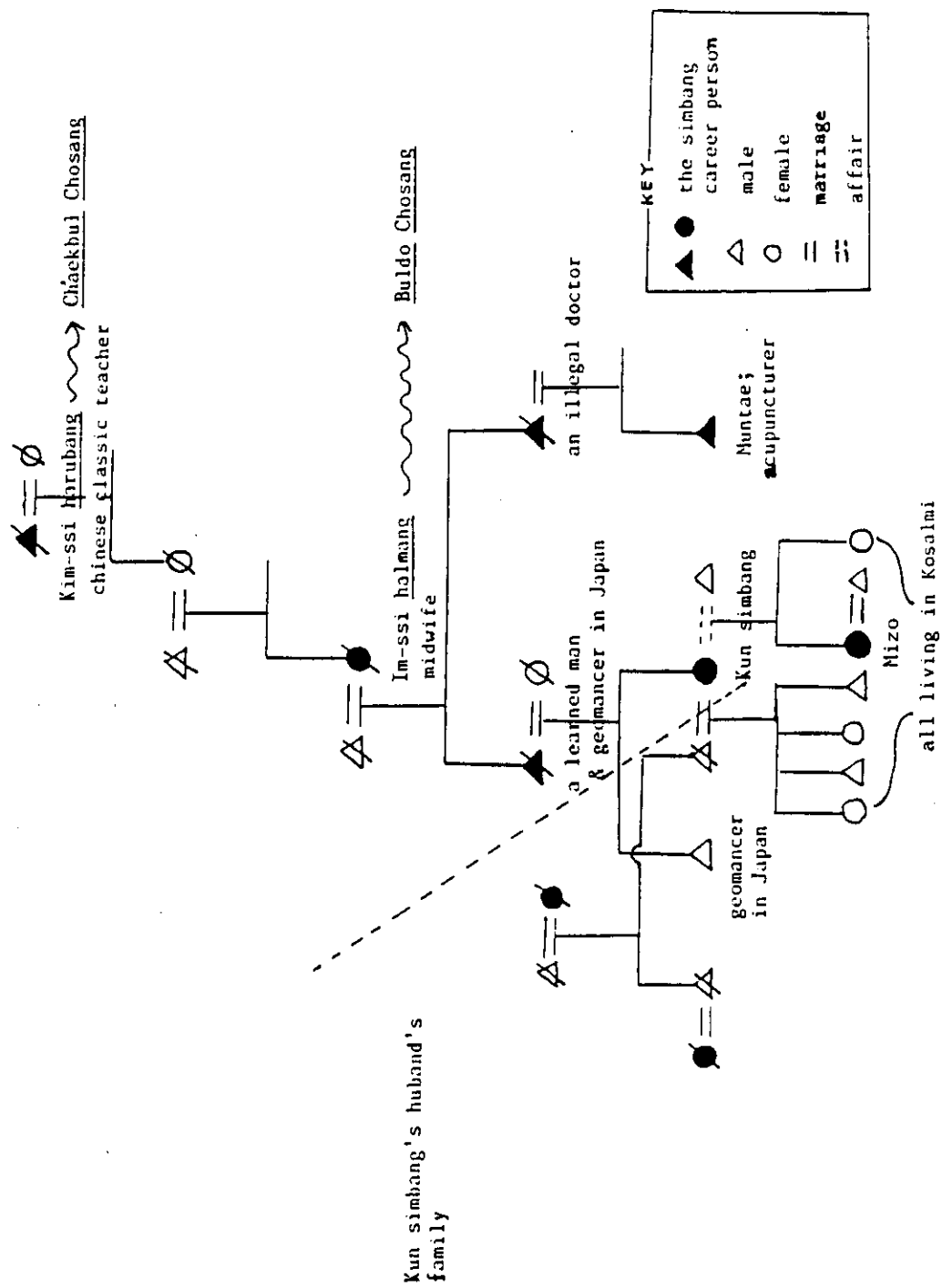


Figure 1. The Family Inheritance of the Kun simbang's Chosang

From these unorthodox practices of a literary man, he earned a great money and lived well. However, after he died at a rather early age, his wife burnt all the books which were used for those practices. Although she did so to avoid the possibility of establishing an undesirable family tradition, she was punished in her lifetime and also in the next generation. Soon afterwards her properties crumbled, and in the Im-ssi halmang's generation (two generations later) every ninth son died either right after he was born or at some later point in his childhood. In this way, her destructive reaction toward this embryonic family tradition was viciously revenged.

Despite that destruction and its eventual retribution, however, *ch'aekbul chosang* had succeeded to Im-ssi *halmang*, the great-granddaughter of Kim-ssi *harubang*, the paramount ancestor of this simbang family. Im-ssi *halmang*'s husband, that is, Kun simbang's grandfather was a highly respected local administrator and also a county executive in a cooperative association of a fishing ground. He was rich, owning a fishing boat and farming lands. He was also a learned man. In the beginning, Im-ssi halmang as a wife of a learned man and local elite held her head high, repudiating village simbangs for their "superstitious" practices. But when she was 40, she became ill suddenly. From the fortuneteller she heard that her illness could be cured only through her of performing kut rituals in the service of other people. In secret she began to attend at the simbangs' kut rituals and assist them. Gradually she learned the technique of performance and actually practiced a *samsung halmang* to treat babies who were fraught with soul-loss or sudden fits. Kun simbang proudly described her grandmother's character: "She was a woman of masculine spirit even in those old days, very hard-working and also a good drinker." For many years the grandmother kept this a secret. However, once her husband discovered this secret act, he was enraged and immediately expelled her back to her natal

family in Kosalmi. This took place at around 1920, even before Kun Simbang was born. Three years later the grandfather suddenly died of cholera, then a very powerful epidemic. According to Kun simbang's own opinion, his death was another sign of ancestral retribution against his desertation of his simbang wife.

During the turbulent times of the early 1920s, the Japanese colonial government attempted a coercive measure for land reform all over the country. Kun Simbang's father and his brother lost most of their lands to the hands of Japanese colonists. Their lands were not officially registered; after several fights for ownership at court, they lost the lands. In despair, they left for Japan in hopes of better opportunities there. In the meantime, Kun Simbang's mother died suddenly from tetanus. Because her father did not want to take both her and her nine-year-old brother back to Japan, Kun Simbang was brought to her grandmother, Im-ssi *halmang*, after the funeral. Her father and brother never came back to Cheju except once in the late 1970s when her brother visited her for three days. Around that time, the South Korean government invited the pro-North Korean-Japanese for a family reunion. Kun Simbang has a reservation in her mind about her brother's sinful misconduct against the family tradition. She interprets the ruin of her grandfather's family, that is, the loss of lands, her mother's sudden death, her father's desperate exile to Japan, and her brother's prolonged illness and even his political floundering as a communist sympathizer in Japan, as the sign of ancestral retribution against her grandfather's mistreatment of Im-ssi *halmang*.

In the generation of Kun Simbang's father, the familial tradition continued. Kun Simbang's father could make a living in Japan as a geomancer for the Korean-Japanese people. And one of his younger brothers in Korea was also following this same line. His case was more modern. He practiced as a doctor illegally. He learned the basic knowledge and techniques during his

military service as a nurse, and he gained more sophisticated ones when he worked as an assistant technician in Nazaro Hospital in Cheju City. He never had formal medical training nor a licence. But he was very skillful and excelled in his practice: he himself conducted surgery for pleurisy and peritonitis. He was particularly good at diagnosis; he found the precise name of a disease or and located the particular ailing part of body. He even cured hepatitis. With his own intuitive discretion he managed to operate difficult surgeries and prescribe medicate for patients. In Cheju City he made big money from illegal practices while his own costs were low. Once he became famous in the city, he was inspected by the authority and expelled to a small island near Cheju where no doctor was available. He got a doctoral licence that was valid only on that island. Besides western medical practices, he also practiced acupuncture. Later on he returned to the village of Kosalmi and died there. One of his sons, now living in the same village, inherited this technique of acupuncture; but he studied it formally and is licenced. Kun simbang also started her healing practice with acupuncture. She did not learn it from her uncle directly, though she borrowed some of his acupuncture needles. Even her inaccurate practice due to the lack of skill and knowledge could bring a good result. Kun simbang attributed it to the merit of those magical "ancestral needles."

In the generation of Kun simbang, there is one more heir of this tradition: Muntae, the son of Kun simbang's uncle. Muntae is now 39 years old and a licenced Chinese acupuncturer. Muntae once suffered from occasional fits of madness 15 years ago right after he returned home from military service. Because he was too violent, he was chained at Kun simbang's house under the watchful care of his nephews. Sometimes he would cut the chain off and run naked everywhere, embarrassing the village women. Many times he was reported to the police for his crazy behavior. But even the police could not help him

because he screamed at them when they came. The police finally brought him back to Kun simbang for shamanic treatment or a kut performance. Kun simbang held a special kut (*ch'unŭn kut*, a kut for the patient's trance dancing in case of madness) for him seven days and nights at the seashore. It turned out to be effective when Muntae started to imitate a doctor like his dead father, asking for a needle and diagnosing some of the audience's current ailments during the performance. After the *ch'unŭn kut* he was cured: that is, he received the divine call of the family ancestor.

He then went to a professional school for acupuncture in Daejun on the mainland. With a licence, he openly practiced acupuncture in Cheju City and became rich. He also gained a good reputation. But he squandered a lot on heavy drinking and womanizing. After he lost a lawsuit in which he was convicted of a sexual crime with a virgin, he returned to Kosalmi, penniless. There he lives now, well-off from the property he inherited from his dead father. But he is still suffering from heavy drinking; often he gives up his patients due to quivering nerves. In despair one time he went to a Catholic neighbor for a spiritual rescue and seriously asked him to cure his bad habit of drinking and his fits of madness which reappeared these days.

Kun simbang despises Muntae for his uncontrollable drinking which would destroy the magical power of his *chosang* and eventually damage his reputation and his source of income. She herself abstains from even a slight amount of drinking, especially during her performances. Drinking is taboo for most serious simbangs. Muntae seems to be in a state of despair and knows that a conversion to Catholicism or any other religions would be the only way to get out of the bondage and oppression that his destiny causes him. Indeed, both Muntae and Kun simbang interpret his drunkenness and occasional fits of madness as another (negative) sign of the powerful presence of the *simbang chosang*. Even the village

people acknowledge it in the same way, which makes it somehow excusable. These actions, might not be tolerated in an ordinary person, ironically, affords the people an opportunity to condemn the destiny of simbangs and look down upon them.

As we see in these stories, the *simbang chosang* is inherited along generational lines like a genealogical heredity. In Kun simbang's case, this heredity traces back to five generations before her; if her daughter's generation is included, it becomes six generations in total. (In Cheju 24 generations of succession of the *simbang chosang* is known to be the oldest case. See Hyon Yong-jun 1978) However, this rule of succession does not follow a strict principle of patri- or matri-lineal succession; instead it follows both lines. But it is a common belief that the *simbang chosang* inherits the mother's side or women's side; in Kun simbang's case it was Im-ssi *halmang*, her grandmother who brought this *chosang* into her family, and Kun simbang herself planned to pass on her *chosang* to Mizo, one of her illegitimate daughters. Besides Kun Simbang's mother-in-law and one wife of her husband's brother were also simbangs; they are all dead now, and their names are always remembered during the *kut* rituals together with other family ancestors with simbang careers in the past. It means that Kun simbang married to another simbang family, which is often practiced among simbangs. (Im-ssi *halmang* made the arrangement of that marriage.) Whatever the reason might be, internal marriage practices among the simbang families contribute to perpetuating the destiny of *simbang chosang*. Through marriage with the simbang family, the mostly poor and socially marginal people also become incorporated into the same hereditary destiny. Mizo's husband also comes from this social class.

However, it is not my prime aim at this point to draw any plausible rule of succession. Frankly, I do not have enough data for this purpose. I am more

interested in the relationship between the subjective meaning of the ancestral revelation and the actual inheritance of the *simbang chosang*. Muntae's drunkenness and fits of madness as well as the internal marriage custom among the simbangs are indeed the symptomatic manifestations of their extra-ordinary destiny on the one hand, and on the other, are the means by which they understand the existential cause of their social alienation. In other words, the *simbang chosang* is inscribed in the body and blood of the simbangs and inherited as if genetically through eternity.

Destiny in Conflict: Mizo, a Folk Artist

Mizo, Kun simbang's daughter and also her heir of the *simbang chosang*, is now 25, a qualified simbang who had an initiation rite at the age of 21 in 1981. She had a peculiar problem with her marital choice. Unlike her friends, she expected her marriage would not be happy and her husband not so smart simply because she is a simbang. (Now she is married to the man that she herself considered the right choice.) It was rather unusual for a young and charming woman to have such a pessimistic perspective. She seemed to have already given having a normal life. This attitude of resignation was a minimal negative reaction to her destiny. But on the other hand, she resisted it by displaying a fit of hysteria and creating friction with her mother at home when she did not have work outside the village. Despite her mother's insistence on prior faithfulness to the villagers' need, she preferred working outside. Her desire to be free from the conspicuous and fearful weight of her destiny as a social outcast inside the village is now fortunately compensated for by the external respect she receives from those interested in folklore scholarship and "shamanistic art," as the government now appraises it. Her desire to pursue "folk art professionalism," however, created

interested in the relationship between the subjective meaning of the ancestral revelation and the actual inheritance of the *simbang chosang*. Muntae's drunkenness and fits of madness as well as the internal marriage custom among the *simbangs* are indeed the symptomatic manifestations of their extra-ordinary destiny on the one hand, and on the other, are the means by which they understand the existential cause of their social alienation. In other words, the *simbang chosang* is inscribed in the body and blood of the *simbangs* and inherited as if genetically through eternity.

Destiny in Conflict: Mizo, a Folk Artist

Mizo, Kun *simbang*'s daughter and also her heir of the *simbang chosang*, is now 25, a qualified *simbang* who had an initiation rite at the age of 21 in 1981. She had a peculiar problem with her marital choice. Unlike her friends, she expected her marriage would not be happy and her husband not so smart simply because she is a *simbang*. (Now she is married to the man that she herself considered the right choice.) It was rather unusual for a young and charming woman to have such a pessimistic perspective. She seemed to have already given having a normal life. This attitude of resignation was a minimal negative reaction to her destiny. But on the other hand, she resisted it by displaying a fit of hysteria and creating friction with her mother at home when she did not have work outside the village. Despite her mother's insistence on prior faithfulness to the villagers' need, she preferred working outside. Her desire to be free from the conspicuous and fearful weight of her destiny as a social outcast inside the village is now fortunately compensated for by the external respect she receives from those interested in folklore scholarship and "shamanistic art," as the government now appraises it. Her desire to pursue "folk art professionalism," however, created

ideological conflicts with the traditional vision of her mother's generation on behalf of ancestral revelation.

This displacement of the personal vision in Mizo's generation is indeed only a partial reflection of the whole social and cultural transformation of Cheju society, particularly after the 1970s when the special interest in the rehabitalization of the so-called "disappearing shamanic tradition" began to emerge among the intellectuals. But if I narrow down the perspective to Mizo's personal vision, her personal desire for social freedom conflicted with her nearly "biological" destiny as the heir of *simbang chosang* and its practical responsibility as a village shaman. Sometimes this mother and daughter friction broke out without clear reasons. And they explained to me that this kind of fight was the sign of spiritual rivalry which originated from envy.

In fact, in the literatures of shamanism, this critical element of spiritual rivalry and envy between the generations or among the *simbangs* has been treated plainly as a self-evident and therefore negligible fact. However, this issue of generational displacement of personal vision and spiritual rivalry must be more extensively treated in the broad context of social and cultural transformation. By telling Mizo's life story from her birth to her current social activity, I will elaborate this issue; I will focus on the that way an individual's choice and vision for the future is determined by external circumstances despite an internal resistance and its bodily malady, and also the way that a personal story registers the not easily understandable process of social transformation.

Mizo is the third of Kun Simbang's four daughters. When Mizo was born, Kun Simbang was 40, living in exile on the island at the south of the peninsula. Her father was the rich married gentry class man who abandoned the ailing Kun Simbang. After her father rejected custody of Mizo and her infant sister, Kun Simbang and the two little daughters returned to Cheju to join the rest of the

family. Because Mizo and her sister were illegitimate, they could not belong to the rest of siblings legally or use the same surname of Kun simbang's dead husband. They were given a separate household unit together with Kun simbang and given her surname. Although all the siblings actually lived together with Kun simbang in the same house, they were legally separated. This social humiliation, however, did not destroy their sense of sibling solidarity; the head of two households was Kun simbang, who supported them all together from her work as a simbang.

From her early childhood, Mizo was a sickly child, suffering from a slight tuberculosis. Due to an occasional outbreak of her symptoms, she often had to skip classes at school. After her second elder sister married, Mizo, then a fourth grade elementary school pupil, had to take care of the household maintenance because her mother was mostly out working for kut rituals. She could go to school only a week a month. Although she received a graduation diploma, she confessed once that she did not study much at school. Due to poverty and Kun simbang's decision, Mizo could not go to middle school. Kun simbang then insisted that because no other sisters went on to the higher school, Mizo could not go either.

But there was another reason for her decision. Kun simbang sensed that Mizo was destined to become a simbang like herself and therefore further formal education would not be necessary. Once Kun simbang consulted with a fortune-teller about Mizo's chronic illness since her childhood. And the fortune-teller told her that Mizo would die before she reached 17. Kun simbang interpreted this gloomy fortune-telling as Mizo's destiny to become a simbang. She thought that the way of the simbang would be the only way for Mizo to extend her lifespan. After that, Kun simbang was determined to train Mizo to accept this destiny, the sad choice of life at the impasse.

It was the winter of Mizo's fourteenth year when Kun simbang brought her for the first time to her own kut ritual as an assistant. After that, severe fights occurred between mother and daughter. While crying, the mother would beat the daughter to stop her resistance because she knew it was the only way to save her daughter from the pre-destined short life; but the daughter resisted with all her effort against this destiny by running away from the ritual grounds. Mizo's heart was broken whenever, carrying packages of musical instruments for her mother's ritual performance over her shoulders, she saw her friends going to school with school bags in their hands. She tried to avoid meeting her friends by taking distant sidewalks at the outskirts of the village. Gradually she stopped making friends. She was alone throughout her teenage years. Until she was 20, Mizo continued to fight with her mother over this forced acceptance of her destiny. Mizo tried in vain to convince her mother that she would be able to survive by other means, such as working at the factory or stores in the city. But Kun simbang was adamant. Gradually Mizo was assimilated into the cultural milieu of the simbangs' world. At 19, Mizo could play various ritual musical instruments such as an hourglass-shaped drum, a bronze gong, and a two-sided leather drum.

In the fall of 1980 Mizo changed her attitude toward her destiny. She was then 21. She attended the annual folk festival with her mother, which was initiated by the Cheju provincial government. Together with other simbangs who were called out by the local officials, Kun simbang had attended the festival every year. The festival, called the Halla Cultural Festival, was organized as a contest of folk plays representing some subregional folk traditions. Reluctantly accompanying her mother, she met a few attendants of her age. She was surprised by these encounters, since she had been alone, without much contact with the outside world. Fortuitously, she got a chance to act as a substitute for

a title role in one folk play, a modified version of a healing ritual (*cKunŭn kut*), for a 45-minute performance on the outdoor stage. The play won first prize, and, as the provincial representative, the entire troupe, including Mizo, went up to Seoul to participate in the national contest of folk arts. Again they obtained the highest prize, and became publicly known. They were invited to perform the same play on stage before many folklore scholars and intellectuals. Mizo was greatly impressed by their warm reception and appraisal of the "shamanic performing art" about which she had felt deeply shameful. Later on she was officially appointed as the youngest one of five apprentices of Ahn simbang, who was designated as a human cultural treasure by the government in November of the same year. It was March 1981 when Mizo's official appointment became effective. Within six months, Mizo's changed drastically from a weak, shy, introverted girl to a daring public performer and a government-subsidized artist.

A few months after her official appointment in March 1981, Mizo had the first initiation rite, *ch'osin-chil*. Because of her fame, this event drew wide attention not only from Korean shamanism scholars and the mass media but also from a Japanese NHK TV producer. Kun Simbang and her family members screamed proudly at the rush of those visitors and provided them with room and board for the 14 days of the ceremony. Mizo's celebrity was scandalous to the villagers and the police too who had looked down on them in the past. Around that time the kut performances in the village were still persecuted; if any simbangs' secret activities were detected, they had to pay a special fine for disturbing civilians with noise. The simbangs were degraded as the chief culprits during the cultural backlash in the midst of the national modernizing process. Some feared Mizo's initiation rite would be a good target for government persecution. Even though the government supported the cultural preservation of the shamanist tradition by subsidizing some exemplary shamans' work, it also

launched a social purification movement against shamanism in general in order to promote modernization. Kun simbang described this delicate situation which she and also the police had to face:

We were doing kut while watching outside cautiously. When I saw a policeman outside the house, I was so much frightened and asked Mizo what we had to do now. She boldly answered, "Well even so, we must continue." It was the time when Whang seonsang (who was then a student of theatre, studying shamanism in Seoul) and Mr. Kim Su-nam (a well-known photographer of shamanic rituals all over the country) came to our house. But that policeman came to me and rather comforted me that we could continue the kut. Because we had to treat so many guests, our kut itself did not go through well. Too crowded. Those guests stayed here for 14 days. At that time we understood the policeman coming to us to arrest us. But actually he just stood there a sentinel for our sake and watched over any drunkards who might make trouble for us. Anyway no one in this village could dare to disturb our *kut*...

After the initiation rite, Mizo emerged a celebrity in whom the village police and authorities openly took pride. Besides her full qualifications to be a simbang, this public spotlight from the outside provided her with emotional security concerning her shamanic call as well as spiritual stability. However, sooner or later Kun simbang lay down at home due to an outbreak of the mysterious illness of the *sinbyŏng*. For a year she remained the same. The whole family cried all the time and tried every means of medical care. For five months Mizo concentrated intensely on making money from work as a secret fortune-teller, an activity that was regarded as a disgrace to an established simbang. Mizo recalled this period as the most painful. All the efforts of Mizo and her siblings were poured into Kun simbang's resuscitation, which however, turned out to be nearly hopeless.

In despair the family consulted with a fortune-teller in Cheju City. He pinpointed what went wrong with Mizo's first initiation rite. The reason for this misfortune lay in the fact that Mizo inherited her *chosang* from the wrong person. The *simbang chosang* had to be handed down from Kun simbang to Mizo directly through a new initiation rite. Therefore, the inheritance of the way of the

simbang in Mizo's case must have been accomplished through both lines of the *simbang chosang* and the family *chosang*.

This peculiarly disordered case of inheritance testifies to the exacting nature of the rule of succession of the *simbang chosang* and its authoritative force on the simbangs. Kun simbang described the complicated situation in which Mizo's initiation rite was involved:

At the time of Mizo's initiation rite [in 1981], the kut was done for only her own initiation. Although I myself was included in the rite, it turned out to be wrong because the order of inheritance was directed in opposition. I inquired 10 times to the fortune-tellers in Cheju City about this matter. One male fortune-teller spotted right about the wrong-ordered rite. He said it was done in the opposite direction. So do it this time in order. It was the wecond half of June in the lunar calendar when the kut started right next day to the day we heard this fortune-telling.

How wrong was the first initiation rite done? You know the greeting rite of the First and Second Palace Gods. There is something called blue veil or black veil, which the First Palace Virgin wore on her face when she approached a monk who was begging for rice at the gate. Mizo did not wear that veil on her face in the first initiation rite. If she carried the sacred cloth of the *tang* shrine and the temple on her shoulder after I did on my shoulder, no trouble would not be caught in my family and I should have not suffered such a deadly illness. Simply because I felt that due to my old age I wanted to take steps down from work, the initiation kut was intended to pass it down to this girl [without right procedure]. As a result I suffered.

Two procedures are crucial in the first initiation rite. The first procedure is the theatrical simulation of the originary myth of the *simbang chosang*, which is executed by wearing a blue and black veil on the face. The veil was worn by the virgin, the mother of three brothers who became the paramount ancestors of the simbangs according to the *ponp'uri* (the origin myth) of the First Lord, *ch'okong*. (see Chapter 6 for more detail about this myth.) This procedure involves two important reciprocal processes: by rehearsing the mythical event on the ritual ground, the mythical figure comes alive on the one hand and the novice simbang enters into the mythic world wherein she is transformed into a new person with a sacred personality on the other.

The second procedure is the direct inheritance of the *simbang chosang* and also the family *chosang*. This theatrical procedure proceeds in two ways. The mother passes down the two sets of sacred clothes (which are most of time kept inside the interior shrine (*tangju*) for the *simbang chosang*, in the small room of the house) to the daughter. Three sets of divinatory props, called *sam-maengdu* (a bronze knife, a set of two divinatory bronze coins, two small bronze cups, and a bronze saucer to contain coins and cups, and a rattle) must be handed down from the mother to the daughter. The bronze cups and coins representing the *simbang chosang* must be thus stamped on the forehead of the novice *simbang* as a sign of divine registration (*ðin ðæin*) and inheritance. Besides these two major symbolic procedures of the initiation rite, the novice drinks a bowl of rice liquors mixed with tears, saliva, and muscons collected from the attending *simbangs* and assistants. This bowl is called "medicinal drink and rice," symbolizing the toil of the *simbangs*, whose pathetic destiny is to cry for others' sorrow in spite of their own intrinsic pains as the social outcasts or aliens. If any novice does not drink this bowl of disgusting substances, she may not enter the sub-cultural world of the *simbangs*. Drinking this bowl means her resolute will to follow the way of the *simbang* regardless of its "turned-upside-down life."

What is curious at this point is that although the two significant procedures were conducted during Mizo's first initiation rite, the rite turned out to be "wrong." Kun *simbang* explained that the problem was over-crowdedness and the lack of expertise and knowledge of the chief *simbang* who officiated the first initiation rite and tried to pass on his own *chosang* to Mizo. But I interpret the same situation from a different perspective: the whole group of *simbangs* attending were preoccupied with the ostentatious attraction of the *kut* ritual itself and more concerned with the scandalous effect rather than the authentic effect of the initiation rite on the novice. In other words, the actual event of

initiation was "staged" as real only for the sake of the spectators' interest. This kind of hasty complicity with the external expectation emerged now as a new social factor in the practice of Cheju shamanism and also the self-image of the simbangs. If the "artificially staged" initiation rite risked the demise of shamanic tradition in Cheju history, this wrong-ordered initiation rite nearly risked Kun simbang's life and also Mizo's self-identity.

In Mizo's second initiation rite, the two procedures were rightly performed to reorder the inheritance. It was held on a hot summer day in August 1982. At that time, Ahn simbang, who was Mizo's teacher simbang and also a government-subsidized "human cultural treasure," officiated the rite. The rite was properly done, as events afterward showed. There was a resolution of the personal and spiritual conflicts between the mother and the daughter. Kun simbang gradually recovered from her mysterious illness that had broken out after Mizo's first initiation rite in 1981. Frequent friction between the two had been reduced, and they tended to co-operate well in work. It could happen in that way because the rivalry between the two different *chosangs* had ceased: now the two had the same *chosang*.

Although Kun simbang formally handed down her *chosang* to Mizo as such, the inheritance was not finished yet. After Kun simbang dies, Mizo will succeed it in a full term. In practice, Kun simbang retired from full-time activities. When the two were out for kut events, Kun simbang did not get engaged in the actual performances. Mizo did. And Kun simbang taught Mizo with great enthusiasm that Mizo would achieve great expertise in performing various kinds of rituals without any hindrance. She believes that, once Mizo enters into this way of the simbang, she must do it well.

Kun simbang's long acquainted clients also will be handed down to Mizo. Every client family has a particular family ancestor whose origin and mythical

heritage can be properly interpreted only by the *tan'gol simbang*. A *tan'gol simbang* is "a patron simbang" who knows well a specific history of family events, in particular misfortunes, as well as problematic ancestors of the client. It is similar to the priest whose pastoral role includes attending to the entire family's rites of passages. Once a *tan'gol* relationship is established between the *tan'gol simbang* and the client, it tends to be inherited through several generations. Usually a village resident simbang maintains his or her reputation through management of this *tan'gol* relationship. In each ritual performance inside the village, Kun simbang accompanied Mizo. If Kun simbang invoked all of family ancestors during the opening rite, Mizo had to conduct the rest of ritual by herself while memorizing their names which had been rehearsed beforehand. In other words, Mizo learned to inherit the priestly role of a village simbang, the chief role of which is that of the historical recorder of family histories that are not precisely preserved in the memory of the descendants. The divinatory capacity of the simbang is indeed judged by this memory capacity to spot the particular names of the problematic ancestors of the client.

Kun simbang seems to assess Mizo's qualifications to take up the way of simbang in two ways. She needs to demonstrate expertise in the performance and the esoteric knowledge of the corpus of the ancestral histories of client families (which are differently inherited from the family genealogy). These two criteria as exercised in Mizo's case are congruent with the general criteria that have been applied to other Cheju simbangs: *yŏng-gŭp* (spiritual power) and *sudŏk* (virtual merit of practice). The importance of this congruence is the fact that the mode of inheritance from Kun Simbang to Mizo follows the local and traditional one in Cheju.

However, this traditional mode of inheritance is contrasted with the official mode of inheritance, typified by Mizo's government-subsidized

apprenticeship from Ahn simbang. Mizo is on the edge of cultural transformation from the traditional and local mode of inheritance to the modern and centralized mode of inheritance. Mizo's social and religious initiation into the way of the simbang as portrayed above evidences this transitional moment. Mizo herself is aware of this: she claims that she inherited her mother's *chosang* as well as the disappearing shamanism in modern society.

Under this acute circumstance of transformation, any affirmative gesture of self-identity as a simbang emerges more saliently political than ever before. Being a shaman in the modern context requires the traditional sacrifice of being a folk healer who has been persecuted as a superstitious social outcast. But in addition, under the guise of political propaganda for national unity through "rehabilitation of traditional folk art," a new self-image of the "newly found treasure" as a folk artist is to be re-enchanted but only for the sake of fossilization in the folklore archive or counter-cultural discourse of the political dissidents in the opposite direction. In a word, the simbangs' healing rituals come out of their originary cultural and religious context for ancestors; instead they are staged theatrically for political discourse. The heroic image of the Cheju simbang in the contemporary context is thus not intrinsically given (Kun Simbang's case) but created historically as she refashions herself with force and imagination in the process of life story-telling (cf. Kendall 1988). Her life story not only belongs to herself and her daughter, Mizo, but also to the ethnographer who inevitably has to confine the space of her story within this short translated text. On the other hand, her story that is constrained thus by this translation process ironically opens toward the unknown readers somewhere else. In the next chapter I will present social and cultural context where Kun Simbang's life story would echo but in a different voice.

CHAPTER 6

SIMBANGS, CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Cheju shamanism is a phenomenon of Cheju folk religion conducted by simbangs, the indigenous healers and shrine priests. In this chapter, I will describe the mythical origin of the social position of simbangs in Cheju society and the historical change in that position which accompanied the process of modernization.

Names of Simbangs

The Cheju simbang is primarily a priest of the village shrines of tutelary deities; the simbang is a ritual healer who pleads to deities for alleviation of illness and misfortune. In terms of their cultural role, Cheju simbangs may be the shamanic type of religious practitioner like *mudang* in the mainland (which will be described in detail in the next chapter). In Cheju, however, *mudang* and simbang refer to different types of shamans. *Mudang* refers to mainland shamans who move to and live in Cheju, performing the shamanic rites in mainland style--predominantly the spirit medium type (*kangsin mu*).¹ This type of *mudang* is often called *yukji simbang*.² In contrast, the Cheju simbangs, who are categorized as the hereditary type (*sesŭp mu*) by the scholars, articulate the difference between *mudang* and themselves in terms of their priestly role and their ability to remember the origin myths of shrines.

The various names of Cheju simbangs denote their predominantly priestly role and function. They are not always hereditary. The origin and meaning of

CHAPTER 6

SIMBANGS, CLASS AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Cheju shamanism is a phenomenon of Cheju folk religion conducted by simbangs, the indigenous healers and shrine priests. In this chapter, I will describe the mythical origin of the social position of simbangs in Cheju society and the historical change in that position which accompanied the process of modernization.

Names of Simbangs

The Cheju simbang is primarily a priest of the village shrines of tutelary deities; the simbang is a ritual healer who pleads to deities for alleviation of illness and misfortune. In terms of their cultural role, Cheju simbangs may be the shamanic type of religious practitioner like *mudang* in the mainland (which will be described in detail in the next chapter). In Cheju, however, *mudang* and simbang refer to different types of shamans. *Mudang* refers to mainland shamans who move to and live in Cheju, performing the shamanic rites in mainland style--predominantly the spirit medium type (*kangsin mu*).¹ This type of *mudang* is often called *yukji simbang*.² In contrast, the Cheju simbangs, who are categorized as the hereditary type (*sesŭp mu*) by the scholars, articulate the difference between *mudang* and themselves in terms of their priestly role and their ability to remember the origin myths of shrines.

The various names of Cheju simbangs denote their predominantly priestly role and function. They are not always hereditary. The origin and meaning of

these names suggest the social position of the *simbang* in Cheju society and historical change in that position. According to a phonetic rule of Cheju dialect, the term *simbang* is a combination of two words, god (*sin*) and person (*bang*), so that the term as a whole indicates "a person of god." The word *sin* [the sound of which is changed into *sim* as it meets the personal suffix *bang*] here indicates behavioral and emotional attributes such as excited, numinous, absorbed in something. Thus a *simbang* is a person who sings and dances in excitation (Kim Hong-sik 1983:21-22). In fact, this definition is nearly identical with Banzaroff's definition of the Manchurian shaman who "gets excited in the ecstatic state and also stirs up others" (Chin Sŏng-gi 1971:254). The Tungus *samman* (pronounced *sharman*) from which the universal term shaman was derived means the act of jumping dance. Whether this etymological definition of *simbang* is authentic or not, a Cheju *simbang* is close to the Siberian shaman in terms of performance behaviors such as ecstasy.³

However, we must consider two other terms of reference: what the *simbangs* call themselves and what their clients call them. During their ritual recitation of myths, the *simbangs* refer to themselves as the servant children of gods [*sin ũi ai*] or the executors or attorneys of gods [*sin ũi sŏngbang*] (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1965:160).⁴ These two terms are self-referent titles used exclusively during the actual performance. For semi-formal occasions among themselves they call themselves by the respectful term *sinja*, meaning religious believer in the sense that they conduct religious acts with a certain belief in supernatural beings.

As terms such as *sin ũi ai* and *sin ũi sŏngbang* specify the particular relationship of *simbang* with dieties, the terms used to refer to the *simbangs* by Cheju people indicate the social status and role of *simbangs* in Cheju culture. *Simbangs* are called "the respectful person who knows how" (*ilan ǎrŭn*) which

implies their priestly role, and "the saintly person" (*yŏun nim*) which stresses the identity of the simbangs as separate from ordinary people. These two terms which are rarely used these days except among elderly clients suggest that the simbangs were once socially respected as priests who delivered the prayers of the people to deities and received oracles from them. As the word "*il*" in the term, *ilan ōrŭn*, implies 'career' or 'destiny' according to a local cultural activist and folklorist Mun Mu-pyŏng (1984 personal communication), the simbang is the "destined" practitioner who knows how to worship deities and ancestral spirits of Cheju people in a proper way without confusing the correct cosmological hierarchy of the deities. It was and is still considered very important to invoke the deities and seat them in the right order at the altar; otherwise, unexpected ill effect might be caused by the enraged deities who were seated improperly. Such a close association between the simbang's religious role and the deities is well-reflected in the particular title *tang hanim* (shrine servant), used for those who serve the tutelary deities of village shrines, or *tang mein simbang* (shrine-bound simbang), whose office is inherited over generations along with the three sets of divine ritual paraphernalia, *sam mængdu*.

However, this social respectability and saintly identity of simbangs is confined only to the ritual context. Simbangs are not respected outside of the immediate context of ritual performances or ceremonies. Rather, their sanctified position serves to justify their social isolation, but can also be abused for social degradation. For example, as the simbangs are the servants of shrine deities, they are also "the servants of villagers" (*tongne hanim*), a rather derogatory term in the sense that the simbangs serve the people mostly on extra-ordinary occasions of life transition, particularly illness, death, and misfortune.⁵

As the Confucian social hierarchical order lost its legitimacy in modern times, those terms that indicate the separate social identity of the simbangs disappeared. Instead, people use mostly the neutral term, simbang.

The Social Position of Simbangs: Myth and Historical Evidence

As the meanings of their names imply, the Cheju simbangs occupy a socially ambivalent position in the society. While they are respected as saintly priests, they are looked down upon as village servants. This ambivalence is well evidenced in the origin myth of the simbang ancestor and also in the historical change in their social position in Cheju society and in the Korean nation as a whole.

The Origin Myth of the Simbang Ancestor

The myth of the ancestor of the simbang, which is called the Origin Myth of the First Lord (*ch'okong ponp'uri*), provides clues about the social status, relationships with other religions, manufacture of ritual implements, and inheritance of the simbang career as they must have existed in the past.⁶ The First Lord (*ch'okong*) indicates three brothers, who became the ancestral gods of the simbangs. Thus the simbang ancestors are called *sam mengdu*, the Three Bright Stars. The three brothers represent three sets of divinatory implements: rattle (*yoryŏng*), two pairs of bronze cups and coins (*sanp'an*), and a god-knife (*sink'al*). The recitation of the myth begins with the genealogy of the family of the three brothers.

Their paternal grandfather was the Buddha, and their paternal grandmother was a Buddhist saint. Their maternal grandfather was the High Official of Heaven [Ch'onha Imjŏngguk Taegam], and their maternal grandmother was the Lady Official of the Underworld [Chiha Kimchinguk Taegam]. Their father was the

As the Confucian social hierarchical order lost its legitimacy in modern times, those terms that indicate the separate social identity of the simbangs disappeared. Instead, people use mostly the neutral term, *simbang*.

The Social Position of Simbangs: Myth and Historical Evidence

As the meanings of their names imply, the Cheju *simbangs* occupy a socially ambivalent position in the society. While they are respected as saintly priests, they are looked down upon as village servants. This ambivalence is well evidenced in the origin myth of the *simbang* ancestor and also in the historical change in their social position in Cheju society and in the Korean nation as a whole.

The Origin Myth of the Simbang Ancestor

The myth of the ancestor of the *simbang*, which is called the Origin Myth of the First Lord (*ch'okong ponp'uri*), provides clues about the social status, relationships with other religions, manufacture of ritual implements, and inheritance of the *simbang* career as they must have existed in the past.⁶ The First Lord (*ch'okong*) indicates three brothers, who became the ancestral gods of the *simbangs*. Thus the *simbang* ancestors are called *sam mengdu*, the Three Bright Stars. The three brothers represent three sets of divinatory implements: rattle (*yoryŏng*), two pairs of bronze cups and coins (*sanp'an*), and a god-knife (*sink'al*). The recitation of the myth begins with the genealogy of the family of the three brothers.

Their paternal grandfather was the Buddha, and their paternal grandmother was a Buddhist saint. Their maternal grandfather was the High Official of Heaven [Ch'onha Imjŏngguk Taegam], and their maternal grandmother was the Lady Official of the Underworld [Chiha Kimchinguk Taegam]. Their father was the

As the Confucian social hierarchical order lost its legitimacy in modern times, those terms that indicate the separate social identity of the simbangs disappeared. Instead, people use mostly the neutral term, simbang.

The Social Position of Simbangs: Myth and Historical Evidence

As the meanings of their names imply, the Cheju simbangs occupy a socially ambivalent position in the society. While they are respected as saintly priests, they are looked down upon as village servants. This ambivalence is well evidenced in the origin myth of the simbang ancestor and also in the historical change in their social position in Cheju society and in the Korean nation as a whole.

The Origin Myth of the Simbang Ancestor

The myth of the ancestor of the simbang, which is called the Origin Myth of the First Lord (*ch'okong ponp'uri*), provides clues about the social status, relationships with other religions, manufacture of ritual implements, and inheritance of the simbang career as they must have existed in the past.⁶ The First Lord (*ch'okong*) indicates three brothers, who became the ancestral gods of the simbangs. Thus the simbang ancestors are called *sam mengdu*, the Three Bright Stars. The three brothers represent three sets of divinatory implements: rattle (*yoryŏng*), two pairs of bronze cups and coins (*sanp'an*), and a god-knife (*sink'al*). The recitation of the myth begins with the genealogy of the family of the three brothers.

Their paternal grandfather was the Buddha, and their paternal grandmother was a Buddhist saint. Their maternal grandfather was the High Official of Heaven [Ch'onha Imjŏngguk Taegam], and their maternal grandmother was the Lady Official of the Underworld [Chiha Kimchinguk Taegam]. Their father was the

Great Confucian Teacher, Zhu Xi, from Golden Mountain Taoist's Land [Hwanggum san Todan ttang Chuja Tae-sŏnsŏng], and their mother was the Maiden Queen of the Purple Star and Autumn Leaves who came from This and That Mountain Trails in the Golden Sky and the Great Bamboo Moon Rock [*chŏ sanjul i ppŏt'ko i sanjuli ppŏtŏ wangtae wŏlsŏk kŭmhanŭl nogadanpung chajumyŏngwang Agissi*]. The Three Brothers were born as triplets in September over a ten day interval.

This mythical genealogy of the simbang ancestors shows an important feature of Cheju shamanism, the mixture of Buddhism, Taoism, and neo-Confucianism. The simbang was originally of the upper social class, the bride of a Taoist Teacher and of high ranking gentry class. But as the three brothers were born in the month of September which is considered to be an inauspicious month, the simbang was destined to live a ill-fated life.

The mythical story of this ill-fated life of the simbang ancestor starts with the life story of the Three Brothers's mother, Agissi of Autumn Leaves.

Agissi was born as a result of Buddhist prayers. When her parents were absent, she was visited by a Buddhist monk and became pregnant by spirit. She was expelled from her home by her parents who felt ashamed of her out-of-wedlock pregnancy. Whenever Agissi passed a bridge on the way to search for her husband, the bridge was named after the emotional states of mind resulting from her separation from her parents, such as regret, conflict, farewell, and affection.⁷ Even when Agissi finds her husband on the Golden Mountain Taoist Land, she is abandoned by him who suggests that because the monk could not marry, she had better go to the Buddhist Land.

In the Buddhist Land she gives birth to the three brothers on September 8, 18, and 28 respectively.

These three brothers grow up socially degraded as illegitimate offspring of the monk and, while working as servants, pursue their studies over the shoulders of gentry class students of the Chinese classics. Their excellence is envied by three thousand scholars, who ridicule the "three brothers of ashes" because the three brothers cannot afford paper and ink and so used ashes for writing practice. At fifteen, they accompany the three thousand scholars as servants to the national examination for official service, and achieve the highest scores. In spite of their excellence they are coerced into withdrawing from the competition because of their illegitimate birth. But when they also achieve the highest scores in archery, they are finally appropriately awarded, and return home in honor. Meanwhile the three thousand scholars scheme to hurt the three brothers, and imprison their mother in the Heavenly Palace for Three Thousand Gods (*samch'ŏn ch'ŏnche sŏkgung*). Once they learn of the three thousand scholars' scheme, three Brothers of Ashes (*chet'bugi sam hyŏngche*) abandon their honorable positions as gentry men, and visit their father for the first time on the Golden Mountain to discuss how to bring their mother back to this life. Their father greets them warmly and says, "If you want to get her back, you must reverse your destiny and become shamans. Once they agree to this suggestion, their father gives them three things, the Gate to Heaven and Earth (*ch'ŏnmun*) [which is used to divine], the First Invocation Rite (*ch'osin maji*), and the Greeting Rite for Ten Kings (*siwang maji kut*). Besides these three things, the father offers many other forms of shamanic rites. He recommends to them the way of a *simbang* as preferable to the glamorous life of a government official.

Then the father instructs them about how to track down their mother. Firstly they should make a round drum (*puk*) and a hour-glass drum (*changgo*) of calf skin and beat it loudly and constantly. For that they need help from the Shepherd Bachelor (*nŏsame toryŏng*). The Three brothers go to the Buddhist Land to find the Shepherd Bachelor, and they enter into sworn brotherhood by passing through one by one from the left leg of a pair of underpants

of their mother to the right one. The four brothers go up the steep mountain and cut a paulownia tree and skin a horse in order to make a *puk* and *changgo*. They go to the Heavenly Palace of Three Thousand Gods and beat the drums loudly and constantly for two weeks, while chanting, "Dear sorrowful mother, please come alive to the shallow palace if you are in the deep palace." The Palace investigates the reason for the sounds of those drums. Finally Agissi of Autumn Leaves is released. The Three Brothers build a huge house for their mother, and instruct the Bachelor to guard the house. Thereafter the Shepherd Bachelor becomes the deity of musical instruments. The Three Brothers call upon the Son of the Blacksmith from the East Sea [the Japan Sea] and have him make many ritual implements such as rattles (*yoryŏng*), a pair of coins inscribed with letters of heaven, earth, and gate (*ch'ŏnmun*), and a pair of small bronze cups (*sangjan*), two pairs of which become a divinatory set called *sanp'an*. And finally he makes a knife seventy five *cha* [a Korean foot (.33 m.) long].⁸ As one brandishes this knife, one thousand scholars' heads would be cut off everyday. The Three Brothers go to see the three thousand scholars. At once, the heads of the three thousand scholars are cut off and fall on the ground. The brothers get revenge on those enemies in the end.

The origin myth of the *simbang* ancestor, the Three Brothers of Ashes, tells us about the class background of the *simbang* and the process of self-transformation as well as the process of establishing a *simbang* career. They did not come out of her womb, but from her heart which had been stricken by being abandonned by her aristocratic parents and by her hypocritical 'celibate' monk. After the brothers grew up they were abandonned socially like their mother by the dominant class of gentry men who envied their excellence. The *simbangs'* ritual costumes that copy the formal attire of the official and gentry class people during the Yi dynasty display the residues of the honor and glory they could have enjoyed if they had not given their posts up in order to look for their lost mother. Their unusual births through the sorrowful heart of their mother and her social

sacrifice in this mythical story suggest that the simbangs' healing rites for the sick and for consolation of the spirits of the dead contain social and political import--revenge on the three thousand scholars. So during the rite for exorcism, the simbang recites, "This knife is not to kill humans, but to kill the evil spirits."

Here it is important to note that the three thousand scholars' heads, which were all cut off by a single swing of the god-knife in the myth, are identified with the evil spirits. In other words, the shamanic healing rites are targeted at the dissolution of the deep-seated grudge of socially neglected and degraded people like simbangs. As they portray themselves as the servants of the ten kings of the other world and govern the world with the god-knife which they borrowed from the ten kings, the simbangs claim to be just rulers as opposed to the unjust gentry class men (Mun Moo-byŏng 1985:204). For this purpose, the simbangs are sworn brothers to other groups of people such as shepherds and blacksmiths. Together they form a solidarity among the social underclass, and use the group power for exorcism of evil spirits and also healing of the sick and unfortunate.

As the origin myth continues to tell us about the first simbang, the primary goal of the Cheju simbangs' rites was the healing of illness and misfortune which were attributed to the evil actions of the dominant class.

A daughter of a high ranking official received six coins from a Buddhist monk who predicted that her destiny was to become a shaman. She hid them under the pillar stone at her house. Without knowing why, she became very ill at the age of seven, and oscillated between life and death until she reached 77. Then she took the coins out and carried them with her, and her long-term illness was gone completely. She gained spiritual knowledge about all human affairs. One day she, now the Lady Yu-ssi, had a premonition of a dying girl, in the neighboring house of a rich man, whose illness was caused by the Three Ten Kings (*sam siwang*)--that is, the Three Brothers. She went and suggested that they hold a *kut* rite. But she did not have ritual implements. She prayed to

the Three Ten Kings and received all of the divinatory implements and musical instruments from the Shepherd Bachelor, the keeper. She established the law of the *kut* rite, and became the *simbang* teacher. This law of the *kut* rite has been passed down to the present day.

This mythical story of the first *simbang*, the Lady Yu-ssi (*yussi puin*) exemplifies the shamanic belief that the *yangban* gentry class will eventually be brought low. Lady Yu-ssi, a member of the upper class, was harmed by the paramount ancestors of the *simbangs*, the Three Brothers who became the Three Ten Kings after they died. The myth of these ancestors' personal experiences of death as they had to give up this life in order to bring their mother back to life, resonates with the human reality of suffering which the *simbangs* share with their patients. The *simbangs'* role as a healer, then, is deeply embedded in their social class origins. The shamanic rite is a spectacle of exorcising the evil caused by the dominant social class, *yangban*. It is from this perspective, as the myth suggests, that the *simbang's* social position in contemporary Cheju society and in history must be understood.

The Social Position of the Simbang in the Village: Compliance and Conflict

As the origin myth of the *simbang* ancestor shows, the *simbang* represents underclass people, who are at the bottom of the Confucian four social class system--gentry, peasant, artisan, and merchant class--during the Yi dynasty. The low social position of the *simbang* contradicts their supposedly divine births as "god-children" (*sin ūi ai*). These contradictions between myth and reality suggest an important truth about their social function as both village servants and intellectuals on the level of village social structure. The *simbangs* served the whole village as ritual servants. The *simbangs* in the village of Kosalmi thus

the Three Ten Kings and received all of the divinatory implements and musical instruments from the Shepherd Bachelor, the keeper. She established the law of the *kut* rite, and became the *simbang* teacher. This law of the *kut* rite has been passed down to the present day.

This mythical story of the first *simbang*, the Lady Yu-ssi (*yussi puin*) exemplifies the shamanic belief that the *yangban* gentry class will eventually be brought low. Lady Yu-ssi, a member of the upper class, was harmed by the paramount ancestors of the *simbangs*, the Three Brothers who became the Three Ten Kings after they died. The myth of these ancestors' personal experiences of death as they had to give up this life in order to bring their mother back to life, resonates with the human reality of suffering which the *simbangs* share with their patients. The *simbangs*' role as a healer, then, is deeply embedded in their social class origins. The shamanic rite is a spectacle of exorcising the evil caused by the dominant social class, *yangban*. It is from this perspective, as the myth suggests, that the *simbang's* social position in contemporary Cheju society and in history must be understood.

The Social Position of the Simbang in the Village: Compliance and Conflict

As the origin myth of the *simbang* ancestor shows, the *simbang* represents underclass people, who are at the bottom of the Confucian four social class system--gentry, peasant, artisan, and merchant class--during the Yi dynasty. The low social position of the *simbang* contradicts their supposedly divine births as "god-children" (*sin ūi ai*). These contradictions between myth and reality suggest an important truth about their social function as both village servants and intellectuals on the level of village social structure. The *simbangs* served the whole village as ritual servants. The *simbangs* in the village of Kosalmi thus

explained the character of their ritual practices for their clients as "mowing the weeds" of everyday life. They receive compensation for this service later on through "reaping the millet and barley" of their clients. On the other hand, when the simbangs diagnose the crisis events of the people and the community as a whole and give the oracles of the shrine deities to them, they perform like intellectuals. Supposedly they have esoteric knowledge about cosmology and the divine world and also have the capacity to control events concerned with life and death through their performance.

Their intellectual function is similar to that of what Gramsci called "organic intellectuals," who are capable of organizing and disseminating practical knowledge on matters of daily life and social problems as well as recreating and interpreting world-views in accordance with the religious ideologies of the villagers (Gramsci 1971). Looking at them as leaders of popular culture, Gramsci stresses the importance of the intellectual functions of priests and healers in primitive society: they are "those who struggle or seem to struggle against death, disease, and misfortune on behalf of individuals and communities."

Whose interests are they representing within the village? As village servants, the simbangs stand in a neutral position relative to the village as a whole. In fact, they do not belong to any social class; they are total outsiders. Normally simbangs are socially isolated; they do not belong to any of the age or mutual aid groups which operate like political factions inside the village. Nevertheless, due to their priestly functions, the simbangs exercise power in village politics. While they comply with peoples' needs and commands in their role as ritual functionaries, the simbangs also conflict with the people by playing the role of social critics who see the causes of personal and social ills and correct them by divination and oracles. The social force of the simbangs stems from the shrines to which the simbangs are bound. Like "organic intellectuals," the

simbangs' struggle against death, disease, and misfortune endows them with a power that is equivalent to the sacred power of the tutelary spirits of the shrines. From this perspective of this religious power which the simbangs attain let us turn to an examination of the social relations between simbangs and villagers.

The sacred power of the shrines is used for the control of natural forces such as birth and death, well-being and disease, and fertility of humans and crops both in the field and at sea. The origin myths of these shrine deities reveal the specific source of power as expressed in the social class origin and personality type of the deities. If they came from the gentry class and had high official rank, they are supposed to be powerful. The myths also instruct one as to the exact way to attain this power by specifying the regular ceremonies and the detailed procedures of ritual performance. These myths, which are recited at every ceremony, establish a social class system based on the three-class client hierarchy system, *tan'gol*. The *sang tan'gol* clan, which is the founder of the shrines and the first worshipper of the shrine deities, composes the elite class in the village, whose political power is religiously sanctioned. In fact, the priest simbang who is "bound to the shrines" (*tang maein*) conducts the communal ceremonies at the shrines as the primary servant of the *sang tan'gol* clan, because it is they who appoint the priest simbang. Through day to day practice of healing rites for each household, the village simbangs distribute the sacred power resources which are nominally dominated by the *san tan'gol* clan.

However, the simbangs do more than act as servants of the shrine deities and the *sang tan'gol*. By distributing the power resources and committing themselves to solving afflictions caused by the shrine deities, the simbangs create diffuse forms of opposition which challenge the prevailing disposition of class power. In other words, the simbangs act as both the religious servant of the dominant class and the voice of the unfortunate people operating *within and*

against the terms of the prevailing hegemony, that is, both in the interests of the dominant groups in the society or in the creation of a counter-discourse that challenges the power structure in the village. The following case story of the political disputes over the re-appointment of the priestly simbang in the village of Kosalmi will illuminate the internal dynamics of power which surround the shrines.

In the village of Kosalmi, the village simbangs challenged the priest simbang who monopolized the four yearly shrine ceremonies. They asked that the performing rights of four shrines be divided up so that they could also benefit from the sacred power attached to each shrine. The village clients had more trust in the priest simbang. It was because they believed the priest simbang had a particular authority associated with his priestly prestige. The simbangs, who were all female, accused the priest simbang of a being male simbang and living outside village because of his illegitimacy. They claimed that the tutelary deity of the chief shrine of the village was male, and therefore the priest simbang should be female; if a male simbang took up the position, he would not live long. They also accused him of being stingy in donating money to the village in spite of the fact that he earned a lot from each annual ceremony at the shrines. They estimated his earnings from the New Year Ceremony to be two straw sacks of rice (two 5.12 U.S. bushels), 17 chickens, six bags of fruit, and six hundred thousand *won* (U.S.\$ 600 in 1984). It was quite a sum of money to the people in the village. Those female simbangs contacted the village leaders as well as the head of the sang tan'gol clan who would be the final decision maker about the division of ceremonial rights and reappointment of the priest simbang. Each simbang separately contacted them and insisted that she was the right person to inherit the priest simbang. They also stirred up public opinion among the clients, insisting that the incumbent priest simbang was not appropriate for his position,

and the village native simbang should take that position instead. They said the villagers were stupid to let a non-local simbang take up the most prestigious position. The incumbent priest simbang inherited the priesthood from his mother-in-law just for three years' contract after she suddenly died of heart attack three years ago. His wife could inherit it but because she was not competent enough to take that position, he took it as a substitute. After three years, he did not transfer his priestship to the village simbangs. This was the reason why the disputes occurred. As public opinion circulated much further creating sharply divided factions among the villagers, the villagers held a council about this matter, and decided to divide the rights among the simbangs.

But the priest simbang was not reappointed. Even the *sang tan'gol* clan feared to arouse the bad temper of the shrine deity by harming the heart of the priest simbang. He was respected in such a way that his priestship should be protected. In the process of dispute settlement, most of village leaders and clients calmly listened to the complaints of the simbangs and tried not to disturb their mood because it would have an affect on the results of shamanic rituals at their houses in the future. Surprisingly they were supportive of the priest simbang regardless of his personal disqualification for the same reason. After the disputes were resolved, the priest simbang changed his attitude. He bought a restaurant and officially moved to the village. He donated more often to the village affairs. He invited local simbangs to his New Year ceremony and divided the earnings among themselves.

Historical Change

Such a powerful counter-discourse as that which is due to the marginal social position of the simbangs can be seen also in the historical evidence. In broader social context, the simbang represents the Cheju people and their

and the village native simbang should take that position instead. They said the villagers were stupid to let a non-local simbang take up the most prestigious position. The incumbent priest simbang inherited the priesthood from his mother-in-law just for three years' contract after she suddenly died of heart attack three years ago. His wife could inherit it but because she was not competent enough to take that position, he took it as a substitute. After three years, he did not transfer his priestship to the village simbangs. This was the reason why the disputes occurred. As public opinion circulated much further creating sharply divided factions among the villagers, the villagers held a council about this matter, and decided to divide the rights among the simbangs.

But the priest simbang was not reappointed. Even the *sang tan'gol* clan feared to arouse the bad temper of the shrine deity by harming the heart of the priest simbang. He was respected in such a way that his priestship should be protected. In the process of dispute settlement, most of village leaders and clients calmly listened to the complaints of the simbangs and tried not to disturb their mood because it would have an affect on the results of shamanic rituals at their houses in the future. Surprisingly they were supportive of the priest simbang regardless of his personal disqualification for the same reason. After the disputes were resolved, the priest simbang changed his attitude. He bought a restaurant and officially moved to the village. He donated more often to the village affairs. He invited local simbangs to his New Year ceremony and divided the earnings among themselves.

Historical Change

Such a powerful counter-discourse as that which is due to the marginal social position of the simbangs can be seen also in the historical evidence. In broader social context, the simbang represents the Cheju people and their

indigenous power in opposition to the external forces such as the central government.

According to historical records about the time before the Japanese colonial period (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1965:181), an independent religious organization like a parish system and a strict hierarchical rank system among *simbangs* had existed. Within the society of *simbangs*, there was an administrative office of *simbangs*, called *simbang chŏng*. This *simbang chŏng* was headed by a governing chief (*towhangsu*) who controlled the *simbangs*' activities on the whole island. In each county, there was a county *simbang* (*myŏn simbang*) who controlled *simbangs* at the village level. A single performance troupe generally consisted of four to five *simbangs* who were family members or acquaintances, and their activities were under the control of the county *simbang*. There was, therefore, a territorial division of the *simbangs*' activities. This territorial division among the *simbangs* followed three political administrative unit, the governor's central castle area and two counties. This resulted in three sects of religious tradition corresponding to the three administrative centers: *mokwan simbang* (Cheju City), *taejŏng simbang* (Taejŏng Up), and *jŏngŭi simbang* (Jongŭi Up).⁹ Each sectarian tradition represents the particular local history of the area is characterized by a unique mode of performative competence. For instance, *mokwan simbang* is good at entertainment such as dance, music, and improvisatory oration; *taejŏng simbang* at the recitation of general myths; *jŏngŭi simbang* at the myths of the shrine gods. Due to this local specificity, a *mokwan simbang* would have difficulty in performing rites satisfactorily in response to the expectations of local people in Taejung or Jungui. These localized traditions remain intact even though the *simbang chŏng* no longer exists, and still create lively debates over myths and performing styles among *simbangs* whenever they gather. Such lively debate and

competing claims for orthodoxy of performance tradition provides Cheju shamanism with a force for its continued dynamism.

At the historical peak of the power of the *simbangs*, *Towhangsu*, the chief of the old *simbang ch'ǒng*, was honored at an annual ceremony to celebrate spring (*ipch'un kut*) by being seated together with the governor in the highest seats looking down over the *kut* performed by *simbangs* gathered from all over the island. However, the power of the *simbangs* was feared and envied by the governors and Confucian scholars on the island. For example, around 1700, Governor Lee lamented the fact that the *simbangs*' secret mutual aid groups (*kye*) numbered nearly one thousand and they deceitfully exploited people. Whether or not this was true, the record proves that the *simbangs* exercised a dominant power in the religious life of the Cheju people. In other historical sources written by governors and exiled Confucian scholars (T'amla Munhǒnchip 1978), the Cheju people conducted every festive or solemn affair of the household only after praying at the shrines and receiving oracles from the shrine deities of their village via the *simbangs*. Instead of seeking medicinal cures, people also consulted with *simbangs* for cures because it was believed that illness was caused by the wrath of gods.

Such evidence of people's dependence on *simbangs* and strong influence of *simbangs*' spiritual power over people's ordinary lives threatened the supposedly sovereign power of the governor and also the dominant Confucian social norms. Governor Lee Hyong-sang who lamented over the growing power of the *simbangs* destroyed five hundred shamanic shrines and abolished the *simbangs*' activities by law in 1702. Proposing a popular edification program, Governor Lee summoned Confucian elites and local officials, and these native scholars and local officials accused *simbangs* of superstitious and subversive activities and of ignoring the governing authorities (cf. Hyǒn Ki-rǒn 1982). These local elites who

themselves were natives carried out the destruction. This event was the real blow to the autonomous power and transmission of Cheju shamanism, and still simbangs mention this event of nearly three hundred years ago. Governor Lee's campaign of destruction and its aftermath is made into legends and myths, revived persistently in popular memory and simbangs' *kut* recitation. (The historical significance of this event is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.) This repressive measure has been repeated from then on from time to time throughout the Yi dynasty and the Japanese colonial period, and most recently in the Anti-superstition Campaign (*misin t'apa*) and the New Life Movement (*sin sengwhal undong*) that started together in 1969.

Census of "Superstitious Practitioners"

In spite of the total destruction of local shamanic shrines in 1702, the shrines were rebuilt, and in 1964 there were 248 shrines, including 140 major shrines of village tutelary deities (*ponhyang tang*) and 108 minor shrines (*kaet tang*) at the seashore (U Rag-ki 1978: 384). In 1969, 135 shrines of shamanic deities were destroyed again in the Anti-superstition Campaign. In 1970, the shrine house and altar at the Chilmori Tang, an important shrine for boat owners and rich merchants in Cheju was destroyed, and even Confucian style collective village ceremonies (*p'och'e*) were abolished. Ironically the Chilmori Tang was later designated as the first National Cultural Treasure on the island in 1982.

Around the time when shamanic shrines were destroyed, a "Measure to Restrict Mudang Activities" (*mudang hengwi tansok*) was enacted in 1970. The number of practicing simbangs fluctuates along with the fluctuation of the national policy on shamanism, which is officially categorized as *misin* [superstition]. In governmental census surveys Cheju simbangs are labeled as

themselves were natives carried out the destruction. This event was the real blow to the autonomous power and transmission of Cheju shamanism, and still simbangs mention this event of nearly three hundred years ago. Governor Lee's campaign of destruction and its aftermath is made into legends and myths, revived persistently in popular memory and simbangs' *kut* recitation. (The historical significance of this event is discussed in detail in Chapter 4.) This repressive measure has been repeated from then on from time to time throughout the Yi dynasty and the Japanese colonial period, and most recently in the Anti-superstition Campaign (*misin t'apa*) and the New Life Movement (*sin sengwhal undong*) that started together in 1969.

Census of "Superstitious Practitioners"

In spite of the total destruction of local shamanic shrines in 1702, the shrines were rebuilt, and in 1964 there were 248 shrines, including 140 major shrines of village tutelary deities (*ponhyang tang*) and 108 minor shrines (*kaet tang*) at the seashore (U Rag-ki 1978: 384). In 1969, 135 shrines of shamanic deities were destroyed again in the Anti-superstition Campaign. In 1970, the shrine house and altar at the Chilmori Tang, an important shrine for boat owners and rich merchants in Cheju was destroyed, and even Confucian style collective village ceremonies (*p'och'e*) were abolished. Ironically the Chilmori Tang was later designated as the first National Cultural Treasure on the island in 1982.

Around the time when shamanic shrines were destroyed, a "Measure to Restrict Mudang Activities" (*mudang hengwi tansok*) was enacted in 1970. The number of practicing simbangs fluctuates along with the fluctuation of the national policy on shamanism, which is officially categorized as *misin* [superstition]. In governmental census surveys Cheju simbangs are labeled as

mudang along with other superstitious practitioners (*misin ŭppja*) including diviners, physiognomists, palmists, phrenological diviners, geomancers, fortunetellers, and sutra-chanters. In 1959 before the wind of modernization blew to change the country, there were 345 simbangs in total (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1982:931), and this number was maintained until 1968 (Statistical Yearbook of Chejudo 1970). Among them, the majority were over forty years old, and only fifty young simbangs, in their twenties and thirties, were active. As Hyon predicts, this phenomenon shows already the symptoms of the degeneration of Cheju simbang tradition in that fewer and fewer persons conduct the initiation rite to become a simbang.

Table 1 illustrates the historical change in the numbers of superstitious practitioners from 1968 until 1980.¹⁰ In 1969, the total number dropped drastically to 254; and this trend continued until the number reached 60 in 1980. In terms of population ratio, there was one shaman for every one hundred people in the statistics of 1959 (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1965:162-3). This means there was one to two shamans in each of 251 villages. In contrast, by 1980 the ratio of shamanistic practitioners has dropped to 1:6571.

This governmental statistic is, however, perhaps dubious because it contradicts what the simbang themselves surmise. One prominent simbang told me there were roughly one hundred fifty simbangs among two hundred shamanistic practitioners. He included midwife simbangs, *samsŭng halmang*, who, as elderly women with many grown-up children, perform minor treatments for children's diseases such diarrhea. They are included in the *simbang* group because they occasionally join the performance troupe of simbangs as assistants. Although the *simbang* shares ritual and cosmological knowledge and skill with these minor practitioners, the *simbang* is distinguished from them to the extent

TABLE 1
The Statistics of "Superstitious Practitioners" (*misin upsŏ*)

YEAR	TOTAL		TOTAL POPULATION (Cheju City Population)																	
	M	F	Shaman		Diviner		Physiog- nomist		Palmist		Phreno- logist		Geomancer		Fortune- teller		Sutra Chanter			
			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
1968	339	161	178	57	99	22	30	16	1	1	18	-	-	63	-	11	30	1	1	370,000 (97,681)
1969	254	115	139	31	55	7	32	11	3	3	18	-	1	55	-	6	30	2	-	
1970	217	113	104	38	73	10	28	10	2	2	1	2	-	42	-	4	-	5	-	
1971	288	158	130	50	77	16	38	15	3	3	1	-	10	56	1	10	-	8	-	
1972	202	108	94	37	51	8	31	7	-	16	1	-	-	28	-	1	3	11	8	390,000 (117,585)
1974	46	30	16	12	10	4	5	7	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	3	-	-	1	
1975	57	40	17	14	14	6	2	9	-	3	-	-	-	5	-	3	-	-	1	
1976	63	31	32	13	17	3	12	5	3	-	-	-	-	5	-	4	-	1	-	
1977	72	37	35	13	20	2	13	9	2	-	-	-	-	7	-	5	-	1	-	460,000 (160,981)
1978	49	24	25	7	9	5	12	8	2	-	0	1	-	-	-	3	2	-	-	
1979	37	18	19	5	6	4	9	7	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	
1980	60	20	40	7	20	4	18	6	2	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	

Source: Cheju Province Office: Statistical Yearbook of Cheju-do (from 1970 to 1981)

that the *simbang* is especially devoted to the performative enactment of divine communication on both a collective and individual level.

Besides, these statistics have been heavily influenced by the political atmosphere at the time of the census. Most of the statistics come from a register of Kyongsin Whoe, the Association of Worshippers, the organization licensed by the government. The government allowed only members of this group to conduct shamanistic rites, and also used it politically in the national election. In order to survive the hostile thrust of the Anti-superstition Campaign, practitioners joined this group. But their membership in the association did not protect their rights and interests; instead these fluctuated depending on any change of the government's policy. For instance, in 1950 the government issued the law restricting *mudang* activities. But in 1959, the same government forced shamans to organize Kyongsin Whoe in order to use it for the national election. This association became nothing but a name right after the national election was over. The same political use of the shamans' organization reappears in 1969 when President Park tried to regain political power after his first term. *Mudangs* gathered in a huge congregation and prayed for the "establishment of a new history" under the regime of President Park (Yun I-hum 1985:207).

After 1969, "shamanistic tradition" was introduced in the mass media as "the spiritual home" (*chongsin ūi kohyang*) and given the same status as other folk traditions. Also the shamanistic initiation dream was interpreted as a genuine religious experience identical with that of Christian spiritual power (Yun I-hum Ibid.). The popular image of shamanism as created by this media representation contradicts the government's social purification drive and anti-superstitious campaign. This double image of shamanism created by outside forces is well illustrated in the government's appointment of a few prominent shamans as national treasures. In 1981, Ahn *simbang* was designated as the

Appointed Practitioner of Important Invisible Cultural Treasure No. 71,, Ch'ilmŏri Tangkut [the shrine ceremony at Ch'ilmŏri], and also he himself was designated a Human Cultural Treasure. All his ritual activities were officially transformed into "extension activities of cultural transmission of national tradition," and thus legally licensed. This official designation of shamans is in fact a subtle strategy of governmental control of folk religion and its religious power.

The Waning Force of the Village Shrine

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, the numbers of village shrines and simbangs in Cheju have been drastically declining in the last twenty years. Cheju people also perceive this change and express it in their own way: the waning of "the force of the village shrine" (*tangse*). In Cheju society and history, the village shrine has represented the cultural identity of the Cheju people as distinguished from the Korean people in the mainland. What they mean by "the force of the village shrine" is the weakening of the indigenous sense of cultural and personal identity. I described this decline of the *tangse* in terms of two processes: 1) the destruction of shrines, and the social disintegration of the religious community, *tan'gol*, and 2) the secularization of the priestly role of the simbangs.

For a long time, *ponhyang tang*, the shrine of the ancestor of a given village has been a focal symbol of the villagers' identity and social unity. Once the shrine itself is physically destroyed by external forces, however, the force of the shrine also begins to crumble. In recent Cheju history, three major external forces have influenced this process: the Japanese colonial policy of smashing Korean tradition, the popular radicalism which accompanied the national

Appointed Practitioner of Important Invisible Cultural Treasure No. 71,, Ch'ilmŏri Tangkut [the shrine ceremony at Ch'ilmŏri], and also he himself was designated a Human Cultural Treasure. All his ritual activities were officially transformed into "extension activities of cultural transmission of national tradition," and thus legally licensed. This official designation of shamans is in fact a subtle strategy of governmental control of folk religion and its religious power.

The Waning Force of the Village Shrine

As can be seen from the foregoing statistics, the numbers of village shrines and simbangs in Cheju have been drastically declining in the last twenty years. Cheju people also perceive this change and express it in their own way: the waning of "the force of the village shrine" (*tangse*). In Cheju society and history, the village shrine has represented the cultural identity of the Cheju people as distinguished from the Korean people in the mainland. What they mean by "the force of the village shrine" is the weakening of the indigenous sense of cultural and personal identity. I described this decline of the *tangse* in terms of two processes: 1) the destruction of shrines, and the social disintegration of the religious community, *tan'gol*, and 2) the secularization of the priestly role of the simbangs.

For a long time, *ponhyang tang*, the shrine of the ancestor of a given village has been a focal symbol of the villagers' identity and social unity. Once the shrine itself is physically destroyed by external forces, however, the force of the shrine also begins to crumble. In recent Cheju history, three major external forces have influenced this process: the Japanese colonial policy of smashing Korean tradition, the popular radicalism which accompanied the national

modernization movement in the 1970s, and the government's policy of eradicating superstitious practices which symbolize the backwardness of peasantry.

Interestingly, the shrine itself has been always the target of these external forces. The shrines within the cities have completely disappeared with one exception, Chilmori Tang, the *tangche* of which was designated as a National Cultural Property in 1980.

Moreover, once a village's shrine was destroyed and its ceremonies were banned in the midst of the Anti-Superstition Campaign of the Government since 1970, the client groups went underground and hardly ever observed ceremonies collectively. A typical example is Kimnyong village's *totche*, a ceremony wherein a pig is sacrificed. *Totche* was originally conducted at the shrine collectively. But this ceremony is now observed separately by individual clients at different times for their individual specific purpose and convenience rather than at a fixed date. This individualization of once-collective shrine ceremonies has occurred since the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945) when the colonial government prohibited collective gatherings such as shrine ceremonies as a part of its colonial cultural policy. It is quite a recent phenomenon for the villagers to rebuild the shrine and observe ceremonies in each village. In early 1980, the new regime promoted the revitalization of traditional village festivals and collective rituals. In 1983, the shrine ceremonies at several villages were revived by the Preservation Association of Cultural Treasures, the group whose activities are officially permitted. These officially sanctioned simbangs call themselves *munwha-saeng*, or "culture apprentice group". They conduct the village ceremonies despite the fact that they are not priests appointed by the villagers themselves.

This change in the government's cultural policy reflects the government's ambivalent endorsement of "shamanist tradition" as an official art to instill the spirit of national revitalization proclaimed by the Chun Doo-hwan military

regime. The promotion of the political ideology of nationalism in order to establish the legitimacy of the new regime was ironically discovered on the frontier of contemporary Korean society, that is, the tradition of the peasantry, which had in reality been gradually disappearing in the process of rapid industrialization. The collective ceremony of the village community has emerged as a symbol of this new nationalism. Besides this iconic use of shamanic culture in the service of national unity, another practical use of the revitalization of village ceremonies was for the development of tourism resources (Chŏn Kyŏng-su 1985).

However, this movement for the restoration of peasant traditions maintains its coercive and purely ideological character. Only a few village ceremonies have kept their original forms. And the scale of ceremony itself has become less spectacular with respect to the priestly *simbang*'s performance. From these facts, it can be supposed that the village shrine has indeed begun to lose its genuine meaning of the unity of the village community. In short, the social conditions which would have necessitated the collective ceremony no longer exist in the contemporary village society. A well-developed transportation system that reaches everywhere, even deep in the mountains, has changed the island tremendously. Widespread mass-media penetration and tourism made Cheju Island much more accessible to the intervention of the outside world and prevailing materialism. The village community no longer is the source for peoples' spiritual and cultural integrity and identity. Instead, individual well-being and material success have become the prime movers in the villagers' lives. This is perceivable in a recent change in intentions of the participants in the New Year ceremony at shrines. They seemed to be more interested in divination for individual families than in the oracle of the tutelary deity given to the whole village. Furthermore, the number of people who are knowledgeable of *tang*

ponpuri recited during the ceremony has decreased. It is thus doubtful how far the government-oriented restoration of collective ceremony can help in the reinstallation of a spirit of communal and national unity as long as this policy serves only an political purpose.

Returning to the issue of the changing force of the village shrine, I assume that the client groups of the shrines have gradually disintegrated. In the past, each of the three classes of client groups consisted of a clan sharing the same surname, for instance, the Kim-ssi clan or the Ko-ssi clan. *Sang tangol*, the high class client group, was often the largest and oldest kinship group in a village, and was powerful socially as well as religiously. Because of the high rate of migration of villagers, however, this hierarchical system of villagers lost its significance. In Cheju history, the April Third Event in 1948 exerted a great impact on this process. During the uprising, most of the villages on the middle slope of Mt. Halla were burned, and villagers were forced to leave their own villages and move to the coastal villages. Ever since then they have been scattered all over the island. Even after their villages were rebuilt later by the government around 1957, few natives returned. In Songdang village, for instance, the Kim family, which was once *sang tangol* and made up the majority of this gentry class village, is now one of the minority groups. Although the Kim family still keeps their ritual status as *sang tangol*, only that nominal title remains. In the New Year ceremony in February, 1984, the clients had a hard time collecting voluntary donations from the villagers for rebuilding the shrine house. The village of Hwabuk near Cheju City is another typical case where the client groups have disintegrated. Its shrine was destroyed by young village leaders in the early 1970s in the name of breaking down superstition, and was never rebuilt. At present the villagers do not have a collective ceremony although the spot of the

destroyed shrine is still visited by the simbangs and their clients. In the case of Hwabuk, urbanization may be the cause of this disintegration.

Along with the dissolution of the client's groups, the priest simbang seems to have lost his or her sponsorship and priestly authority. The relationship between the village clients and the shrine priest is less constrained socially. It has been superseded by individual contact for the resolution of private problems. To some extent, the simbangs themselves tend to prefer this sort of individualized practice. They seemed to have felt burdened by their former formal attachment to a specific shrine because this meant the villagers' continuous patronage over the simbangs. Accordingly, a new phenomenon appears. A simbang moves to the city and makes multiple contracts of priestship with several villages especially in these days when few qualified simbangs who can recite myths of shrine deities and conduct ceremonies are available. In this way a simbang can work as a freelance practitioner of shamanic rites without being dependent on the patronage of a single village. Because the simbang lives far away from those villages, his or her burden is less directly felt. Once the simbang leaves the village and comes back only occasionally to engage in a few formal ceremonies, the villagers' access to their priest is reduced. In the worst case, this type of freelance simbang is threatened by the villagers that they will not use his or her services for the reason that he or she lives outside the village (as in the case of Kosalmi village).

In short, the process of secularization of the simbang's craft is closely linked to the ongoing disintegration of the village community and the increasingly individualistic and materialistic value orientation of the client groups.

Ahn Simbang: a Human Cultural Treasure

The most important change in the social position of the Cheju simbangs has been the designation of Ahn Simbang as a Human Cultural Treasure (*ingan munhwache*) in 1980. His life story and current social activities exemplify the contemporary picture of Cheju shamanism.

For Ahn Simbang it took more than decade of effort to achieve that honorable title as a representative of the Cheju shamanism tradition. He certainly deserves this honor. He himself is a rare example of continued inheritance of simbang status over several generations. He is the heir to a simbang career inherited through twenty-four generations (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1970:40-41). He himself is the *tang maein simbang* at the village of Yongdam in Cheju City, one of four powerful shrines on the island. He also has junior college level formal education although he dropped out of school later. In his youth he tried to avoid the career of simbang because it is socially degraded. So he went to college and held an office job for a short while during the Japanese occupation period. But when he saw his old-aged father lamenting the lack of an heir to his priestly appointment at the shrine, he changed his mind and accepted the family destiny. He is fully qualified simbang as a *sang sinch'ung* who has observed three *sinkut* (offering ceremonies). (See Appendix C.)

His widespread reputation and current honor, however, owe much to the government's cultural policy and official folklore scholarship. It took him fifteen years to achieve his present honor. In 1962, he started with the public performance of folk plays nationally. At that time his participation in national contests was encouraged by Prof. Hyŏn Yong-jun in Cheju College (now Cheju National University) who was then a government-appointed delegate in the Bureau of Cultural Properties Management. Ever since then he has participated in that contest almost every year and won the distinguished prize twice.

Ahn Simbang: a Human Cultural Treasure

The most important change in the social position of the Cheju simbangs has been the designation of Ahn Simbang as a Human Cultural Treasure (*ingan munhwache*) in 1980. His life story and current social activities exemplify the contemporary picture of Cheju shamanism.

For Ahn Simbang it took more than decade of effort to achieve that honorable title as a representative of the Cheju shamanism tradition. He certainly deserves this honor. He himself is a rare example of continued inheritance of simbang status over several generations. He is the heir to a simbang career inherited through twenty-four generations (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1970:40-41). He himself is the *tang maein simbang* at the village of Yongdam in Cheju City, one of four powerful shrines on the island. He also has junior college level formal education although he dropped out of school later. In his youth he tried to avoid the career of simbang because it is socially degraded. So he went to college and held an office job for a short while during the Japanese occupation period. But when he saw his old-aged father lamenting the lack of an heir to his priestly appointment at the shrine, he changed his mind and accepted the family destiny. He is fully qualified simbang as a *sang sinch'ung* who has observed three *sinkut* (offering ceremonies). (See Appendix C.)

His widespread reputation and current honor, however, owe much to the government's cultural policy and official folklore scholarship. It took him fifteen years to achieve his present honor. In 1962, he started with the public performance of folk plays nationally. At that time his participation in national contests was encouraged by Prof. Hyŏn Yong-jun in Cheju College (now Cheju National University) who was then a government-appointed delegate in the Bureau of Cultural Properties Management. Ever since then he has participated in that contest almost every year and won the distinguished prize twice.

Meanwhile, Ahn Simbang's "art of shamanic performance" was examined five times by official folklore scholars who were in charge of the discovery and conservation of hidden cultural properties. It was in the year 1965 that he was first tested. In 1980, he finally succeeded in obtaining the official designation of Human Cultural Treasure.

Officially he is a government official who receives monthly salary for his activities to spread and promote traditional shamanic culture. His official title is the Artistic Keeper of Chilmŏri Tangkut, which was also designated as the 71th Intangible Cultural Treasure. He is supposed to perform this shrine ceremony once a year for the public and maintain this ritual form intact by teaching the rite to several apprentices. He has three "apprentices" (*chŏnsuja*) of his performing arts. Mizo is one of these apprentices, and after five years of apprenticeship under Ahn Simbang, she will achieve the same title of Artistic Keeper. Occasionally Ahn Simbang's apprentices are tested by designated folklore scholars and government officials.

Ahn Simbang himself is proud of his success as an official artist who is subsidized like an official. His appointment as a *tang maein simbang* of Chilmŏri Tang was rather conceitedly done, along with his appointment as a national cultural treasure, against the wishes of the original priestly simbang of that shrine who was appointed by the clients themselves. Every year he performs Chilmŏri Tangkut in public, being surrounded by many mass media people and scholars. He also has a duty to "excavate" other old shamanic *kut* and perform them as a "new discovery." Usually he adds more dramatic effects to the original version of performance in order to attract visitors, the extra effects often embarrass the original worshiping group of Chilmŏri Tang. Indeed those outside visitors are his clients. He seems to feel this island is too narrow to satisfy his ambition. When a professional company in Seoul dealing with the overseas sale

of Korean folk arts and art objects suggested to him the idea of making a contract to perform on stage in foreign countries, Ahn Simbang gladly accepted this offer without hesitation. His performance of Cheju *kut* was scheduled to appear in the Seoul Olympics in 1988.

It is interesting here to see that the criteria of selection as a Human Cultural Treasure by folklore scholars and the show business company lies in the simbang's "artistic performance" which easily appeals to the standard of appraisal that banks on the purism of the scholars or commercial value of folk culture. To conform to this standard, I observed, Ahn Simbang had shortened the chanting of the *tang ponpuri*, added new elements for dramatic display and inserted some borrowed parts from well-known shamanic arts from the mainland. His efforts were well rewarded with public recognition. The book, *Encyclopedia of Cheju Shamanism* which was written by Hyŏn Yong-jun (1980) is the compilation of Ahn Simbang's art and practices. This source book is a 900 page text which contains myths chanted mainly by Ahn Simbang. This text has become the representative text of Cheju shamanism for scholars who are unfamiliar with Cheju culture.

Factions and Alliances

The ideological alliance of the government with folklore scholarship has promoted the professionalization of the simbang's practice as "art forms" alienated from their sociocultural context, and also the political division of simbang society. His current position as the representative of Cheju shamanism may be equivalent in terms of prestige to that of the *towhang su*, the principal chief simbang who controlled activities of simbangs on the island. However, the difference between the two lies in the fact that Ahn Simbang is government-appointed rather than selected by his fellow simbangs. Ahn Simbang and his

of Korean folk arts and art objects suggested to him the idea of making a contract to perform on stage in foreign countries, Ahn Simbang gladly accepted this offer without hesitation. His performance of Cheju *kut* was scheduled to appear in the Seoul Olympics in 1988.

It is interesting here to see that the criteria of selection as a Human Cultural Treasure by folklore scholars and the show business company lies in the simbang's "artistic performance" which easily appeals to the standard of appraisal that banks on the purism of the scholars or commercial value of folk culture. To conform to this standard, I observed, Ahn Simbang had shortened the chanting of the *tang ponpuri*, added new elements for dramatic display and inserted some borrowed parts from well-known shamanic arts from the mainland. His efforts were well rewarded with public recognition. The book, *Encyclopedia of Cheju Shamanism* which was written by Hyŏn Yong-jun (1980) is the compilation of Ahn Simbang's art and practices. This source book is a 900 page text which contains myths chanted mainly by Ahn Simbang. This text has become the representative text of Cheju shamanism for scholars who are unfamiliar with Cheju culture.

Factions and Alliances

The ideological alliance of the government with folklore scholarship has promoted the professionalization of the simbang's practice as "art forms" alienated from their sociocultural context, and also the political division of simbang society. His current position as the representative of Cheju shamanism may be equivalent in terms of prestige to that of the *towhang su*, the principal chief simbang who controlled activities of simbangs on the island. However, the difference between the two lies in the fact that Ahn Simbang is government-appointed rather than selected by his fellow simbangs. Ahn Simbang and his

followers organized their own association entitled the Preservation Association of the Chilmŏri Tangkut. The activities of this association are financially supported by the government and encouraged by folklore scholarship. This group took advantage of requests for public performances of Cheju *kut* on stage at private theatres in Seoul or in national contests of folk plays. Chilmŏri Tangkut was performed on stage regardless of the traditional specific day of the ceremony which was originally February 14 by the lunar calendar. Performers other than Ahn Simbang also looked less serious and seemed to stress public entertainment. As a result, this *tangkut* could be losing its religious meaning as a collective ceremony for the villagers.

Through the Preservation Association and its supporting authorities, Ahn Simbang tried to establish his own orthodoxy of Cheju shamanism. However, his claim for orthodoxy created a great reactionary controversy among other Cheju simbangs on the island. Simbangs who did not agree with his claim to legitimacy modestly refused to recognize his fame. They would refuse to help in Ahn Simbang's public performances or to join the Preservation Association. Instead, these dissenters joined a national union of shamanic practitioners, the Buddhist Anti-Communism Association, which would license their work.

There was one reason for them to join that union. Ahn Simbang's Preservation Association declared its sole legitimacy for performing kuts by spreading a rumor that it was the only group "permitted" by law. They coerced the other simbangs to join and help their activities--otherwise, they claimed, the others' activities would not be sanctioned legally. As a reaction to Ahn Simbang's group's threat, this new faction of simbangs was organized. In addition, this faction tried to isolate Ahn Simbang and his group from the society of Cheju simbangs and to degrade Ahn Simbang's legitimacy by pleading with other media sources and emerging groups of young folklore scholars to not give his group all

their attention. But their efforts turned out to be virtually in vain. Although they could succeed in isolating the Preservation Association from their groups, they failed in their appeal to the authorities for recognition of their alternative orthodoxy. It is also because the government's ideological goal of "revitalizing tradition" was already fulfilled through official designation of Ahn Simbang as a Human Cultural Treasure. Once the government officially sanctioned Ahn Simbang, Ahn's orthodoxy had to be maintained regardless of its authenticity. In fact, the official designation of Ahn Simbang as a legitimate performer of Chilmori Tangkut, in practice, had contributed to weakening the prohibition of against "superstitious practices", including the *tangche* on the village level and *kut* performance on the individual level. Ahn Simbang and his followers were proud of their contribution and, in fact, used this to persuade other simbangs to join their association.

Ironically, this internal disjunction within the society of simbangs resulted in an unexpected coalition between the simbangs, who are partisans, and the newly emerging shamanic practitioners such as fortunetellers, Buddhist spiritual healers, possession mediums, and so on, who are considered fakes by the simbangs themselves. Ahn Simbang and his Association and the reactionary union of Cheju simbangs competed in appealing to these non-traditional simbangs in order to increase their own membership strength. In Cheju, there are about three hundred folk practitioners but only one hundred and fifty simbangs, according to rough statistics reckoned by a simbang, a member of the Preservation Association. For political reasons, simbangs tend to adjust to this trend of diversification of their profession although they lament the decline of their prestige and expertise. They often work together with those non-traditional practitioners if they fail to get a sufficient number of simbangs for *kut* performance.

In conclusion, shamanic practices are undergoing increasing politicization and individualization. The persistent action of this trend results in the curious phenomenon of modern Cheju folk culture, at least in urbanized areas where *tang* shrines no longer play a focal role in supporting the cultural and personal identity of villagers. This trend envisions a new image of the traditional shaman, that of an "artist" who produces a shamanic art. When the government loosens its ban on "superstitious practices" and praises shamans as traditional Korean artists by designating some of them Human Cultural Treasures, it presumes the permanence of shamanic practices. The deeper the modernizing effort of the nation goes, the more shamanism stands for "pure and unchangeable" tradition. The publicizing effort by government and folklore scholars to refashion shamanism into a pure antiquity of Korean national and cultural identity, does indeed help to revive folk practices on the level of ordinary lives. Whether or not contemporary simbangs maintain or preserve this "original" form of shamanic tradition, Cheju simbangs and other shamanic practitioners still work to heal people in urban settings as well as in the countryside.

Nevertheless, it must be noticed that this political adaptation of simbang's practice coexists with the indigenous tradition of folk healing. The next chapters describe the pervasive tradition of Cheju simbangs as "organic intellectuals" which has been held obstinately in the midst of the political and economic turmoil of modern mainland Korean society as well as on Cheju Island.

Notes to Chapter 6

¹In the same way that the Cheju people epistemologically separate their island from the mainland in the sense of the "land" (*yukji*), they make a distinction between *simbang* and *mudang*.

²In the spirit of competition, the Cheju native *simbangs* treat *yukji simbang* as fake *simbangs*.

³For a supporting example of this geographical linkage, Chin Sŏng-gi further suggests that there are even Cheju insects named *simbang* due to their dance-like behavioral characteristics: *simbang-nabi* [tiger butterfly] and *simbang-malchuk* [a grasshopper] (1971:255).

⁴This sound modification from *hyongbang* to *songbang* occurs as the effect of consonant reverse identification or palatalization.

⁵When many outside elites such as anthropologists treat *simbangs* like teachers, with a great respect and honor, using the title of Human Cultural Treasure [*inkan munwhajae*], Cheju people express their envious and ambivalent feelings about this change in the *simbang's* social position from the village servants who carried the ceremonial horse and parcel for the bridegroom at the wedding ceremony.

⁶For describing the origin myth of the *simbang* ancestor I rely on two sources, Hyon Yong-jun's encyclopedic texts of shamanic myth narratives (1980) and Mun Mu-byong's summary of the origin myth (1985).

⁷These bridges are used in divination. In this form of divination, a pair of knives, the "god-knives" (*sink'al*), are thrown on the ground, and the resulting configuration of the blades is interpreted according to the form of these bridges. If the two knives fall with the blades facing each other, they are thought to resemble the Bridge of Sorrow (*aesan tari*), or Conflict (*tungjin tari*). If the knives fall point downward (*kalsŏn tari*), it is interpreted as an ominous omen, a sign of coming misfortune or even death. If the knives fall with the blades lying side by side pointing in the same direction, it means the Bridge of Goodness (*orŭn tari*), it is interpreted as a sign of good fortune.

⁸A five *cha* knife would be fine for killing a servant; a thirty five *cha* knife for a middle class man; but a seventy five *cha* knife is necessary for killing a *yangban* (gentry) class man.

⁹Cho Hŭng-yun (1984) also mentioned the similar phenomenon of sectarian traditions of Korean *mudangs* living in the area of Seoul.

¹⁰One interesting fact is found in the survey; while the statistics until 1977 appear under the section of "culture," the statistics from 1978 appear under the section of "health and social welfare," and superstitious practitioners are labeled as "illegal medical practitioners."

CHAPTER 7

THE MODERN INVENTION OF SHAMANISM

This chapter explores the position of Cheju shamanism in the context of the cultural and historical formation of "shamanism" in contemporary Korea.

Although I use here terms such as "shamanism" and "shaman" to indicate the indigenous religion and its priest on Cheju Island, I use them for the convenience of academic communication. These terms originally indicated the particular form of religious practices among the Siberian tribal groups such as the Buryat Mongols, the Chukchee, the Tungus (Bogoras 1909; Czaplicka 1914). Although the Korean peninsula is closely attached to the large continent of Central Asia, this Siberian shamanism is not necessarily identical with the religious practices of the Korean people.

Nevertheless, the Korean indigenous religious phenomenon has been called "shamanism" (perhaps also for convenience) in academic circles since from about 1900, when Western Christian missionaries first introduced the term to describe Korean *mudangs* or folk healers (Hulbert 1903; Underwood 1910). Besides Confucianism and Buddhism, two religions which have been regarded as representative of Korean religion, Korean folk religion, which was termed *musok* [custom of *mudang*] or *mukyo* [the religion of *mudang*, who literally means a spirit intermediary], has been studied as the *indigenous* religion and called *shamanism* in the academic community. The use of that term to denote the Korean indigenous religion has been popularized even in the ordinary discourse of

Korean culture. Not only academics but also the *mudangs* themselves use the term "shamanism" to represent their practices.

Furthermore, in contemporary Korea, shamanism or *musok* acts as a partial foundation of the Korean people's cultural identity and a primordial form of national tradition even transcending the Confucian tradition which had represented the dominant culture of the Yi dynasty kingdom. In spite of their fundamental incongruence, how does this identification of the Korean indigenous folk religion and Siberian shamanism become stereotyped and accepted like a truism among the people? This is the question I have in mind during the ensuing exploration of the historical process in which the Korean indigenous folk religion is constituted conceptually into the image of shamanism since about around 1900. This initial image is maintained and reinforced over time through its interplay with the particular social political context.

Siberian Shamanism as the Universal Category

As I said earlier, the convenient invention and usage of the terms "shaman" or "shamanism" for the indigenous healers and their practices, has been a legacy of academic discourse about indigenous religion even in the other societies that have been studied by anthropologists from Europe and America, except Africa (Dow 1986; Harner 1982; Halifax 1979; Peters and Price-Williams 1980). The term "shaman" originally indicates the term for a spirit medium among the Tungus in Siberia. This name first appeared in the travel memoirs of a Dutch merchant in 1704 who happened to pass through the area on his way to Peking (Cho Hung-yun 1984a). Ever since then, the study of Siberian shamans and shamanism has become a fascinating and somewhat self-obsessive subject for Western scholars, referred to as the "archaic technique of ecstasy" (Eliade

Korean culture. Not only academics but also the *mudangs* themselves use the term "shamanism" to represent their practices.

Furthermore, in contemporary Korea, shamanism or *musok* acts as a partial foundation of the Korean people's cultural identity and a primordial form of national tradition even transcending the Confucian tradition which had represented the dominant culture of the Yi dynasty kingdom. In spite of their fundamental incongruence, how does this identification of the Korean indigenous folk religion and Siberian shamanism become stereotyped and accepted like a truism among the people? This is the question I have in mind during the ensuing exploration of the historical process in which the Korean indigenous folk religion is constituted conceptually into the image of shamanism since about around 1900. This initial image is maintained and reinforced over time through its interplay with the particular social political context.

Siberian Shamanism as the Universal Category

As I said earlier, the convenient invention and usage of the terms "shaman" or "shamanism" for the indigenous healers and their practices, has been a legacy of academic discourse about indigenous religion even in the other societies that have been studied by anthropologists from Europe and America, except Africa (Dow 1986; Harner 1982; Halifax 1979; Peters and Price-Williams 1980). The term "shaman" originally indicates the term for a spirit medium among the Tungus in Siberia. This name first appeared in the travel memoirs of a Dutch merchant in 1704 who happened to pass through the area on his way to Peking (Cho Hung-yun 1984a). Ever since then, the study of Siberian shamans and shamanism has become a fascinating and somewhat self-obsessive subject for Western scholars, referred to as the "archaic technique of ecstasy" (Eliade

1964), or "the primitive arts of the hunter-and-gatherers" (Lommel 1964) or the archetype of the human psyche or social organization (Grim 1984; Hoppal 1984).

As Cho Hŭng-yun points out (1984a), the first group of European scholars who got interested in shamanism were the scholars of peasant folklore and explorers of distant countries. Shot-through with Eurocentrism and limited by mostly short-term visits or observations, their reports and memoirs portrayed univocally Siberian shamanism as the primitive form of European witchcraft or hexeism, popularly practiced among the peasant class which had been persecuted intensely for their "satanic worship" during the Inquisition. In a word, their early efforts to discover the "origin" of European non-orthodox religious forms other than Christianity contributed to the fixing of negative notions like devil worship or idolatry to the universal image of shamanism (Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a).

Hence, this universal image of shamanism attached with negative meanings associated with evil forces was directly applied to the case of Korean shamanism by the French Catholic priests and American Protestant missionaries who studied the indigenous religion for the sake of proselytizing the Korean people (Clark 1932; Hulbert 1903). That negative image of Korean shamanism formulated by Western foreigners in the beginning of this century has been adopted pervasively without great change in ensuing studies of the Korean indigenous folk religion. Next, I want to describe the history of the study of Korean shamanism or indigenous religion, and next the local history of Cheju shamanism in particular. (Again for convenience, I will continue to use the term Korean shamanism to denote the Korean indigenous folk religion or the religion of *mu*, the spirit intermediary.)

Shaping of Colonial Image: "Superstition"

The negative image of shamanism in the Western context was portrayed in the same way in the Korean context.¹ For the earliest record of Korean shamanism, the present form of shamanic rituals, appeared in a literary collection of a Confucian scholar, Yi Kyu-bo, in the twelfth century during the Koryo dynasty (Kim In-whoe 1981b; Yi Tu-hyŏn 1984a). Yi Kyu-bo expressed his delight in hearing the news that an old female shaman living nearby was expelled from the capital city. His negative reaction to this shaman typifies a pre-dominant prejudice of the Korean society in general as well as the Confucian elites throughout the late Koryo and Yi dynasty. This record proves the fact that even before the Confucian four social estate system (*sa-nong-kong-sang*, gentry-peasantry-artisan-merchant in hierarchical order) was officially established in the Yi dynasty, a Korean *mudang* or shaman was socially discriminated against and expelled from the capital city (Yu Tong-sik 1975). In the Yi dynasty, the Korean *mudangs* belonged to the *kwangdae* [itinerant entertainers] which was one of eight outcastes, *palchon*, "the unrespectable people" who is marked with pollution and untouchability (including butchers and Buddhist monks and nuns). They were expelled from the capital city, and lived in their own segregated villages (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1979). Due to their social status, those *mudangs'* *kut* rites, whether on the village level or on the individual level, were treated as superstitious practices associated with the ignorant and socially lower class people, typically women or illiterate people.

Although the shamanic rites either on the village level or on the individual level were practiced exclusively among women, they were always permitted to exist side by side with the male-dominant Confucian rites that usually were performed ahead of women-centered shamanic rites. This dual structure of the ritual system in Korea has grown sharper during more recent history, and

Shaping of Colonial Image: "Superstition"

The negative image of shamanism in the Western context was portrayed in the same way in the Korean context.¹ For the earliest record of Korean shamanism, the present form of shamanic rituals, appeared in a literary collection of a Confucian scholar, Yi Kyu-bo, in the twelfth century during the Koryo dynasty (Kim In-whoe 1981b; Yi Tu-hyŏn 1984a). Yi Kyu-bo expressed his delight in hearing the news that an old female shaman living nearby was expelled from the capital city. His negative reaction to this shaman typifies a pre-dominant prejudice of the Korean society in general as well as the Confucian elites throughout the late Koryo and Yi dynasty. This record proves the fact that even before the Confucian four social estate system (*sa-nong-kong-sang*, gentry-peasantry-artisan-merchant in hierarchical order) was officially established in the Yi dynasty, a Korean *mudang* or shaman was socially discriminated against and expelled from the capital city (Yu Tong-sik 1975). In the Yi dynasty, the Korean *mudangs* belonged to the *kwangdae* [itinerant entertainers] which was one of eight outcastes, *palchon*, "the unrespectable people" who is marked with pollution and untouchability (including butchers and Buddhist monks and nuns). They were expelled from the capital city, and lived in their own segregated villages (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1979). Due to their social status, those *mudangs'* *kut* rites, whether on the village level or on the individual level, were treated as superstitious practices associated with the ignorant and socially lower class people, typically women or illiterate people.

Although the shamanic rites either on the village level or on the individual level were practiced exclusively among women, they were always permitted to exist side by side with the male-dominant Confucian rites that usually were performed ahead of women-centered shamanic rites. This dual structure of the ritual system in Korea has grown sharper during more recent history, and

triggered the official accusations and constant persecution of shamanism as "superstitious anti-social practices." The dual presence of official and unofficial religious practices shows the structural forbearance of the Korean society which could open up a space for its dialectical change over long periods of time. Chapter Two discussed this dialectical relationship in considerably more detail.

However, those Confucian scholars' interest in *mudangs* and *kut* was superficial and minimal; they mentioned the terms of *mudang* or *mu* only slightly in the margin of their literary works. They never treated the *mudangs*' practices as authentic religious phenomena (Kim In-whoe 1981b). Even the minor group of unorthodox Confucian scholars who extensively studied the folk tradition of the subaltern class people in their oppositional politics in the late eighteenth century scarcely treated *mudangs* and *kut* as a cultural theme.

Therefore, as some scholars agree (Kim In-whoe 1981b; Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a), the history of the studies of Korean shamanism must be said to begin during the colonial period at the end of the Korean Empire when many foreign forces, American, French, Russian, Japanese, German fought each other for the conquest of the so-called Korean Kingdom of Hermit as it was known in the international context. In fact, this association between the origin of Korean "shamanism" and colonial history reflects the legacy of shamanism studies led by American and European scholars and anthropologists, the legacy that mirrors a global phenomenon of Western conquest of non-Western, or more precisely, non-European societies and cultures.

In this way, the Eurocentric legacy of the general study of shamanism in the world is closely linked to the particular historical relations wherein Korean shamanism was discovered and constructed in academic discourse. For this approach, it is important to examine the relationship between the academic

meaning of shamanism and the social and political context into which the shamanic image fits.

Studies of Korean Shamanism: Nationalist's Perspective

The less than 100 years' of Korean shamanism studies can be divided into four (Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a) to six (Kim In-whoe 1981b) periods, depending on the nature of the group of scholars and their particular intentions for the research. In the first 20 years from 1900, Western Christian missionaries' reports of Korean *mudang* and other aspects of the folk tradition appeared in their own journals such as *Korea Repository* (1892, 1895-1898), *The Korea Review* (1901-1906), *Korea Magazine* (1917-1919), and Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1984a). Already they had in mind the image of shamanism in East Asia as learned from the then prevalent evolutionary theory, and thus approached Korean shamanism as a residual form of primitive religion in the distant past of civilization whose pinnacle was positioned in Europe. Besides, their real interest in Korean folk tradition was generated from their own religious enthusiasm for proselytizing. In this context, their study was grounded on the premise that Korean shamanism was a superstition.

Their keen interest and enthusiasm for the study of the Korean folk tradition embarrassed both the traditional Confucian scholars and the newly emerging modern intellectuals who were influenced by the spirit of Western Enlightenment introduced earlier by colonial forces. This first period of the study of Korean shamanism between 1900 and 1920 was the period of enlightening awareness of the Korean folk tradition among the Korean intellectuals. The image of shamanism as having represented the Korean folk tradition located at the margin of Confucian dominant culture as it was shaped

meaning of shamanism and the social and political context into which the shamanic image fits.

Studies of Korean Shamanism: Nationalist's Perspective

The less than 100 years' of Korean shamanism studies can be divided into four (Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a) to six (Kim In-whoe 1981b) periods, depending on the nature of the group of scholars and their particular intentions for the research. In the first 20 years from 1900, Western Christian missionaries' reports of Korean *mudang* and other aspects of the folk tradition appeared in their own journals such as *Korea Repository* (1892, 1895-1898), *The Korea Review* (1901-1906), *Korea Magazine* (1917-1919), and Transactions of the Korean Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1984a). Already they had in mind the image of shamanism in East Asia as learned from the then prevalent evolutionary theory, and thus approached Korean shamanism as a residual form of primitive religion in the distant past of civilization whose pinnacle was positioned in Europe. Besides, their real interest in Korean folk tradition was generated from their own religious enthusiasm for proselytizing. In this context, their study was grounded on the premise that Korean shamanism was a superstition.

Their keen interest and enthusiasm for the study of the Korean folk tradition embarrassed both the traditional Confucian scholars and the newly emerging modern intellectuals who were influenced by the spirit of Western Enlightenment introduced earlier by colonial forces. This first period of the study of Korean shamanism between 1900 and 1920 was the period of enlightening awareness of the Korean folk tradition among the Korean intellectuals. The image of shamanism as having represented the Korean folk tradition located at the margin of Confucian dominant culture as it was shaped

in the Western missionaries' colonial discourse, then stirred ambivalent reaction among those modern progressive intellectuals. As Robinson describes it well, it put those modern reformist intellectuals, who he says were also iconoclastic nationalists, in a double bind (1986). Interestingly, during this early period of study, the negative image of Korean shamanism, originated from the Western colonialism, became rooted in the Korean soil in accordance with the already started iconoclastic spirit of the cultural movement. Those nationalists attacked the folk tradition for two reasons:

They considered it a source of superstition and an obstacle to inculcating in Korea a respect for Western science. They also believed that fatalistic obeisance to spirits and other supernatural forces obstructed the acceptance of the concept of progress, an idea that was thought necessary for encouraging social change and the general belief that man can affect his environment. (Robinson 1986:47)

Korean shamanism was attacked under the rubric of a superstition which could be the major source of the fatalistic life attitude of Korean people and its detrimental consequences of cultural backwardness (Robinson 1986:46-48):

Typically shamanic divination and fortune-telling was interpreted as the major source of fatalism in that dependence on these practices eroded people's vitality and free will. Belief in the power of books of conjury and fortune, like the book of fortune based on yin and yang cosmology, codified antiprogressive attitudes and encouraged the people to wait on their fate rather than actively work to change their lives... These practices were held to be economically wasteful. The *kut* of the *mudang* was also resented for its inhibition of the spread of modern Western medical practices, and the popularity of the *mudang* was despised for its dilution of the civilizing effect of Christianity in Korea.²

On the other hand, such a negative stirring of iconoclastic criticism about the Korean *mudang's* shamanism during the period between 1900 and 1920 ironically called forth a rigorous study and field research of this folk tradition, which bloomed in the next decade of the anti-Japanese colonial discourse among the nationalist historians like Ch'oe Namsŏn and Sin Ch'aeho, often referred to as the cultural nationalists. These historians strove to search for the genuine origin

of Korean national identity in the pre-Confucian history of Korea (Ch'oe Nam-sŏn 1927). Especially, on the basis of his reading of Czaplicka's *Aboriginal Siberia* (1914), Ch'oe made a shamanic connection with the mythological founder of the Korean nation, Tan'gun, to shamanic kings in Siberia (cf. Choi Chungmoo 1987). Ch'oe made a great effort to prove the etymological origin of identification between the Korean *mudang* and Tan'gun ; Tan'gun possessed two titles of both king and shamanic priest. With such a conviction, he in fact established a new religion called *Tan'gun kyohoe* (tan'gun church), imitating the Christian church (Robinson 1986: 53). (He himself as well as many enlightened historians around that time were Christians, accepting Christianity as a modern form of knowledge.)

In this way, the mythical image of a Korean shaman and shamanism was created as an antithetical alternative to Japanese colonialism which postulated the Korea-Japan unity (*naesŏn ilch'e*). This positively mythologized image of Korean shaman and shamanism was counterpoised to its earlier colonial image as representing the primitive, backward non-Western cultures. In fact, this nationalistic image was revived in contemporary Korea after the 1960s when the first military government of the Republic of Korea needed to boost the reshaping of a nation with a new symbolic system to replace the dominant Confucian ideology that has represented conservative and traditional Korean culture. While containing popular image of Korean shamanism as a superstition, "shamanic tradition" (*musok*) was rediscovered as the authentic Korean tradition.

From then on this cultural authenticity of "shamanic tradition" became popularized widely among the people and the college-graduated elites as well who reclaimed its ownership by the politically oppressed people (*minjung*) rather than the state (*hugka*). It served the people more or less without moral inhibition to tap the mysterious power of the *mudang* for political use by either the

legitimization of dominant power or the oppositional practices of resistance. As a symbolic system, this dual image of Korean shamanism, either a superstitious folk-belief or a sanctified national origin, is self-contradictory. Yet this symbolic self-contradiction contributed to shaping the contemporary politics of discourse on Korean shamanism as entangled with the ideological dynamics of Korean nationalism in the post-war period (Choi Chungmoo 1987). I will return to a more detailed account of this ideological development of shamanism following a description of another impact of the nationalist interest in the 1920s.

Besides the search for a national origin and identity, those nationalistic historians' enlightened commitment in the study of Korean shamanism brought forth intensive field research of the *mudang* and *kut* rituals, and also massive collections of shamanic songs and myths.³ They approached the *mudang's* practices with a somewhat diluted form of the colonial premise that regarded shamanism as a type of folk belief system or surviving cultural traits of the common people. Those Korean historians engaged in this fieldwork were intensely conscious of the dominant influence of the Japanese folklorists who conducted research on the Korean folk tradition on an immense scale over nearly two decades between 1920 and 1937 under the auspices of the Japanese colonial government. They also termed it a folk-belief (*mingan sinang*). The Japanese side of the field research was conducted with the assistance of the local colonial police stations rather than that of individual researchers like Korean historians. To some degree both sides were mutually stimulated by the process of confrontation between the colonial rule and the opposition of the nationalists. By 1937, Japanese scholars had produced 26 series of survey reports (Akiba 1937). In spite of their flaws as the product of colonial rule, their encyclopedic value, stemming from the immensity of the compilations, remains to this day incomparable (Kim In-whoe 1981b).

Studies of Tradition as a Cultural Object

After the emancipation of Korea in 1945, the colonial method of surveying and collecting the folk tradition had not been liquidated. In fact, the colonial vision of Korean folk tradition as a superstitious survival of the pre-modern times rather than the living practices of ordinary people permeates the popular knowledge as well as the more limited scholarly interpretations. Much later in 1969, with the purpose of encompassing that colonial monument, the government of the Republic of Korea gave a commission to native scholars to research the folk culture of the whole Korean provinces including three in North Korea. This project lasted for 10 years, the same years that had been spent for the colonial Japanese project. Although a few chief researchers appointed by the government were western-educated and well-trained in conventional anthropological fieldwork, the chief researchers on Korean shamanism under the title of *musok* (shamanic customs) inherited the same attitudes of research and analysis as those colonial Japanese scholars. Their scholarly discipline under the Japanese teachers in post-war Japan might have contributed to the persistent legacy of the colonial vision.

Major works on Cheju shamanism produced in the early 1960s were also the continuation of surveys and collections of shamanic songs, although at this time they focused on their literary value. Chin Sŏng-gi published over 500 printed pages of *Namkukŭi muka* [Shamanic songs of the southern country] in 1960. With a more scholarly touch than Jin's compilation, Chang Chu-gŭn published *Chejudo mingan sinang* [A Folk-belief of Cheju Island] in 1972. After a series of short analytical essays and articles, Hyon Yong-jun published a dictionary of Cheju shamanism, *Cheju musok jaryo sajŏn* in 1980. Compiled like an encyclopedia of shamanic song texts with well-informed footnotes for each word or passage and supported with glossary and index, Hyun's book imitates the

Studies of Tradition as a Cultural Object

After the emancipation of Korea in 1945, the colonial method of surveying and collecting the folk tradition had not been liquidated. In fact, the colonial vision of Korean folk tradition as a superstitious survival of the pre-modern times rather than the living practices of ordinary people permeates the popular knowledge as well as the more limited scholarly interpretations. Much later in 1969, with the purpose of encompassing that colonial monument, the government of the Republic of Korea gave a commission to native scholars to research the folk culture of the whole Korean provinces including three in North Korea. This project lasted for 10 years, the same years that had been spent for the colonial Japanese project. Although a few chief researchers appointed by the government were western-educated and well-trained in conventional anthropological fieldwork, the chief researchers on Korean shamanism under the title of *musok* (shamanic customs) inherited the same attitudes of research and analysis as those colonial Japanese scholars. Their scholarly discipline under the Japanese teachers in post-war Japan might have contributed to the persistent legacy of the colonial vision.

Major works on Cheju shamanism produced in the early 1960s were also the continuation of surveys and collections of shamanic songs, although at this time they focused on their literary value. Chin Sŏng-gi published over 500 printed pages of *Namkukŭi muka* [Shamanic songs of the southern country] in 1960. With a more scholarly touch than Jin's compilation, Chang Chu-gŭn published *Chejudo mingan sinang* [A Folk-belief of Cheju Island] in 1972. After a series of short analytical essays and articles, Hyon Yong-jun published a dictionary of Cheju shamanism, *Cheju musok jaryo sajŏn* in 1980. Compiled like an encyclopedia of shamanic song texts with well-informed footnotes for each word or passage and supported with glossary and index, Hyun's book imitates the

former report of the Japanese scholar, Akiba's *Chosŏn ŭi musok* (1937) which has been acclaimed as the major social anthropological study of Korean shamanism (Kim In-whoe 1981b; Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1978). In spite of their value in recording an enormous quantity of the original texts of shamanic songs, however, this style of encyclopedic and descriptive study of shamanism misses the most important point: the immediacy of the shamanistic performance and its historicity that changes over time. The ahistorical approach to shamanism in general tends to seek the "original" texts of shamanic songs and give an absolute value to them as if they are the paramount ancestors of several other versions of the same text discovered later. Its principle is that the first-collected-and-written-text of shaman songs is the original.⁴

If this encyclopedic study of Korean shamanism represents one tendency of an ahistorical approach, the Eliade-type of literary and speculative study that prevailed since the mid 1960s through the 1970s takes up the same attitude that ignores its lived practices in a concrete social historical context. Korean *mudang's* song texts collected in the previous period were timely analyzed by the sophisticated theories and methodologies of literary criticism, mythology, psychoanalysis, phenomenological philosophy, theology, and religious studies that were developed in Western countries, as well as by Japanese ethnology (Kim Yŏl-kyu 1977; Yi Pu-yŏng 1965; Kim T'ae-gon 1981; Yu Tong-sik 1975; Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1978). Virtually every intellectual pursuit was tried, and each approach proved convincingly its unique way of interpreting Korean shamanism.

Such varieties of approaches in the 1970s marked a giant step in the study of shamanism as an object worthy of philosophical and scientific rigor and theoretical experiments. One common denominator among them was the fact that they were grounded in Eliade's theory of shamanism and the Jungian notion of archetype. Eliade's theory of the archaic technique of ecstasy and the

shaman's initiatory illness as the key symbolic element of shamanism triggered etymological controversy among the Korean scholars concerning whether the Korean *mudang* is the Siberian type of shaman named in a Korean term, *kangsinmu* (the possessed shaman), or *sesŭpmu* (the hereditary shaman). Because *sesupmu* is a non-Siberian type of shaman, it is considered as "the indigenous" (*t'och'akjŏg*) type of shaman. On the other hand, in Eliade's phenomenological approach, Siberian shamans' tales of the soul-flight and heavenly or underworldly journey were translated into the primordial myths of human nostalgia to paradise and also transformed into an actual technique of shamans themselves. The etymological controversy among the Korean scholars repeats this Eliade type of unreflective translation of a foreign cultural phenomenon into a totally different cultural context: the Korean shaman becomes the replica of the Siberian shaman, whose chief ritual technique is ecstasy or spirit possession.

Familiarization of the Exotic: National Emblem

In light of the post-modern ethnological discourse on the problem of cultural translation (Asad 1986; Foster 1985; Clifford 1986), this Eliadean etymological controversy over *kangsinmu* and *sesŭpmu* could be equated to the familiarization of the Other. This familiarization process requires at first the distantiation of the Other--both spatially and temporally. In this way, the Other, typified in shamanism, is constructed as the primitive or primordial humanity within the monolithic system of human evolution. We can think two different effects of this familiarization of the Other in the Korean context: sanctification of shamanism as the origin of Korean culture, and the globalization of Korean shamanism in search of Siberian shamanism. One effect was the sanctification of shamanism as the primordial form of Korean culture or a foundational culture

shaman's initiatory illness as the key symbolic element of shamanism triggered etymological controversy among the Korean scholars concerning whether the Korean *mudang* is the Siberian type of shaman named in a Korean term, *kangsinmu* (the possessed shaman), or *sesŭpmu* (the hereditary shaman). Because *sesupmu* is a non-Siberian type of shaman, it is considered as "the indigenous" (*t'och'akjŏg*) type of shaman. On the other hand, in Eliade's phenomenological approach, Siberian shamans' tales of the soul-flight and heavenly or underworldly journey were translated into the primordial myths of human nostalgia to paradise and also transformed into an actual technique of shamans themselves. The etymological controversy among the Korean scholars repeats this Eliade type of unreflective translation of a foreign cultural phenomenon into a totally different cultural context: the Korean shaman becomes the replica of the Siberian shaman, whose chief ritual technique is ecstasy or spirit possession.

Familiarization of the Exotic: National Emblem

In light of the post-modern ethnological discourse on the problem of cultural translation (Asad 1986; Foster 1985; Clifford 1986), this Eliadean etymological controversy over *kangsinmu* and *sesŭpmu* could be equated to the familiarization of the Other. This familiarization process requires at first the distantiation of the Other--both spatially and temporally. In this way, the Other, typified in shamanism, is constructed as the primitive or primordial humanity within the monolithic system of human evolution. We can think two different effects of this familiarization of the Other in the Korean context: sanctification of shamanism as the origin of Korean culture, and the globalization of Korean shamanism in search of Siberian shamanism. One effect was the sanctification of shamanism as the primordial form of Korean culture or a foundational culture

[*hich'ŭng munwŏha*] (Kim T'ae-gon 1981).⁵ This premise is grounded in the theory that shamanism repeats and inherits Korean history and national identity. Korean shamanism is appraised to be the religion of the nation [*minjok chongkyo*]; it is the archetype of Korean national identity. The concept of a foundational culture or a national religion, permits shamanism to attain the autonomous status of a cultural system beyond the inventory of customs and beliefs.

Finally shamanism appears as a cultural complex distinguished from magic, sorcery or witchcraft, the phenomena of which have been interchangeably used as the same as shamanism. The side effect of this kind of theorizing was an alliance with the prevalent societal mood of nationalistic chauvinism that came about around the early 1970s when President Park Chung-hee's propaganda for the creation of a Korean-genuine nationalism [*han'guk jŏk minjuchu'ŭi*] was enacted together with the establishment of the new constitution of Revitalization and Reform [*Yusin*] (Choi Chungmoo 1987). Park's agenda projected a new era of self-sufficiency free from foreign dependency and received an enthusiastic response from the people in general. Whether or not the scholars of shamanism were enthusiastic about the *Yusin* due to the Park regime's political repression, its anti-colonial and pro-nationalistic spirit certainly permeated in the academic circles. Even when a particular individual shaman's social function is analyzed with the sophisticated tool of the participant observation method, it is interpreted in terms of its quality to represent the pre-modern peasant society that is supposedly the repository of Korean traditional culture [*chŏnt'ong munhwa*]. In a slightly different fashion from the Eliadean pursuit of archaic spirituality and the Jungian archetype, this functionalistic search for the Golden Age also shows its pursuit of the continuous link to the primordial past.

Another effect of the familiarization of shamanism in the Korean context is realized in the globalization of Korean shamanism. Korean scholars' exhaustive efforts to discover the universal archetype of humanity or primordial spirituality in the Korean folk religion of the *mudang* conjoins with foreign scholars' similar interest in the universal value of Korean shamanism. Being considered the living repository of [Siberian] shamanism at its southern boundary geographically and within the accessible area outside of communist Soviet Russia, Korean shamanism attracted many foreign scholars from Europe and America whose primary interest lay in the comparative study of shamanism. Since 1980 when the first international conference on shamanism as a single subject was held in France, these scholars of shamanism began to increase the rigor of their studies by exchanging informations and ideas, reliving the old colonial object in the post-modern context (Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a). In fact, it is not the shamanic religious phenomenon itself but the colonial image of shamanism that *migrates* to Korea or other places, whose meaningfulness to those academic discourses is enhanced according to the degree of difference or the exotic that the researchers find in it. While this symbolic migration of the idea of shamanism expands the territory of shamanism geographically, actually in the case of Korea, it has the opposite effect of bringing the direction of the study of Korean shamanism constantly back to its original impasse of an ahistorical approach.

What I mean here by ahistorical is that, although the historical significance of Korean shamanism is repeatedly praised and proclaimed for its indisputable sanctity, its historicity has been conceived of rather abstractly without a sense of human agency being a part of the process. Having endorsed the same critique of the ahistorical studies of Korean shamanism, Cho Hŭng-yun suggests a comprehensive study of a religious complex, in which shamans and

clients together construct and make sense of a reality (1985:247-248). Yet what he means by a "concrete understanding" of shamanism as a historical phenomenon seems vague and falls short of a consideration of the immediate historicity of that phenomena. As Mun Mu-byŏng, a Cheju native poet and literary critic, points out accurately in his article (1987a), the previous studies of Korean shamanism have focused on the analysis of the pure form of shamanism as construed as an archetype or a structural whole like a base culture [*hich'ŭng munhwa*].

Beginning in the early 1970s, the new generation of young radical intellectuals appeared from a particular social and political context without a linkage with the conventional scholars of shamanism. Although this new group's study of shamanism also deals with its formal structure, it brought Korean shamans into the actual scene of political resistance. I would classify this as a historical approach. The shamans no longer live in the past under the rubric of "tradition"; those radical generations appear as the modern shamans they claimed themselves to be. Perhaps this is the reason that these groups are not mentioned in the historical reviews of scholarship on Korean shamanism (Kim In-whoe 1981; Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a): their studies, closely associated with their political activism, were not regarded as genuine scholarship.

The Postmodern Politics of Representation: Culture Movement

These new groups were originally members of college circles of arts in the early 1970s when college students demonstrated against President Park Chung hee's *Yusin* constitution and his political repression of dissidents. In addition to this, their political consciousness grew radically as Korea's foreign indebtedness increased under the policy of rapid industrialization. Their anti-foreign motivation implies that their cultural movement also inculcates a new kind of

clients together construct and make sense of a reality (1985:247-248). Yet what he means by a "concrete understanding" of shamanism as a historical phenomenon seems vague and falls short of a consideration of the immediate historicity of that phenomena. As Mun Mu-byŏng, a Cheju native poet and literary critic, points out accurately in his article (1987a), the previous studies of Korean shamanism have focused on the analysis of the pure form of shamanism as construed as an archetype or a structural whole like a base culture [*hich'ŭng munhwa*].

Beginning in the early 1970s, the new generation of young radical intellectuals appeared from a particular social and political context without a linkage with the conventional scholars of shamanism. Although this new group's study of shamanism also deals with its formal structure, it brought Korean shamans into the actual scene of political resistance. I would classify this as a historical approach. The shamans no longer live in the past under the rubric of "tradition"; those radical generations appear as the modern shamans they claimed themselves to be. Perhaps this is the reason that these groups are not mentioned in the historical reviews of scholarship on Korean shamanism (Kim In-whoe 1981; Cho Hŭng-yun 1984a): their studies, closely associated with their political activism, were not regarded as genuine scholarship.

The Postmodern Politics of Representation: Culture Movement

These new groups were originally members of college circles of arts in the early 1970s when college students demonstrated against President Park Chung hee's *Yusin* constitution and his political repression of dissidents. In addition to this, their political consciousness grew radically as Korea's foreign indebtness increased under the policy of rapid industrialization. Their anti-foreign motivation implies that their cultural movement also inculcates a new kind of

nationalism which could be characterized as cultural nationalism or the subaltern people's nationalism [*minjung minjokju'i*] developed later on. They searched for the symbol for the actualization of their radical ideology (Yi Hae-ch'an 1985). The Korean folk culture was rediscovered to project the image of a new Korean society, a self-sufficient and egalitarian society. Such an utopia society was modeled from a peasant society, and the peasants' culture was reappraised and idealized to represent the Korean traditional culture (Yim Chin-t'aek 1981). This is the historical background for the reason that those radical college students' activities were *munhwa undong* [cultural movement]: it was a movement for the regeneration of the traditional culture. Those groups of the folk theater movement [*minjok chŏk undong*] called themselves the cultural troupes or *munwha p'ae* named after folk art troupes which were the itinerant performing groups of the underclass people during the Yi dynasty.

In the beginning of the 1970s, these cultural troupes approached the Korean shamanism in two directions: the aesthetics of the shamanic *kut* rite and the social political function of shamanic *kut* ceremony (Park In-bae 1984; Chŏ Hiwan 1982). All aspects of shamanic rites ranging from shamanic music and dance to dramatic theatre were studied and recreated through their group performance. Their interest in shamanism was focused on the performative quality of shamanic rituals and also the competence of the shaman as an artist. In this case, the original context for the religious meaning of the shamanic rites was no longer significant; instead, it was abstracted as the representative expression of Korean traditional ethos. Shaman's songs were translated into a political statement. Those radical intellectuals found the revolutionary potential among the traditional folk artists who they thought represented the subaltern class people or *minjung*. They made a master-apprentice relationship with the various specialists of folk culture such as the mask dance, itinerant music

performance [samul nori], the peasantry folk music [nongak], and so on. They formed folk dance groups on campus. They produced scenarios together in groups and performed on the open-air campus ground. Accordingly, their performance at the scene of student demonstrations developed into a political ritual of transgression (cf. Stalybrass and White 1986). In the beginning of the 1980s this *madang kut* movement [ground-stage performance] spread into a much wider realm of society beyond the campus and academic discourse: the scenes of labor strikes among the factory workers and the gathering of consciousness-raising groups for political opposition.

In spite of the fact that some of those cultural troupes proclaimed that their national theater movement [*minjok kŭk undong*] conveyed the "concreteness" of the lives of a people from below--*minjung*, the subaltern people in Gramscian terms--the image of shamanism they portrayed is a purely ideological construct. In fact, their idea of a folk culture is a genuine invention yet a counter-cultural, subversive art form. This art form breeds a new kind of nationalism from below or from the subaltern people's nationalism [*minjung minjokju'i*], in opposition to the state nationalism that was refashioned in the name of a Korean-style nationalism proclaimed by President Park for the purpose of political repression. The cultural troupes pursued the recreation of traditional culture in the contemporary social political context; in this way traditional culture would not be buried in the past but be revived with a new meaning of collectivity and national identity.

In Cheju, the cultural movement, the *madang kut* movement in particular, had started in August 1980 when a young radical intellectuals' theatre group named *Sunulŭm* announced a *munhwa sŏnŏn* [a cultural statement] as they were formed (Mun Mu-byŏng 1987a). This statement described the social political situation in the metaphor of the abandoned child, standing alone at the remote

border of culture and politics. It justified the formation of *Sunulŭm* for securing the space where a new spirit would be infused into the disappearing traditional culture of Cheju Island. If I follow Mun's self-appraisal of this cultural movement (in which Mun was the leader), it was consciously launched to subvert the anti-cultural behavior of the mainland landowners who bought lands in Cheju under the auspices of the central government's development plan. Its first theatre performance dealt with this land issue, and three further performances were recreations of major historical events, particularly popular revolts such as that of General Kim Tong-jŏng and his rebel army's rebellion in the thirteenth century; the aborted indigenous rebellion for Cheju independence led by a native local officer, Kang Che-gyŏm in 1862; the Cheju female divers' revolt against colonial Japanese officers of the fishery cooperative in 1931. The last performance played in 1983 dealt with the problem of landholding by outsiders and the internationalization of Cheju Island for tourism that was initiated by the government. After then the *Sunulŭm* was forcefully dissolved under the charge of the danger of popular instigation. The style of their performance followed that of the Cheju shaman's *kut* rite: invocation of the problematic deities, recitation of the origin myth of the deities, exorcism of evil spirits, and petition of the victims. The performers made a mythical story out of the historical event so that the problematic deities would be summoned to the stage altar, their evil doings would be exorcised, and Cheju native victims' problems would be retold and cured finally. This theater played the role of free journalism in the politically and economically alienating situation. In that sense, *Sunulŭm* tried to recreate Cheju as a place of local independence instead of a border; it aimed to recover the religious community centering upon the indigenous shrine deities (Mun Mu-byŏng 1987a: 207). The social function of shamanism was newly defined in its capacity to overcome the political alienation of the entire Cheju people, as its traditional

function is to heal the illnesses and misfortunes of individuals. As Mun himself said longingly in his poem, "I would rather be a *simbang*"; a Cheju shaman is a cultural activist and vice versa.

In a sense, those cultural activists like Mun could create themselves through the representation of the Other--as actual shamans. In reality, a few prominent Korean *mudangs* and *simbangs* [like *mudangs* in Cheju term] who were officially appointed by the government as Human Cultural Treasures, retain a close relationship with those activists, playing the role of art master. In an historical irony, the hitherto socially neglected *mudangs* were treated like officials to promote the national unity while they were also revered as anti-heroes for the subversive forces. There is historical evidence for the official status of Korean *mudangs*: before the Confucian ideology treated shamanism negatively as a superstition around the twelfth century in the late Koryo dynasty, there were official shamanic priests called *nara mudang* [national shaman] who were in charge of the national ceremonies for rain-making or thanksgiving (Cho Hŭng-yun 1983; Yu Tong-sik 1975). In contemporary cultural policy, according to the Law Pertaining the Conservation of Cultural Treasures (*munhwa che pohobup*) enacted in 1963, certainly the government-appointed shamans are not officially in charge of performing for the sake of the nation. However there is some evidence showing a politically purposeful attempt to link the pre-Confucian period to the contemporary time. In 1981 one prominent female shaman, Kim Kumhwa, who was a government-appointed Human Cultural Treasure, performed a grand *kut* ceremony for rain-making at the stage set for the national festival, named the Wind of the Nation [*kugp'ung*] (Tong-ah Ilbo May 17. 1981).

This was an improvisatory performance by the shaman who substituted it for the previously-planned performance, using the national agony of draught as a theme to attract public attention. Certainly Kim was aware that Korean

shamanism was still not treated as a religion by the general populace, contrary to the claims of folklore scholars; it was looked down upon as a pre-modern unscientific superstition practiced mainly among the unlearned backward people outside of the urban centers and in the countryside.⁶ Indeed this improvised event suggests an important aspect of the power of the shaman and shamanism that is politically constructed. Not only the state government but the shamans themselves used this power enshrined under the name of a national treasure and tradition.

The shaman Kim's episode deserves more consideration regarding this conceit of power. The Wind of the Nation '81 event was initiated by the newly established military regime after the bloody coup by General Chun Toohwan for the purpose of commemorating the anniversary of the coup and also refashioning a national heritage and unity.⁷ It created a festive event for a week day and night, bringing an audience of one and half million daily to the Five-Sixteen Plaza [named for commemoration of the bloodless military coup in 1961 by General Park Chung-hee]. The chief assistant of policy-making in the regime was the chief planner of this event. He confessed eight years later in 1988 before the committee investigating the repression and corruption of the fifth Republic of Korea, that the event was a pure post-modern pastiche in an attempt to counter-attack the subversive forces of radical students and intellectuals in fear of their protest memorializing the May 17 Kwangju Civilian Rebellion. The May 17 Kwangju Rebellion was the most recent civilian massacre by the army forces, which started as a typical student protest in the beginning but developed into a total civilian movement after protesters were killed by the army and police who were sent down from Seoul. This rebellion is regarded as the sequel to the April Third Uprising in 1943. In regard to this critical historical circumstance, the Wind of the Nation '81 could be considered a pure postmodern "pastiche" in

Jameson's sense (1984)--a collage without content, the juxtaposition of a series of codes--an attempt to appropriate the symbolic power of shamanic healing for a disorder that was created by the military regime itself. The people were intoxicated with this pastiche of instantly simulated national culture disguising the terror of the Kwangju massacre and the political repression.

This was about the same time when the cultural troupes in Seoul and the *Sunulum* in Cheju made a shift in their ideological configuration from more the individualistic pursuit of performing the "original and pure form" of folk arts into the collective pursuit of invoking the social and historical practices of the people, who are the subject of the creating and transmitting culture itself (Park Inbae 1987). Those cultural activists are allied with the social economic historians such as Park Hyon-chae, Sin Yong-ha, and so forth. They shifted their interests from individual performers such as the Human Cultural Treasures and their single acts to the people in the local areas and their collective scenes of village shrine ceremonies or labor teams. They interpreted the key peasant revolts in the past in the terms of shamanic *kut* rites: for example, the Tonghak peasant rebellion in 1894 was "the insurgency kut" [*nanlikut*] (Park In-bae 1985:156).

This process of naming anew or translating one meaning into another has been the political strategy of the cultural movement to tap the hidden and disguised power of the popular rage and despair that was caused by the May 17 Kwangju Civilian Rebellion. They created the image of Korean *mudangs* in the plural sense as the revolutionary or cultural hero who becomes the model of the subaltern class people. This is in fact the identification process between the shaman and the cultural activists, the actual revolutionaries. These cultural activists reinterpret the healing power of the shamanic *kut* rite for "the regeneration of life force beyond death"; this life force is generated from the solidarity between the activists and the *minjung* [subaltern class people] ⁸ who

possess the same historical experience (Mun Mu-byŏng 1987a:206). This collective life force which is termed as *sinmyŏng*, literally meaning "rapture", becomes the symbolic capital of the cultural movement (Park Inbae 1987). Indeed this term *sinmyŏng* could be seen as a translation of the Eliadean notion of ecstasy, implying the divine unity with humans. If ecstasy qualifies the individual shaman, *sinmyŏng* solicits the cultural activists. In this way cultural activists in the postmodern world created themselves through the representation of the shamans.

In Foster's view (1982), this ideological unity in the divine realm can be also interpreted as the domestication of the foreign and the familiarization of the remote into something more concrete, tangible, and definable. Through the magic wand of shaman, shamanism is provided with a continuous link to its primordial past--a past of an imagined egalitarian and collective society. The shaman reappears as a medium for one's voice--here the voice of the intellectual cultural activists who protested against the totalitarian regimes. The shaman remains a liminal person at the threshold of form, forever betwixt and between--the past and the present, the state and the people. Here we can see that this familiarization of the Other inevitably involves in the process of "cultural translation" to the extent that this process is "enmeshed in conditions of power", if I rephrase Asad's words (1986:163)--yet within the conditions of Korean national culture. Those cultural activists reverse the colonial cultural translation of Korean shamanism, as initiated by Western Christian missionaries and Japanese colonial folklorists and recast by the military regimes and the conventional nationalistic scholars. They deconstruct this ancient and alien image of shamanism and yet reconstitute it into a counter-cultural image for anti-colonial, anti-government protest. The shaman represents the ideal Other in this politics of representation in the postcolonial era.

Nevertheless, this cultural activist's deconstructive experiment with the idea of Korean shamanism has some merit, according to my interpretation of Cheju shamanism, or more correctly, the practices of *simbangs*. Unlike the colonial-fashioned approach that tries to portray Korean shamanism as an abstract form of ancient religion, this postmodern approach focuses on the performative effectiveness of shamanic rituals in their immediate social and historical reality. The authenticity of Korean shamanism is inscribed in its performative reality, not in the primordial past and folk customs (cf. Dirks 1988:37). Here the historicity of the shamanic culture that has been subsumed by the discourse of national ancestry in the single voice of the cultural and political elites is recaptured in "a discursive and practical field" of ritual performance: shamanic rituals--for either collective or individual purposes--serve "a site for appropriation as well as for struggle" over power and domination (Dirks 1988:26). In the case of Cheju Island, I approach shamanism as situated in a particular social history of Cheju Island which has struggled over the political and cultural domination of the mainland society. I also interpret the Cheju *simbangs'* shamanic rituals in order to illuminate the urgency and the unpredictability in the everyday lives of the people who participate in these historical relations of domination.⁹

Notes to Chapter 7

¹For this reason, that is, that shamans and shamanism were mistreated socially and studied as objects of disdain, Cho Hŭng-yun says that shamanism itself is "the most unfortunate theme of scholarship" (1984a: 224).

²Robinson cites the words of Yi Kwangsu, then the pioneering modern novelist in the 1920s (1986:47).

³Son Jintae and Song Sukha are known as the first ethnologists whose studies of Korean shamanism followed the Boasian theoretical terrain focusing on the purely objective and descriptive study of culture.

⁴There is an episode that exemplifies this tendency. Recently in 1985 at the conference on the future development of the Cheju society, Hyŏn Yong-jun asserted the importance of discovery and preservation of the Cheju folk tradition [*minsok*] and, for the practical purpose of policy-making of the government, suggested the year of 1940 as the standard for rehabitalization (Chejudo Yŏn'gu 1985). Hyŏn did not give any cogent reason for his choice. During the discussion, the reason why 1940 could be held as the standard time of "original" form of folk culture was debated. One discussant insisted that the year of 1940, included in the Japanese colonial rule, could not be the proper origin of Cheju folk tradition. Although the debate did not result in any substantial conclusion on this subject, this episode implies the pervasive continuity of Japanese colonial legacy.

⁵Kim primarily analyzes Korean shamanism as an indigenous religion with its own divinity and doctrinal system and develops further its theology (1983).

⁶Kim Kumhwa and her divine daughter Che Heea, who is an ethnomusicologist at the Berkeley campus, once complained to the interviewer Kim Sŭnghye, who is a Catholic nun and also a professor of religious phenomenology at a Jesuit college in Seoul, about this social negligence (Kim Sŭng-hye 1988). Lamenting the fact that Korean shamanism was omitted in the list of Korean traditional religions whose leaders were met officially by Pope John Paul II during his papal visit in 1984, Kim Sŭng-hye conducted this interview as an attempt to see the possibility to include shamanism into the enculturation movement in the Korean Catholic Church.

⁷Several conventional folklorists wrote a small booklet which introduced a wide range of the folk tradition including shamanism or shamanic custom. They were also government-appointed members at the Management Office for the Conservation of Cultural Treasures, who evaluated traditional art and the qualifications of the performers.

⁸This concept of *minjung* has been constructed and used in the midst of political practices since the 1970s of the radical intellectuals including cultural activists, whose political consciousness was tactically grounded in the lives and histories of the people who they thought were oppressed (Yu Che-chŏn 1984:11). As Yu summarizes in a rather broad way, the *minjung* was conceptualized in general as the subject of history-making rather than its object; as the subordinated people in the context of historical, social, and political relations of domination; finally, as the social entity of a people whose historical consciousness

serves to change the given reality (1984:12). Although this concept of *minjung* is the creation of Korean indigenous historical and political circumstances, this appears quite similar to the concept of the Gramscian "subaltern" people, the concept that was used in a series of studies of Indian people during the British colonial rules (Guha 1981). The general attributes of subordination, whether this is expressed in terms of class, caste, age, gender and office or in any other way is applied to the term "subaltern" for the purpose of rewriting the historiography of the popular resistance to authority and thus a critique of imperialism and elitism in historiography. In accordance with this general trend in historiography, I will use the term *minjung* interchangeably with the term the subaltern people.

⁹Dirks has described the ritual drama of the South Indian village that anticipates an urgency and unpredictability rather than the skillful artifice of ritual actors as "theatre lived" not "theatre played," by citing Greenblatt (1980:111; cf. Dirks 1988:36).

CHAPTER 8

LAMENTATIONS OF THE DEAD: A FAMILY SAGA

Korean shamanism is the place for lamentations of the dead souls. In this place the dead are purified through the shaman's repetitive recitation of their lamentations. Through this purification, Korean shamanism has been transmitted and will continue to transmit its heritage to the next generations forever through the blood veins of Koreans that have linked ancestors who have lived on the top of the mountain or in the heaven, near or far from this world.

Pu-yǒng Yi, "Dialogue between the Dead and the
Living--Shamanism and Psychology"

History awakens from its sleep at the moment that the lament of the dead souls breaks through the oppressed layers of the memory of the past. Once the dark nights of forgotten memory, especially the one of violence, are allowed to surface in the light of truth, the dead souls come to life and begin to speak to their living descendants. This chapter explores the way in which people's belief in the spirits of the dead and the shamanic healing rites reconstitute the memory of political violence in the history of Cheju Island. My specific concern with the Cheju history of violence is to understand the complex relationship between the personal experience of the past, particularly the tragic experience of the April Third Event and its aftermath. In Cheju shamanism, the people's belief in ancestral spirits and ritual recitations of their death stories serve as the medium by which we understand that complex relationship. I wish to examine the tragic experience of the April Third Event because shamanic ritual deals only with the

problematic and unfortunate events of life, contrary to the colonial historical imperative to conceal the truth of that experience.

Truth and Popular Memory as Historical Practice

Though this thesis deals with the relationship between the memory and actuality of the historical tragedy, I do not intend to dwell on the "facts" of the April Third Event, i.e. on the atrocities of the anti-guerrilla operations or the civilian massacres conducted by the south Korean state. In fact, the violence associated with the April Third Event cannot be attributed solely to repressive action by the army and police. Both ideological camps were in charge of doing violence to the people. The civilian dead were killed by both sides due, in the majority of cases, to their indecisiveness and confusion (O Sŏng-ch'an 1989; Yim Tu-hong 1988). These civilians did not know which side it would be better to take for survival. According to survivors' testimony written as personal reminiscences (Yim Tu-hong 1988: 365-380), most people were terrified by the atrocities committed by both sides, and both sides are portrayed as invaders who forced civilians to identify "enemies" among themselves. Nonetheless, the counter-insurgency forces of the U.S. occupation army and the national police excelled guerrillas in terms of their numbers, the destructiveness of their weapons and their capacity for strategic organization. They forced the evacuation of most of the mountain villages located in the middle ranges of the Mt. Halla, the volcanic cone which forms the core of the island, and afterwards burned them to the ground. Young men, most of whom were suspected of contact with the guerrillas, feared lynching and torture by the police, so many of them hid themselves deep in the mountains. There they died of hunger or were searched out by punitive forces and killed individually or in groups as *san p'okto* [mountain insurgents].

problematic and unfortunate events of life, contrary to the colonial historical imperative to conceal the truth of that experience.

Truth and Popular Memory as Historical Practice

Though this thesis deals with the relationship between the memory and actuality of the historical tragedy, I do not intend to dwell on the "facts" of the April Third Event, i.e. on the atrocities of the anti-guerrilla operations or the civilian massacres conducted by the south Korean state. In fact, the violence associated with the April Third Event cannot be attributed solely to repressive action by the army and police. Both ideological camps were in charge of doing violence to the people. The civilian dead were killed by both sides due, in the majority of cases, to their indecisiveness and confusion (O Sŏng-ch'an 1989; Yim Tu-hong 1988). These civilians did not know which side it would be better to take for survival. According to survivors' testimony written as personal reminiscences (Yim Tu-hong 1988: 365-380), most people were terrified by the atrocities committed by both sides, and both sides are portrayed as invaders who forced civilians to identify "enemies" among themselves. Nonetheless, the counter-insurgency forces of the U.S. occupation army and the national police excelled guerrillas in terms of their numbers, the destructiveness of their weapons and their capacity for strategic organization. They forced the evacuation of most of the mountain villages located in the middle ranges of the Mt. Halla, the volcanic cone which forms the core of the island, and afterwards burned them to the ground. Young men, most of whom were suspected of contact with the guerrillas, feared lynching and torture by the police, so many of them hid themselves deep in the mountains. There they died of hunger or were searched out by punitive forces and killed individually or in groups as *san p'okto* [mountain insurgents].

These facts, however, were not revealed to the public until April 1988 except in the fictionalized accounts of the indigenous Cheju novelists (Hyŏn Ki-rŏn 1984; Hyŏn Ki-yŏng 1979; O Sŏng-ch'an 1976). People's fear of even mentioning the names of the dead, particularly native guerrillas and other communist suspects, or memorializing them in *chesa* stems from the official version, or the "truth," of this event: "Cheju Island, where leftist forces were much stronger than anywhere else, was completely rooted up due to her armed rebellion" (Kim Nam-sik 1984:377). What concerns me about the notion of "truth" in this context is the way in which this official "truth" is established to become an official ideology of a Korean nation-state in the post-war era. By "truth," I mean the Foucaultian concept, thoroughly historicized in the form of discourse, which is constructed by an episteme, or "the will to truth" (Foucault 1972). This "will to truth" of the Korean state is practiced through an official ideology of anti-communism [*pan'gong*].

The ideology of anti-communism here is not simply a part of the counter-insurgency tactics of the immediate post World War II period and the time of the April Third Event; it has been fixed as the national policy of the south Korean state since its beginning. This ideology has been further reinforced in combination with the ideology of national security as the justification for the sustaining rule of the south Korean military regimes since General Park Chung Hee's coup in 1961.¹ The south Korean government's frequent abduction and torture of radical students and political dissidents under the criminal charge of pro-communist activity bears witness to a ritual of national security that has been practiced on a regular basis. The government referred to them as "enemies of the state." Described as "the ritual of deaths" by Gregory and Timerman (1986:70) in the case of Argentina during its military regime (1976-1984), this political accusation is not simply an instrumental means of gaining information

about criminal acts; rather it must be seen as "a process both sensationlizing fear among the people and creating a mandate for the totalitarian control of society by the state."

In such an urgent atmosphere of terrorization, the Cheju people's enduring memories of the innocent dead of the April Third Event are indeed "dangerous" because they politically challenge the official discourse that has kept the secret of this event to itself. As Cheju oral testimonies lament in a single voice, people plainly had to accept "forgetting" as a cure for trauma of the event (cf. O. Sŏng-ch'an 1989). In spite of this secrecy and obstruction of recall, however, people's memories flow behind the scene of coerced forgetting, "working at its own pace, a pace quite detached from any seizure of central power" (Foucault 1975:27). This is a "popular memory" similar to what Foucault has tried to describe as an alternative interpretaion of the Resistance attempted in several French films whose avowed aim was to rewrite history. According to Foucault, popular memory specifically indicates a style of memory that people--he means "those who are barred from writing, from producing their books themselves, from drawing up their own historical accounts" (ibid.)--carry out. Cheju people's memory of the April Third Event and its tragic aftermath is comparable to such a form of memory. Popular memories recurrently bring up violent events that might make a different truth-claim from official history which has criminalized the dead Cheju victims as enemies of the state. Popular memory is not only "a way of recording history... of keeping it fresh and of using it"; but also "a very important factor in struggle (really, in fact, struggles develop in a kind of conscious moving forward of history), if one controls people's memory, one controls their dynamism" (Foucault 1975:25). In this way people control their experience and their knowledge of previous struggles as well.

Ironically, popular memory of the April Third Event is expressed in the form of "pre-modern" and "superstitious" beliefs about the spirits of the dead. As in the above case of Mizo's dream, when the living have to act mute and deaf, only the speech of the dead is safe. Nevertheless, popular memory expressed in the form of dreams and stories of the dead never directly makes a truth-claim loaded with an oppositional ideological apparatus. The spirits of the dead simply lament their unfulfilled wishes and abnormal states of death and express their longing for a restful after-life. In their lamentations they plead in innocence for ordinary humanity. Furthermore, the tragic import of the stories of the dead weighs differently in each shamanic performance, and the stories do not seem to share a common interpretation of the social situation. Skillfully, the shaman punctuates a series of lamenting narratives with a flow of laughter among the audience by allowing other attendant shamans to improvise a comic show to the side of the main ritual floor. While weeping about the lamentations of the dead on the one hand, the audience cannot help watching and hearing this comic side-show on the other. Yet exactly such an inarticulate and fragmented retrieval of popular memory constitutes the art-form of subversion whose expression evades surveillant forces.²

What is important to note at this point is the fact that the ritual retrieval of memory as expressed in the shamanic lamentations the dead requires a painful reliving of the terror for the sake of its own theatrical representation, the terror that the official discourse has deployed for the repression of memory. There is thus a mutual mirroring effect of a "culture of terror" in Taussig's term (1984a). Relying on the same factual experience in order to generate the power of truth, both popular memory and official discourse unwittingly participate in the same narrative reconstruction of terror and violence. Both the shaman's tales of the dead and the official discourse of pro-communist enemies of the state point to an

urgency for an enunciation of the truth. Yet in terms of their strategic effects they are fundamentally opposed: if the shamanic tales are supposed to expose and heal the wounds of truth, political discourse seeks to justify the sacrifice of the rebels to the forces of repression. The Cheju people's beliefs about the dead and their memories of them, thus create a counter-discourse which subverts the discourse of the state to the extent that its culture of terror is dissipated in the laughter of the shaman. By illustrating below first the popular truth revealed in the shamanic belief in the spirits of the dead in this chapter, and then the official discourse of terror and resistance in the contemporary political context in the next chapter, I will delineate the way the power of truth is controlled and regenerated for such oppositional purposes.

The Spirit World: Ancestors, Ghosts, and The Dead Souls

Who are the spirits of the dead, and why do they return to this world and tell their sorrowful stories? In Cheju folk religion the dead demand that the living member remember their lives and deaths—even to the extent that the well-being of the living be nearly destroyed. The demand of the dead for memorialization is concretely manifested in the bodily signs among the living, such as the mysterious illness of Suni's nephew, and for this reason descendants fear the dead whose potential malevolence might harm them. This concrete, yet imagined, maliciousness of the dead souls has to do with the states of the dead in the spirit world of Cheju folk religion as defined by the souls' manner of death. At the Cheju shamanic ritual those struck down by violence, accidents, drowning, or during child birth; those who died during warfare, committed suicide, or died without marrying are all categorized as *wŏnhon*, spiteful souls. They are unquiet, "ritually unclean" (Kendall 1981) dead who could not be given the normal

urgency for an enunciation of the truth. Yet in terms of their strategic effects they are fundamentally opposed: if the shamanic tales are supposed to expose and heal the wounds of truth, political discourse seeks to justify the sacrifice of the rebels to the forces of repression. The Cheju people's beliefs about the dead and their memories of them, thus create a counter-discourse which subverts the discourse of the state to the extent that its culture of terror is dissipated in the laughter of the shaman. By illustrating below first the popular truth revealed in the shamanic belief in the spirits of the dead in this chapter, and then the official discourse of terror and resistance in the contemporary political context in the next chapter, I will delineate the way the power of truth is controlled and regenerated for such oppositional purposes.

The Spirit World: Ancestors, Ghosts, and The Dead Souls

Who are the spirits of the dead, and why do they return to this world and tell their sorrowful stories? In Cheju folk religion the dead demand that the living member remember their lives and deaths—even to the extent that the well-being of the living be nearly destroyed. The demand of the dead for memorialization is concretely manifested in the bodily signs among the living, such as the mysterious illness of Suni's nephew, and for this reason descendants fear the dead whose potential malevolence might harm them. This concrete, yet imagined, maliciousness of the dead souls has to do with the states of the dead in the spirit world of Cheju folk religion as defined by the souls' manner of death. At the Cheju shamanic ritual those struck down by violence, accidents, drowning, or during child birth; those who died during warfare, committed suicide, or died without marrying are all categorized as *wŏnhon*, spiteful souls. They are unquiet, "ritually unclean" (Kendall 1981) dead who could not be given the normal

funeral ceremonies and, failing to enter the other world, are condemned to roam the earth forever.

In the spirit world, *wŏnhon* belong among the lowly and act as a group begging for food and drinks. They have evil power, inciting fear in the hearts of people. *Wŏnhon* tend to abide in particular in all wet and dark places. They also cling to the spots associated with their deaths, such as mountains, rivers, villages--even a nation--where they remain in the same state in which they died (Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1986: 156-168). They have not yet been completely transformed into harmless souls or transferred to the other world, *chŏsŭng*. Their identity, in other words, remains unclarified, and it is this ambiguity which causes the fear of these dead.

Due to their "unnatural" deaths, *wŏnhon* do not deserve to receive a respectful memorial service; they are segregated from the spirits of other family ancestors who died in a normal state at home (Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1986:150-165; Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980). One significant reason for this segregation of *wŏnhon* stems from the fact that they died *outside* the household. Although *wŏnhon* still belong to the category of family ancestors (*chosang*), and receive a Confucian ancestor worship (*chesa*) regularly on the date of their deaths, they are still unwelcome the other among ancestors. The spiritual status of those dead souls are considered as abnormal and thus tragic according to the standard of Confucian morality, the status that could unexpectedly bring about a danger to the descendants (Ch'oe Kil-sŏng *ibid.*). The malice of these unquiet souls is imagined to be much more fearful than any regrettable memory of those ancestors who had normal deaths.

Nevertheless, the unnatural stigma of those malevolent souls of the dead ancestors can be washed off if the descendants, in addition to the regular Confucian memorial services, offer rites of *chilch'im* which clear the road to the other world. Without these special rites, these spiteful souls roam around in

crowds in the middle void, persistently causing trouble for the living until the living console and purify them. It is this for which shamanic rites are performed. Shamanic rites guard the living from the malice of the spiteful souls and heal their anomalous history. This cogent logic of shamanic rites for the spirits of the dead contrasts with Confucian ancestor worship which neglects the dead souls of who those died abnormally--all souls who are placed into marginal categories in the spirit world. In order to protect his or her clients from potential malice, then, the shamans at *kut* make a special effort to be complete in the recitation of the names of the dead throughout the initial invocation process. The effectiveness of shamanic rituals is based on the extent to which the living descendants invite all dead ancestors without leaving behind a single lonely spirit who might hold a grudge for being neglected. It is commonly thought that three *chilch'im* episodes are required to send *wŏnhon* to the other world.

Yet some of the descendants do not observe this rule of three episodes of *chilch'im* until after several generations pass. If the dead souls remain unpurified by means of *chilch'im* rituals over a period of five generations, they lose their personal names and become *chapkwi*, lesser evil spirits who take the lowest position in the spirit world. Although *wŏnhon* whose names are still identifiable are respectfully addressed with honorific language, *chapkwi* are always degraded and threatened during exorcisms (*p'udasi*) by the simbang's bronze spirit knife (*sink'al*) so that they will leave the patients. The category of *chapkwi* broadly embraces all anonymous spirits including the impersonalistic spirits attached to nature, material objects or even human emotions (Hyŏn Yongjun 1980:518-519). The personalistic *chapkwi* are servant soldiers, *kunjol*, accompanying the mountain god, the sea god, the boat god, the shrine god, the family ancestor of any kinship group, the ancestor of the simbang, and so on. And the impersonalistic *chapkwi* are servant soldiers staying in the middle space

between heaven and earth, that is, virtually everywhere: rivers, mountains, heaven, earth, sea, seashores, ships, shrines, and forests; each hour of the day (there are twelve hours in a day according to the traditional time system). These servant soldiers are also socially characterized, gendered, and attached to every clan or surname group; to every age group, including children, the old, the young, and those abandoned in thousand-year-old tombs. There is another category of *chapkwī* associated with emotional states, called *chōkkwī* of unrequited love, longing, and resentment. *Chōkkwī* means literally, "the vessel of unfulfilled desires" or the malicious effect emanating from them. This indicates how closely personal experiences of tragedy are associated with the popular imagination of the spirit world. In short, the category of *chapkwī* covers the whole range of all possible tragedies, encompassing natural and human life.

If there is a difference between *wōnhon* and *chapkwī*, it is not one of kind but of degree, in terms of the temporal change of their spiritual status from the memorable, personalistic spirits to the anonymous, impersonalistic and purely evil ones. In other words, as memory lapses in the minds of the living descendants, the ancestral spirits are liberated from the fateful boundaries of memory and enter a wide open space of pure evil forces, the empty middle space between this and the other world (Hyōn Yong-jun 1980: 518).³ They abide in the pure chaotic state of forgetfulness and invisibility, roaming around in flocks forever. However, their insatiable hunger and thirst for food and drink make them present in popular imagination, refusing to disappear from the landscape of history even after their living memories are erased. It seems that the malignity attributed to the dead souls who died during the April Third Event will be permanent unless their death stories are told, and their blood-stained clothes are purified (Ko Pu-ja 1984). Otherwise, the temporal transformation of the lamenting ancestors into the lesser evil spirits, might not take place.

Yŏnggye-ullim: the Lamentations of the Dead

During the shamanic rites, the dead souls come alive in the voice of the shaman reciter and tell their death stories one by one to every family member gathered: "Dear dead soul is going to say greetings [to you] by borrowing the mouth of the child of god [that is, *simbang*]" (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980:452). At this time, the shaman is not really possessed by the spirits of the dead; he or she acts and speaks as if being possessed. (Usually on different occasions it is the patient or clients who are possessed; they, however, do not announce their state of possession, as the shaman does.) This part of the ritual is *yŏnggye-ullim*. *Yŏnggye-ullim* means literally "the lamentations of the dead souls," but its performance follows the style of a greeting and wishing speech, *punpu munan*, made to attending family members and relatives. Holding a *nunmul sukŏn* [tear-towel] in one hand, the *simbang* takes turns with the *yŏnggye-ullim* of each dead soul who is usually grouped together with other dead souls for one session of *chilch'im*.⁴ This is considered a real lament of the dead ancestor, impelling the *simbang* reciter and the audience to weep and sob together into their handkerchieves. Because *yŏnggye-ullim* retells the sad, heartbreaking stories of the unfortunate family ancestors, it casts upon the whole scene of the ritual a highly mournful mood.

The *simbang*'s recitation covers the life and death story of the dead; thus the content of *yŏnggye-ullim* varies depending on how much the *simbang* knows about those dead people and how well he or she is able to make up a more or less convincing fictional narrative to the audience of the descendants. In general, *yŏnggye-ullim* follows a conventional narrative structure that contains such information as how the ancestor died and in what circumstances, and how regretful his or her death was. At the end of each speech to the attendant family members, the ancestral spirits always express thanks to the descendants for their

Yŏnggye-ullim: the Lamentations of the Dead

During the shamanic rites, the dead souls come alive in the voice of the shaman reciter and tell their death stories one by one to every family member gathered: "Dear dead soul is going to say greetings [to you] by borrowing the mouth of the child of god [that is, *simbang*]" (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980:452). At this time, the shaman is not really possessed by the spirits of the dead; he or she acts and speaks as if being possessed. (Usually on different occasions it is the patient or clients who are possessed; they, however, do not announce their state of possession, as the shaman does.) This part of the ritual is *yŏnggye-ullim*. *Yŏnggye-ullim* means literally "the lamentations of the dead souls," but its performance follows the style of a greeting and wishing speech, *punpu munan*, made to attending family members and relatives. Holding a *nunmul sukŏn* [tear-towel] in one hand, the *simbang* takes turns with the *yŏnggye-ullim* of each dead soul who is usually grouped together with other dead souls for one session of *chilch'im*.⁴ This is considered a real lament of the dead ancestor, impelling the *simbang* reciter and the audience to weep and sob together into their handkerchieves. Because *yŏnggye-ullim* retells the sad, heartbreaking stories of the unfortunate family ancestors, it casts upon the whole scene of the ritual a highly mournful mood.

The *simbang*'s recitation covers the life and death story of the dead; thus the content of *yŏnggye-ullim* varies depending on how much the *simbang* knows about those dead people and how well he or she is able to make up a more or less convincing fictional narrative to the audience of the descendants. In general, *yŏnggye-ullim* follows a conventional narrative structure that contains such information as how the ancestor died and in what circumstances, and how regretful his or her death was. At the end of each speech to the attendant family members, the ancestral spirits always express thanks to the descendants for their

ritual offering and promise them that they will leave gladly for the other world, *chōsŭng*, and reward them with a blessing from heaven. At this point *yōnggye-ullim* ends. The *simbang* changes his or her voice and reports, "I did a *kut*," bowing to the audience who would respond, "you did well indeed." After a short break, then, the *simbang* proceeds to the performance of clearing the road to the other world, *chilch'im*.

As if they forgot their promises to the descendants, however, those lamenting ancestral spirits keep returning to this world, *isŭng*, in every shamanic rite held by anyone of the same household. Concerning their inexhaustible passion for remembrance and retelling, two questions arise: why do their lamentations then seem to have such a particularly menacing force to harm their own offsprings, and why do they emerge repeatedly in this world to ask for consolation and purification? The tenacity of their lamentations and claims for remembrance are subject to the historical and social meaning of their violent and unnatural deaths. But their stories would never be completed because of their fragmented transmission in each family's ancestral history. They are not registered formally in the lineage genealogy nor are they textualized in the official history. Their unnatural and violent deaths were anti-social--outside the paradigm of orthodox Confucian ancestor worship--so their stories were not taken into the records. In fact, the fragmentary transmission of their stories originates from the marginal character of those lamenting ancestors. The return of the dead is also threatening to descendants who complacently forget the tragic events of the past.

In this context, the shaman's recitation of *yōnggye-ullim* conjures a counter-cultural theater in which those stories of lamenting evidence the process whereby a history of violence and fear is reconstructed while being resisted simultaneously in its very act of revelation. Through the theatrical constellation

of past events in the present in *yŏnggye-ullim*, the *simbang* discloses the layers of the popular experience of a violent history. If the shamanic ritual is the theater of the unforgettable but officially altered memories of historical tragedies, the *simbang* possessed by the spirits of the dead is the stage actor through which the tragic characters emerge. To put it in Benjamin's visionary words, a Cheju *simbang* who tells a story of the spirits of the dead in the state of spirit possession plays a role of "the angel of history" who "awakens the dead, and makes whole what has been smashed" (1969:257). In addition to expressing the immediate misfortunes of their descendants, the stories of the tragic deaths of ancestors establish an implicit or alternative rule of historical discourse for the living.

The Mun Family *Kut*: *Chosang kut*

In order to contextualize this shamanic theatre of counter-culture, I will present the story of the Mun family which I taped during a special shamanic ritual for family ancestors [*chosang kut*] in Cheju City.⁵ In this section, I will reconstruct the history of the Mun family tragedy over five generations as it was recited at *kut*. This *chosang kut* of the Mun family was held over four days in April 1984 in Todu village near Cheju International Airport. Noise from departing airplanes disturbed the *kut* performance occasionally. The house was located near an alley which was adjacent to the fence of the airport. The host of the *kut* was a 47-year-old fisherman, and the hostess, his wife, was 45. The explicit reason for having this *chosang kut* was to pay a tribute to the memory of all of the family ancestors before the host couple moved to a new place. They been forced to move away from their native place after the government demolished the village houses to make way for an expansion of the airport. Spending nearly one-third of their entire governmental compensation for removal, the host couple decided to commission a grand-scale *kut* of four days' duration.

of past events in the present in *yŏnggye-ullim*, the *simbang* discloses the layers of the popular experience of a violent history. If the shamanic ritual is the theater of the unforgettable but officially altered memories of historical tragedies, the *simbang* possessed by the spirits of the dead is the stage actor through which the tragic characters emerge. To put it in Benjamin's visionary words, a Cheju *simbang* who tells a story of the spirits of the dead in the state of spirit possession plays a role of "the angel of history" who "awakens the dead, and makes whole what has been smashed" (1969:257). In addition to expressing the immediate misfortunes of their descendants, the stories of the tragic deaths of ancestors establish an implicit or alternative rule of historical discourse for the living.

The Mun Family *Kut*: *Chosang kut*

In order to contextualize this shamanic theatre of counter-culture, I will present the story of the Mun family which I taped during a special shamanic ritual for family ancestors [*chosang kut*] in Cheju City.⁵ In this section, I will reconstruct the history of the Mun family tragedy over five generations as it was recited at *kut*. This *chosang kut* of the Mun family was held over four days in April 1984 in Todu village near Cheju International Airport. Noise from departing airplanes disturbed the *kut* performance occasionally. The house was located near an alley which was adjacent to the fence of the airport. The host of the *kut* was a 47-year-old fisherman, and the hostess, his wife, was 45. The explicit reason for having this *chosang kut* was to pay a tribute to the memory of all of the family ancestors before the host couple moved to a new place. They been forced to move away from their native place after the government demolished the village houses to make way for an expansion of the airport. Spending nearly one-third of their entire governmental compensation for removal, the host couple decided to commission a grand-scale *kut* of four days' duration.

I choose this case story because it conveys the full complexity of family tragedies which reveals the historical meaning of the Cheju *kut*. In regard to the reordering function of ritual in a dramatic mode as Victor Turner (1967, 1982) formulates in his theory of ritual performance, I wish here to broaden the hermeneutical horizon of ritual performance by focusing on the role of the memories of the tragic ancestors as the medium for restructuring experiences and meanings. The rest of this chapter therefore deals with the way in which the image of tragedy, either personal or historical, is represented in the language of spirit possession and the *simbang*'s ritual. I will illuminate the whole spectacle of the past history of the Cheju society for the last hundred years as if it were running naturally on a movie screen.

The Reason for the *Kut*

The purpose of the Mun family's *chosang kut* was to pay tribute to the memory of all the Mun family ancestors before the host couple moved to a new place. Usually this kind of *chosang kut* is composed of a series of *chilch'im* rites. In order to conduct these rites of *chilch'im*, the Ten Kings of the Underworld (*siwang*) and their Human Messengers (*ch'asa*) are invoked and each offered a separate *kut* (*siwang-maji kut*).

During the preliminaries of the *siwang-maji kut* the *simbang* recites the reason for the special ritual tribute. This opening recitation often gives a biographic sketch of the host and hostess focusing on the sorrow and affliction caused by their neglect of the lamenting ancestors (which indeed accentuates the sense of sin). A partial transcription of the *simbang*'s recitation reveals the *simbang* speaking mournfully to the 47-year-old host.

Listen, dear 47-year old man! I never benefited from the good prayers of ancestors or the good fortunes of parents. Unlike other people, I never had a good education. I had a hard life, barely making a living. But I built a home with my own hands.

I choose this case story because it conveys the full complexity of family tragedies which reveals the historical meaning of the Cheju *kut*. In regard to the reordering function of ritual in a dramatic mode as Victor Turner (1967, 1982) formulates in his theory of ritual performance, I wish here to broaden the hermeneutical horizon of ritual performance by focusing on the role of the memories of the tragic ancestors as the medium for restructuring experiences and meanings. The rest of this chapter therefore deals with the way in which the image of tragedy, either personal or historical, is represented in the language of spirit possession and the *simbang*'s ritual. I will illuminate the whole spectacle of the past history of the Cheju society for the last hundred years as if it were running naturally on a movie screen.

The Reason for the *Kut*

The purpose of the Mun family's *chosang kut* was to pay tribute to the memory of all the Mun family ancestors before the host couple moved to a new place. Usually this kind of *chosang kut* is composed of a series of *chilch'im* rites. In order to conduct these rites of *chilch'im*, the Ten Kings of the Underworld (*siwang*) and their Human Messengers (*ch'asa*) are invoked and each offered a separate *kut* (*siwang-maji kut*).

During the preliminaries of the *siwang-maji kut* the *simbang* recites the reason for the special ritual tribute. This opening recitation often gives a biographic sketch of the host and hostess focusing on the sorrow and affliction caused by their neglect of the lamenting ancestors (which indeed accentuates the sense of sin). A partial transcription of the *simbang*'s recitation reveals the *simbang* speaking mournfully to the 47-year-old host.

Listen, dear 47-year old man! I never benefited from the good prayers of ancestors or the good fortunes of parents. Unlike other people, I never had a good education. I had a hard life, barely making a living. But I built a home with my own hands.

Grandfather died at an early age from drowning at sea while fishing. After that many of his children had a hard life. Who would provide my parents and children with food? Money, money! But money has no words! To earn money I went fishing every day at sea. Whenever I encountered a sudden crazy wind I cried to God, "If I die, please take care of my father and family!" Unlike others, I never wear a good suit. Where are my brothers and relatives who would comfort me in the midst of hardship? Alone, I'm truly alone, a 47-year old man who has long lived alone! Maiden spirit of the sailing boat, dear grandmother; please prepare the way for the descendants! Here and now I will light the lamp for the ancestors and try to pay tribute to the ancestors for their beneficial virtues. Ten years ago I promised to pray to the ancestors. Whenever I was out at sea I always worried if something would happen to my family. Even while sleeping I worried because I did not fulfill the promise to the ancestors. This year in March [according to the lunar calendar] I will pray to the ancestors for their forgiveness of my sin.

What must be closely noted in the above description of the host's life history is the precarious conditions of the host, of his and his wife's life, conditions which necessitated this *chosang kut*. The life of the host as a fisherman was full of danger and the fear of accidental death, as augured by his dead grandfather's drowning. The wife's heart was also never at rest. She had suffered from a constant severe headache ever since her marriage, so she went to a fortune-teller, who told her that an ancestor of the Mun family was the cause. About ten years before, the wife had heartily made up her mind to pay tribute to that ancestor. By the ritual assistance of a *simbang's* prayer, she stamped a promissory note (a blank white paper folded into three parts) with the seal of the *simbang's* divine bronze cup. However, the couple never had enough money to keep the promise and in the midst of continual poverty, forgot all about it. Then finally they decided to have this *kut*. The couple's *tan'gol simbang* (a special *simbang* similar to a family doctor) and also the chief shaman of this *kut*, Ahn *simbang*, invoked the names of the family ancestors at the altar and repeatedly recited the detailed story of the host's life in relation to the death stories of his ancestors. While there is a lot of redundancy in the *simbang's* recitation, his

imaginative skill as a storyteller transforms information about a person into a living myth. The recitation went something like as follows:

Our *chosang*, our parents, had passed away without leaving any vestiges. A short-lived family, our family...The forty-seven [indicating the 47-year-old host], working at sea, saw many fellow fishermen dying from perils of the sea, so quick to snatch up lives that he was in constant fear for his own. So, leaving behind everything at home on the island, [he] left for Japan. There he made a difficult living working illegally in a factory from sunup to sundown. Eventually caught by a Japanese immigration official, he returned home penniless. Again he had to turn to the sea, and until now was barely able to support his family. Illnesses constantly struck. Not even one day passed without his worrying about the possibility that something would throw the whole house into utter confusion...

Not a single day without worry and apprehension. Although they observed the regular memorial service (*chesa*) for the dead souls of their ancestors and even prayed at the beginning of every year, due to their unfulfilled promise to pay tribute, they went through every day full of tears and anguish...

This land is the place where the placenta of our parents and ancestors is buried! Will our ancestors keep this land forever and ever? Times change. All the houses in this area, Dakune, will be completely cleared away. Dear forty-seven and forty-five (the wife); what one more wave rushing to ever so many things to endure! This is the last household to be cleared away. Babies got sick occasionally, and there were no more days of rest and comfort. What shall I [the host] do? Also I lied too much before the ancestors...

The forty-seven, while working at sea, worried about what to do about his sin to the ancestors only whenever the wind blew roughly. While rubbing his hands he prayed for their forgiveness and asked for their protection: "Like others, I cannot die here and now. Please help me!" Until reaching this year [we have had] a small amount of compensation [from the government]. If we try to live only for ourselves, what will happen to our ancestors? [The *simbang* here wept lengthily.] The couple discussed it together. "If this place is cleared away, no temple and no house will remain here," they thought. So the forty-seven made up his mind to pray to the ancestors, assuming that they would help them. They agreed.

It is all right if someone mocks us for having the maiden spirit of the sailing boat as our ancestor. But what about those spirits of the orphaned, the spirits of the alone if we all die? What will happen to the spirits of those who passed away without new clothes? What about the spirits of those who are unable to take off their wet clothes? Those parental ancestors, how can we ignore them? Their broken hearts must speak, and their words must be heard. So one suit of clothes for each spirit of the dead [for the

journey to the other world] is prepared here and now, and for each dead ancestor, the road to the other world will be cleared....

I [the *simbang*] pronounce that the first gate to the other world is open now...(they start dancing to the orchestral music played by four assistant *simbangs*). This year in March, all dear gods who are gathered at the *kut* gate, now open for the Ten Kings, from the highest Jade Emperor, to the Ten Kings of the Underworld, to the messengers together with all the dead souls, please enter this gate...

As I have already explained above, the ostensible reason for having this *chosang kut* was to console the lamenting hearts of the family ancestors before the host couple were forced by the government to move away from their native place to make way for the expansion of the Cheju International Airport. Another reason was to discover, by means of the *simbang's* divination during his spirit possession, whether the host's younger brother, who went to North Korea with the host's aunt and uncle in the early 1960s, was still alive or dead. The host couple used almost a third of the compensation they received from the government for four days of *kut*. This of course was not an easy decision in light of the fact that they were stricken by extreme poverty and recurrent illness.

By means of ritual offerings the descendants wished to break the curse of their ancestors. They blindly hoped that their ancestors would accept such offerings as new suits of clothes for the other world and, in turn, give their blessings to all of the descendants. Considering the implausibility of their hopes, however, their offerings were too extravagant, amounting to nearly two million *wŏn* (roughly 2 1/2 thousand dollars) for just four days' ritual. (Two million *wŏn* is approximately equal to seven months' salary of a Korean college graduate.) Now, very confusing questions arise: Why did these poor people feel obliged to make such an expensive offering for their ancestor's sake? Why can't they ignore the presence of seemingly greedy and spiteful ancestors, ancestors *said* to cause great family misfortunes? These poor people are indeed more susceptible to the effects of tragedy and violence than are affluent people simply because they do not

have the social and economic resources to avoid them. Throughout the *simbang*'s recitation, the host lamented for his lack of good education, family fortune, and aid received from relatives. His current misery and poverty were perceived as "an unfortunate family heritage" since their lives were tragically linked to the frightening capriciousness of the sea.

To the poor and socially wretched, the lament of dead souls does not sound distant or as abstract as the wailing of the wind; it is as real as if it sprang from their own misery. When the 47-year-old host was in danger of shipwreck or death due to stormy wind at sea, he interpreted this angry wind as the sorcery of the ancestors whose tragic lives and deaths he had forgotten. In the end, he apologized for the long neglect of his duty of filial piety. His unconscious response to the lamentations of his ancestors is thus hardly sentimental self-indulgence, but a subtle expression of his own religious belief in the power of the ancestors.

Now let us turn to the actual voices of the ancestors, voices vividly heard through the medium of the *simbang*. This is the mournful *yŏnggye-ullim*. *Yŏnggye-ullim*, or lamentations of the dead, are a significant part of the rite of *chilch'im*. In the Mun family's case, there were four rites of *chilch'im* for each of four groups of ancestors. And in each set of rites, the *simbang* voiced a story of tragic death related to a specific ancestor. This *yŏnggye-ullim* is labelled *punpumunan* (a ritual oratory) which translates literally as dead souls' good regards and commands to the descendants. The next section simply narrates the chronicle of the Mun family's tragedy and is accompanied by my own historical reflections on the tragedy itself.

The Chronicle of the Family Tragedy

In Cheju shamanic ritual there is a clear distinction between common family ancestors (*chipan chosang*) and parental ancestors (*pumo chosang*). In the

have the social and economic resources to avoid them. Throughout the *simbang*'s recitation, the host lamented for his lack of good education, family fortune, and aid received from relatives. His current misery and poverty were perceived as "an unfortunate family heritage" since their lives were tragically linked to the frightening capriciousness of the sea.

To the poor and socially wretched, the lament of dead souls does not sound distant or as abstract as the wailing of the wind; it is as real as if it sprang from their own misery. When the 47-year-old host was in danger of shipwreck or death due to stormy wind at sea, he interpreted this angry wind as the sorcery of the ancestors whose tragic lives and deaths he had forgotten. In the end, he apologized for the long neglect of his duty of filial piety. His unconscious response to the lamentations of his ancestors is thus hardly sentimental self-indulgence, but a subtle expression of his own religious belief in the power of the ancestors.

Now let us turn to the actual voices of the ancestors, voices vividly heard through the medium of the *simbang*. This is the mournful *yŏnggye-ullim*. *Yŏnggye-ullim*, or lamentations of the dead, are a significant part of the rite of *chilch'im*. In the Mun family's case, there were four rites of *chilch'im* for each of four groups of ancestors. And in each set of rites, the *simbang* voiced a story of tragic death related to a specific ancestor. This *yŏnggye-ullim* is labelled *punpumunan* (a ritual oratory) which translates literally as dead souls' good regards and commands to the descendants. The next section simply narrates the chronicle of the Mun family's tragedy and is accompanied by my own historical reflections on the tragedy itself.

The Chronicle of the Family Tragedy

In Cheju shamanic ritual there is a clear distinction between common family ancestors (*chipan chosang*) and parental ancestors (*pumo chosang*). In the

Mun family's case, the maiden spirit of the sailing boat (*akissi-sunang*) was regarded as its common family ancestor. This maiden spirit is a mythic figure because she was not related by blood to the Mun family. The story of how she became the family ancestor was transmitted secretly, heart to heart, from one Mun family housewife to another. The reason for this secrecy was that the maiden spirit is notorious among other spirits as malicious and vengeful. Therefore, to have this spirit as the family ancestor is generally considered a disgrace and is not openly admitted. Rather, it is hidden by a tacit agreement of feigned ignorance by all family members except the housewives who are practically in charge of all ritual acts in the family. (See Figure 2.)

This maiden spirit had been the Mun family ancestor ever since the great-great-grandmother stumbled upon some driftwood at the seashore near her village. It was wrapped in a heavy lump of seaweed and when she disentangled the seaweed from the wood, she found the dead body of a maiden fastened to it. She buried the already rotten corpse in the sandy ground nearby and took home the piece of wood, probably a piece of a wrecked ship. Ever since then, to all of the descendants of that great-great-grandmother, the maiden spirit became a family ancestor who held the power of either blessing or dooming them. The *simbang* recites the original myth of this maiden spirit during her *yŏnggye-ullim* in the voice of the host or maiden spirit, alternating with his own voice as storyteller.

The parental ancestors, in this case, are the dead souls of the Mun family spanning five generations, from the great grandparents to the host's brother. According to the Korean kinship terminology this family group of five generations is labelled as *chipan*, or a family. The maiden spirit of the sailing boat is thus called *chipan chosang*. The relationship between the family ancestor and the

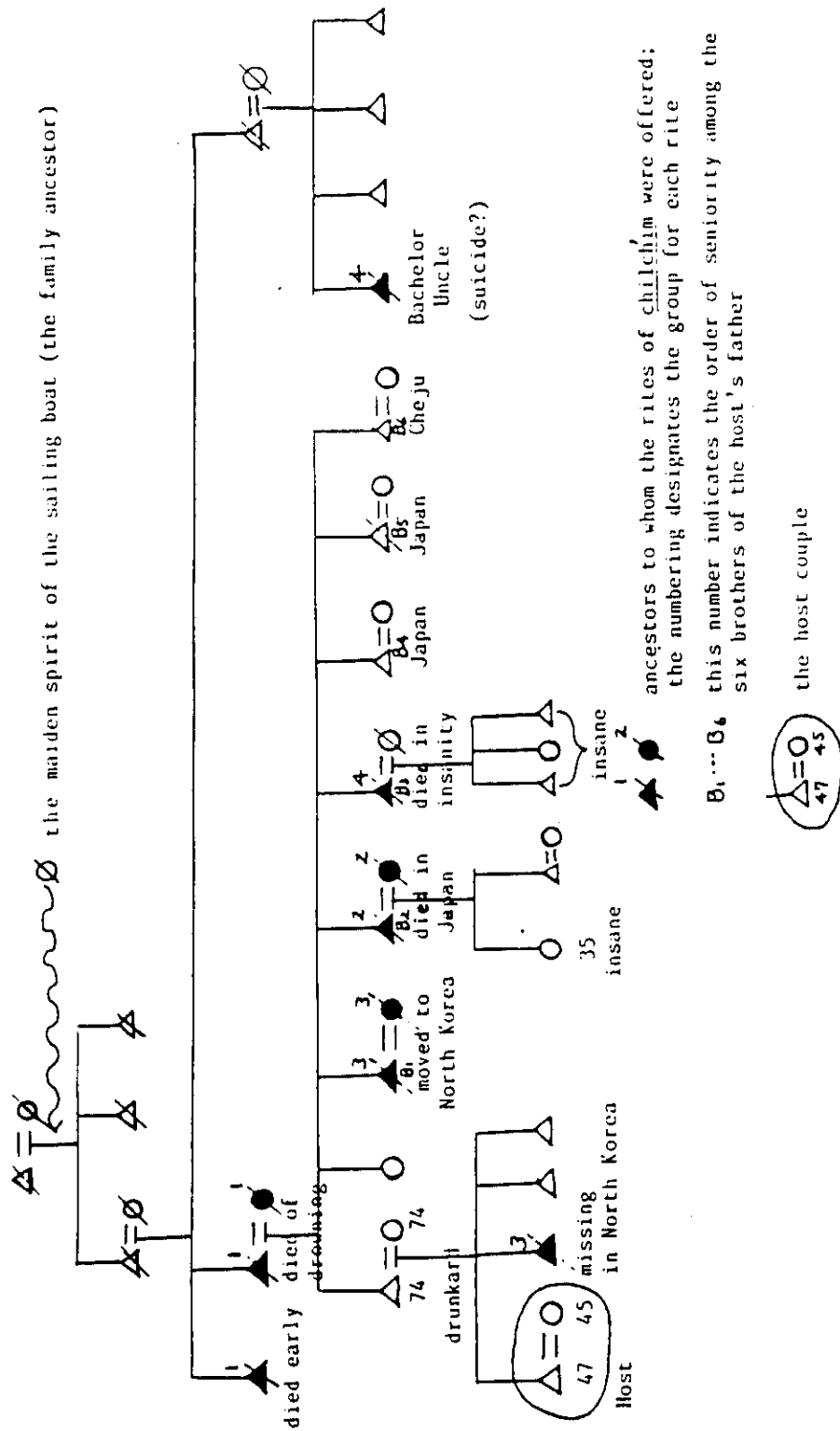


Figure. 2. The Saga of the Nun Family Tragedy

parental ancestors will become clear from the following detailed story which illustrates respectively these two categories of ancestors.

The Family Ancestor (*Chipan Chosang*): Maiden Spirit

The simbang invoked the maiden spirit and recited the mythic story of how she became the family spirit.

This D _____, in front of a rocky seashore, [the great-great-grandmother] went there gathering seaweed to use in a compost, came upon a great wad of seaweed through which a piece of wood protruded. Clawing through the seaweed she found the body of a maiden lying on a piece of driftwood. The grandmother ran back home and fetched the grandfather. [They] buried her near sandy ground and took the driftwood home. The forty-seven's grandparents then died, and were forgotten along with the dead maiden.

While the forty-seven's great-grandparents' were still alive, the grandfather used the driftwood for constructing a platform for the outdoor toilet. After that the grandmother turned insane. She roamed around the seashore regardless of the time, sometimes thrashing about in the rocky water. When she fixed meals and did house work, she looked normal. But whenever she came to the seashore, she turned insane. Confused, the family went to the fortune-teller. The fortune-teller said it was the family ancestral spirit of the sailing boat [that caused her insanity]. The grandfather understood what that meant. Immediately he called for the simbang and had a grand *kut* ritual for the spirit's sake.

While dancing to the song of rowing [simulated by a chorus of simbangs], the grandmother who was then possessed by the maiden spirit confessed directly in her voice: "I am a maiden from Huksan Island [at the far south-western shore of the peninsula] who came along with the board of a boat which was sailing toward the south. Secretly I got aboard that cargo boat filled with sacks of potatoes. I made eyes at a sailor with the surname of Song that evening. But once he became bored with me, he fastened me to the wooden board and threw me into the vast sea. I died and my body was hidden [by the seaweed]. After you kindly buried my dead body, I became the ancestor of your family. If you offer a grand *kut* ritual for my sake in order to sooth my rent heart, I will bring you good fortune. If you forsake me, I will cause your descendants to go insane and destroy their future."

After that _____, during the forty-seven's grandparents and parents' generations, the forty-seven's grandparents became poor, had little to eat and could not keep the family well. So, this ancestor fell into disrepute. The forty-seven's father had bouts of insanity whenever he drank a glass of rice wine or got into a

parental ancestors will become clear from the following detailed story which illustrates respectively these two categories of ancestors.

The Family Ancestor (*Chipan Chosang*): Maiden Spirit

The simbang invoked the maiden spirit and recited the mythic story of how she became the family spirit.

This D _____, in front of a rocky seashore, [the great-great-grandmother] went there gathering seaweed to use in a compost, came upon a great wad of seaweed through which a piece of wood protruded. Clawing through the seaweed she found the body of a maiden lying on a piece of driftwood. The grandmother ran back home and fetched the grandfather. [They] buried her near sandy ground and took the driftwood home. The forty-seven's grandparents then died, and were forgotten along with the dead maiden.

While the forty-seven's great-grandparents' were still alive, the grandfather used the driftwood for constructing a platform for the outdoor toilet. After that the grandmother turned insane. She roamed around the seashore regardless of the time, sometimes thrashing about in the rocky water. When she fixed meals and did house work, she looked normal. But whenever she came to the seashore, she turned insane. Confused, the family went to the fortune-teller. The fortune-teller said it was the family ancestral spirit of the sailing boat [that caused her insanity]. The grandfather understood what that meant. Immediately he called for the simbang and had a grand *kut* ritual for the spirit's sake.

While dancing to the song of rowing [simulated by a chorus of simbangs], the grandmother who was then possessed by the maiden spirit confessed directly in her voice: "I am a maiden from Huksan Island [at the far south-western shore of the peninsula] who came along with the board of a boat which was sailing toward the south. Secretly I got aboard that cargo boat filled with sacks of potatoes. I made eyes at a sailor with the surname of Song that evening. But once he became bored with me, he fastened me to the wooden board and threw me into the vast sea. I died and my body was hidden [by the seaweed]. After you kindly buried my dead body, I became the ancestor of your family. If you offer a grand *kut* ritual for my sake in order to sooth my rent heart, I will bring you good fortune. If you forsake me, I will cause your descendants to go insane and destroy their future."

After that _____, during the forty-seven's grandparents and parents' generations, the forty-seven's grandparents became poor, had little to eat and could not keep the family well. So, this ancestor fell into disrepute. The forty-seven's father had bouts of insanity whenever he drank a glass of rice wine or got into a

temper, although he looked normal to others at other times. He became weak and nearly incapable of working.

The main agencies of the Mun family tragedy, the poverty and insanity which had plagued the family for more than 100 years, were investigated through the sorcery of the maiden spirit of the sailing boat. She was unable to safeguard the family because her need to have her broken heart soothed through the ministrations of the family had been neglected for the previous four generations. The evil force of this maiden spirit emanated from her own tragic death. The failure of her love and the betrayal of her lover combined with the violent and lonely death in the vast sea gave the maiden spirit cause for deep grievance. The maiden spirit's personal victimization, however, had been repeatedly reflected in the unceasing misery of the entire Mun household.

Cultural Stories of a Maiden Spirit

On Cheju Island, this maiden spirit of the sailing boat appears frequently as the ancestral spirit of many family groups and also as the god of village shrines. Although each original myth of the maiden spirit varies in different families and villages, the formidable malignity of this maiden spirit has been commonly acknowledged. Her infamous name is much feared by the islanders; and to have her as *chosang* requires great secrecy, while a fate of poverty and insanity are considered ineluctable.

In spite of such secrecy, the evil power of the maiden spirit as such is very much a part of the history and culture of the whole island. Her stories are cultural stories that show a certain regularity in core plot and character portrayal. Ko Kwang-min's study (1982) of six *ponp'uri* (origin myths) of the maiden spirit suggests four causes for its formation. The first cause is the recurring infiltration of rowdy Japanese pirates into Cheju Island's seaside villages over hundreds of years. Japanese pirate fishermen often intruded into

temper, although he looked normal to others at other times. He became weak and nearly incapable of working.

The main agencies of the Mun family tragedy, the poverty and insanity which had plagued the family for more than 100 years, were investigated through the sorcery of the maiden spirit of the sailing boat. She was unable to safeguard the family because her need to have her broken heart soothed through the ministrations of the family had been neglected for the previous four generations. The evil force of this maiden spirit emanated from her own tragic death. The failure of her love and the betrayal of her lover combined with the violent and lonely death in the vast sea gave the maiden spirit cause for deep grievance. The maiden spirit's personal victimization, however, had been repeatedly reflected in the unceasing misery of the entire Mun household.

Cultural Stories of a Maiden Spirit

On Cheju Island, this maiden spirit of the sailing boat appears frequently as the ancestral spirit of many family groups and also as the god of village shrines. Although each original myth of the maiden spirit varies in different families and villages, the formidable malignity of this maiden spirit has been commonly acknowledged. Her infamous name is much feared by the islanders; and to have her as *chosang* requires great secrecy, while a fate of poverty and insanity are considered ineluctable.

In spite of such secrecy, the evil power of the maiden spirit as such is very much a part of the history and culture of the whole island. Her stories are cultural stories that show a certain regularity in core plot and character portrayal. Ko Kwang-min's study (1982) of six *ponp'uri* (origin myths) of the maiden spirit suggests four causes for its formation. The first cause is the recurring infiltration of rowdy Japanese pirates into Cheju Island's seaside villages over hundreds of years. Japanese pirate fishermen often intruded into

villages in order to get fresh water while fishing illegally off the coast. There, they occasionally raped village maidens who were drawing water or washing clothes at wells located far from residences. (In this volcanic island, fresh water is available only at seaside natural springs at low tide.) If the maidens escaped death, they would commit suicide out of shame later on. Thereafter the villagers built shrines for the heartbroken spirits of the maidens beside the wells, memorializing their violent deaths by conducting regular ceremonies, making them the *chosangs*, or patron ancestors of the village. The second cause is linked to the excessive requests of the central government for tribute and the resulting impoverishment of the Cheju islanders. A young man of the Hyun family died when his cargo boat, packed with local products to be offered as annual official tribute to the king in Seoul, was shipwrecked. According to the *ponp'uri* of his sister, the Hyun-ssi Illwol, their parents had previously died from starvation, after which she and her brother had made only a precarious living. Promising to bring back for his sister, who wanted to become a *simbang*, new suits of ritual costumes and divination paraphernalia, the brother set out for Seoul with his tribute. But the boat sank on the way and the brother died together with his promise. The sister, extremely distraught by this accident, threw herself into the sea and died. The women of the Hyun family well remembered the tragedy and themselves carried on Hyun-ssi Illwol's aborted career as a *simbang*. This suicide of the Hyun-ssi maiden represents to the villagers the injustice of the tribute exacted by the central government.

The third cause is class conflict. A maiden originally of the gentry class (*yangban*) was wandering around the island after she was expelled from her own family to become a *simbang*. By chance, she met a rich gentleman who pledged to marry her, but who soon fled to his home village where he already had a wife. The maiden followed him to his village and lived there alone while working as a

simbang. She was treated as a social outcast and an estranged second wife, and died at an early age. After her death, she became a spiteful spirit but also was revered as the guardian spirit of the village shrine where she herself had performed ceremonies. The prime cause of her personal tragedy is the betrayal of a man of the gentry class. The arrogance of the *yangban* and gentry class in Cheju society is confined to not a single case, but was a common evil of the Confucian patriarchal society during the Yi dynasty (1392-1910). In fact, we find this type of social injustice even in contemporary Cheju, where rich capitalists and the affluent class from the highly industrialized cities on the mainland come and exploit the hardworking islanders and their virgin island through land speculation and tourism.

The fourth cause for these *ponp'uri* is linked to the ritual of the sacrifice of maidens, which according to the *ponp'uri* of village shrines had been practiced in many seaside villages. One case of such sacrifice took place on a distant tiny island which had little land available for gardening and where even fishing was very difficult because of the rough sea. A maiden was offered once a year to placate the god of the sea.

One characteristic common to these four causes is the identification of the victimized maiden of the myths with Cheju Island's own victimization. The island has long been under the yoke of political and social oppression and has been isolated as a second-rate primitive culture as well. Perhaps such identification occurs because there is a collective sympathy for the victim, both on a personal and social level, while at the same time an enmity toward the oppressing agents, which are typified as Japanese intruders, an exploitative central government, an arrogant gentry class in the patriarchal Confucian society, and a harsh natural environment. Cheju islanders are still haunted by an obsessive sense of victimization, the legacy of which sometimes comes through in individual or

family *kut* rituals. The hearts of Cheju simbangs who are social outcasts as well, are well aware of the strength of this legacy. Through ritual recitations of personal tragic stories they re-experience that legacy in mythic form, awakening in the poor and oppressed a call for justice, reverberating through from the past. By recalling the past, shamanic rituals sustain the history against the oppressive weight of the progression of modern society.

In short, the simbangs' *kut* rituals are the rituals for the victims of history. But there exists a historical irony. Actually, the poor can't afford such expensive and extravagant rituals, but their belief that they have to free themselves from a painful history motivates them to accept the exorbitant expenditure. In this sense, the simbang's ritual is a religious experience rather than a simple healing practice. I saw very few healing rituals for the rich and ruling class. Perhaps they can manage misfortune by more modern means such as hospitals or professional counselors. Even in a healing ritual for the ailing wife of a rich man, the greater part of the *kut* was reserved for the lamenting spirits of close relatives who had died in poverty or were killed violently. The efficacy of the so-called healing ritual is seen not so much in the eventual cure of the patient as it is in the catharsis of the ancestral spirits. In general, the Cheju simbang's *kut* ritual, by helping the poor and oppressed to remember their tragic history, invests them with a sense of urgency.

Ancestral spirits such as the maiden spirit, who are angry and resentful as a result of their victimizations, ironically have the power to effect tragedy in their descendants (the Mun family and host) who have sinfully neglected their ancestors. The power of the maiden spirit was able to wreak havoc with the lives of her poor and unfortunate descendants, while it is the *yōnggye-ullim* of the simbang which unleashes such disruptive elements. At the same time, however, the *yōnggye-ullim* transforms this disorderly power into the life-giving force of

ritual re-enactment, the *yonggye-ullim* thus facilitating the flow of healing power within the hierarchical shaman pantheon.

By invoking other higher ranking deities such as a birth-giving grandmother (*puldo-halmang*, a Buddhist-type prayer healer) in a separate rite, the *simbang* relays the benevolent power of this grandmother deity to the descendants as if it originated from the maiden spirit:

To this family's ancestral maiden spirit, the bridge of Buddhist prayer beads and cymbals is open now (feverish fast-tempo dancing of the *simbang*). This is a chaste and gracious *chosang* who sends good regards and admonitions to the descendants. Today grateful for the drumming and cymbal sounds, the *chosang's* rent heart will speak. Through the forty-seven's bridging effort, the sincere-hearted descendants who treat ancestors well will be compensated by receiving as much merit as they offer tribute to the ancestors, and the ancestors' rent hearts will be relieved too. This is the [ancestor's] good regard and admonition!

Puldo-halmang's life-giving power here draws out the potential of the maiden spirit to do justice, thereby facilitating the therapeutic effect of the ritual. The magical power of the *simbang's kut* is indeed generated by this transformative process by which the ancestral spirits' deaths are remembered and their grieving hearts are soothed.

The Parental Ancestors (*Pumo Chosang*)

Because the Mun family's ancestor *kut* was held for the first time in ten years, the number of ancestors who were chosen for the rite of *chilch'im* was rather extensive. Close relatives of five generations of the same household (*chipan*) came to help with the chores of the host family, and for their own dead, contributed towards the expense of the rite. Although all patrilineal ancestors within five generations were called to the altar together with some particular bilateral ancestors (such as the hostess' dead father and dead siblings), only a few of them (ten in total) were part of the rite of *chilch'im*. They were chosen for the reason that their deaths, often violent or abnormal, had to be treated with an

ritual re-enactment, the *yonggye-ullim* thus facilitating the flow of healing power within the hierarchical shaman pantheon.

By invoking other higher ranking deities such as a birth-giving grandmother (*puldo-halmang*, a Buddhist-type prayer healer) in a separate rite, the *simbang* relays the benevolent power of this grandmother deity to the descendants as if it originated from the maiden spirit:

To this family's ancestral maiden spirit, the bridge of Buddhist prayer beads and cymbals is open now (feverish fast-tempo dancing of the *simbang*). This is a chaste and gracious *chosang* who sends good regards and admonitions to the descendants. Today grateful for the drumming and cymbal sounds, the *chosang's* rent heart will speak. Through the forty-seven's bridging effort, the sincere-hearted descendants who treat ancestors well will be compensated by receiving as much merit as they offer tribute to the ancestors, and the ancestors' rent hearts will be relieved too. This is the [ancestor's] good regard and admonition!

Puldo-halmang's life-giving power here draws out the potential of the maiden spirit to do justice, thereby facilitating the therapeutic effect of the ritual. The magical power of the *simbang's kut* is indeed generated by this transformative process by which the ancestral spirits' deaths are remembered and their grieving hearts are soothed.

The Parental Ancestors (*Pumo Chosang*)

Because the Mun family's ancestor *kut* was held for the first time in ten years, the number of ancestors who were chosen for the rite of *chilch'im* was rather extensive. Close relatives of five generations of the same household (*chipan*) came to help with the chores of the host family, and for their own dead, contributed towards the expense of the rite. Although all patrilineal ancestors within five generations were called to the altar together with some particular bilateral ancestors (such as the hostess' dead father and dead siblings), only a few of them (ten in total) were part of the rite of *chilch'im*. They were chosen for the reason that their deaths, often violent or abnormal, had to be treated with an

attention not required of the usual formal ancestor worship (*chesa*) due to the potential malevolence of the circumstances surrounding these deaths.

The family divided into four groups according to their generational standing or to similarities in their causes of death. For each group, a separate rite of *chilch'im*, lasting about five hours, was performed. In total, two days and nights were spent for four rites of *chilch'im*. The grouping was decided according to generation, gender, conjugal relationship, and similarity of the cause of death. Each group was assigned one "*kut* gate" (*kut-mun*) through which it passed to the altar and later to the other world where the Ten Kings stood in judgement. A group is usually composed of a couple, of members of one gender of one generation, or of a family. The rule for this division among the dead imitates that of kinship relationship in reality. There is a strict taboo for mixing genders outside of marriage. For instance, the daughter-in-law cannot be grouped together with her father-in-law or her brother-in-law. The in-laws are on principle not grouped together.

Simbangs and assistants take turns performing each complete rite of *chilch'im*. Before the actual rite begins, important facts concerning how and why the rite is now to be offered for him or her must be explained by the simbang, otherwise, he may make a serious mistake by delivering the wrong stories, and spoil the entire proceeding. These facts are indeed vital to *yonggye-ullim*.

The four groups of parental ancestors are divided as follows with all kinship terms relating to the host, forty-seven. The first group includes the grandparents and the elder brother of the grandfather (FaFaBr); the second group includes the first younger brother of the host's father and his wife (FaBr and FaBrW); the third group consists of the second younger brother of the host's father and his wife (FaBr and FaBrW) and the younger brother of the host; in the fourth group are the third younger brother of the host's father (FrBr) and one

bachelor uncle. The personal tragedy which appears common to each one of the single group reflects the general picture of the condition of life of the Cheju people during the past hundred years. I will first give the story of each ancestor's life and death excerpted from the simbang's *yonggye-ullim* and try to illustrate the relationship between the personal tragedies and their historical implications.

(1) The First Group

The Elder Grandfather (FaFaBr) died alone without leaving any children. Although he married once, he died early and his Christian wife did not hold *chesa*. His *chesa* is held by his grand-nephew, the host. He thanks the host for his offering of a new suit of clothes for his way back from the other world. In general, he is categorized as "a lonely *chosang*" or "a thirsty soul." ["Thirsty" signifies the dead soul's longing for a cup of clean water from his grand-nephew as a tribute to the ancestor.]

Grandfather died in middle age from drowning at sea due to shipwreck. His dead body was not found and remains "wet and sleeping in the water." Finally, now, he will be dressed with a new suit of dry clothes. He sympathizes with his grandson's poverty and the dangerous work of a fisherman. He regrets that five of his seven sons died unfortunately at an early age, one surviving son, the host's father, is slightly abnormal, and his younger brothers, one living in Japan and the other in Cheju. He also feels sorry that the host is alone without any helpful uncle. His anguish comes from both his own tragic death and his three sons' short-lived lives. He also speaks to his daughter-in-law [the mother of the host] and consoles her in her hardship. He knows that her liver and flesh must be nearly putrified due to her deep-seated sorrow caused by her second son's absence [in North Korea]. He finally consoles his grandson, the host, by delivering the simple hope that if he keeps striving, he will manage well the rest of his life.

Grandmother died in old age in D_____ village. She thanks her grandson for his filial piety during her lifetime. She also consoles her granddaughter-in-law, the hostess, thankful that she has served so well both the ancestors and the living family. She blesses the hostess: "Today my heart is open and your heart is open too. Please do not resent me because I

brought you into this house. If you persist in living here, you will have enough money for rice, clothes, and anything you need. But don't think only of money. There is always a way to get money. Do not worry, my pitiful children!"

Along with these three ancestors, the spirits of the dead great-grandparents and the hostess' own dead father were also invited to receive a glass of rice wine and a bowl of rice porridge. These parental ancestors came out of the other world and, arriving at the host's house, thanked the host couple for their whole-hearted devotion to them. One by one, offering their good regards and admonitions to the descendants, the three parental ancestors promised to clear the sea road where the host went fishing and have his family's wishes gradually fulfilled in the future.

The histories of these ancestors in the first group typify the historical situations of previous generations dating back roughly to the years between 1890 and 1930. The high birth rate during that period was matched by a high infant mortality rate. The Mun family's case is therefore rather unusual since all seven sons survived infancy. This fact itself could have guaranteed a prosperous future for the Mun family. However, their destiny was drawn into the vortex of Japanese colonialism which officially began in 1910. Four of the seven sons went to Japan to work in the factories in the 1930s. They later immigrated to Japan as did many other poor peasants whose land had been taken away as a result of the colonial land survey begun in 1926 and which later accelerated until the end of the occupation in 1945. Even the fishing trade deteriorated after Japanese fishing boats equipped with advanced technology surrounded the entire coast of Cheju island and fished without discretion. Many islanders like other landless peasants or peasant labourers on the mainland had to leave their homes to look for wage work in Manchuria and Japan where newly developed factories of heavy

industry attracted floating labor forces from all of the Japanese colonies. Some of these people returned to an emancipated Korea after WWII in 1945. But the four sons of the Mun family, like many others, did not return at that time and could not set foot on their native soil until diplomatic relations between Korea and Japan were renewed in 1965, and the South Korean government allowed pro-North Koreans in Japan to visit their relatives in 1972 (Lee Kwang-Kyu 1983:68-77).

While these four sons were exploited by the colonial labor forces, their wives were the indirect victims of the same historical fate. The common anguish among the housewives who married into the Mun family is well expressed by the dead grandmother's utterances to her grand daughter-in-law. When their husbands died at sea, or left for Japan without giving any promise of return, they had to support their entire families including their aged parents by working as wage labourers on the dry-fields or by diving into the deep sea. They also had to hold very expensive memorial services for family ancestors approximately once a month.

Cheju women, ironically, according to patriarchal Confucianism, have been known as great survivors. What is more, when they compare themselves to the mainland women, they think of themselves as great conservators, proud of their faithful observance of ancestor worship. There are good reasons for Cheju islanders to stick to shamanic ancestor worship. Their belief in and reverence for ancestral spirits had been formed solidly even before the Confucian ancestral rite was introduced. As time goes by, the sorrow and resentment caused by their hardships and the deaths of their husbands, the never-returning ones, passes away; so it is assumed. The ancestors' consolation and sympathy for the destinies of their female descendants is these women's only reward in life. Even so, as they suffer from chronic severe haedaches, the silence and stoicism which in any case

cause such baneful symptoms, is boldly unmasked before ancestral lamentations during *kut* ritual.

In this context any further conjecture about the efficacy of the ritual (for instance, the cure of the hostess' headache) seems unnecessary. In contrast to the usual anthropological predilection for using the positive functional aspects of ritual to reconstruct a social and physical order, I want instead to illuminate the disruptive function of ritual. The Cheju *simbangs'* rituals, especially *yonggye-ullim*, arrest the present by incanting a dark and violent history of death and social injustice. The sudden eruption of decade-old grievances of both ancestors and descendants cannot be resolved readily enough to reconstruct the social norm or return to such original normalcy within the short time of the ritual.

Such alienating effects of *kut* ritual does not lead to resolving present misfortunes or curing the patient (even symbolically) but rather to sustaining the shock which conflicts with her ordinary perception of her life condition. The truth of their ancestors' personal tragedies, which thus has been concealed and entangled in the past, now surfaces and persuades the people into believing that the future will be better. The 45-year-old hostess' severe headache or the 47-year-old host's dangerous sailing will not alter basically as a result of this *kut* ritual. The actual weight of their hardship and sorrow will remain unchanged. Their present conditions, which offer no hope for change, seem to be their heritage and fate. *Yonggye-ullim* only intensifies their sense of tragedy by dramatizing their ancestral lamentations which, in turn, serve to manifest their own misery.

Our illustration of the tragic history of Cheju Island can be much more impressive when we draw its material from particular case studies of personal tragedies. This is because people whose cultural status is marginal can uncover their historical truth simply by remaining in that marginal state, just as those

lamenting ancestors remained in the middle space between this and the other world.

(2) The Second Group

The First Younger Father (FaBr) migrated to Japan illegally during the turbulent time of the late 1940s when Cheju Island was still in the aftermath of the April Third Event. He married there and barely made a living. He visited his native place one year ago to attend his mother's funeral. With his meager savings he had helped his nephew [the host] and his family when they were stricken by extreme poverty and illness in the 1960s and also in the early 1980s. At the funeral, he promised to come back and offer a grand *kut* ritual as a tribute to the family ancestors, before he could return he died in Japan suddenly at the rather early age of 60. His wish to live close to his relatives in their home place had burst like a bubble. After he died he became a resentful ghost because his wish was not fulfilled. Even worse, his nephew's house, which he had helped build, was to be demolished soon.

The First Younger Mother (FaBrW) married her husband in Japan and never met his relatives, not even his brothers' wives. She died of a chronic illness that she had contracted when her husband's brother, his wife and son moved to North Korea in the late 1960s, a heartbreaking event. She insisted on an operation in spite of her family's objections and died in the hospital. Her dead body was cremated. After her death, she never received a rite of *chilch'im* because her husband was then ignorant of *kut* and her Christian children disapproved the idea of a *kut*. Out of deep resentment, her spirit possessed the hostess, the wife of her husband's nephew, while the latter was dancing in a trance for the family ancestor. It was an unexpected spirit possession. In the hostess' voice, she talked to all the relatives about her unfulfilled life as a woman and a wife. She worried about her oldest daughter of 35 who had returned to Cheju because of insanity. Her daughter was actually present at the moment but seemed almost callous at the reappearance of the mother.

The life of this couple as foreigners and illegal immigrants in Japan was difficult because of severe Japanese Immigration Laws and the widespread racial prejudice directed against Koreans. Most Koreans in Japan barely got by as factory workers or a in few cases by running small self-owned businesses. However, it is recognized that generally even meager jobs under the unlawful and enery-draining work conditions in Japanese cities provided a better means of support for a family than an underdeveloped Korea before the 1960s. Some Korean-Japanese people joined pro-North Korean organizations, which had been formed in the 1930's by Communists workers and sympathizers living in Japan (So Tae-Sŏk 1965:188-194). After they confederated into the present blanket organization, Choch'ongryon, with North Korean backing in 1955 (Lee Kwang-Kyu 1983:63-67), stable social facilities such as schools and businesses were set up to absorb most of the disenfranchised immigrants. By 1965, when south Korea and Japan renewed diplomatic relations, most Koreans in Japan had already been members of that organization for over 10 years. When the gate between the two countries was open and free access was allowed, a new problem arose. Many Koreans could not visit their families back home due to their affiliation with that pro-North Korean organization. Ideological conflicts between the two groups of Koreans, pro-South Koreans and pro-North Koreans, surfaced, and violence and vengeance became the cruel reality of their daily lives.

It is easy to understand why the First Younger Father could not return to Cheju over 30 years after the emancipation in 1945, and nearly forgot traditional family customs such as ancestor worship. His last wish to live together with his relatives and "devote the rest of his life to healing the longtime rent heart of the ancestor" (quoted in the simbang's recitation), however, was not fulfilled due to his sudden death. His death was one example of the Mun family destiny of dying young. Instead he returned to his native place as one of the grieving ancestors.

His dead wife returned in company with him. But because she was cremated rather than buried in the grave, her death remained problematic. Cremation is not considered a proper way of dealing with a dead body. The dead body must wear a suit of new dry clothes in order to enter the other world. According to Cheju lore, the other world not only implies the world of the dead in general, but for the descendants, a place where their own ancestors form their own villages, called chosung sang-maul [the upper village of the other world]. However, because the wife was cremated and thus did not wear a proper suit of clothes for the dead, she could not enter the heavenly village of family ancestors. Her sorrow doubled because in her lifetime she never met her husband's brothers or their wives. Kin relations among these wives (tongsŏ) were regarded as sisterhoods as close as sworn sisters. She did not have a sense of belonging to this sworn sisterhood or thus to the Mun family as a whole. Either before or after her death, she had no place to belong to. Moreover, her desire to be accepted by the "village of family ancestors" was ignored by her offspring and husband who never offered a proper rite of chilch'im and a new suit of clothes for her sake. Her possession of the hostess, her nephew's wife, revealed her "long silenced" desire. Earlier during her yŏnggye-ullim, her desire was not expressed in the simbang's words. The simbang delivered only a few words concerning her life history such as the date of her death. The simbang as well as the audience, particularly her tonso, had a premonition of this, and they suspected that yŏnggye-ullim was not done satisfactorily.

An unexpected spirit possession by the spirit of the First Younger Mother occurred the day after yŏnggye-ullim, while the hostess was dancing in a trance in order to amuse and soothe the rent heart of the family ancestor, the maiden spirit of the sailing boat. She was dancing in the traditional white colored dress and holding in her hands a three-colored (red, yellow, and blue) flag, both of which

signified the presence of the ancestor. Suddenly she fell flat on the floor and lay there, her arms and legs extended. Her mother-in-law and other aunts ran to the possessed, who was still the hostess. They helped her sit up. Then the possessed hostess abruptly burst into tears and pounded her chest. Her mother-in-law, the oldest of the possessing spirits's *tongsŏ*, sat close to her and asked a few questions, the first of which aimed at discovering the identity of the spirit.

Contrary to the inquirer's assumption that the possessing spirit was the dead wife of the First Younger Father, the possessed hostess announced her identity as their family ancestor. But she did not deny that she was the First Younger Mother. It seemed, therefore, that the hostess's case was one of a double possession, being simultaneously possessed by the maiden spirit of the sailing boat as well as the spirit of the First Younger Mother. For about twenty minutes of conversations between the prostrate figure and her mother-in-law, this spirit revealed her deep-seated resentment and bitterness for a destiny that brought only hard work and hardship to her married life and then prevented her from entering the village of the family ancestors. This case story of a couple whose unfulfilled wish for family reunion is not solely a story of personal tragedy but, as will be demonstrated even more clearly by the following case stories of the third group, reveals conditions which are considerably more far-reaching than the mere personal.

(3) The Third Group

The Second Younger Father (FaBr), his Wife, and the Host's Younger

Brother. The couple went to Japan before 1945, and barely survived. They dreamed, however, of earning a lot of money and becoming rich like others they saw. They wanted their own house and a good piece of land. They adopted the younger brother of the host before his tenth birthday. At that time the host's family was very poor. They wanted their adopted son to be well educated and successful. After the Emancipation of Korea in 1945

they continued to remain in Japan until the pro-North Korean organization tempted them with promises of affluence if they immigrated to North Korea. Holding the hands of their adopted son, who was then too young and ignorant of what would happen to them, the couple embarked to North Korea. Until the present there had been no letters or information concerning the whereabouts of the family. No one knew if they were alive or dead.

The three people were still missing at the time of the *kut* ritual. The host, the elder brother of the couple's adopted son, and his wife were desperate to know whether he was alive or dead. The spirit of the host's younger brother had appeared in the hostess's dream when she was planning to have this *chosang kut*, the rite for ancestors. The host's couple went to a fortune-teller and learned that the missing people might already have died, and that the host's brother, who would have been 39, never married. Through *yŏnggye-ullim*, they wanted to make sure of the deaths, and if confirmed, to observe a memorial service on the birthdays of those missing family. The deaths, indeed, were confirmed by the *simbang*'s divination during *yŏnggye-ullim*.

The tragedy of these three missing people accentuates the terribly tragic history of the divided Korean peninsula, which had been partitioned along the 38th parallel in the Demilitarized Zone in 1950 after civil war, leaving both parties fierce ideological enemies. During *yŏnggye-ullim*, the *simbang* revived the history of this tragic division and family separation:

"Although this land is the same land, there is no way we can come and go. We hold guns in our hands aiming at each other, trying to kill. However, we cannot lay bare the painful facts to anyone. Until now we do not know whether they [the couple and their adopted son] died or not. *Dark clouds* have covered our hearts. On this right of *chilch'im*, if we learn whether he [the host's brother] is dead, we will determine his birthday as his date of death. We will call up his dead soul and serve a glass of rice wine, thinking that this is our dead brother-in-law and our dead son [from the point of views of the hostess and her mother-in-law who were present at the ritual]."

At this moment the *simbang* reciter burst into tears as did the audience. The "dark clouds" which covered the hearts of the host couple are still hanging over the two Koreas. The Mun family's hope to see their missing relatives again and greet them with "excited red faces" has endured three decades. (The first shipment to North Korea of pro-North Koreans from Japan took place in 1959.) During those years the family refused to conduct a memorial service because they did not know if their relatives were dead and, if so, when they died. Their refusal to acknowledge the obvious historical fact that under the severe ideological tension between two governments their family separation would not be repaired soon, is a sign of their willingness to nullify the ideological evil that has intervened in the natural happiness of ordinary people.

Suspended between the hope of seeing their loved ones again and their refusal to acknowledge its immediate impossibility, the host and his family have suffered from constant surveillance and actual interrogation by the police and National Security Bureau, which investigates possible covert activities by South Koreans, especially when North Korean spying is disclosed. Quite interestingly, at this point of the *kut* ritual when the spirit of the host's brother began to say lamentations to the host, my tape-recording was stopped by the host who feared that this recording would be misused as evidence in a police interrogation. The Mun family's fear of interrogation and torture by the police is indeed but one individual example of a widespread paranoia among the surviving families of those missing people who were pro-North Korea or former communists. The families of missing people are blacklisted by the police and kept from advancing in the public arena despite the fact that the law permitting such discrimination was lifted in the early 1970's by President Park Jung-hee.

Pervasive occurrences of ideological victimization in the name of national security inculcates a culture of fear and creates the myth of national security.

Shamanic rituals rehearse and foster the victimization of the common people by opening the lines of communication between the ancestors and the living; both are victims indeed. The "dark clouds" of political oppression causing the surviving families poverty and misery will pass over only when more effective rituals for the dead are offered. And until grieving ancestors stop returning to this world, the ritual acts of burning new suits of clothes for missing family members and clearing their roads to the other world will keep alive in the survivors the hope of lifting the "dark clouds" of history.

(4) The Fourth Group

The Third Younger Father (FaBr) was extremely poor, working at a nightsoil disposal station near Cheju International Airport. He died of a chronic illness and insanity caused by one accident by which he was covered all over with dirty nightsoil at his working place. His children, now all grown-ups, are also insane. Whenever they appeared naked on the street, how shameful this was to the whole family! Like her husband, his wife died at a hospital and was not dressed up in new clothes for the dead body. The rites of *chilch'im* for the sake of the dead couple had already been held several times at their house. This time the same rite was again offered and new sets of clothes were burnt.

A Bachelor Uncle (a father's cousin) died at an early age without having married. He was an imprudent man. After finishing military service and returning home penniless, he was not well received by his brothers and relatives. He disappeared and never returned home. Nobody knows whether he is alive or dead. But his spirit had once possessed the hostess, giving her a sudden severe headache, and told her about his death. He asked her to offer a glass of clear water for his memorial service. Ever since then she observed his *chesa* on New Year's Eve. (A special collective memorial service for the dead souls whose date of deaths is not known, is held quietly on that day without creating publicity for the neighbors.) Regarding him as a family ancestor, she also offered him a glass of rice wine and a bowl of rice gruel on every festive day. Recently his real brother had suggested that she stop doing *chesa* for him because he was already was doing it.

But when she lapsed, she was immediately besieged again by severe headache. She thereafter resumed to perform his *chesa* at her house. The spirit preferred to receive *chesa* from her rather than from his own brother.

Why have these two dead souls become detestable, hungry ghosts? Their hunger and perpetual lamentations have a historical and social background. The Third Younger Father's chronic illness and insanity had been caused by an accident at the newly built nightsoil disposal station. In the early 1980s, the new government of President Chun Doo-whan accelerated urban and industrial planning with a special emphasis on tourist industry development such as the construction of the Cheju International Airport. A nightsoil disposal station was built near the Airport at the same time in order to bolster the image of Cheju Island as a clean tourist resort. At that time the third younger father was living from day to day, working at every construction site in Cheju City. According to the simbang's narration during *yōnggye-ullim*, after the accident he lost his tolerance for poverty and for the social indignity of being a nightsoil man in a modernized society. He was driven away to the wilderness of insanity, where he could be touched by nobody and nothing, not even a sense of parental responsibility to support his family. The crude reality of poverty, insanity, and finally the lonely death of a nightsoil man living on the fringes of a modern and pleasant tourist city haunted and drove his children to the same destiny.

The bachelor uncle as well belongs to this newly emerging social class which has been gradually alienated from modern and industrialized Korea in the 1960's. He was a typical unemployed youth without the skills to adjust to the new society. Because nobody knew how he died, there was confusion in the simbang's *yōnggye-ullim* at the beginning of the rite. The simbang's narration of his life and death was interrupted several times for consultation with the hostess

who might have more precise information about him. The *simbang* reconstructed a plausible story as follows:

It was nearly 20 years ago in 1964 that this uncle disappeared. At this time the political and economic reorganization of Korean society was initiated by the new military regime led by President Park. The period was unstable and the traditional values of mutual help and community cooperation were disrupted and replaced by harsh competitiveness and individualism. Traditional attitudes mandate that the community or family should take care of the socially inept. But when there are economic constraints, this notion of mutual aid does not generally function well. In the previous chapter, Kun Simbang was also treated very badly by her neighbors and kinsmen when she returned to the village, penniless, from three years of self-exile at a remote island. It was about the same time as this bachelor uncle had suffered from negligence and social abandonment.

His personal misery as portrayed by the *simbang* reciter, however, presents a picture of a more or less common condition of life as lived by the subaltern class people which had began to emerge at the margins of the industrializing society at that time. Wandering about the streets and in the wilderness with a hungry stomach, the bachelor uncle went insane and finally committed suicide. But, by possessing the hostess of the rite and causing her a severe headache, he returned to the living world in order to bewitch the modernizing society. His grudge would have remained permanently unless his hunger and rent heart were satisfied. Continually the *simbang* recited and made a petition to the spirit of the bachelor uncle:

Please be incarnated [*hwansaeng*] in the body of a blue butterfly or red butterfly. You pitiful soul! Wherever you go in the other world, please take away the iron net around the head of your niece [the hostess], the fortyfive...Today we clear the way to the other world. When you go, please vent all of your spite coming from resentment, unfulfilled love, unrequited love. Please go, taking away all entangled dark clouds covering your heart, all lamentations which have been frozen on your 12 rib-bones.

But why do this excess of bewitchment and vindictiveness come alive only through the language of spirit possession and *yŏnggye-ullim*? Why do those lamenting ancestors return to this world and ask for the rites of clearing the road to the other world? Still wandering about in the middle space between this and the other world, they have not yet released their grief and lamentations, which have been bequeathed, unchanged, to their descendants. The insanity, sudden death, poverty, and illness of the descendants are the signs of that inheritance.

Through spirit possession, the lamenting ancestors not only appeal to their close family members but denounce the hegemonic discourse that erases their memories. The denouncing will be repeated in every ritual until their request for justice is admitted properly. Its persistence over generations expresses the millennial will of the oppressed ancestors which is intertwined with that of the suffering descendants at the present. Their insanity and tragic deaths together evince their collective grievances against the ever-growing demand for modernization and industrial development that has accelerated in Cheju since the mid 1960s. In short, personal tragedies are not limited to the sage of Mun family. But as they are theatrically uncovered through four days and nights of the *yŏnggye-ullim* and rites of *chilch'im*, the memories of the insignificant social class which have been suppressed over the past century constitute the counter-hegemonic discourse, redeeming the officially forgotten but yet unforgettable memory of violence and oppression.

Conclusion: The Return of the Dead Souls

Thus far, I have tried to illuminate the relationship between the domestic tragedy of the Mun family and the contemporary history of Cheju Island. This relationship is not one of cause and effect, but rather depends upon the evocative force of narrative. When personal tragedy is turned into narrative

But why do this excess of bewitchment and vindictiveness come alive only through the language of spirit possession and *yŏnggye-ullim*? Why do those lamenting ancestors return to this world and ask for the rites of clearing the road to the other world? Still wandering about in the middle space between this and the other world, they have not yet released their grief and lamentations, which have been bequeathed, unchanged, to their descendants. The insanity, sudden death, poverty, and illness of the descendants are the signs of that inheritance.

Through spirit possession, the lamenting ancestors not only appeal to their close family members but denounce the hegemonic discourse that erases their memories. The denouncing will be repeated in every ritual until their request for justice is admitted properly. Its persistence over generations expresses the millennial will of the oppressed ancestors which is intertwined with that of the suffering descendants at the present. Their insanity and tragic deaths together evince their collective grievances against the ever-growing demand for modernization and industrial development that has accelerated in Cheju since the mid 1960s. In short, personal tragedies are not limited to the sage of Mun family. But as they are theatrically uncovered through four days and nights of the *yŏnggye-ullim* and rites of *chilch'im*, the memories of the insignificant social class which have been suppressed over the past century constitute the counter-hegemonic discourse, redeeming the officially forgotten but yet unforgettable memory of violence and oppression.

Conclusion: The Return of the Dead Souls

Thus far, I have tried to illuminate the relationship between the domestic tragedy of the Mun family and the contemporary history of Cheju Island. This relationship is not one of cause and effect, but rather depends upon the evocative force of narrative. When personal tragedy is turned into narrative

within the context of the hereditary transmission of family tragedies such as poverty and social deviance, it connects the truth of the unofficial experience of historical events such as the April Third Event with its aftermath--the anti-communist terror. More dramatically, this unofficial or fragmented domestic mode of historical experience is not only narrativized and given significance through *yŏnggye-ullim*, but it is inscribed bodily, too. Once the "mere suffering" of ordinary persons such as the host's wife's severe headaches or the host fisherman's bad luck is accumulated over time, the bodily symptoms are transformed into the stigmata of the historical tragedy of the ideological division of Korea. In *yŏnggye-ullim*, then, we can see how memories of tragedy and violence are dramatized in a contemporary theatre of historical experience in order to heal present pain. The *simbang*'s healing rituals, in other words, serve to unravel [*p'ulda*] the historical meaning of "mere suffering" by a hermeneutics of bodily stigmata and spirits' lamentations. The trance dance of the hostess embodies the social dimension of the cure. To both sides, the ancestors and the descendants, the cathartic effect of the trance dance anticipates their liberation from the hereditary transmission of tragedies. The cultural logic of the shamanic rituals lies in the belief that family tragedy and individual suffering can only be cured through the release of the ancestral spirits' grief and sorrow.

The unsettled souls of the ancestors, however, keep coming back to this living world. Occasional ritual offerings such as new suits of clothes and rites of clearing the road to the other world do not seem to end their menacing legacy of evil. Where would these lamenting ancestors abide? And how long can their sorrow retain its malicious force? As long as their descendants remember their names and life histories, they may be able to abide in living memory, and their sorrowful hearts would be consoled occasionally through regular memorial services and *simbangs' kut* rituals.

Once five generations pass, however, people's memory of certain events and personal sufferings diminish and sooner or later will be completely erased. After five generations the obligation to offer Confucian memorial services to the ancestors also lapses; the dead souls, rather than being known ancestors like *wŏnhon*, have become generalized ancestors (*chosang*) or part of the multitude of lesser evil spirits (*chapkwi*). Their names are not addressed in the collective memorialization of distant ancestors even during the shamanic ritual, with the exception of a few particular ancestors whose deaths were tragically heroic and thus worth mythologizing as patron spirits of the whole clan or lineage (for example, Hyun-ssi Ilwol, one of the maiden spirits). It is not questioned whether they ever went safely to the other world or not.

It is only when this stage is reached that the descendants can be free from moral and emotional bondage to those ancestral spirits. Mizo, a *simbang*, once explained to me the tenacity of this bondage in terms of the popular notion of *choech'aek*, or offense liability. "It is only later that the offense liability of the descendants [for ancestor's anomalous deaths] will be washed away and purified."⁶ The offense of the descendants is not a notion of a lack of morality; rather it represents the popular historical consciousness of a hereditary bondage of the tragedy of the misfortune bequeathed by the ancestors. Although the hereditary bondage of offense liability is no longer significant to family members after the passing of five generations, neither is it erased completely from popular history, or rather, from popular memory. As we shall see in the following chapter, the historical origin of this popular consciousness of liability for offenses stretches back to a mythical time beyond personal memory. Third parties channel the transmission of that bondage in yet a different manner. These third parties are the spirits of three thousand soldiers [*samch'on kunbyŏng*], a kind of *chapkwi*, to whom I shift the subject.

Notes to Chapter 8

¹See C. Yi (1984:295-296) about the "national policy debate" (*kug'si nonchaeng*) that broke out in 1971 when Prime Minister J.P. Kim made a special speech at the congress. He suggested that anti-communism should replace democracy as the state policy.

²The Heyoka ceremony of the Sioux Indians (Neihardt 1959: 159-160) is an example of coping with historical tragedy through shamanism at the turn of the century. By doing foolish things and making the audience laugh, the selected heyoka dancers tried to transcend the reality. "When people are already in despair, maybe the laughing is better for them."

³Even during the rite of exorcism, the shaman reciter defines *chapkwī* as follows: "This is *chapkwī* which could neither go to the heaven nor leave this world, thus playing here and there to the currents of winds and clouds in the empty middle space." (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980:518).

⁴Usually several dead souls are grouped in a household unit, according to the seniority of the generations or to the Confucian rule of gender segregation. For example, husband and wife, or mother-in-law and daughter-in-law can be grouped together; but brother-in-law and daughter-in-law cannot be grouped together. Sometimes these groupings depend on the commonality among group members such as the state of their deaths. Or depending on the degree of the unnaturalness of the death, a rite of *chilch'im* can be offered solely to a single case. There was a particular case that offered a whole session of *chilch'im* for a young man who disappeared and presumably died somewhere at an unknown place without marriage. The shaman divined his spirit was the major malignant agent of the severe headaches of his aunt to whom his spirit appeared through dreams.

⁵I wished to present a verbatim text of *yŏnggye-ullim* at the ritual scene of the case above in order to make a complete story of a single case. I myself did not attend the ritual. I was told the story by Mizo, a *simbang*. For this reason, I have chosen instead to present the case of the Mun family because it tells the typical story of family tragedy that testifies the demise of ideological warfare of the April Third Event as it was shown in the Mizo's story.

⁶Mizo expresses this offense of the descendants with the concept of sin or *choe*. The indigenous notion of "sin" does not indicate the original sin or a universal sinful nature of human beings. It is defined and interpreted in terms of the relational context of the ancestor-descendant diachronical bond.

CHAPTER 9

LESSER EVIL SPIRITS AND REBELS IN THE BACKWATER

This chapter illuminates the historical relationship between the shamanic belief in lesser evil spirits (*chapkwī*) and the contemporary political discourse about rebels. This chapter continues the examination of the popular memories of tragedy and violence presented in the previous chapter, in which I tried to evoke the personal and family-level experiences. In this chapter I broaden the spatial vision of tragedy and violence to the national cultural level. First, I will present the popular interpretation of the lesser evil spirits, as expressed in the folk belief in the spirits of "three thousand soldiers," a category of *chapkwī*, and their exorcism rites. Then I move the scene of the story to the contemporary discourse of social evils and political dissidents, who are positioned at the margin of a state power and constantly exorcised of their evil force.

The Spirits of the "Three Thousand Soldiers"

As described in the previous chapter, a popular image of *chapkwī* has appeared as servant soldiers, *kunjol*. The spirits of three thousand soldiers, *samch'ŏn kunbyŏng*, are a particular kind of *kunjol*. This class of *chapkwī* or *kunjol* indicates the military officials, whose social status is higher than those of mere servant soldiers. Unlike other types of *kunjol*, their historical identities are specified in groups in a temporal and spatial context. It means that they have moral and social relationships with the people. They are treated as ancestors, and thus receive a separate rite of *chilch'im*. As in the case of the family

CHAPTER 9

LESSER EVIL SPIRITS AND REBELS IN THE BACKWATER

This chapter illuminates the historical relationship between the shamanic belief in lesser evil spirits (*chapkwī*) and the contemporary political discourse about rebels. This chapter continues the examination of the popular memories of tragedy and violence presented in the previous chapter, in which I tried to evoke the personal and family-level experiences. In this chapter I broaden the spatial vision of tragedy and violence to the national cultural level. First, I will present the popular interpretation of the lesser evil spirits, as expressed in the folk belief in the spirits of "three thousand soldiers," a category of *chapkwī*, and their exorcism rites. Then I move the scene of the story to the contemporary discourse of social evils and political dissidents, who are positioned at the margin of a state power and constantly exorcised of their evil force.

The Spirits of the "Three Thousand Soldiers"

As described in the previous chapter, a popular image of *chapkwī* has appeared as servant soldiers, *kunjol*. The spirits of three thousand soldiers, *samch'ŏn kunbyŏng*, are a particular kind of *kunjol*. This class of *chapkwī* or *kunjol* indicates the military officials, whose social status is higher than those of mere servant soldiers. Unlike other types of *kunjol*, their historical identities are specified in groups in a temporal and spatial context. It means that they have moral and social relationships with the people. They are treated as ancestors, and thus receive a separate rite of *chilch'im*. As in the case of the family

ancestors, the offensive liability of the descendants (without specific reference) is also dramatized, yet in a comic rather than tragic mode.

As the number "three thousand" simply means "numerous," *samch'ŏn kunbyŏng* implies the fact that they are a hungry and unruly rabble of low rank not so much different from *kunjol* (servant soldiers). Due to their previous rank in the military, they behave more demandingly and forcefully in asking for food offerings. For this reason, the rite of *chilch'im* for the three thousand soldiers is referred to as the rite of "coming in good terms" (*chisabim*). Yet, due to their more distinct historical origin, they are treated differently from other *chapkwŏi* or *kunjol*. The historical identity of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers covers broadly all the anonymous victims of particular acts of warfare and other violent events of the past (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980:295-297). In a sense, the dead souls of the innocent civilians who were massacred during the April Third Event also could belong to this category.

As in the case of the family ancestors, the Cheju *simbang* performs a rite of *chilch'im* for those spirits of the three thousand soldiers during the *siwang maji kut*. If the occasion is not an appropriate one for a grand-scale ritual, the *simbang* will invoke those spirits to the altar. Although this rite is treated rather minimally without emotional outpouring, it is never neglected. Although its purpose for clearing the road to heaven is the same as in the rite of *chilch'im* for memorable family ancestors, the way those spirits are treated by the *simbang* is different. In the case of the three thousand soldiers, they are treated rather roughly and also in a threatening manner. According to the shaman's recitation and ritual process, these spirits run toward the gate of *kut*, creating a great "wind of dust" (*ilch'ŏn karŭl*). Their thrust in the multitude itself proves their punishment against the *simbang* and also the host of the ritual, for both are charged with neglecting the soldiers' resentments. While making a plea for the

forgiveness of their sins, the simbang gestures to suppress this wind of dust with the divine bronze knives, about 6 inches long and very thin. Once the wind of dust is suppressed, their appearances will be clearly viewed. Then the simbang takes pieces of rice cake and cups of rice liquor, and throws them outside, while calling up the names of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers. After feeding them all, the simbang verbally arrests the most spiteful spirits among them with a policeman's whip and puts them into the prison of the underworld. At this point, the rite of clearing the passage to the other world ends.

In comparison with the same rite for the family ancestor, we can notice here that the danger of the evil forces of the three thousand soldiers is not felt personally with a sense of urgency like in the case of the family ancestors. Rather, their "hunger and thirst" reflects an imagined terror of evil, yet in an abstract way. The historical origins of those spirits of the "three thousand soldiers" attests to the source of their fateful state of 'hunger and thirst.' Interestingly enough, these spirits represent the subaltern class people who died *namelessly* or were killed like "dust" in popular revolts and in major warfares. The simbang's recitation of those events confers a rightful voice and a position in history to the spirits of "the three thousand soldiers". When the simbang invokes the spirits of these soldiers, he or she calls the names of the groups of soldiers who died during the war in chronological order, covering a broad historical span from the primordial time of creation to the most recent warfare, the Korean War in 1950. The following verbatim text exemplifies a typical invocation of those spirits (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980: 295-297):

As clouds of dust are calmed down, the three thousand soldiers are coming closer from the east and the west.

These groups of soldiers are the soldiers who rose at the time when the heaven was created

The soldiers who rose at the time when the earth was created the soldiers
who rose at the time when the humans were created

The soldiers who rose at the time when mountains and rivers were created

The soldiers who rose at the time when officials, bureaucrats, the king,
and the nation were established

The soldiers of the earth king and the human king

A long, long time ago

The soldiers who rose at the upheaval of the Yi Chae-su Insurgency

The soldiers who rose at the time of the Korean-Japanese Warfare

The soldiers who rose at the time of Kang Ui-baek

The soldiers who rose at the time of Kim Tong-jung

The soldiers who rose at the time of Pang Song-ch'il,

The soldiers who rose at the time of the Pacific War

Our Cheju, the soldiers who rose at the time of the April Third Event in
the years of *muja* [1948] and *kickuk* [1949]

The soldiers who rose at the time of the Korean War

Such groups of three thousand soldiers are coming from the east and the
west...

Let us make good terms with these three thousand soldiers by offering
enough to console them

In this oral chronicle, the story line is disrupted by the organization shifters (Barthes 1970:146), such as "*a long long time ago*" and "*Our Cheju*," that divide the temporal order into the mythic time and the historical time, and also the three thousand soldiers into two sub-groups. The first groups of the soldiers indicate the low ranked ones who arose at the time of creation and the mythic kingdom. If these groups of soldiers in prehistory symbolically denote the antiquity of the "three thousand soldiers," the second groups of the soldiers appearing after the shifter indicate the actual war dead. Besides a few cases of nation-wide warfare, the chronicle of the historical events includes both major and minor indigenous revolts and political oppression throughout the entire Cheju history, as if the spirits of the dead soldiers were related to each other in a

single genealogy. To achieve an understanding of the legacy of the indigenous revolts, I will now describe in detail the genealogy of those three thousand soldiers in a temporal order which is not identical with the narrative order.

Genealogy of Rebels in the Backwater of History

In the chronicle of historic events, the most distant event recited is the Armed Rebellion of General Kim Tong-jung who fought against the imperial domination of the Mongols, who had established the Yuan Dynasty in China in the 13th century. Cheju Island was the last battlefield standing between the exiled rebel army and the allied armies of the Yuan and Koryŏ Dynasty, which was then already annexed on the peninsula. The soldiers who deserted during the Koryŏ-Yuan battles retreated south to this island and formed a rebel army of ten of thousands led by General Kim Tong-jung. They set up a fortress all around the seashore and fought until the last rebel, General Kim, was killed by the allied forces. Despite his short-term tyrannical control of the whole island, his tragic death as a rebel has been grieved for centuries at the village shrine where he is worshipped as the tutelary deity. The Korean-Japanese War in the late 16th century follows in the chronicle, another case of foreign invasion. This invasion struck the entire Yi Dynasty kingdom. Besides regular armies, many civilian militias fought against the invaders.

If the wars mentioned above were nation-wide events of rather distant times, the following events are concentrated in local history since the late 19th century--within the span of living memory. At the turn of the century, the tax system was very chaotic, and peasant revolts against the tax system broke out nearly every year. The first revolt recited was the Pang Seŏng-chil Rebellion, a peasant revolt against the new tax system imposed by the central government in 1898. The leader of the revolt, Pang, formed a rebel army, Namhak-tang,

single genealogy. To achieve an understanding of the legacy of the indigenous revolts, I will now describe in detail the genealogy of those three thousand soldiers in a temporal order which is not identical with the narrative order.

Genealogy of Rebels in the Backwater of History

In the chronicle of historic events, the most distant event recited is the Armed Rebellion of General Kim Tong-jung who fought against the imperial domination of the Mongols, who had established the Yuan Dynasty in China in the 13th century. Cheju Island was the last battlefield standing between the exiled rebel army and the allied armies of the Yuan and Koryŏ Dynasty, which was then already annexed on the peninsula. The soldiers who deserted during the Koryŏ-Yuan battles retreated south to this island and formed a rebel army of ten of thousands led by General Kim Tong-jung. They set up a fortress all around the seashore and fought until the last rebel, General Kim, was killed by the allied forces. Despite his short-term tyrannical control of the whole island, his tragic death as a rebel has been grieved for centuries at the village shrine where he is worshipped as the tutelary deity. The Korean-Japanese War in the late 16th century follows in the chronicle, another case of foreign invasion. This invasion struck the entire Yi Dynasty kingdom. Besides regular armies, many civilian militias fought against the invaders.

If the wars mentioned above were nation-wide events of rather distant times, the following events are concentrated in local history since the late 19th century--within the span of living memory. At the turn of the century, the tax system was very chaotic, and peasant revolts against the tax system broke out nearly every year. The first revolt recited was the Pang Seŏng-chil Rebellion, a peasant revolt against the new tax system imposed by the central government in 1898. The leader of the revolt, Pang, formed a rebel army, Namhak-tang,

meaning literally "South Country League," and instigated civilians to break into the provincial office to demand a tax reduction. The rebel forces went far beyond the original demand by occupying the office for a month and claiming an independent kingdom. They were successful for a time because their claim for the separation of Cheju Island from the mainland fit well within the ancient dynastic claim of the indigenous people. Their seditious attempt, however, failed when Pang was betrayed by other rebel leaders and assassinated by the central army. Fearful of the local people's revenge, the local government reduced the tax as demanded.

Three years after this peasant revolt, however, more violent clashes broke out between the natives and the newly converted Catholics. The Yi Chae-su Insurgency in 1901 was related to the incipient western colonialism. The stories about this event which became local legends are still told in daily conversations. As Merrill (1980) points out, it was a major internal warfare event and also the first anti-imperialistic rebellion.¹ It was suppressed in an especially harsh and oppressive fashion under the direct, or indirect, influence of western powers such as French judges and an American advisor to the Korean court which was for the first time governed by foreign advisors. As Yang Han-kwŏn (1987) and leftist historians (Kim Minju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963) contend, the anti-imperialistic legacy of this indigenous revolt is directly related to the April Third Communist Rebellion that broke out only one generation later in 1948. (See Chapter 4 for more details about the relationship between this event and the April Third Event.)

This indigenous revolt, named after the rebel leader Yi Chae-su, broke out in 1901, one year after two French priests established their missionary branches on the island. The large-scale violence lasted one month. Most of the Catholics (around 700) were killed by the indigenous rebel armies, with the exception of

two French priests and five others who escaped the island. The rebellion was subdued in a few days after a squadron of French warships appeared offshore and the central royal army intervened. The principal leaders of the rebellion, O Tae-hyŏn, Kang U-baek, and Yi Chae-su, were arrested, taken to Seoul to stand trial before French court advisors, and publicly beheaded. This event carries more significance in contemporary Cheju history. Its tragic result still scandalizes islanders and brings about clashes between the Catholic church authority and the descendants of those beheaded rebel leaders (O Sŏng-ch'an 1967; Yi Sun-ok 1931). In 1949, forty years later, a rebel was again publicly executed: the corpse of Yi Dukku hung on the cross for a week at the plaza of the Cheju citadel (Kim Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963).

The dead from the Pacific War--that is, World War II--are also recalled by the *simbang*. As Korea was under colonial occupation by the Japanese between 1910 and 1945, Cheju Island was fortified intensely in preparation for the American attack. During the last year of the war, the Japanese imperial naval and air forces in the island numbered at their peak a quarter of a million (Merrill 1980:149). This intense militarization of the island at the time left a forboding note of discord that would still sound a few years later after the August Fifteenth Emancipation in 1945.

Next, the *simbang*'s narration suddenly becomes a much more specific pace, indicating the exact date of the outbreaks: the October First Event (1946), the March First Event (1947), the February Seventh Event (1948), the April Third Event (1948), and finally the Korean War (1950-1953). These events testify to the bloody ideological clashes after the 1945 liberation between pro-communist groups and pro-American nationalists on Cheju Island. Still any mention of these events can stir the memory of lived experiences among the audience. The first three events began as rather minor clashes, but two

developed into major violence later on, the April Third Event and the Korean War. These two events together epitomize the complex turns of ideological play in the pre-modern political condition. During the Korean War, nearly 3-,000 indigenous youths were recruited from among the survivors of the April Third Event. Together they formed a single Marine corps unit. After the war, they left a myth of national heroism--"the ghost-catching marines"--because they were fiercely brave in killing North Korean communists (Cheju-si 1985:272). Nevertheless, their bravery could not erase the disgraceful image of their predecessors, the "red armies"(*ppalgengae*). After the war, Cheju Island was affected deeply by the April Third Communist Rebellion. It became known as the "red island" and was completely neglected for the next ten years by the government until the military regime of President Park initiated the five-year economic development plan for boosting the tourist industry in 1964.

Rhetorical Device of the Oral Chronicle

So far I intentionally have made a long story out of the *simbang's* rather straightforward single-file narrative of warfare and its victims, "the three thousand soldiers." These war dead are indeed the rebels and heroes of the backwater of history. The timeless existence of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers could be ignored and concealed in the evolutionary fluctuations of life and death. Why are they invoked repeatedly in the shamanic ritual despite the fact that their memories are virtually erased in the official history? As the dead couple in Mizo's dream demanded remembrance of their innocent deaths, those anonymous rebels are also to be memorialized. In regard to the *simbang's* selective chronicle of events, three questions arise. Why does the *simbang* focus specifically on the ideological clashes during the period between 1945 and 1950? What does the *simbang* mean to memorialize even briefly those dead during the

developed into major violence later on, the April Third Event and the Korean War. These two events together epitomize the complex turns of ideological play in the pre-modern political condition. During the Korean War, nearly 3-,000 indigenous youths were recruited from among the survivors of the April Third Event. Together they formed a single Marine corps unit. After the war, they left a myth of national heroism--"the ghost-catching marines"--because they were fiercely brave in killing North Korean communists (Cheju-si 1985:272). Nevertheless, their bravery could not erase the disgraceful image of their predecessors, the "red armies"(*ppalgengae*). After the war, Cheju Island was affected deeply by the April Third Communist Rebellion. It became known as the "red island" and was completely neglected for the next ten years by the government until the military regime of President Park initiated the five-year economic development plan for boosting the tourist industry in 1964.

Rhetorical Device of the Oral Chronicle

So far I intentionally have made a long story out of the *simbang's* rather straightforward single-file narrative of warfare and its victims, "the three thousand soldiers." These war dead are indeed the rebels and heroes of the backwater of history. The timeless existence of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers could be ignored and concealed in the evolutionary fluctuations of life and death. Why are they invoked repeatedly in the shamanic ritual despite the fact that their memories are virtually erased in the official history? As the dead couple in Mizo's dream demanded remembrance of their innocent deaths, those anonymous rebels are also to be memorialized. In regard to the *simbang's* selective chronicle of events, three questions arise. Why does the *simbang* focus specifically on the ideological clashes during the period between 1945 and 1950? What does the *simbang* mean to memorialize even briefly those dead during the

April 3rd Event for whom no public memorial services were observed because they were enemies of the state forty years ago? How and why are the dead parents in the case story associated with those rebels in distant times? These questions are concerned with the historical change of the local identity of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers in the national culture of the anti-communist state. And they converge into one major question: how are the rebels of pre-nationalist violence changed into the "imagined" enemies of the modern-day state? This question leads to the fundamental issue of two oppositional yet related ways of using memory and violence which I want to explore below : the ritual retrieval of the memory of the rebels and the state discourse of resistance.

According to popular perception it is never the ancestral spirits who are blamed for afflictions; it is the *chapkwi*, such as the spirits of the three thousand soldiers who are the working agents of evil. They act as servants of more personalistic spirits such as family ancestors. This alliance between the *chapkwi*, such as the three thousand soldiers and the family ancestors, serves to explain the etiology of illnesses and misfortunes and also the machinations of the exorcism and healing practices. In the case story described above, Mizo could not exorcise directly the dead parents of the sick man despite the fact that they were the cause of his affliction. The foremost purpose of the *kut* is to console the lamenting ancestral spirits. Thus it would be morally unacceptable for the descendants to consider that their ancestors could do evil. Nevertheless, the evil force must be exorcised. So the figures from the distant past such as the *chapkwi* of the three thousand soldiers, for whom living persons feel no personal responsibility, are appropriated for the purpose of exorcism. They are blamed, not the ancestors. As such, the past is imbued with the evil force of *chapkwi*.

This kind of reappropriation of the past, however, does not follow the linear construction of an historical process in which the past is perceived as

existing in an organic relationship with other segments of time, especially the present. As typified in the Proustian sense of remembrance and memory, what Benjamin calls involuntary memory, the past exists in the present as a causal influence (Benjamin 1969; cf. Kim U'chang 1981:81). Unlike the linear sense of the past as an essential part of an ongoing unified temporal flow, the past traditionally expressed in oral narratives such as *yŏnggye-ullim* or *ponp'uri* [the origin myths of shrine deities] is a mythical past. It constitutes a self-contained temporal dimension existing quite outside any sequence of events leading up to the present. Time is cyclical, and the past is a normative model for all time (Kim Uch'and 1981:80).

The lesser evil spirits of the three thousand soldiers are likewise the timeless, normative model for a shamanic retrieval of the popular memory of the past rebellions and their tragic victims. Although the rite for the ancestors is performed separately from that for the three thousand soldiers, they do not seem to be consciously correlated, since the images of the sorrowful ancestors would be never completely erased due to their spiritual alliance with the lesser evil spirits, forever abiding in the middle space between this and the other world. Such an identification between them enhances the sanctification of even recent violent deaths with a mysterious aura of antiquity so that no rite would ever be able to efface them, have no end (Hertz 1960:78; cf. Taussig 1984 b:89).

In regard to this cyclical re-surfacing of the tales of the violent deaths over time, I want to address a "preconceptual relationship" between the historical image of violence, from either the ancient or recent past, and the personal experiences of today's Cheju people and shamans. As Taussig suggests (1984:87-88), this sort of experiential appropriation of the past "incorporates historical and social fantasy *sensitive* to the *underground* existence of *forbidden images*." (my emphasis) This *sensitiveness* is reflected in the symbolic potential of the

"secret agreement" between those forbidden images--that is, the lamenting spirits of the dead with *chapkwi*, servant-class evil spirits from the ancient past--paraphrasing Walter Benjamin's notion of dialectical images.²

Such a sensitiveness to the underground existence of mythic images, however, does not necessarily imply the kind of self-consciousness that could be easily imagined to lead to political action. It is not intentionally or discursively constructed in the minds of the people. It is rather the *discursive* effect of a conviction that people might have, nearly like a religious belief in the spirit of the dead. This unintentional but expressive appropriation of the past events is succinctly exemplified in the particular manner of the shamanic oral delivery of the chronicles of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers. While I gave a rather long description of the historical events, the Cheju simbang in practice recites the series of event without details as if every event is spatialized independently like a scenic pastiche in the mythic landscape of the past. For instance, in the simbang's sweeping narration we receive only the names and the dates of events. There is no time for reflecting on the meaning. Moreover, the simbang does not enlist every event; sometimes he or she can forget to mention certain events, and it does not cause any special problem. Rather than the precision of memory or analytical knowledge, a loose articulation of events constitutes the popular mode of history--that is, the illicit 'poetic' formulation as it evades the certitude of historical time.

The lack of congruence between the chronological sequence of historical time and the narrative order of events in the shaman's narration also testifies to the popular mode of the chronicle. For instance, if events were listed in historical order, the Kim Tong-jung Rebellion which took place in the late thirteenth century would have to be listed first. I surmise the reason why the Yi Chae-su Insurgency was recited as the first event is that it is the most recent violent event

preceding the April Third Event that affected the whole island. The shaman reciter makes a slightly longer stop right before the April Event with the shifter "Our Cheju." The historical meaning that the Cheju people attach to each event makes a difference in the shaman's ordering of events.

Even this historical past is made mythical because the organization shifters such as "a long long time ago" "dechronologize the historical thread and restore, if only by way of reminiscence or nostalgia" (Barthes 1970:148) which is commonly found in other Korean oral traditions such as *p'ansori* (Kim U'chang 1981:81). Such a rhetorical device imparts a mythical feel to the narration. The meaning of events never come up on the conscious level; its aesthetical effect seems to penetrate into the heart rather than the reason of people.

The second strategic impact of the organization shifter is the fact that there is no middle period, as if nothing happened between the far distant creation time and the historical period since the thirteenth century--the time of Kim Tong-jung in the text. As Joseph Miller says (1980:35), oral traditions like this Cheju *simbang's* chronicle are dependent on how people think of *change*. People in non-literate environments develop conceptions of historical change different from those of literate historians. Rather than trying to explain the historical causality of events, they explain the inconsistencies by means of the narrative device of "the shifting of event from one epoch to epoch so that each makes better 'sense' or the assimilation of all sorts of transformations into a single period of 'origins'"--the origins of the indigenous revolts (Miller 1980:39). They present change in the form of abrupt, dichotomous transformations.

In the case of Cheju, this abrupt point of historical change occurred first at the time of the Armed Rebellion of General Kim Tong-jung that took place in this island. This event takes a significant position in Cheju history in that it marks the shift of epoch from an independent kingdom to the epoch of internal

colonialism, which continues today. Other historical events thereafter are treated as "a single period" of colonial domination and indigenous rebellion; succeeding middle period, which literate historians would be compelled to explain is passed by without comment. This so-called 'hourglass' shape of the narrative structure reveals the fact that the Cheju people conceive of historical change as cataclysmic and total. That leads the reciter to group all events in a single period of universal transformation and link the baseline of the time of origins to the recent past of personal reminiscences. This presentistic method of the Cheju *simbang's* chronicle of past events also recounts evidence of revolts in the past and helps them gain memorability and concreteness in the minds of the audience.

Such a narrative device of inconsistency or stylistic lack of temporality, often regarded as the "magical" rhetoric of oral traditions in the eyes of literary historians (Miller 1980:36), is well reflected in the irregular formula of recitation. Depending on the *simbang's* knowledge about the local history of Cheju Island, this narration can cover a greater or fewer number of critical events.³ There is no explicit rule of narration or polemical discourse concerning its content. In fact, the audience seems neither to have a knowledge of all of these events nor to feel the necessity for including such content. Yet the *simbang* reciter seems to feel obliged to feed those hungry ghosts by means of remembering. This simple act of remembering in the brief line-up of the names of events may have the subversive effect of reviving the tales of the dead soldiers who had been forgotten in the backwater of history. Also the tales of the forgotten rebels and heroes like Yi Chae-su, Kang Ui-paek, and Kim Tong-jung, whose names are barred from official commemoration due to their rebel identities, are kept alive behind the collective names of their servant soldiers.

The Redemptive Role of Evil Spirits and Rebels

This subversive memory of rebels and servant soldiers constitutes in condensed form the genealogy of the popular resistance of the subaltern people for whom an explicit discourse of history is suppressed. The shamanic ritual for the spirits of the dead is a constant interpretation of social situations in which tragic and violent deaths are categorized and mythologized into ineffable images of evil and social disorder. In a sense the ritual itself is enacted to reorder the mysterious in history through its epic "stretching" of time and social space by means of somewhat disorderly juxtapositions of the different categories of the spirits, which remain as "bits and pieces" in popular memory. It is the anonymity and marginality of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers from the mythical past that exercises a potentially dangerous force capable of bringing misfortunes and afflictions into the present. These soldiers bring with them an evil force from the frontier of national history. Arising from the tombs, once they are invoked by the *simbang*, they run toward the living world, creating 'the wind of dust' and cloaking reality with the foggy uncertainties of national history. Roaming forever in the empty middle space, they keep returning to this world at any historical conjunctures of personal or collective lives, casting spells which threaten truth and order. This popular belief in the cyclical historical process serves to explain a utopian imagery of history in which the revenge of the innocent dead victims would be accomplished. The *secret agreement* between the lamenting dead souls, who are remembered from the recent past, and the anonymous spirits of the dead soldiers from the mythical past, calls for the retrieval of the popular memory of violence and terror, as the dead souls demean themselves by afflicting the living people with illnesses and misfortunes.

In its obstinate permanence in the spirit world, the mythical past of the three thousand soldiers plays a *redemptive* role to the extent that the recent past--

The Redemptive Role of Evil Spirits and Rebels

This subversive memory of rebels and servant soldiers constitutes in condensed form the genealogy of the popular resistance of the subaltern people for whom an explicit discourse of history is suppressed. The shamanic ritual for the spirits of the dead is a constant interpretation of social situations in which tragic and violent deaths are categorized and mythologized into ineffable images of evil and social disorder. In a sense the ritual itself is enacted to reorder the mysterious in history through its epic "stretching" of time and social space by means of somewhat disorderly juxtapositions of the different categories of the spirits, which remain as "bits and pieces" in popular memory. It is the anonymity and marginality of the spirits of the three thousand soldiers from the mythical past that exercises a potentially dangerous force capable of bringing misfortunes and afflictions into the present. These soldiers bring with them an evil force from the frontier of national history. Arising from the tombs, once they are invoked by the *simbang*, they run toward the living world, creating 'the wind of dust' and cloaking reality with the foggy uncertainties of national history. Roaming forever in the empty middle space, they keep returning to this world at any historical conjunctures of personal or collective lives, casting spells which threaten truth and order. This popular belief in the cyclical historical process serves to explain a utopian imagery of history in which the revenge of the innocent dead victims would be accomplished. The *secret agreement* between the lamenting dead souls, who are remembered from the recent past, and the anonymous spirits of the dead soldiers from the mythical past, calls for the retrieval of the popular memory of violence and terror, as the dead souls demean themselves by afflicting the living people with illnesses and misfortunes.

In its obstinate permanence in the spirit world, the mythical past of the three thousand soldiers plays a *redemptive* role to the extent that the recent past--

the dead parents appearing in the Mizo's dream--prophesies the truth of the future which was already prefigured in the ancient image of the anonymous rebels, who, with a bewitching force, disrupt compliant forgetfulness. It is redemptive, as Benjamin says (1969:255; cf. Taussig 1984 b): "the past carries with it a temporal index by which it is referred to redemption." By 'redemptive', I mean here a spatial and spiritual transference from this world to the other world, which is always a better world or a paradise, as we have seen in the notion of "clearing the road to heaven (*chilch'im*)" or in ritual purification. Of course, the notion of redemption in the Cheju case must be distinguished from that in the western case, since the Christian concept in particular implies rebirth or new life (Ch'oe Kil-sŏng 1986). This notion of the redemptive role will be more understandable if we adapt the Cheju case to the more concrete example of Taussig's South American case of the evil winds; the spirits of the three thousand soldiers are "mythic images reflecting and condensing the experiential appropriation of a history of conquest and violence, as that history is seen to form analogies and structural correspondences with the hopes and tribulations of the present" (1984 b:88). This force of mythic images is constructive in that they unblock the alternative discourse of history as well explained in the proposition suggested by Taussig (*ibid.*): "the blocking of experience by political oppression and psychic repression can entail a subsequent process whereby that experience becomes *unblocked*, *animated* and *conscious*, by means of myths and mythic images." In secret agreement with those mythic images of the three thousand soldiers, the shamanic dream and lamentful narratives of the dead souls represent an "animated and conscious" experience of the past. They would be the only means of "writing history" in the heart available to the subaltern people for whom an explicit discourse of history is repressed by coercion.⁴

As the official discourse explicitly affirms the truth of the victors by glorifying the sacrifices of the victims, the popular ideology of history is constructed at the margin on the basis of people's implicit knowledge of that truth, suspecting it while fearing it. Once this implicit knowledge grows into the conviction that the deaths were unjust, it could break into out a popular revolt or revolution, subverting the dominant truth. By the power of the magic wand of the shaman reciter, those dead souls of the "three thousand soldiers" who participated in history involuntarily by coercion are displaced into the popular rebels in the shamanic narrative of evil spirits.

Memory Practice of the State Ideology of Evil

While through the magical power of the shamanic reciter the tales of the dead are transformed into the tales of the popular rebels, the same tales, in particular, those of "reds" such as communist guerrillas, are also appropriated for the similar purpose of redemption in the official discourse of the state nationalism. This discourse is a deliberate construction of myth for political ends. Rather than "making whole what has been smashed," as Benjamin understood the role of the angel of history (1969), the state uses these tales for oppositional purposes--to suppress them. From its birth, the Korean state has maintained its sovereignty through anti-communist propaganda and an ideological emphasis on national security.⁵ In other words, Korean nationalism as promoted by the state is rooted in the deaths of the red rebels in the "forgotten" past.⁶ In spite of the constant persecution of the enemies of the state, however, their ghosts revive in the present as radical students and political dissidents. Just as *chapkwī* are feared and exorcised as evil in the shamanic rituals, these modern rebels are also feared and persecuted as anti-national, and branded "disobedient, impure elements" (*pulsun punja*) in the moralistic rhetoric of the state.⁷

As the official discourse explicitly affirms the truth of the victors by glorifying the sacrifices of the victims, the popular ideology of history is constructed at the margin on the basis of people's implicit knowledge of that truth, suspecting it while fearing it. Once this implicit knowledge grows into the conviction that the deaths were unjust, it could break into out a popular revolt or revolution, subverting the dominant truth. By the power of the magic wand of the shaman reciter, those dead souls of the "three thousand soldiers" who participated in history involuntarily by coercion are displaced into the popular rebels in the shamanic narrative of evil spirits.

Memory Practice of the State Ideology of Evil

While through the magical power of the shamanic reciter the tales of the dead are transformed into the tales of the popular rebels, the same tales, in particular, those of "reds" such as communist guerrillas, are also appropriated for the similar purpose of redemption in the official discourse of the state nationalism. This discourse is a deliberate construction of myth for political ends. Rather than "making whole what has been smashed," as Benjamin understood the role of the angel of history (1969), the state uses these tales for oppositional purposes--to suppress them. From its birth, the Korean state has maintained its sovereignty through anti-communist propaganda and an ideological emphasis on national security.⁵ In other words, Korean nationalism as promoted by the state is rooted in the deaths of the red rebels in the "forgotten" past.⁶ In spite of the constant persecution of the enemies of the state, however, their ghosts revive in the present as radical students and political dissidents. Just as *chapkwī* are feared and exorcised as evil in the shamanic rituals, these modern rebels are also feared and persecuted as anti-national, and branded "disobedient, impure elements" (*pulsun punja*) in the moralistic rhetoric of the state.⁷

The official narratives about the subversive plots of these "impure elements" which are constructed to justify persecution demonstrate the hegemonic power of state violence. Such official tales of subversion are often uncannily detailed and real so that they render the radical students and dissidents as almost heroic rebels. This "hyper-real" aura surrounding the official narrativization of subversion is well represented in an actual event, the so-called *Minchŏng hangnyŏn sagŏn* [the Democratic Students Leagues Event]. An ironic twist in the meaning of the redemptive role of the tales occurred in the following way. At 10 p.m. on April Third, 1974, President Park disclosed a subversive plot of the allied groups of the leftists and radical students for "a people's communist revolt" (Yi Chae-o 1984:330-337). President Park's speech continues in this fashion:

"We have captured clear evidence that the so-called 'National League of Democratic Students,' an illegal group, has begun to coalesce for the anti-state purpose with disobedient forces under their incitement, and forms a clandestine organization that serves as the rudimentary stage of the unification front which are the usual tactics of the communists for their so-called 'People's Revolution'...Quite recently this clandestine organization attempted to execute the so-called communists' 'People's Revolution'" (April 4, 1974, *Tonga Ilbo* [Tonga Daily News] cited in Yi 1984:331).

In that evening alone, in total, 1,024 were investigated, and 253 among them were indicted. Whether the "attempted revolt" was real or fictitious has not been clarified yet. From the fact that most of the persecuted (except the 25 sentenced) were freed within a year, however, people suspected that the event was a fiction made by the government to effect a roundup of political dissidents and radical students. President Park's statement itself could have created this incident. For evidence of this fabrication, Yi Chae-o, then a radical student activist, suggests that even before it was investigated, the statement concluded that this event was a communist revolutionary attempt (Yi. *ibid.*). This implies that the president's speech itself was evidence of the process whereby a culture of

terror was created and sustained (cf. Taussig 1984a). Ironically, the government's persecution in 1974 triggered a reorientation of the radical movements toward underground guerrilla activity. As I read this case story, I was intrigued by the coincidence of the date of the outbreak of the 1974 Event and the April Third Event in 1948 in Cheju. It was a rather queer coincidence of the past captured 'live'.

At certain points, the fictional reality as represented in the above case story of official narratives conveys the same hallucinogenic atmosphere as the shamanic divinatory dream. It was "one way of re-programing popular memory, which existed but had no way of expressing itself. So people are shown what they must remember having been" (Foucault 1975:25). The official image of "the rebels" against the state is recreated in the fantastic image of anti-state "impure elements" and used to terrorize society and legitimize state violence. In this regard, I can say that like ghosts, hated and feared, yet regarded with awe, aliens such as "red rebels" who died in 1948 or "impure elements" living in the 1980s are indeed "the victims who are needed by the victimizer for the purpose of making truth, objectifying the victimizer's fantasies in the discourse of the other" (cf Taussig 1984 a). The official image of "impure elements" (*pulsun punja*) defines the radical students and leftists as ignorant, disorderly, savage-like figures who "are too naive, illogical to grasp the danger of national security; too impetuous to act correctly" (Yi Chae-o 1984:278). The state creates here the myth of an anti-hero. In this type of fantasized discourse of the other, those savage-like impure elements should be tamed by the state's edifying strategies such as torture and imprisonment, whose method resembles the colonization process in South America (Taussig *ibid.*:495).

Indeed, the constant disclosure of and the practice of taming those impure elements attests to a cultural elaboration of fear by the master state. And this

fear of the red rebels has inculcated a national "culture of terror," leading to an obsession with the constant self-cleansing exorcism of evil, to paraphrase Taussig (1984 *ibid.*). A national 'culture of terror' is based on and nourished by the silencing of dissent and the creation of such myths as an anti-hero in which the fanatical stress on the mysterious side of the mysterious flourishes by means of rumor. These rumors, supposedly disseminated by those "impure elements," are but imagined schemes of leftist uprisings necessary for the government to justify political repression.

According to Gregory and Timerman (1986:70), this fictional narrativization of social evil appears a common leitmotif of the totalitarian state as in Argentina in the 1970s under the military junta. Girard's notion of "generative violence" (1977), used to explain the rituals of the modern state, provides a useful tool for understanding the modern Korean state's culture of terror. In the scenario of the Argentinian state's ritual of death, the victims, "the disappeared people," were sacrificed for the redemption of the social order and as a means of renewing the culture of a nation as a whole. They were nearly national heroes, yet were transformed into anti-heroes by the state.

This ritualization of terror is exactly the flip-side of the invented tradition of resistance on which the state itself imposes "its continuity, unchanging and invariant, and repetition over time" (Hobsbawm 1983:4).⁸ On the other hand, the same process of ritualization of violence was used conversely by those anti-heroes for resistance against the state. Student movements have become more radical and have been transformed more into tactical struggles for power. This is tragically reciprocal, yet is a distorted mimesis of nationalism, which has been important in the construction of national culture, in particular, under the three decade-old military regimes in South Korea since the 1961 *coup d'etat* led by Lieutenant General Park Chung Hee.

A Utopian Space of Laughter and Tears

In this chapter, I have tried to conjure up the historical imagery of violence as reflected both in the shamanic practice of remembering the dead and the national culture of terror. And throughout my story-telling interlaced with theoretical interpretation, I have deliberately chosen to invoke an oppositional scheme of the relations of power by contrasting popular memory and official narrativization of the innocent dead who died namelessly during the violent events, in particular the April Third Event. These oppositional relations, popular versus official, people versus state, shamanic versus Confucian, local versus national, and so forth, are used here only as heuristic devices to draw attention to the more animated and conscious story-telling of history in performance. In fact, this very oppositional scheme is actively used by progressive historians and dissidents for their own resistance to the totalitarian power of the military regime and also to "the legacy of American imperialism" (Yang Hankwŏn 1988; ARARI 1988). Therefore I can say that even my heuristic devices have historical credentials to appeal to reality--a polemical reality.

But my original purpose was to shed light on the non-deliberate, subconscious, non-discursive art-form of resistance and subversion which is Cheju shamanic healing. I am interested in the rhetorical and performative aspects of shamanic rituals in which the reality of the spirits of the dead comes alive in spirit possession.⁹ Due to its nonrealistic nature, the other-worldly belief in the spirits cannot easily fall into the scheme of the cause-and-effect relationship of power and resistance. This non-sensical reality of the spirit world evades any objective observation or direct surveillance by the state at the edge of consciousness; on behalf of this potentiality of elusiveness, I have argued, the shamanic practices create an alternate, counter-discourse that subverts the accepted official version of reality. This art-form of subversion is salvaged in the

A Utopian Space of Laughter and Tears

In this chapter, I have tried to conjure up the historical imagery of violence as reflected both in the shamanic practice of remembering the dead and the national culture of terror. And throughout my story-telling interlaced with theoretical interpretation, I have deliberately chosen to invoke an oppositional scheme of the relations of power by contrasting popular memory and official narrativization of the innocent dead who died namelessly during the violent events, in particular the April Third Event. These oppositional relations, popular versus official, people versus state, shamanic versus Confucian, local versus national, and so forth, are used here only as heuristic devices to draw attention to the more animated and conscious story-telling of history in performance. In fact, this very oppositional scheme is actively used by progressive historians and dissidents for their own resistance to the totalitarian power of the military regime and also to "the legacy of American imperialism" (Yang Hankwŏn 1988; ARARI 1988). Therefore I can say that even my heuristic devices have historical credentials to appeal to reality--a polemical reality.

But my original purpose was to shed light on the non-deliberate, subconscious, non-discursive art-form of resistance and subversion which is Cheju shamanic healing. I am interested in the rhetorical and performative aspects of shamanic rituals in which the reality of the spirits of the dead comes alive in spirit possession.⁹ Due to its nonrealistic nature, the other-worldly belief in the spirits cannot easily fall into the scheme of the cause-and-effect relationship of power and resistance. This non-sensical reality of the spirit world evades any objective observation or direct surveillance by the state at the edge of consciousness; on behalf of this potentiality of elusiveness, I have argued, the shamanic practices create an alternate, counter-discourse that subverts the accepted official version of reality. This art-form of subversion is salvaged in the

Cheju simbang's "strategic" laughter and tears which in turn redeems the life of the ill man. In conclusion, I want to illuminate the Cheju shaman's performative technique of healing.

As Levi-Strauss shows in his eloquent analysis of the magical nature of the Zuni shamanic healing, the shamanic healer does not reproduce or imitate certain events but "relives them in all their vividness, originality, and violence...In this case, the shaman is a professional abreactor" (1967:175). This is recognized in the world of Korean shamanism where exorcistic rites are called *p'uri*, meaning untying a knotted grudge or freeing one from evil spirits through the narration of origin myths of particular shamanic figures--in a word, abreaction. Moving to the Cheju context, what then does a Cheju simbang like Mizo abreact but the memory of violence? People who were terrified by the tragic violence of the April Third Event and the constantly haunting memories of the dead come to see simbangs for cure. But the magic of the shamanic cure is made out of structural contradictions of forces that have moulded the Cheju people's perception of the past as a tragic destiny. This collective sense of tragic destiny may be mirrored in the image of the lamenting, restless souls of the dead ancestors. Moreover, it also precipitates into the living descendants' deep-seated grudges and resentments (as seen in the case of the Mun family). This residue of worldly frustration and tragedy is popularly expressed in the Korean word *han* (Ch o Hŭng-yun 1984; Ko Ŭn 1984; Yi Pu-yŏng 1985),¹⁰ and is lived through, resolved, and ingeniously transformed through shamanic rites.

Yet that popular consciousness never seems to develop into an explicit ideology like Marxism or communism that is able to move people forward to long-term planned political resistance. Rather, as de Certeau's suggests (1983:19), historical junctures provide a *space* for popular retrieval or reappropriation of that collective tragic sense as a representative perception of a certain historical

event or epoch--in this case, the post-War era of the South Korean state. This space is a *utopian* space in de Certeau's term (ibid:16) in the sense that the dead ancestors' accounts of their revengeful punishment visited upon the forgetful living people constantly redeem the tragic reality of the present political oppression. In this space the conceptual places such as this world (*isŭng*) and the other world (*chŏsŭng*) are displaced (Ibid.:117). The wordless ancestral figures in blood-stained mourning dress in Mizo's dream are the immobile center of this utopian space that constantly ensorcells the official truth of anti-communism which presents itself as natural. The dream does not merely report the mythic text of the April Third Event. Once it moves from the sensory imagery of bleeding hearts to the verbal form of *yŏnggye-ullim*, the dream lends itself to the collective memory of that tragic event.¹¹ In this utopian space, the iconic power of dreams makes room for a historical rethinking of tragedy that enables one to 'break away' from its fateful weight. Nevertheless, it is an irony that this utopian space for the redemption of tragic destiny is opened up through the mirroring effect of the external violence upon personal illnesses and misfortunes. Truth takes its toll, nearly destroying ancestors and descendants together.

In light of this irony, the power of the shamanic healing rites lies in its dialectical task of deconstructing the tragic destiny of violent history of Cheju island while re-enchanting it by investing its victims' notion of *wŏnhon* [spiteful souls] and *chapkwi* [the lesser evil spirits] with a new meaning that awakens the subconscious memory of popular violence--the legacy of the indigenous revolts. If the hegemonic discourse of the state sensationalizes a culture of terror by constantly inventing its enemies, the shamanic rite for clearing the road to paradise de-sensationalizes it. *Yŏnggye-ullim* which is performed by the *simbang* in the state of spirit possession is the first-person narrative of the victims themselves. It creates a powerful counter-discourse like death itself, revealing the

experience of going through killing. In the form of the theatre of memory, it moves the living descendants through the threshold of the other world (*chōsŭng*) to confront the hallucinogenic force of the culture of terror that has compelled people to forget in their fear the tragic deaths of their ancestors, like the dead parents of Suni's nephew.¹²

On the other hand, the *simbang* does not merely call on the audience with the tragic feeling of the dead; but also alienates the audience from this feeling by making the extraordinary reality of the historical violence an ordinary matter of personal cure. This is the technique of the alienation effect, which Brecht used in his epic theater (Benjamin 1973). Constant interruptions of people coming and going (also, the noisy interruptions of the airport in the *chosang kut* of the Mun family), provide for an interchange of mourning and laughter in the audience, causing the two worlds of the dead and the living to coexist, defamiliarizing the immediate experience of suffering and, diluting people's "thick" awareness of reality by making it light like "a blue butterfly," the wishful image of the incarnated souls of the dead.

In the Cheju *simbang*'s healing rite, *kut*, the alienation effect of the performance appears in three ways. (1) During one or two occasions of the *kut*, spirit possession occurs unexpectedly, interrupting the normal flow of the ritual procedure. Although possession by ancestral spirits is always anticipated in advance, a particular spirit's sudden appearance is a surprise to the family members. This interruption holds the moment of continuing flow of the consciousness of the living. Because nobody knows who the possessing spirit is, the shaman and the audience together search for the possible name of that spirit. Otherwise, the urgent need of that spirit would bring forth more evil effects on the living. While this open possibility of interruptions serves to make the seance lively, it creates a sense of urgency and fear in the audience.

(2) The multiple possessions of several spirits in a single person, the *simbang*, differentiates the scenes of tragic deaths into theatrical acts. Intervals between each segment of the *yōnggye-ullim* and the rite of *chilch'im* paralyze the audiences' readiness for full empathy and contribute to destroying the reality of the tragic deaths enacted. Therefore the appearance of the ancestral spirits is in fact not real but a theatrical action. They allow the descendants to adopt a critical attitude towards tragedy itself. In this way the shamanic ritual does not reproduce the conditions of tragic events in the past; rather it reveals their truth as having been alienated from conventions.

Moreover, the multiple subjectivity of the *simbang* enhances the theatricality of the ritual performance. The *simbang* oscillates between the voices of the dead ancestors and the living descendants, as well as the third person voice of the reciter who makes comments about the ongoing process of the performance. Each act of spirit possession has its own episodic value, and each episode demonstrates a unique social significance, but it is not dependent on a sequence of events in time. The *simbang* is the perfect stage for a dialectic interplay, allowing the separate episodes of the personal tragedies acted out to speak for themselves, so that they contradict each other dialectically.

(3) There exists an atmosphere of contradictions within the shamanic performance. During *yōnggye-ullim*, the audience fall into a mourning mood, stricken with an acute sense of sorrow and a fear of the malignant effect of the spirits. On the other hand, the group of *simbangs* try deliberately to provoke laughter, punning among themselves as though they are ignoring the scene of sorrow and fear.

During the *chosang kut* of the Mun family, the hostess was dancing in a traditional white suits in a trance in order to amuse and open up the knotted heart of the family ancestor. Suddenly she fell on the floor and lay there flat.

She was struck by an unknown spirit. She abruptly wept loud and pounded on her chest with two clenched fists. Her mother-in-law and a female assistant to the simbang in her mid-30's sat closely by her and asked who she was. For about 20 minutes, the woman simbang tried to console the weeping spirit with kind words, who turned out to be the hostess's dead sister-in-law. The whole audience became worried, whispering to each other. Suddenly the chief simbang of the *kut*, sitting inside the room far from the floor, called upon the woman simbang who was attending on the possessed hostess. He started to interrupt her act by saying filthy words and making fun of her personal life. The woman was finally disturbed so that she gave up the patient and ran to the chief simbang. The simbangs' playful games among themselves successfully drew the attention of the audience. In the midst of this noisy display by the simbang at a distance, the possessed hostess gathered herself up and left the floor to assist her mother-in-law.

The comic sideshow of the simbangs and their almost senseless laughter in the midst of the grave mood of *yonggye-ullim* (during the *chosang kut* of the Mun family) illustrates especially well the shaman performer's conscious defiance of tragic emotion, which may be the foremost goal of this healing rite. This was all a side-show to turn the audience's attention from a grave mood to a light laughing mood. The simbang's seemingly light-minded attitude at this moment of crisis provides the power that transforms the collective sense of tragic destiny and fear into an ordinary occurrence.

This strategic ambiguity of fear and laughter has an aesthetic effect which is to nullify the popular memory of violence. Subtle juxtapositions of sorrow and laughter within the context of "performative reality" (Schieffelin 1985) crack open the realm of the Cheju tradition of tragedy and invest the tradition with

new meanings that convert the destructive force of historical violence into a life-giving force--a healing of the memory as well as a healing of the ill man.

Despite the fact that the *simbang* never intends to bring about political action or revolutionary consciousness, like the decentered subject on which the contradictions of society are acted out or the sage in Brechtian theatre (Mitchel 1973:xiv), the shamanic theatre of memory is an artifact of the historical struggle of the Cheju people who have been victimized and subjugated. The ghostly immortality of the "three thousand soldiers" who roam in flocks in the middle space between the ancient past and the present, between this world and the other world, contests the oppressive reality of the military state in modern Korea. Like *chapkwī*, the avenging ghosts, hungry and neglected, the modern radicals may be the last avengers that redeem the generations of the downtrodden and complete the task of salvaging the truth. The shaman in the state of spirit possession operates as a visual point that can bare the contradictions in society and bring into consciousness subconscious elements that are not clear to the patient. In turn, by acting them out inside, the patient deals with current problems that come from the outside. To adopt Benjamin's formula (1978b:190), the historical stress on the mysterious side of the mysteriously forgotten event (such as the April Third Event) is denied by "an optic which perceives the everyday as impenetrable, the impenetrable as everyday." The "surrealistic" optic, known by Taussig as "the poetics of the sorcery and shamanism" (in the upper reaches of the Putomayo in the Amazon Jungle) (Taussig 1984a:497), has just such an a(n)esthetic effect which nullifies the popular memory of violence.¹³

Here is the true morality of the *simbang*'s *yōnggye-ullim*, the lamentations of the dead.

Notes to Chapter 9

¹It broke out under incipient colonial circumstances similar to the earlier Boxer Rebellion in China (although there is no evidence of influence) and it was suppressed in a harsh and oppressive fashion according to Merrill (1980): "At least 1000 persons out of a total population variously estimated at 40,000 to less than 100,000 were killed within the space of a single month."

²See Buck-Morss's article (1983) for an excellent exegesis of Benjamin's notion of dialectical images and the allegorical principle of images.

³In the order and content of the chronicle, I found a slight difference between two prominent Cheju simbangs, Park simbang and Ahn simbang. When Park simbang recited the names of the spirits of the dead during the exorcism rite of *chapkwi*, more events were strung to each group. For example, O Taehyun, another rebel leader, was added to Yi Chae-su; after the April Third Event, a series of violent events such as the February Seventh Event, the April Third Event, and the October First Event which precluded the April Third Event are added.

⁴In contrast to systemized historical knowledge, the Cheju simbang's genealogical memory of rebellious events is akin to what Foucault describes as "subjugated knowledges" that "are naive knowledges located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition...*incapable of unanimity* and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything surrounding it" (1980:82) (my emphasis). Here the difference lies in the fact that 'subjugated knowledges' are repressed ones and also socially explicit ones in spite of their fragmentedness.

⁵In reality, the Korean nation is divided into two enemy states, communist North Korea and democratic South Korea. Their ideological and military confrontations seem fatefully tragic.

⁶Anderson (1983:17) suggests the similar case of cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers as the emblems of the modern culture of nationalism. By continually reiterating that these tombs are of immortal souls nonetheless saturated with ghostly national imagining, he tries to portray the cultural significance of such monuments. Furthermore he describes it as the force of modernity that began in the eighteenth century with European colonialism. In contrast, the Cheju case of these anonymous spirits of the soldiers has nothing to do with this force of modernity. Their historical significance dwells in the collective memory of the oppressed people whose oral transmission of their stories is fragmented but unceasing. Because I focus on the cases of leftists and political dissidents in the post-war period in this paper, I partly admit Anderson's claim for the force of modernity in my discussion of Korean nation-building.

⁷With Korean nationalism, we must distinguish the nationalism promoted by the state from the unofficial form of nationalism inspired by the anti-government political protest movements. This type of distinction has been expressed for the past three years by the new groups of historians who claim themselves the representatives of the oppressed people, or the peoples' historians (Song Kón-ho and Kang Man-kil 1983; Park Hyón-chae and Chǒng Chang-yǒl 1985). Quite recently, in the spring of 1987, their controversial collection of articles, which was called *The History of the Korean People* (*Hankuk minjung sa*),

was banned. In this paper, I refer to nationalism in the official form, which I call state nationalism.

⁸See Chungmoo Choi's thesis, *The Competence of Korean Shamans as Performances of Folklore* (1987) for a discussion of the interrelationship between the rise of military government and the manufacturing of new traditions of national unity as one unified community through the promotion of folk peasant culture, including shamanic art.

⁹Schieffelin (1985) discusses the limitations of the meaning-centered analyses of ritual and suggests an alternative approach that emphasizes the nondiscursive dramaturgical and rhetorical aspects of ritual. His notion of the emergent social construction of reality, by which he meant a *performative reality*, may be applicable to my case study of Cheju shamanism. The reality of the spirit of the dead is constructed as real to evoke the aura of factuality so that the participants could converse with the dead. But his idea of performative reality is again limited to the immediate event of performance; it does not seem to convey a social and historical significance of that reality which I try to bring up in this paper.

¹⁰These scholars tend to interpret this popular emotion as representing the Korean people's collective emotive pattern, and exaggerate its pathetic aspect to the extremity as if it is engraved on the skin of people. As Cho Hŭng-yun (1986) criticizes this literary approach, the very word of *han* itself is a purely conceptual construct of academic discourse which is dissociated from the concrete and particular social and historical contexts. Although their efforts at idealizing this emotive pattern may lack in historical insight in a general sense, another attempt to write a history of the tragic destiny of the Korean people as a whole over 5,000 years (Ko Un 1986) seems to overlook the immediate and practical meaning of the people's emotion of tragic destiny. I refuse either of these overdrawn accounts that contain a danger of naturalizing the state of *han*. Rather than the subjective expression of the ruled class people as those literary elites claim, the monstrosity of this *han* itself is indeed generated and regenerated by the ruling forces in Korean societies (cf. Kim Chi-ha 1985).

¹¹In his analysis of the Andean dream, Bruce Mannheim distinguishes the literal or indexical truth of dream from its figurative, metaphoric and iconic truth (1987). If I apply his explanatory logic to Mizo's dream, the indexical truth indicates that the violent death event depends on the lexicon of dream signs such as the bloodstained mourning dress. At the narrative level, however, its metaphoric truth revives the collective memory of the April Third Event and at the same time all unfortunate ancestors in the past. This transformation process involves iconic construction of meaning and power that is subsequently used for healing.

¹²Hyŏn Ki-rŏn's short story, *Our Grandfather* (1984), evocatively portrays the tragic tension between the passion for remembrance and the force of forgetfulness that occurs when the protagonist's dead father, who was accused of being a communist accomplice and was killed in the April Third Event, possesses the sick and dying grandfather, speaking directly to each family member to ask for a re-examination of his accusation.

¹³In a totally different context, the analogy between Cheju Island

and the Amazon was made in the personal memoir of William F. Sands, the first American diplomat and an imperial counselor who visited Cheju in 1901 in order to investigate the Yi Chae-su Insurgency (1930:163-180). He was one of the prosecutors of the rebels including Yi Chae-su at the court which was constituted entirely of foreign counselors--American, French, Japanese. He made this analogy on the basis of the vague notion that Cheju Island was inhabited and controlled by entirely women, and men visited the island from outside once a year as sexual partners for maintenance of the population. Perhaps this kind of ludicrous rumor about Cheju circulated widely among the Western colonists who stayed in Korea around that time.

CHAPTER 10

"LET THE ANCESTOR PLAY": DANCING RITES OF *TOCH'AEBI*

Let the ancestor play. Let the descendant play.
You are a maiden. I am a bachelor.
Let us play to the rhythm of boat rowing.
Let us play to the sound of gong beating.

an excerpt from *sōuje sori*

If the last two chapters tried to portray the shamanic optic of fear and laughter and its healing power, through the collective memories of violence and tragedies, this chapter explores the ritual process within which that optic heals an ailing individual body. By presenting a case-history of madness (*turida*) that afflicted a twenty-one year old female factory worker in the export-industry, I will try to evoke the spectacle of social pathology and evil in contemporary Cheju and Korea. In the first part of this chapter, I will present a brief synopsis of a healing seance in order to help the reader make sense of the flow of ritual process. In the second part, I will focus on a case of madness and its healing seance which I attended.

Unlike other causes of illnesses, such as punishments from shrine gods or family patron deities for ignorance of worshipping ceremonies (Hyōn Yong-jun 1963), the mad or crazy state of mind is caused by a possession of *toch'aebi*, an alien deity from the outside world. As the afflicting agent of a disease, *toch'aebi* is one of the most feared yet least defined Cheju deities, fatally wearing down one's vitality and causing a "madness" (*turida*). *Toch'aebi* is a stranger deity who

visits Cheju randomly and tries to make good terms with the people. Instead this deity afflicts people and brings fatal illness, eroding body and soul of the patient. Frequently this deity is referred to as representing unidentifiable spirits. When people talk about a special healing rite for a patient or *hwanja kut*, they mean a rite of *toch'aebi*. Due to this *toch'aebi*'s particular character and favorites, the exorcism of this deity requires a sacrificial feast with a roast pig and several days dance of the possessed patient. For this reason, the healing rite for a "mad" patient is also called a dancing rite, or *ch'unŭn kut*. *Ch'unŭn kut* involves a possession dance of the patient.¹ In the state of possession of the *toch'aebi*, the patient dances to the rhythm of orchestral music of drums and gongs for days and nights until reaching a state of total exhaustion. In tune with the *simbang*'s reciting of her or his life history, the patient's possession dance become mature to a cure at the moment of rupture from the possessing deity, *toch'aebi*.

Specifically this chapter describes the rite for the exorcism of *toch'aebi* and its symbolic significance in folk healing. The following chapter will present the historical images of *toch'aebi*, not simply in as performance scenes, but also in their cultural appropriation in a wider social reality. My primary goal is to explore the religious imagery of evil involved in shamanic healing through an analysis of narrative texts of ritual songs excerpted partly from the actual performance. This imagery indicates popular images of evil that are manifested in personal episodes of illness, misfortune, and madness. Particularly with respect to the possession disease of *toch'aebi*, I am concerned with the way in which *toch'aebi* is mythologized as the most feared deity and then displaced as the detestable evil in the healing ritual.

Toch'aebi: An Enigmatic Deity

My initial interest in *toch'aebi* comes from the problematic character of the deity. Because *toch'aebi* is typically characterized as a bachelor who favors a pretty maiden, I will use the male pronouns "he" and "his" throughout the rest of this chapter to make it read more easily. *Toch'aebi* is commonly referred to as the deity of a fishing boat (*sŏnang*), and respectfully called *toch'aebi sin* (with the suffix, *sin*, indicating the deity). However, his divine identity has never been acknowledged in the ceremonial ladder (*chet'tari*) of Cheju shamanism. While distinguished from other lesser evil spirits (*chapkwi*), he also combines all evil spirits because of his malevolency. In addition, he has many different identities such as ghostly fire, night goblin, the king of fishing boats, blacksmith deity, family ancestor, and *yŏnggam* or *ch'ambong* (high bureaucratic ranks during the Yi dynasty). In a word, *toch'aebi* combines nonhuman and human nature. Because of this complex and ambiguous character, his identity appears inconsistent in the ritual context. His identity is redefined at each context for the various purposes of ritual. He is an enigma.

Although his character appears enigmatic, and his name is never directly referred to as such, *toch'aebi* is considered to be the cause of specific symptoms of marked weight loss, listlessness, and withdrawal which are generally diagnosed as "madness" (*turida*). In fact, *toch'aebi* possession indicates a greater disorder than an ordinary illness; it can result in the destruction of personality. *Ch'unŭn kut* thus aims at clarifying the cause of madness and restoring a normal personhood through the exorcism rite of *toch'aebi*. For this reason, *ch'unŭn kut* is also called *turin kut*, a healing rite for madness.

Why, then, is the exorcism rite called *ch'unŭn kut*, the dancing rite? In the beginning, I myself was puzzled by a festive mood pervading throughout the exorcism rite in spite of the personal crisis of the patient. *Ch'unŭn kut* is indeed

Toch'aebi: An Enigmatic Deity

My initial interest in *toch'aebi* comes from the problematic character of the deity. Because *toch'aebi* is typically characterized as a bachelor who favors a pretty maiden, I will use the male pronouns "he" and "his" throughout the rest of this chapter to make it read more easily. *Toch'aebi* is commonly referred to as the deity of a fishing boat (*sŏnang*), and respectfully called *toch'aebi sin* (with the suffix, *sin*, indicating the deity). However, his divine identity has never been acknowledged in the ceremonial ladder (*chet'tari*) of Cheju shamanism. While distinguished from other lesser evil spirits (*chapkwi*), he also combines all evil spirits because of his malevolency. In addition, he has many different identities such as ghostly fire, night goblin, the king of fishing boats, blacksmith deity, family ancestor, and *yŏnggam* or *ch'ambong* (high bureaucratic ranks during the Yi dynasty). In a word, *toch'aebi* combines nonhuman and human nature. Because of this complex and ambiguous character, his identity appears inconsistent in the ritual context. His identity is redefined at each context for the various purposes of ritual. He is an enigma.

Although his character appears enigmatic, and his name is never directly referred to as such, *toch'aebi* is considered to be the cause of specific symptoms of marked weight loss, listlessness, and withdrawal which are generally diagnosed as "madness" (*turida*). In fact, *toch'aebi* possession indicates a greater disorder than an ordinary illness; it can result in the destruction of personality. *Ch'unŭn kut* thus aims at clarifying the cause of madness and restoring a normal personhood through the exorcism rite of *toch'aebi*. For this reason, *ch'unŭn kut* is also called *turin kut*, a healing rite for madness.

Why, then, is the exorcism rite called *ch'unŭn kut*, the dancing rite? In the beginning, I myself was puzzled by a festive mood pervading throughout the exorcism rite in spite of the personal crisis of the patient. *Ch'unŭn kut* is indeed

structured like a feast, filled with dancing and chanting to orchestral music. In the ritual song and exorcism rite, *toch'aebi* is invoked as a good-hearted deity or a benevolent ancestor, greeted respectfully by the audience, and offered a sacrifice of a whole roast pig. In his honor, the *simbang* chants *yŏnggam ponpuri*, the origin myth of *toch'aebi*, and then earnestly invites the *toch'aebi* to dance with the patient until the patient is exhausted. The cure of "madness" depends on how playfully *toch'aebi* and the patient--the one person who acts doubly both as the possessor and the possessed--dance together as if they are a couple.

Indeed, the state of intoxication in dance manifests the power of *toch'aebi* himself; if the patient dances well, the *simbang* interprets that the patient is truly possessed by *toch'aebi*. When the *simbang* vigorously encourages the patient's dance, his or her initial goal is to please *toch'aebi sin*. His or her primary intention is however to arouse a will power of the patient towards cure. Put differently, the intoxicating dance that continues for three to four days demonstrates the magical power of the *toch'aebi* that may, to recount the *simbang's* words, "resuscitate a dying patient" (*chugŏ kanŭn saram sallŏneda*). In this context, *toch'aebi* appears ironically both as the cause of illness and also the potential for cure. His magical potential for healing, however, turns out to be an illusion at the end of *ch'unun kut* when he is expelled from the patient's body. Ultimately, whatever he is defined as, *toch'aebi* represents an evil to be exorcized.

Ritual Genres and the Structure of A Healing Seance, *Ch'unŭn Kut*

Briefly I want to describe the variety of ritual genres involved in folk healing in order to fully bring out the enigmatic identity of *toch'aebi* and the complex structure of *ch'unŭn kut*. Actually *ch'unŭn kut* is not a single healing rite; rather combines several minor healing rites such as soul-return (*nŏk-dŭrim*) and exorcism (*p'udasi*). Because each healing rite constitutes a distinct narrative

structured like a feast, filled with dancing and chanting to orchestral music. In the ritual song and exorcism rite, *toch'aebi* is invoked as a good-hearted deity or a benevolent ancestor, greeted respectfully by the audience, and offered a sacrifice of a whole roast pig. In his honor, the *simbang* chants *yŏnggam ponpuri*, the origin myth of *toch'aebi*, and then earnestly invites the *toch'aebi* to dance with the patient until the patient is exhausted. The cure of "madness" depends on how playfully *toch'aebi* and the patient--the one person who acts doubly both as the possessor and the possessed--dance together as if they are a couple.

Indeed, the state of intoxication in dance manifests the power of *toch'aebi* himself; if the patient dances well, the *simbang* interprets that the patient is truly possessed by *toch'aebi*. When the *simbang* vigorously encourages the patient's dance, his or her initial goal is to please *toch'aebi sin*. His or her primary intention is however to arouse a will power of the patient towards cure. Put differently, the intoxicating dance that continues for three to four days demonstrates the magical power of the *toch'aebi* that may, to recount the *simbang's* words, "resuscitate a dying patient" (*chugŏ kanŭn saram sallŏneda*). In this context, *toch'aebi* appears ironically both as the cause of illness and also the potential for cure. His magical potential for healing, however, turns out to be an illusion at the end of *ch'unun kut* when he is expelled from the patient's body. Ultimately, whatever he is defined as, *toch'aebi* represents an evil to be exorcized.

Ritual Genres and the Structure of A Healing Seance, *Ch'unŭn Kut*

Briefly I want to describe the variety of ritual genres involved in folk healing in order to fully bring out the enigmatic identity of *toch'aebi* and the complex structure of *ch'unŭn kut*. Actually *ch'unŭn kut* is not a single healing rite; rather combines several minor healing rites such as soul-return (*nŏk-dŭrim*) and exorcism (*p'udasi*). Because each healing rite constitutes a distinct narrative

structure concerning the cause of affliction and its curing method, I will consider each rite as a distinct ritual genre. For example, *nŏk dŭrim* is conducted for the case of soul-loss, *p'udasi* for the case of lesser evil spirits (*chapkwi*), and *chunun kut* for the case of *toch'aebi*. Compared to *nŏk dŭrim* and *p'udasi*, *chunun kut* can range from a few days to a week-long ritual on a grand scale (*k'un kut*) that employs various modes of performance such as myth-chant (*ponpuri*), dance, instrumental music, and a comic mask play. (See Appendix A).

Each ritual genre can be performed either individually or collectively, depending on the nature of symptoms of the patient. According to the scale of symptoms, soul-loss (*nŏk nagam*) is the basic symptom of physical and mental disorders, indicating a surprise or fright. The *simbang* conducts a ten to thirty minutes single rite of soul-return (*nŏk tŭrim*). *Chapkwi* is associated with the more complicated case, and *p'udasi* is performed for exorcism of *chapkwi*. Usually when a patient comes, the *simbang* starts with *nŏk dŭrim*, or *p'udasi*, for a immediate and quick remedy. However, if this minor rite is not effective, and the symptoms develops into a chronic state, the *simbang* judges the cause to be *toch'aebi* affliction, and conducts *ch'unŭn kut*. In this case *toch'aebi* is considered to be the chief agent of complications for every possible agent including soul-loss and *chapkwi* possession. Therefore, *ch'unŭn kut* includes other minor ritual genres such as *nŏk dŭrim* and *p'udasi* in addition to a specific exorcism rite for *toch'aebi*, *yŏnggam nori*, which is performed in the mode of a mask play. Within the structure of *ch'unŭn kut*, these ritual genres are articulated to evoke the memory of each event of soul-loss or lesser evil spirit's possession in the past that is seemingly-related to the patient's illness. The following synopsis of a healing seance illustrate the ritual process of *ch'unŭn kut*.

The *ch'unŭn kut* begins with a rite of invitation of deities (*ch'ogamche*) to the altar. The chief *simbang*, who is in charge of administering the whole ritual

process, calls upon the name of each deity in hierarchical order from the Heavenly Jade Emperor to the House Lord and seats them at the altar (*paep'o-doŭp*). Sitting on the rectangular mat in front of the altar, he or she slowly beats an hourglass drum. The *simbang* informs the deities of the time and place of the specific ritual performance, (*nal-guk sŏmkim*), and explains the genesis of the illness and the reason why this rite is performed. When the *simbang* "clears the causes" (*yŏnyu takkŭm*), he or she narrates the sequences of actual events involving the patient's soul-loss. The *simbang* usually apologizes to the deities for how deeply the affliction has developed due to the patient's negligence of the signs of their anger or grudges that are manifested in the patient's illness and misfortune.

In a rhythmic narration, the *simbang* chronicles the patient's family misfortunes, emphasizing disgraceful events or unfortunate deaths in the family. If the *simbang*'s narration is incorrect or insufficient, the family members correct or add to it so that the "clearing the causes" can be satisfactorily delivered to the deities and dead ancestors listening from their seats. Not a single spirit of the dead should be ignored; otherwise, the "something bad" can happen. At the end, the *simbang* earnestly begs those invited deities and ancestral spirits to forgive the patient for her or his offensive liability (*choech'eck*).² Because of this confessional aspect of the ritual, *ch'unŭn kut* is referred to as *pŏl p'uri pinyŏm*, a prayerful plea for the release of the patient from divine conviction, *pŏl*.

While the recitation of the *simbang* thusfar consists of documenting actual events of affliction and soul-loss, the following phase (*sŏuje sori*) proceeds to the improvisatory narration of a life history of the patient. *Sŏuje sori* is an extended part of the whole performance, taking two days or more, until the affliction of *toch'aebi* is clearly revealed in public. In this phase, the patient appears on the

altar and dances to orchestral music played by three or four assistant simbangs (*somu*) and to chanting of a chief simbang (*su simbang*).

This ensemble of chanting (*sōuje sori*), dancing (*nonyōm*) and orchestral music (*yōnmul sori*) inspires an awesome reflective mood in all participants. The dancing patient and the audience shed tears silently as the simbang recites a chronicle of tragic family events and the patient's suffering in the past. The past experiences are transposed in this mournful mood, into imaginary representations of an interior landscape where the patient's resentments "float" like the evening star, or an offshore boat, and "burn" like a coal but without smoke.

In a trance-like state, the patient dances as if he or she is pleased with the music and singing. However, according to the simbang's account it is the possessing deity who dances. In other words, the patient manifests in herself the double personalities of both the possessed and the possessing spirit. The patient is strongly encouraged to play (*nonyōm*) until a state of exhaustion. Once the patient falls down on the floor, he or she is moved to the inside room and rests there for about thirty minutes. On the average, the patient's trance dancing lasts thirty minutes in the beginning and gradually extends to nearly one hour depending on the situational judgment of the *su-simbang* who carefully watches the progress of dancing. This cycle of dancing and rests, that comprises a single session of ritual performance (*kut hansōk*), continues for several days until the "bad sweats" on the patient's palms dry completely.

At the climax of several turns of possession dance, the simbang suddenly stops the patient's dance and asks the patient why he or she is dancing and who is the real dancer. This stage of ritual is *taegim patūm*. Then the patient not only identifies herself or himself with the particular name of the possessing spirit but also confesses when and how the spirit encountered the patient. Feeling threatened by the simbang, who is holding a bundle of willowtree twigs as if

ready to beat the back of the dancer, the possessing spirit swears to leave the patient at an appointed time. The simbang's inquisitory dialogue with the patient is repeated three times and serves two purposes simultaneously: renunciation of the patient's double personality and affirmation of the patient's will to be cured.

Right after the last interrogation, lesser rites of soul-return and exorcism rite for *chapkwi* are performed, several times if required. When the simbang blows a breath on the crown of the head of the patient and calls the name of the lost soul, the patient's soul returns through a piece of the patient's old clothing that has been placed on the head. After the soul-return and during the exorcism rite for *chapkwi*, the simbang covers the patient with a long piece of white linen cloth, *pol sok-chachi*, which epitomizes the patient's sins. This exorcism rite called *pol puri* intends to cleanse the patient's offensive liability against all supernatural beings ranging from the Emperor Jade to the anonymous ghosts. This exorcism rite is performed three times for each category of the supernatural: *sin puri* for deities, *chosang puri* for the family patron spirits and the spirits of the dead family members, and *chapkwi puri* for the anonymous ghosts. After these rites of soul-return and exorcism, the patient takes a bath, has fingernails and toenails cut, and puts on a new set of clothes and shoes. The patient's soul is ready for renewal.

Yet the exorcism rite does not complete, awaiting the last possession dance session and dramatic expulsion of *toch'aebi*, *yōnggam nori*. *Ch'unŭn kut* culminates with a comic mask play of *toch'aebi*, usually played in the late afternoon when *toch'aebi* is supposed to act. While the simbang chants the myth of *yōnggam* (*yōnggam ponp'uri*), *toch'aebi* arrives at the altar as impersonated in the paper mask of *yōnggam* played by an assistant simbang. *Yōnggam's* character indicates a gentry class man of the Yi dynasty. *Yōnggam* is invited to

the sacrificial feast of a roast pig and the farewell dancing feast with the patient. He explains that he has come to be reconciled with the patient and publicly pledges to leave the patient forever under the supervision of the chief *simbang*. *Yonggam nori* stages the indirect exorcism of *toch'aebi* by a plea that *yonggam* take away the bodily illness (*sinbyong*) of the patient and leave for the better place by a boat. This comic play proceeds in a typical dialogue style whereby two *simbangs* engage in a comic verbal discourse with associated gestural action. The currents of laughter and jokes flow brightly for a while; but the healing rite abruptly moves to its next phase.

The series of final rough exorcisms (*mak-p'udasi*) follow the comic play. Now the patient is seated in front of the altar and wrapped with a mat around her body in order to hide herself from the avenging hungry ghosts (*chapku* or *chapkwi*).³ To expel those ghosts who are official servants of *yonggam*, the *simbang* simulates stabbing the patient with knives, tearing harshly the outer garments, killing a rooster (a scapegoat), and breaking an old jar into pieces on her head. Due to this terrifying atmosphere, this phase of the rite is also called *oksalchium*, imprisonment. Calling the name of each ghost to the rhythm of fast drum beating, the *simbang* threatens the ghosts by whirling a torch over the patient's head. The *mak-p'udasi* have a double purpose; to convince the *toch'aebi* and his servants that the patient is now dead due to burning and stabbing (this is designed to persuade the agent to leave her without inauspicious effects) and also to urge the patient to accept the new reality that the *toch'aebi* is now leaving, and thus the patient shall be cured.

Meanwhile, a miniature boat made of dry weeds awaits departure offshore (*pae-bangsong*). This boat is loaded with a handful of the patient's hair and fingernails, several small bags of food, medicine, and money, all of which are partly tribute to the *toch'aebi* and partly for his sailing. The last rough exorcism

of the anonymous ghosts and the sailing of this tribute boat have to be done at the same time. Because it is suspected that the *toch'aebi* will hesitate to leave if there is a delay. Wearing a net made of left-braided straw ropes over the face as a corpse does, the patient runs away to the hiding place where *toch'aebi* cannot find her or him again. At the closing phase of the whole rite (*tochin*), the *simbang* asks the deities to return to their original places. Then the attending *simbangs* pack all musical instruments and ritual paraphernalia, dismantle the altar, and hurriedly leave the altar without saying farewell to anyone. Were they to say any word to the patient or the family members, it would bring about reaffliction because that word would carry a kind greeting to *toch'aebi*.

Afterwards the patient returns to him or her a new self, called *sae-sarūm*. One's old self, *hon-sarūm* or a worn-down person, is now gone. But this change has to be kept secret for a while for fear of reaffliction. For a week at least, strangers' visits to the patient's hiding place are prohibited, and the pork meat, which was the major part of sacrificial offering to *toch'abi* and thus can serve as a medium of reaffliction, is tabooed to the patient and other family members. Thereafter, the *simbang* goes back to the patient's house and treats the missing hungry ghosts, who could not come to the feast of healing seance at the right time for various reasons and thus now expect new offerings from the patient. This rite is *tui-maji*, a belated greeting. With *tui-maji*, the *ch'unŭn kut* is completely finished.

A Case-history of Madness: Sunho

Various forms of ritual genres and performance as illustrated above contribute to a clarifying of the causes of *toch'aebi* affliction and a reworking of the personal experiences involved. Although the *simbang's* recitation consists of a story of a mythical relationship between the patient and *toch'aebi*, it actually

of the anonymous ghosts and the sailing of this tribute boat have to be done at the same time. Because it is suspected that the *toch'aebi* will hesitate to leave if there is a delay. Wearing a net made of left-braided straw ropes over the face as a corpse does, the patient runs away to the hiding place where *toch'aebi* cannot find her or him again. At the closing phase of the whole rite (*tochin*), the *simbang* asks the deities to return to their original places. Then the attending *simbangs* pack all musical instruments and ritual paraphernalia, dismantle the altar, and hurriedly leave the altar without saying farewell to anyone. Were they to say any word to the patient or the family members, it would bring about reaffliction because that word would carry a kind greeting to *toch'aebi*.

Afterwards the patient returns to him or her a new self, called *sae-sarūm*. One's old self, *hon-sarūm* or a worn-down person, is now gone. But this change has to be kept secret for a while for fear of reaffliction. For a week at least, strangers' visits to the patient's hiding place are prohibited, and the pork meat, which was the major part of sacrificial offering to *toch'abi* and thus can serve as a medium of reaffliction, is tabooed to the patient and other family members. Thereafter, the *simbang* goes back to the patient's house and treats the missing hungry ghosts, who could not come to the feast of healing seance at the right time for various reasons and thus now expect new offerings from the patient. This rite is *tui-maji*, a belated greeting. With *tui-maji*, the *ch'unŭn kut* is completely finished.

A Case-history of Madness: Sunho

Various forms of ritual genres and performance as illustrated above contribute to a clarifying of the causes of *toch'aebi* affliction and a reworking of the personal experiences involved. Although the *simbang's* recitation consists of a story of a mythical relationship between the patient and *toch'aebi*, it actually

recapitulates a life history of the person, focusing on the experiences of illness and misfortune in the past. And the ultimate purpose of this storytelling to the rhythm of drum-beats lies in the restructuralization of personhood through exorcism of *toch'aebi*, the evil cause of all maladies. In this section I will a case-history of madness which had afflicted Sunho, a twenty-one year old female factory worker. Furthermore, through the analytical description of ritual performance, I want to elucidate the way in which the imagery of *toch'aebi* affliction in Sunho's case-history revives recent past history of Cheju as well as contemporary Korean society.⁴

Sunho was only seventeen years old when she left home for an export-oriented factory in Seoul five years before right after she graduated from middle school. The factory was a small business run by a distant relative from Cheju, and it was located near a slaughterhouse at the outskirts of the capital city. In the factory, Sunho made jewelry of imitation pearls and beads. There is a clear reason why Sunho went to Seoul. She was the head of a family of six people including her mother, two sisters, and two younger brothers after her father had died quite a while ago. Without any farming land, her mother made a bare living from working on a daily basis or seasonally at cash crop farm fields. In Seoul, Sunho lived in the factory dormitory and earned about \$120 (US \$1=850 *wŏn* in the current exchange rate in 1984) a month. Although her income was so low, she sent more than two thirds of her monthly income to her family living in Cheju. She was responsible for the education of her four brothers and sisters too. But her responsibility for her family seemed too heavy to carry out by herself.

After witnessing an accident in the bathroom of the factory three years before, she suddenly began "losing words (*mal i molachida*)," meaning a withdrawal. In folk expression, she "lost her soul" (*nŏk ul ilda*) when she saw the dead body of a fellow worker there. Even worse, she experienced the accidental

death of a close friend from her native village a year later. Thus, in the three year period beginning with the first event, she had endured the trauma of two accidents and her own soul-loss. For no clear reasons, she fell to depression and could not go on working. She would not speak to anyone and sat all day long with an absent-minded look on her face. Occasionally she burst out crying without explanation. This state of incapacity and depression continued until she suddenly dropped out of her job and returned back home.

There are several reasons why I choose Sunho's case-history as an example. This particular case embodies the *evil* of export-oriented industrialization and political oppression that have been accelerated since the 1970s in Korea. It also demonstrates how the conflicts generated by radical economic and political change become reflected onto religious discourse by folk healing; and how the efficacy of folk healing depends on the reconstruction of the patient's personhood and life history by means of religious images that may articulate the problematic present to the future as an ideal prefigured in collective memory of *toch'aebi*.

I attended the *ch'unŭn kut* for Sunho, which was conducted by Park simbang from March 14 to 17, 1984 in the village of Koduk on the northern coast of Cheju Island. It was the first healing rite I had ever attended during my field work in Cheju.⁵ I was informed of this healing rite by Mr. Kim who was a curator at the university museum specialized in Cheju folk culture. Mr. Kim and I were the only members of the audience from outside the village community. This *ch'unŭn kut* was rather quietly done with a small audience. Unlike other *kut* performances that easily attract curious neighbors, *ch'unŭn kut* is usually arranged secretly among the family and close acquaintances because it tends to tap the unspeakable sorrow and resentment hidden inside the heart of the patient and thus may embarrass strangers in the audience who do not know the particular

case. Often it is decided abruptly without preparations on the side of the patient due to the seriousness of the case.⁶

For these reasons, I attended only five cases of *ch'unŭn kut* in total. Among them, Sunho's case is one of two cases where I was able to observe the whole process from beginning to end. I participated only partly in the other three cases, missing, for example, the first day or two days of performance (which might have provided me with key information about the case stories). Most of the times I was informed too late of the ritual event through rumor or gossip among the villagers or the local intellectuals of folklore with whom I maintained frequent contact. But Sunho's case was different. Unusually, Mr. Kim and I were informed ahead on behalf of Park Simbang, who was the chief simbang of Sunho's *ch'unŭn kut* and also a close confidant of Mr. Kim. Actually throughout my field work, whether or not I was well acquainted with the simbang performer greatly influenced the integrity and accuracy of my observation and interpretation of ritual. Park simbang's kind explanations to us regarding the progress of the ritual performance ensured a high level of integrity in the ensuing description of Sunho's case-history. Moreover, because Park simbang is known as one of the best performers of *ch'unŭn kut* among other Cheju simbangs, particularly in impromptu singing of a broad repertoire of *sŏuje sori* and in theatrical performance of a comic play, *yŏnggam nori*,⁷ this may be a typical representation of a *ch'unŭn kut*.

Heritage of Female Divers (*Chamsu*) or the Women of the Sea (*Haenyŏ*)

As background to the historical significance of Sunho's case, I want to give a brief social history of madness or *toch'aebi* possession which is most commonly found among Cheju women. Except one case of a young man three among four of the cases of *ch'unŭn kut* in this study are female divers (*chamsu* or *haenyŏ*).⁸ The

case. Often it is decided abruptly without preparations on the side of the patient due to the seriousness of the case.⁶

For these reasons, I attended only five cases of *ch'unŭn kut* in total. Among them, Sunho's case is one of two cases where I was able to observe the whole process from beginning to end. I participated only partly in the other three cases, missing, for example, the first day or two days of performance (which might have provided me with key information about the case stories). Most of the times I was informed too late of the ritual event through rumor or gossip among the villagers or the local intellectuals of folklore with whom I maintained frequent contact. But Sunho's case was different. Unusually, Mr. Kim and I were informed ahead on behalf of Park Simbang, who was the chief simbang of Sunho's *ch'unŭn kut* and also a close confidant of Mr. Kim. Actually throughout my field work, whether or not I was well acquainted with the simbang performer greatly influenced the integrity and accuracy of my observation and interpretation of ritual. Park simbang's kind explanations to us regarding the progress of the ritual performance ensured a high level of integrity in the ensuing description of Sunho's case-history. Moreover, because Park simbang is known as one of the best performers of *ch'unŭn kut* among other Cheju simbangs, particularly in impromptu singing of a broad repertoire of *sŏuje sori* and in theatrical performance of a comic play, *yŏnggam nori*,⁷ this may be a typical representation of a *ch'unŭn kut*.

Heritage of Female Divers (*Chamsu*) or the Women of the Sea (*Haenyŏ*)

As background to the historical significance of Sunho's case, I want to give a brief social history of madness or *toch'aebi* possession which is most commonly found among Cheju women. Except one case of a young man three among four of the cases of *ch'unŭn kut* in this study are female divers (*chamsu* or *haenyŏ*).⁸ The

female divers are the group that is most favored by *toch'aebi* who is often portrayed as a bachelor in myth and ritual recitation. By describing briefly why the *ch'unŭn kut* was conducted in each case, I will try to locate Sunho's madness in the cultural and historical contexts of the lives of Cheju women.

The oldest woman among these three cases was a fifty-four year old active diver. She suffered severe depression and headaches, and could often be found crying alone in her home. In the beginning, her only son, in his mid-thirties, appeared to be the direct cause of her illness. He was born after his father's tragic death during the April Third Uprising. Fully dependent on his mother and wife (both divers), he was a trouble-maker in the village and beat her whenever she scolded him for heavy drinking. She seemed to lose hope in life. Whereas the *simbang* sympathized with her drudgery of diving in the deep sea and chronic headache (which is a diver's typical occupational disease),⁹ the *simbang* also interpreted the hidden cause of her madness as originating from her husband's tragic death.

The second case was a thirty-four year old female diver. She was the estranged wife of an emigrant to Japan. Within a year after their wedding in the early 1970s, the husband smuggled himself to Japan for better earnings. After that, with her child, she had had to support herself and her child by diving. Her husband visited once after seven years and gave her a second child, six years old. But he went back again to Japan and married another woman, probably never returning to Cheju. She became thinner and incapable of diving work. Out of despair, she planned to visit her husband in Japan for the final decision as to whether or not she had to divorce him. But her relatives from her husband's family suggested that she have a healing *kut* because she looked too weak to make the trip. During the *simbang's* interrogation (*taegim padŭm*), she confessed that the possessing deity was a young couple who died from an accident when their

excursion boat was overturned on the sea somewhere off the mainland, and drifted away all the way down to Cheju. The wife even sang a popular song with the Seoul accent, as requested by the *simbang* to prove their identity.

The third case was a newly wed, twenty-six year old female diver. She also showed the same physical symptoms as the previous two cases had. Four years before she migrated to the mainland seashore for better earnings, as skillful and ambitious young divers had done for a long time in Cheju history.¹⁰ She went there together with fellow divers and fishermen who helped transport the divers in and out to sea. It had not been six months since she had returned to her home village for her marriage. As *ch'unŭn kut* went on, she confessed that the possessing spirit in charge was the soul of a dead fisherman, one of her fellows at work on the mainland, who died at the sea from a shipwreck and whose dead body was never found.

As we can see in all three cases, it would not be necessary to check out whether the accidents really took place as each patient confessed. If these three cases represent prototype cases of female divers whose toils at dangerous work in the deep sea are mixed with the memory of personal tragedy in the past to cause a state of madness, Sunho's case suggests their modern-day counterpart. Recently, the shell-collecting female divers have gradually decreased due to the dangers of this work. Sunho can be considered as a modern-day migratory diver working in the factory in such a vast sea of anonymity and alienation as Seoul City.¹¹ But due to her lack of relevant skills for work, she was more vulnerable to the environment than her forebearers.

The cause of Sunho's illness was diagnosed as *toch'aebi* spirit possession. At first her mother consulted with Park *simbang*, her long term regular consultant *simbang*, for a simple emergency rite for exorcism (*p'udasi*). However, after his own diagnostic divination, Park *simbang* decided to have a larger scale

rite, *ch'unŭn kut*, despite Sunho's mother's worries about excessive costs. Although she could not afford the expense, she and her close relatives decided to follow Park simbang's suggestion. The seance began in the afternoon of March 13 and lasted for four days and nights until March 17. In the beginning of *kut* the patient seemed to feel ashamed and reluctant to dance in front of her relatives. But later she was convinced that only dancing-play could cure her.

Sunho's *Ch'unŭn Kut*

March 14, Afternoon for Preparation and Organization of Ritual Space (*Chech'ŏng*)

The ritual space, usually the wooden floor in the center of the house, is cleared before the *kut* starts. All offerings must be prepared before the *simbangs* arrive. But it is the *simbangs* who set up the offering tables and organize *chechong*. A wooden shade stands in the center of *chech'ŏng* upright at the one end of the floor. In front of this shade, one large offering table for the seven brothers and seven sisters of *toch'aebi* is set up.¹² Called a table for military heroes (*kunung sang*), the table holds an array of seven rice bowls, each holding one thousand *wŏn* (roughly \$ 1.20 by the current exchange rate) bills, and round rice cake dishes in two rows side by side. On the middle row of the table, two large bowls of three kinds of fruits such as apples, oranges, and pears are placed, and small bowls of boiled eggs and a dried fish fillet are placed in the front row together with three cups of rice wine.

Two small offering tables for the four gods of the sea and the goddess of the kitchen are set beside the major table. The *su simbang* is now dressed up semi-formally with a triangular paper hat (representing a seated Buddhist monk) placed on the straw mat, called the divine mat (*sin-jari*), where the performers get spiritually aroused. On the middle ground between the *simbang's* divine mat and

rite, *ch'unŭn kut*, despite Sunho's mother's worries about excessive costs. Although she could not afford the expense, she and her close relatives decided to follow Park simbang's suggestion. The seance began in the afternoon of March 13 and lasted for four days and nights until March 17. In the beginning of *kut* the patient seemed to feel ashamed and reluctant to dance in front of her relatives. But later she was convinced that only dancing-play could cure her.

Sunho's *Ch'unŭn Kut*

March 14, Afternoon for Preparation and Organization of Ritual Space (*Chech'ŏng*)

The ritual space, usually the wooden floor in the center of the house, is cleared before the *kut* starts. All offerings must be prepared before the *simbangs* arrive. But it is the *simbangs* who set up the offering tables and organize *chechong*. A wooden shade stands in the center of *chech'ŏng* upright at the one end of the floor. In front of this shade, one large offering table for the seven brothers and seven sisters of *toch'aebi* is set up.¹² Called a table for military heroes (*kunung sang*), the table holds an array of seven rice bowls, each holding one thousand *wŏn* (roughly \$ 1.20 by the current exchange rate) bills, and round rice cake dishes in two rows side by side. On the middle row of the table, two large bowls of three kinds of fruits such as apples, oranges, and pears are placed, and small bowls of boiled eggs and a dried fish fillet are placed in the front row together with three cups of rice wine.

Two small offering tables for the four gods of the sea and the goddess of the kitchen are set beside the major table. The *su simbang* is now dressed up semi-formally with a triangular paper hat (representing a seated Buddhist monk) placed on the straw mat, called the divine mat (*sin-jari*), where the performers get spiritually aroused. On the middle ground between the *simbang's* divine mat and

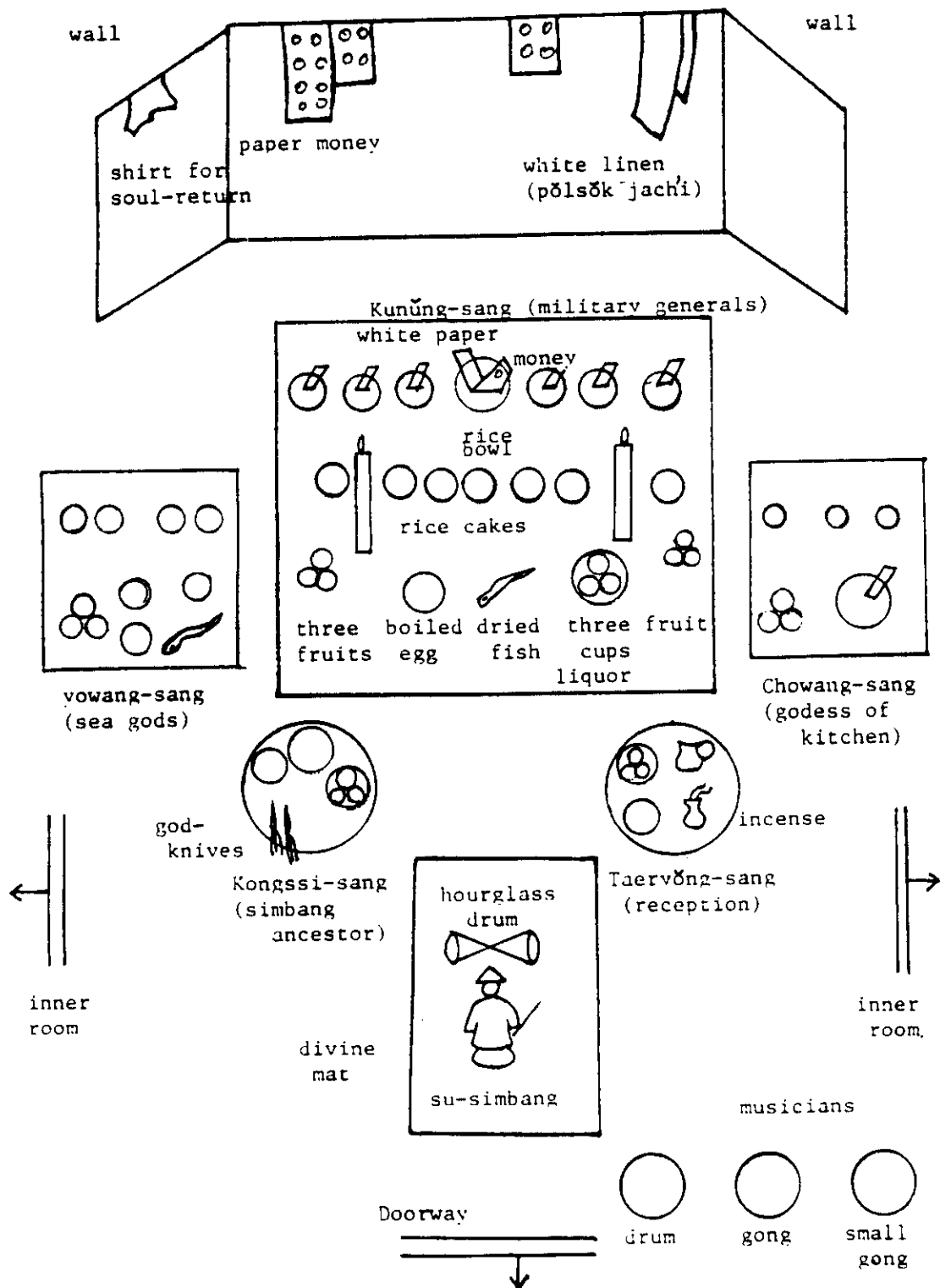


Figure 3. Organization of Ritual Space (Chechöng)

the major offering tables, two small round-shaped tables are placed; one table (*kongssi sang*) is for the simbang's ancestors and the other table (*taeryŏng sang*) for the reception of deities and their carrier horses. On the *kongssi sang*, the simbang's divinatory items such as bronze divine knives, a rattle, and a set of two bronze coins and saucers are displayed. A bronze incense container and a kettle of rice liquor are on the *taeryŏng sang*. (See Figure 3).

***Ch'ogamche*, the Summoning of Deities**

Once the offering tables are arrayed in proper places, three assistant simbangs (*somu*) sit in a line; each *somu* holds the gong, the round drum, or a small gong. The fourth assistant simbang stands close to the door in order to play the role of receptionist of the deities. The *su* simbang sits on the divine mat and starts to beat an hourglass drum slowly, summoning deities to the altar by invoking their names one by one. Once the deities descend to their proper seats at the altar, the *su* simbang narrates the background story of illness and family misfortune in order to plead with them. When the *ch'ogamche* starts, the patient and her family members stay inside their rooms and listen carefully to the narration (*yŏnyu-dakkŭm*). In the beginning of the *kut* very few audience members other than relatives gather in the house. The following verbatim text of narration is selected from the transcript of cassette tapes of Sunho's *ch'unŭn kut*. At the end each stanza (not a sentence), the simbang took a short breath.

Writing a name on the one paper and wrapping the paper on the rice,
who is making this prayerful plea?

Lady Lee, fifty-three years old this year,
Whose former life and destiny was ruined?
Grievous widow! [She]¹³ was born at Kochon on such a day.
During the 4.3 Incident [April Third Uprising], [her] poor father and
brother died.
Left alone without any relatives,
[She] married but lost [her] husband on the wedding day due to the
Insurgency.
Lonely for a while, [she] met Koh-ssi husband.

As one year, two years, and many years past,
 A twenty-five, a twenty-one, a nineteen, a fourteen, an eleven year old,
 five siblings arose.
 This husband also died in early age.
 Six families have barely lived since then.

Why today in this good season of sowing, do [we] have this *kut*?....
 This is neither a grandiose *kut* nor a small *kut* that is given homage to
 gods for gratitude.
 Worried and annoyed, sorrowful and resentful, such a plea is this.
 [We] want to plead to the sky god.
 But the blue sky seems too high, like the sky over the widow's desolate
 room.
 [We] want to plead to the earth god.
 But the white sand beach seems too wide.

This child, miserable and lonely, longing for its father,
 Is twenty-one years old, a maiden with dark long hair.
 [She] wants farming in her native place.
 But [she] does not have a large farm field like others.
 This child has neither a high-roof fancy house nor skilled job.
 By earning money like making ten out of one, or making a hundred out
 of ten,
 [She] planned to support her young and still childish siblings' schooling.

[She] left her native place where her umbilical cord is buried.
 In Seoul, Kyungkido, in a foreign place, [she] worked in a factory days
 and nights in toil.
 Breakfast rice as lunch, lunch as supper rice, [she] ate.
 While [she] worked and slept under the constraint of time, time passed
 away helplessly.
 (Park simbang rings the rattle)

This child, when [she] was nineteen, too young and ignorant, does not
 remember how [she] lost her soul and mind.
 Isn't it right that, if one soul among human three souls is lost,
 We become like a withering flower?

The Emperor of Jade on the highest sky and the Ten Kings of the
 underworld!
 This lost soul was never found in hospital or by doctor.
 Isn't our life so fragile like a dew drop on the taro leaves?

Because this child, young and miserable, far away from home and her
 mother,
 Had no one who would take back her lost soul and mind,
 [She] attracted all kinds of sundry evil spirits,
 The dead souls which had been scattered
 In every river and valley, on the sea and the distant land, on the long
 Pakma river, on the long fine sandy beach,
 Souls scattered on every street, gate, and house yard,
 Souls floating in the darkness,
 Souls scattered in the underworld,

Souls scattered wherever [she] sat in the factory, stood, lay down, walked, and played.

Because there was no one who would gather all of these "scattered souls" (*hŭtŏjin nŏk*) and take back [her] lost soul,
This miserable child yet has none of souls and minds.¹⁴

How much money can the single maiden make?
Due to tiresome heavy labor in the factory, [she] lost her mind and became mentally ill.
This miserable child stops eating in the midst of meals, sleeps in the midst of work,
Longing for the native place, longing for the mother, the five siblings who were born from the same umbilical cord.
[She] cried in hunger as the pillows were flooded by tears.
Counting one more year, one more month of salary,
[She] worked hard in order to save money to help the aging mother and also prepare her own marriage.
[She] worked to death, and her soul was lost.
At a lonesome foreign place where there are no relatives, [she] got ill and wept lonely,
Longing for only [her] own native place, her own mother, her own siblings.

Coming home, [she] pleaded to her mother, "Mother! I am too sick to live any longer."
As the tide of sea comes in, the tide of illness comes into this house. Even that sea water comes and goes.
But once the water comes into this house, the house is flooded with worry and agony.

The Emperor of Jade in the heaven and the Ten Kings of the underworld!
Even this small offering of *p'udasi* may be compatible to the offering of the grandiose *kut*.
By prayers, I [the *simbang*] invite all of you to the altar.
(Orchestral music flows slowly)

The text draws the parallel relationship of two life stories of Sunho and her mother. As one writes a story on paper, the *simbang* chants a story (*yŏnyu-dakkŭm*) about why Sunho became sick. As the patient's mother, Lee, did not have a normal, happy life, Sunho also followed the same fate. If the mother, as a propertyless, poor old woman, represents the collective misery of Cheju women, whose families and husbands were lost in the ideological warfare in 1948, the daughter's life as a immigrant unskilled factory worker in Seoul reflects that of young Korean women who are exploited by export-oriented industry. In this

rather plain and factual description of their common misery is a record of popular perception of the painful past and the present. In fact, the same mode of expression can be found repeatedly in the similar cases of widowhood and of a person who leaves the native village for employment outside (cf. three cases of female divers).

The Legacy of the Entangled Resentments (*han* or *wŏnhan*)

As we see in the above shamanic recitation of personal misery of Sunho and her mother, there is a certain mode of popular perception and expression of reality, the miserable one. Their tragic sense of life that enlists every negative aspect of life such as illness, poverty, failure of marriage, widowhood, and unhappy life is mostly attributed to "the inevitable manifestation of predestined ill fate (*chŏnsŭng kŭrŭchida* or *p'alja sokwan* in standard Korean usage) according to the native account. At this point I want to discuss the cultural and historical meaning of Sunho and her mother's personal sense of ill-fate.

Such a negative self-image of ill-fate is generally expressed in the notion of *han* or *wŏnhan*, an emotion of entangled resentment or unrequited grudge. During the healing seance the *simbang* defines this ritual as *wŏn-p'uri*, which means "the interpreting or unraveling" grudge. There is a slight difference between the two notions of such emotion, *wŏnhan* and *han*. *Wŏnhan* indicates a more specific emotion such as grudge or resentment that is accumulated through a long period of time and then deep-seated in the heart. Until it is heard and unraveled, this emotional state of *wŏnhan* would remain intact, emitting malice towards others. In shamanism, this particular emotion is attributed to the spirits of the dead who died by accidents or without receiving proper funeral rites (Kendall 1981). On the other hand, *han* is a more general term for *wŏnhan*. This notion of *han* is used to indicate a less concrete but more aesthetically elated sense of sorrow and

resentment (cf. Cho Hŭng-yun 1984; Kim Yŏl-kyu 1977; Ko Ŭn 1984; Yi Pu-yŏng 1985). Whether one specifies the emotional state of grudge either with the word *wŏnhan* or with the word *han*, both words indicate the same emotion. (Therefore I will use the word *han* in the rest of chapter in the sense of *wŏnhan*.)

This popular expression of grudge and resentment has its own social history. In general, the notion of *han* has been considered to be the representative emotion of Korean people, particularly, of the subaltern people. This people is often referred to as just "people" or *min* in a Chinese character. This "people" implies the common people under the rule of government, *kwan*. Traditionally the relationship between the ruler and the ruled has been expressed in this dichotomous association of *kwan* and *min*. The ordinary self-referential terms of the people such as *inmin*, or *paeksŏng* implies this power relationship. The recent popular term for "people," *minjung*, must be understood in this sense (Yu Che-chon 1984). Likewise, the concept of *han* cannot be properly understood without this oppositional conceptualization of two contrary ideological types. From the similar historical perspective, Kim Yong-bok (1982:370), a Protestant theologian, defines the concept of *minjung* as follows:

The *minjung* indicates the dominated in contrast to the dominant. Depending on the character of dominant system, therefore, the social biography of the *minjung* may vary. By "social biography" or "social history" here I mean collective stories of social relationship, in which the *minjung* is engaged in as the subject of history. In short, it is a story of the *minjung*. And this story of *minjung* weaves suffering and hope of the *minjung* together. In other words, the story of *minjung* combines in harmony a song of sorrow (elegy) with a song of hope...a weaving procedure that one generation creates the present for the sake of the next generation by means of wisdom from the past and hope for the future... in this story of *minjung*, therefore, events, hopes, and memories are interwoven. (my translation)

In other words, "the story of the *minjung*" as Kim suggests here, derives from a specific historical experience of their subjugation of the government. Expression of this historical experience is captured by the word *han*, "the

unrequited resentments." As Kim and others (Ko Ŭn 1984; Soh Nam-dong 1982) commonly contend, however, "the story of the *minjung*" has never developed into a solid ideological system (like Western Marxism and proletarian revolution). Instead, it is made into an immediate necessity to express suffering and hope through various forms such as folk stories of rebels, folk mask dances, anonymous folk paintings, and folk songs (including shamanic songs). These folk arts represent the creativity of people involved in their struggles to understand and overcome their oppressive reality. They also serve to transmit the collective memory of *han* so that the *minjung* as a whole may share even implicitly a sense of historical continuity. By means of those forms of popular expressions, the overriding sense of resentment and sorrow beyond individual circumstances bespeaks its eternal and constantly reviving imprint on the life of the *minjung*. While abiding in the substratum of popular consciousness, the collective emotion of *han* waits for the moment of awakening.

In Cheju ritual, the *simbangs* who narrate life stories of individual people are keenly aware of this collective memory of *han*; and it may be the mandate of their ritual performance to bring alive the people's subterranean sense of *han* in the audience. Furthermore, the healing ritual, through a combination of various forms of artistic genre, strives to compensate the entangled resentments of the common people. For this reason, shamanic rituals are generally defined as the ritual of *han-puri* or *won-puri* in the native term, which means "the ritual for release or resolution of the resentments." Similarly to the shamanic interpretation, a prominent popular poet and political dissident, Kim Chi-ha (1985:280-283) has described this ritual of *han-puri* with a poetic word, *salim* (reviving in contrast to *chugim* (killing or destruction of human life)). Kim distinguishes the notion of *han* from a personal emotion of grudge, indicating instead a collective sense of social and cultural oppression or victimization. From

the perspective of his own theory of dialectics of popular history of the *minjung*, Kim Chi-ha extends the meaning of *han-p'uri* to a liberation of the people from oppressive reality which is expressed in a word, *sin'myŏng*, the spiritual ecstasy. Following Kim Chi-ha's interpretation, I could read the story of Sunho's illness as excellent example of how the dynamics of *han* and *han-p'uri* are expressed in the stories of the *minjung*.

As described above, Sunho's madness resulted from her year-old "soul-loss" (*nŏk nakam*) which occurred after two critical events at the factory. What is significant here is the emphasis the *simbang*, who sang her life story in *sŏuje sori*, placed on the cause of madness. Instead of focusing upon the specific incidents at the factory, the *simbang* attributed Sunho's illness to the more general social aspects of factory life such as drudgery, poverty and alienation. While single-mindedly endeavoring to make money and support her family, Sunho became mentally ill and ruined her life. Her lost soul wandered around every place in Korea and also in the factory as if she had lost the will to live. The evil of export-oriented industry and its merciless exploitation is here epitomized as the image of "scattered souls" (*hŭtŭjin nŏk*) into her completely broken soul and body. As the internal disorder transcends ordinary perception, Sunho's mother's plea to the Heavenly Deity and the Great Kings of the underworld seemed futile due to the inaccessible vastness and illusory distance.

However, despite this perception of impossibility, the *simbang* called every name of the deities and pleaded that they "make relieve this miserable twenty-one year old child" as if she had already died. Along with them, the dead family members, including Sunho's father, were invited to listen to Sunho's story of *han* and help her revive and regain her soul. Sunho's father died by overdrinking; his brother was a handsome bachelor but committed suicide after overdrinking. Sunho's grandfather and his cousin who died a long time ago are also invited. As

the simbang recites the name of each dead soul one by one, the short descriptions of their tragic deaths are in solidarity with Sunho's own sense of *han*.

This invocation of all deities and the dead souls (which are together referred to as "*chosang*" or ancestors) was a desperate plea for liberation from family-inherited *han*. As the simbang pleaded to "open the heavenly gate and the underworld gate," through which *chosang* would descend to this world, the gate of bodily illness (*sinbyōng-mun*) of the patient was also open. This image of "opening the gate" (*kunmun yōllim*) symbolized the opening of a dialogue between the possessing deity and the possessed; or in the words of the simbang, between the ghost (*kwisin*) and the living person (*saengin*). Such a dialogue, which unfolded throughout the next phase of thirty performances of *sōuje sori*, was indeed the ritual of *han-puri*.

At the end of the ritual summoning of the deities (*ch'ogamche*), the simbang divined with bronze knives and cups in order to check if there was any missing name in the invitation list and to know what type of *kut* should be performed. After divination, Park simbang gave direct oracles to Sunho and her mother. To the mother, he said, "Only after she [Sunho] receives greetings from everyone, will she live long and happy...And only after she dances day and night, the ghost and the living person will separate." After a sudden rebuke toward Sunho, "You are such an impetuous fellow!" in a threatening voice, Park simbang kindly encouraged her to dance well to the orchestral music, so she would be able to live again. The force of this oracle lies not in its actual entailment; but in its suggestive encouragement for the patient's cooperation in the ensuing dancing.

Thus ended the opening rite. It lasted about one and a half hours, and ended at 5:45 in the early evening. It had already become dark outside. The simbangs and the patient's family had dinner for thirty minutes. Their semi-vegetarian dinner with fish was set on the floor and not on the tables as usual.

This was an expression of humility toward the gods seated at the altar. The *simbangs* also slept at night on the floor through the whole process of *kut* in order to guard the sacred ritual space (*chech'ong*) from evil. For this reason, the *simbangs* often call themselves the servants or safeguards of the gods (*sin-ŭi songbang*).

Sŏuje Sori, the Song of Overcoming Waves of *Han*

Seouje sori is a shamanic song sung in a folk rhythm intended to inspire the dancing performance (*nonyŏm*) of the patient. *Seouje sori* is literally called *nae-nengkim sori*, the rhythm of overcoming waves. Here *nae* indicates wave or tide, and *nengkim* the pattern of tidal overriding. Similarly it can be said that *sŏuje sori* is "the rhythm of the unrequited resentments," (Mun Mubyŏng 1984). As the patient dances to this rhythm, her dancing may overcome the illness, overcoming suffering as if one would override sea waves.

The first *seouje sori* started around six o'clock after dinner on the same day of March 14. Until the whole ritual ended at nine thirty in the morning on March 17, many *sŏuje sori* were sung thirty times repeatedly with a slight variation of content each time. A performance of *sŏuje sori* could vary from a minimum of fifteen minutes to a maximum of one hour. Each performance of *sŏuje sori*, counted as a *kut han-sŏk* (one performance of *kut*), is also referred to as a *sŏk salim kut* which literally means a performance intended to please deities or ancestral spirits with music and dance so that their withdrawn hearts could be enlivened again.¹⁵ As the patient dances in a trancelike state, it is hoped that the spirits will be pleased with the dance and sacrificial offerings, and thus their memory of *han* will be cleansed in the midst of festive merriment. (The political meanings of these dancing and singing performances will be elaborated in the next chapter.)

The First *Sōuje Sori*

Park simbang started to chant *sōuje sori* while beating the *changgo* (the hourglass drum). The *somu* sitting behind him sang the refrain (*uh ya uh young uh ya*) imitating the sound of a boat being rowed. The refrain always follows every cadence of 4:4 syllables. The singer can be the *su simbang* or one of the *somu* taking turns each time. As the singer leads *sōuje sori*, he or she occasionally adds a confirmer like "Zo--ta!" or "Zotatata!" in the middle of chanting. This is a joyful exclamation saying, "This is good!" The following text is excerpted from the first *sōuje sori* that lasted only fifteen minutes because the patient resisted dancing in the middle. In the verbatim translation, repetitive refrains are omitted except the first cadence. Each stanza designates one cadence of 4:4 syllables.

Uhgi yocha, let us play together and let our hearts melt to the sound of rowing.

Let us play to the rhythm of *seouje*. *Uh ya uh young uh ya!*

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

(Sunho's mother first appears on the floor and dances. She asks her daughter to dance with her.)

As the great kings play in the heaven, the dragon king plays on the silver waters.

If the great king of crystal castle is playing, the wives of the crystal castle also play. *Uh ya uh young uh ya!*

If the dragon king of the East Sea plays, the dragon god of the West Sea also plays. (Zota!) *Uh ya uh young uh ya!*

If the emperor of the sea kingdom plays, the prince also plays. *Uh ya uh young uh ya!*

Pitiful maiden, 21-year old! Let us play here together, O pitiful maiden. (Sunho appears on the dancing floor)

What day was the day I was born? Was it the day without sun and moon? *Uh ya uh young uh ya!*

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

If I believed Jesus, I would go to the heaven. If I believed in Buddhism,
I would go to the paradise.

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

Sorrowful maiden, O grievous child! Wearing still maiden's braids on
the back, your early fate is ruined.

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

Miserable maiden, come and let us play dancing.
So miserable and lonely, grief-stricken and sorrowful!

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

As the king of boat (*sunwang*) plays on the boat, the 21-year old plays
at the altar.

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

Let all my blood-tied ones go together. Let dead parents go together.

Uh ya uh young uh ya!

(Circling around the fringe of the floor, a *somu* sprinkles a jet of rice
wine from her mouth toward the face of Sunho in order to enliven the
dancing deity, that is, the dancer)

At this point the patient stopped dancing and rested for ten minutes. The text exemplified suggests the standard ordered pattern of *Sōuje sori*; the singer invites the deities to a dancing party, sings a lamentable song about the patient's life story once the patient appears on the floor, and fosters further fast-tempo intoxicated dance without an accompaniment of the *simbang*'s singing. It is important for the singer to spur the patient to dance while watching the dancing gesture. According to Park *simbang*, *toch'aebi* hides himself in the deep spots of the body such as under the armpits or sexual organs. Therefore, once the patient dancer spreads both her arms horizontally and moves her legs back and forth (which are the typical motion of *toch'aebi* spirit dancing), the *simbang* acknowledges it immediately as the definite sign of *toch'aebi* spirit possession.

With Park *simbang*'s encouragement, Sunho, who looked shy and withdrawn in the beginning, continued to dance for seven rounds of dance, alternating with rest, for five hours until eleven o'clock. The first four rounds of *Sōuje sori* lasted ten to fifteen minutes with ten minute intervals for rest. After every round of *Sōuje sori*, the deities were also seated at their altar and offered a

new cup of rice wine. In order to help the patient, a rope (*sonjul*) was hung from the ceiling in the center of floor. This rope is meaningful in the sense that its name appears in the myth (*pon-puri*) of *toch'aebi*.

Usually after dancing Park simbang encouraged Sunho's good performance even though the dancer's performance was rather poor. But around eight o'clock, halfway through the evening's performance, he changed his gentle attitude and coerced Sunho to dance straight to the end without any interval. The last two rounds of *sōuje sori* took a long time, from thirty to forty minutes. Closing her lips tightly with determination, the patient obeyed Park simbang's forceful direction. Sunho was encouraged to weep as much as she could during dancing. Her mother and siblings kept watching her dancing with sympathetic eyes and wept together, especially when *sōuje sori* mentioned the toils of factory life in Seoul and her longings for home and family.

Meanwhile, several male relatives visited and conversed with Park simbang. They pleaded respectfully with Park simbang to make their niece revive, soon joining the assistant simbangs' singing of the refrain. At first glance, they might have come over here simply to express their sympathy and concerns. But their visit and plea for the cure indeed had a significant meaning in *ch'unŭn kut*, which was to greet the possessing deity, *toch'aebi*, hiding in the body of patient, and plead with him to leave. At the end of each *sōuje sori*, the patient bowed two times toward the main offering table where the seven brothers and sisters of *toch'aebi* were seated. Park simbang treated family ancestors and the hungry ghosts adhering to them with individual cups of rice liquor.

"You are a Bachelor, I am a Maiden": "Dialogical Discourse"

Once the patient shows an eagerness to dance, the simbang considers this changing attitude as the sign of awakening of *toch'aebi* who has hidden himself

inside the patient's body. Then the simbang shifts to a new style of *seŏuje sori* fashioned as a dialogue between the patient and *toch'aebi*. For example, Park simbang started *ŏuje sori* as follows:

Sorrowful maiden, O miserable maiden!
 Due to a kind heart, [you] are possessed.
 Due to a good appearance, [you] are possessed.
You are a bachelor, I am a maiden.

When the simbang designates the possessing agent "you," the second person pronoun, in an enunciation of "*You are a bachelor, I am a maiden*," it opens a new phase of *sŏuje sori*. What is then the effect of this shift of narrative form on the healing power of the *sŏuje sori* performance in general?

This inquiry about the relations between the dialogue style of narrative form and its healing power¹⁶ actually pervades the simbang's thirty *sŏuje sori*. The story of misfortune and illness recited in each case is in principle called a narrative myth of *toch'aebi* spirit (*kwisin-ponpuri*) improvised primarily to enliven the spirit of *toch'aebi*. the narration of the story by the simbang (*saengkyŏ-durija*, literally makes alive) is intended to animate the *toch'aebi* spirit (*sin-narak*) as the patient dances at the altar. In light of its content, however, this myth of *toch'aebi* actually constitutes an autobiographical narrative of a patient's life history (in somewhat generalized terms), focusing on the emotional depth of his or her sufferings. In other words, two narratives of patient and *toch'aebi* exist side-by-side in the universe created by the simbang's *sŏuje sori*. The healing power of these ritual narratives can be examined through an analytical exploration of these dual narratives.

These selected excerpts of *sŏuje sori* provide a starting point. This verbatim text illustrates how two narratives of patient and *toch'aebi* are constructed in the narrative of *sŏuje sori* conversation. By calling the afflicting deity by the second person pronoun, *you*, the simbang narrator objectifies *toch'aebi*

as a person and separates him from the possessed at least in the context of the narrative event. This objectification of *toch'aebi* is the simbang narrator's initial narrative strategy so that the patient's so-far unrecognized inner feelings of sorrow and resentment can be worked into a dialogue.

Sorrowful maiden, O miserable maiden!
 Due to a kind heart, [you] are possessed.
 Due to a good appearance, [you] are possessed.
You are a bachelor, I am a maiden.

Do you intend to live together over hundred years?
 [You] ¹⁷ are deeply penetrated into the bones and flesh.
 [You] split [my] fine black braids into each hair.
 Genuinely steadfast heart is completely divided into pieces.

Where is it gone, my mind? Where is it gone, my mind? Did it go to the deep mountain?
 Where is it gone, my mind? Where is it gone, my mind? Did it go into the deep water?

Because [you] cracked my heart, I could not recognize my own mother and siblings.
 This might be my fate and my destiny. [You] made me, a twenty-one year old, cry.
 O grievous maiden, was there no sun or moon when you were born?

Come here and play, O sorrowful child! Let us play until tonight is over.

With respect to the magical force of ritual narratives, Krišteva's notion of "dialogical discourse" (1980) offers a tool for an insightful interpretation of the dual narratives of patient and *toch'aebi*. Throughout the whole process of *sōuje sori*, the simbang's narration is structured by an intense dialogical discourse between patient and *toch'aebi*, whose relationship is defined as a romantic one between a bachelor and a maiden. As we see in the excerpts of *sōuje sori*, the simbang initiates the dialogue between the two by calling *toch'aebi* "you" a personal pronoun ("*You are a bachelor, I am a maiden*"); but later on as *sōuje sori* reaches the peak of performance, the simbang changes the subject of utterance from the patient to *toch'aebi* when he sings, "*You are a maiden, I am a bachelor.*" When the simbang, the third person narrator, alternately takes a

position of the subject of utterance between patient and *toch'aebi*, he creates a new narrative genre: "dialogical discourse" in Kriesteva's sense. Because the two narrative texts are embedded in each other in the form of a dialogue, the dimension of their dialogue becomes "intertextual."¹⁸ The magical power embedded in the simbang's recitation may well be generated from this intertextual discourse where one speaks to the other.

Indeed, this dialogical discourse publicly reveals *tochaebi* as a person, in particular, a *bachelor*. At the same time, it implies that the dancer is now *toch'aebi*, enjoying himself to the rhythm of *sōuje sori*.¹⁹ When the patient's dance is unified with the *toch'aebi*'s dance, it is the peak of *sōuje sori*. This is generally considered to be a state of rapture (*sinmyǎng*); or a mature *dialogism* in Bakhtin's sense of a semantic complex which implies the dual existence of patient and *toch'aebi*, whose relationship remains nonexclusive and yet oppositional (cf. Kristeva 1980:71-72).

However, the rhetoric of this dialogical discourse does not aim at consummate rapture itself; but at the *rupture* of the intense dialogue between patient and *toch'aebi*--in other words, the break-up of their romantic relationship. Alternating exchange of responses between two speakers, that has pursued its cathartic consumption (*sinmyōng*), betrays itself at the end. Although each narrative text is structured in relation to the other during *sōuje sori*, there is no ultimate transformation of the subjectivity in each part: the patient remains "a maiden," and *toch'aebi* "a bachelor." This clear dualism of subjectivity that is already suggested in the simbang's initial pronouncement, "You are a bachelor, I am a maiden," paves the way toward the eventual separation between the patient and the afflicting agent, (that is, cure) which is manifest in *toch'aebi*'s farewell announcement to the maiden, "You are parting as I am parting." When the simbang leads narration to the farewell song of *toch'aebi*, the dancer accordingly

changes the direction of dancing from the altar to the door open to the outside as if *toch'aebi* is ready to leave the maiden.

In conclusion, the whole narrative process of *sōuje sori* proceeds to induce dialogical discourse between patient and *toch'aebi* to its rupture point by means of an exorcism rite. While inspiring the two figures to dance together to exhaustion, the *simbang* keeps suggesting to them their fateful parting at the end. If the state of rapture (*sinmyōng*) signifies their mature intertextual dialogism, it only serves to mediate a transformation from its illusory pleasure into the truthful sobriety of healing. The actual cure of the patient occurs at the rupture point of dialogical discourse that annihilates both authors of narratives: a sickly person and an afflicting agent. Put differently, the healing power of ritual narratives derives from this destructive aesthetics anticipated in this dialogical mode of narrative structures.²⁰

Social Imagery of *Han*: Romantic Commitment

When the *simbang* announces, "*You are a bachelor, I am a maiden*," it implies a "romantic commitment" (*uitakhada* or *kamkiuta*) between patient and *toch'aebi*. *Toch'aebi* spirit possession is portrayed here as a romance. This image of romantic commitment alludes to the delicacy of treatment of the dancer and also predicts the difficulty of their parting. Nevertheless, their romantic dialogues are constituted by the patient's consistent appeal for *toch'aebi* to leave her forever, taking away her illness. When the *simbang* narrates, "As the illness (*byōng*) departs, the lover (*nim*) departs too. Let us separate forever!" we can see clearly that an illness is identified with a lover. By interpreting a whole text of one *sōuje sori* presented in this section, I want to continue to explore the same issue about the healing power of dialogical discourse, particularly focusing on two questions: 1) what is the narrative strategy of this romantic dialogue for healing,

2) and how does the dialogue construct the social imagery of *han* in the process of discourse?

As the simbang's narration becomes engaged in more intense dialogue, it reveals in detail the sorrows and resentments that might have resulted in the immediate illness. During *seuje sori*, the text of which is excerpted below, Park simbang, voicing Sunho, narrates her life history in a lamentful tone. The narrative focuses on her loneliness, her longing for home and family, her lament for family poverty, and the tragic deaths of relatives as she might have felt under the exploitative conditions of the factory. Because the subject (I) of narration was Sunho, this *seuje sori* was shaped as an autobiographic story of her life, and the audience was supposed to listen to it as such. As the subject in the story, Sunho also listened to her own life story in a reflective silence while dancing to it.

Entangled and meshed! O maiden is so miserable and wretched!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Dear pure ancestors of this house, dear ancestors of the sun and moon,
and dear ancestors of mountain!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

As the putrefied hearts of ancestors are to open, please open those of the
descendants!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Money! Money! You are mute!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Following the way of money like the devil, you went to Majang-dong,
Songbuk-ku, Seoul.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Living in the factory dormitory, you ate meals and slept on an hourly
basis.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Joining red beads to blue beads, yellow beads to twelve beads, you led a
salaried career life.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Who is born with a silver spoon and lives in a beautiful house with both
parents!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Who goes to high school and college and makes a successful social entry!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

(As the audience and her mother weep, the patient also weeps)

Weep to the end, longing for parents!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Weep to the end although you have no money!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

What a fate that does not deserve my parents and money!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

If things turn to this and that way, I should have believed in Jesus and then go to the heaven or in Buddhism and then go to the paradise.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

[You] make me cry, make me cry, make this twenty-one year old one cry!

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

The *water* running in the river is the filthy water in the rotten tree trunk.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

The water running in my eyes is the filthy water that is putrefied in the five internal organs and liver.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Where the *coals* burn, the smoke comes out. But where my five organs and liver burn, neither smoke nor steam comes out.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Nobody knew things would turn out this way, neither the heavenly god nor my mother.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

As this sad child goes on playing, mother and younger siblings also cry.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

How miserable are you weeping so well!

(Park simbang exclaims Zo--ta! loud whenever he sings about weeping while he is also sobbing)

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

A sad child, let us play together.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Due to your good appearance, you are possessed. Due to kind heart, you are wounded.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

In the daytime, [you] play as a divine *fire*; at night, [you] play as smoky fire.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Via *rice* and *cakes* [I eat], you are possessed.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

When you lost a soul, you were possessed.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

If you had then a rite of soul-return, you would not become like this.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

A miserable child went out for earning money.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Through toils in day and night, your heart was stricken.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

Longing for the *water* I once drank at home, I had a hope to overcome my bodily illness.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

A wayfarer from the familiar *water* and *rice*, I hastily returned to my mother and my siblings.

Uh ya uh yong uh ya!

This *souje sori* is a straightforward statement of personal lament for the detrimental effect of *tochaebi* affliction, in other words, "romantic commitment" of

tochaebi spirit. For the rest of the thirty performances of *souje sori*, the similarly lamentful narratives are repeated, relying on various images that use metaphor to evoke experiences of sorrow in the inner landscape of emotions: for example, *money* (a miserable condition of life), *running water* (the patient's tears), *burning coal* (her anguish), *boats floating on the sea* (alienated state of her agony or its prospected departure), and so on. These images vividly transfer an otherwise utterly ordinary and ignored existence of sorrow to the listeners' minds.

Out of the various images evoked, Sunho reacted most strongly to the image of money, for it appears as the chief agent of her illness and misery. Sunho burst into tears, for example, whenever the singer lamented the devilish muteness of *money*. In addition to dancing in accordance with the *simbang's* song, the *simbang* also induced Sunho to weep as much as possible until she would feel liberated from the suppressed emotions. Park *simbang* at one point inserted an utterance in the midst of singing specifically for this purpose: "Tonight, whatever you want to tell, O grievous maiden! Please tell it all so that your father and uncle hear it all. Grievous words, sorrowful words! The twenty-one year old, tell all of it." (an excerpt from the last *souje sori* on March 16) When the *simbang* urged the dancer to "tell" her sorrowful life story, it actually means to "weep." The audience also wept silently in sympathy with the dancer. It is precisely this moment which marks a shared emotion of resentment against *money*, the symbol of domineering power and evil in modern industrialized society. In a word, this sense of resentment is generated from *money*, which can never be obtained by the poor and alienated class people but exerts its evil power to afflict them with illness and misfortune.

Having shown how money is a symbol for the oppression and exploitation suffered by the poorer classes, and as such is an affront to their *han*, it should also be noted that other, more traditional symbols are also used. For instance,

rice and water also take a significant part of this popular symbolism of *han*. The polluting effect of *toch'aebi* affliction is expressed by means of an ordinary medium such as drinking water and rice. The drinking water and rice at the factory in Seoul were not "familiar" things like the ones at home in Cheju. As Sunho drank water and ate rice daily at the factory dormitory, *toch'aebi* penetrated into her through them. Put differently, *toch'aebi*, the supernatural agent of affliction, is manifested in these natural substances. The rhetoric used in this part of the narrative exposes how *toch'aebi* affliction can occur through mundane processes as well as via the ineluctable malignancy of senseless money. On the other hand, the same rhetoric makes the ordinary natural objects such as water and rice utterly impenetrable because Sunho would never recognize whether or not her drinking water and rice contained malice as well as nourishment. Although it is not quite the same case, this song of inner sorrow and laments evokes the magical quality of reality as if to conjure up "the penetrable impenetrable" as Walter Benjamin once brilliantly pointed out on surrealists' artistic invention in a European cultural and historical context in the 1930s (Benjamin 1978b:190).

In conclusion, the paradoxical analogy of a lamentful life story with a romantic dialogue serves as a narrative strategy to "redeem the unrequited resentments (*han*)" in cathartic tears. The consummate romance between patient and *toch'aebi* that is acted out through an intoxicating dance brings the deeply alienated pain of the past into recognition on the surface: at this point, healing begins. In the process of its intense commitment, this romance contributes to the construction of the social imagery of *han* of the *minjung* in the modern period, the imagery that represents their contradictory conditions: social alienation and redemption. Ordinary images used here as metaphors for the existential state of *han* are from the beginning endowed with positive potential for the redemption of *han*. Repetitively narrated and thus strengthened throughout the rest of *sōuje*

sori, the symbolic associations of *han* with these images of rice and water, running water, money, burning coal, and a boat floating on the sea suggests the cultural rhetoric of the popular aesthetics of *han*. Although Sunho's illness and misery were caused by evil, manifested in her ordinary "water and rice", "polluted" by being in a foreign place like Seoul, she might be cured as she returned home for good, to her "familiar" ones. She would no longer break down, longing for home. And the (once mute) money would be able to "speak," helping her siblings' education and welfare. Her anguished heart (like a burning coal) would burn strongly then. Her agony (like an offshore boat) would go away as well.

March 15, A Crisis and the Resuscitating Power of Laughter: The Simbang's Competence

During the first round of dancing play on the second day of *ch'unŭn kut*, March 15, the patient suddenly stopped dancing and left the dancing floor. Her mother approached Park simbang and whispered to his ears that Sunho wanted Park simbang to do only a simple exorcism rite (*p'udasi*) for hungry ghosts and soul-return (*nok dŭrim*). Sunho refused to go on dancing. Sunho's mother and relatives were bewildered at Sunho's resistance and tried to persuade her to resume dancing. Instead of rebuking her request and resistance, however, Park simbang agreed to do what the patient desired if it would help the cure. He seemed to take for granted her resistance as if it were a normally expected response from the patient in the case of madness and *tochŏebi* spirit possession. As the family members tried to help the patient, Park simbang explained to the patient that the simbangs did not intend to make money by forcing her to dance. Changing to a seemingly angry voice, he then stressed that he was not doing just a job; but his real vocation was to "make a dying person revive."

sori, the symbolic associations of *han* with these images of rice and water, running water, money, burning coal, and a boat floating on the sea suggests the cultural rhetoric of the popular aesthetics of *han*. Although Sunho's illness and misery were caused by evil, manifested in her ordinary "water and rice", "polluted" by being in a foreign place like Seoul, she might be cured as she returned home for good, to her "familiar" ones. She would no longer break down, longing for home. And the (once mute) money would be able to "speak," helping her siblings' education and welfare. Her anguished heart (like a burning coal) would burn strongly then. Her agony (like an offshore boat) would go away as well.

March 15, A Crisis and the Resuscitating Power of Laughter: The Simbang's Competence

During the first round of dancing play on the second day of *ch'unŭn kut*, March 15, the patient suddenly stopped dancing and left the dancing floor. Her mother approached Park simbang and whispered to his ears that Sunho wanted Park simbang to do only a simple exorcism rite (*p'udasi*) for hungry ghosts and soul-return (*nok dŭrim*). Sunho refused to go on dancing. Sunho's mother and relatives were bewildered at Sunho's resistance and tried to persuade her to resume dancing. Instead of rebuking her request and resistance, however, Park simbang agreed to do what the patient desired if it would help the cure. He seemed to take for granted her resistance as if it were a normally expected response from the patient in the case of madness and *tochŏebi* spirit possession. As the family members tried to help the patient, Park simbang explained to the patient that the simbangs did not intend to make money by forcing her to dance. Changing to a seemingly angry voice, he then stressed that he was not doing just a job; but his real vocation was to "make a dying person revive."

Park simbang's response to this critical event typified his moral philosophy as a folk healer. He interpreted Sunho's resistance as the shrewd strategy of deceitful *toch'aebi* to avoid his revelation. Immediately he took double counter-tactics against this crisis. At first he tried not to irritate the temper of *tochaebi* by accepting her resistance. To the extent that *toch'aebi* is referred to as a deity (*sin*) or a "pure (or genuine) ancestor" (*markūn chosang*) in the ritual context, he must be treated gently and with all due respect. On the other hand, Park simbang challenged the dominant ideology of *money* which was manifested in deceitful strategy of *toch'aebi*. By elucidating his moral stance as a healer first, he made clear that he was *not* concerned with *money* as the major cause of Sunho's illness, nor worried about the ritual expenses. Finally his sense of self-righteousness and competence broke through the self-defeat of the patient as well as her dependency on the ideology of *money*, though it took several trials and errors.

Within ten minutes Sunho reappeared on the dancing floor. Her mother joined her in dancing and encouraged her to "pour out her deeply hidden sorrow by crying." But the dancing did not last long. The dancer still looked indifferent and again refused to co-operate with the simbang. Park simbang commanded the music to stop. He sensed that her spirit was battered. At this point, Park simbang changed the tense atmosphere of crisis into entertaining merriment by initiating a comic play and joke toward the audience, mostly middle-age women. Beating a drum to the folk tune familiar to the audience, he sang a funny folk song, and he mimed the motion of intercourse with one of the members of the audience, who were mainly made up of the aged widows of men who died during the 1948 Insurgency.²¹

Furthermore, he played a hide and seek fight with his first wife who was an assistant simbang. In fact, at that moment, he was personally under great

tension with her because he dared to bring his new lover, perhaps the third wife, who was much younger than himself, and one of his apprentices. His obscene gesture of intercourse was a parody of his own love affair. In this way, Park simbang tried to bring out burlesque laughter among the audience and relive the tension which stemmed from disputes over whether or not to continue the dancing play. This kind of comic trick, designed to refresh the down-cast atmosphere, continued intermittently between the seven dancing plays for the next six hours until midnight.

This exposure of his illegitimate personal affairs in the public realm is self-destructive in a basically Confucian society that gives a high value to marital chastity. Ironically, however, this was done in a playful and objective way as if Park simbang himself was an actor. This problematic juxtaposition of self-destruction and self-deprecatory laughter constitutes the aesthetic principle of simbang's healing seance. The simbang would never be the objective observer who does just his job; but he is inside this theatre of exorcism as both the exorcist and the victim. His comedy is, so to speak, the anti-rite (Kapferer 1983:207) that "overthrows any limiting, 'over-determined' form...[of] the demonic." This comedy outside the ritual frame is also an exorcism rite that unmasks the illusion of the romantic commitment that has occupied the patient's hearts and thoughts. This "anti-rite" breaks through the tense situation and destroys the afflicting sense of fear, suspicion, and despair which has been accumulated. The laughter he brought in defenselessly to the audience has such a grotesque and destructive power that it may subvert the apprehensive sense of reality and heal the patient as well as the audience after all. *Yonggam nori*, a comic mask play that will be performed at the last phase of *chunŭn kut*, represents a ritual expression of this anti-rite laughter. Actually, this comic entertainment of the simbang is the one reason why the non-family members attend *chunŭn kut*.

Nearly every day, at least once, in the late evening during the ritual or during the intermission between the dancing round, the simbangs perform their own comic shows or lend their musical instruments to the audience so that they can entertain among themselves.

The struggle caused by the patient's resistance lingered the whole day on March 15, the second day of *kut* performance. Regardless of Park simbang's effort to change the atmosphere, Sunho would play dancing with such a reluctant face and keep crying even during the intermission. The whole seance seemed to run in an impasse. With worrisome faces, some assistant simbangs approached her and asked why she kept crying. They asked carefully if she was "loaded with ancestral spirits" or if she cried from the remembrance of any painful experiences at the factory in Seoul, for example, an unhappy love affair which would otherwise be taboo to ask about in an ordinary context.

To *somu's* questions, Sunho answered that it was not about money but it was her dead father for whom she cried. However, the assistant simbangs did not seem to be convinced by her reply. In conversation with them later on another occasion of *ch'unŭn kut*, they said that usually a broken love affair was the chief cause of madness among single women. As they told me later on, they surmised that there might be something other than what she told to them.

In the meantime, Park simbang and one other male simbang, Mun simbang, were taking a nap as if they were not concerned with that crisis event at all. It was already five thirty in the afternoon when he awoke and the patient was forced to dance again by her relatives. He watched over her dancing from an inside room. In the beginning, the patient wept sorrowfully. Then Park simbang suddenly arose and mercilessly drove the reluctant dancer to continuous dancing for an hour. He sang a farewell song that encouraged departing and sailing offshore. Once his singing stopped and the fast tempo music of 4/4 beats

started, the patient seemed to forget previous complaints about fatigue of legs and danced with a look of resignation on her face. At the same time, the direction of her dancing changed from the altar to the audience and the doorway. During her fast, absorbed dance Park simbang squatted at the doorway as if drawing the dancer outside. In the farewell song Park simbang directly rebuked the possessing deity as a thief.

O deity who stole the soul of this miserable child!
Look at her face. Isn't it sad? (The patient begins to cry)

If [she] has this illness, either money or gold would be useless.
O deity who has no face! Look at the face of the twenty-one year old!
Elders of this village and close relatives! Please do not laugh at my dancing.
Help me live again! Help me live again at this time!
(Park simbang exclaims loud, "Uh, Ta, Ta, TaTaTaTa!.")

Let us depart with the twenty-one year old!
You are parting as I am parting.
When we depart as if earth parts from the water, let us have a greeting rite of a roast pig and *younggam nori*.

As if the mountain fog vanishes, as if morning dews disappear,
As if we sprinkle boiling water with cold water, as if clouds in the icy mountain disappear,
As if ice disappears in the cloudy mountain, as if the flame of incense disappears in the air,
Let the grievous heart of the twenty-one, the sorrowful heart of the twenty-one play and go.
Let us play and go.
For the one time, let us play to the [*seouje*] rhythm.
For the other time, let us play to the beat of the gong.

Night fell. After announcing to the faceless deity that *younggam nori* had to be performed later on, Park simbang finished the *kut* around ten o'clock in the evening. Just as mountain fog vanishes, so too the *toch'aebi* leaves no trace, and the entangled resentments in the dancer's heart are released. On the next day, March 16, the whole day and night of nearly twelve hours was consumed solely by farewell songs and dances of *toch'aebi* himself, now appearing as the first person speaker, *I*.

March 16, the Whole Day of Farewell Dancing in Rapture

The third day of the dancing rite began early in the morning around nine. As Sunho's dancing ripened and was consummated in total unity with *toch'aebi*, the unrequited resentments that had congested the livers (*kanjang*) of both Sunho and her mother would be completely released. The family history of the dead souls and guardian ancestral spirits was also narrated so as to resolve their punishments (*pŏl*). But the major part of the narration consisted of an aggressive invitation to the *toch'aebi* to do his dancing play and his farewell song, performed in a series of repetitions throughout the whole day. In these farewell songs, *toch'aebi*'s various origins and multi-faced characters were illustrated in detail on the basis of his origin myth, *ponpuri*. He was addressed by a variety of names, representing the many guises in which he might appear to seduce a young woman. These include the king of the boat (*sŏn-wang*) who plays in every river in Korea, the *taekamsin*, the deity of the high official (Kendall 1985), who is originally the deity living in the Seoul area (referred to as the master deity of the factory and the slaughterhouse near Sunho's factory in Seoul) and *yonggam*, who subsists favorably in damp and remote places and chases "kind" and pretty women in the darkness.

Paradise Imagery in the Farewell Song

In the farewell song, *toch'aebi* appears as the subject of narration, addressing the patient directly about his departing. As if *toch'aebi* himself is recalling their romance to his mind, the *simbang* narrator elucidates the dreadful effect of the romantic possession that had entailed destruction of body and personhood.

Dear King of the Boat! Dear King of the Boat!
In every mountain and valley, *yonggam* plays after the king of boat.

March 16, the Whole Day of Farewell Dancing in Rapture

The third day of the dancing rite began early in the morning around nine. As Sunho's dancing ripened and was consummated in total unity with *toch'aebi*, the unrequited resentments that had congested the livers (*kanjang*) of both Sunho and her mother would be completely released. The family history of the dead souls and guardian ancestral spirits was also narrated so as to resolve their punishments (*pŏl*). But the major part of the narration consisted of an aggressive invitation to the *toch'aebi* to do his dancing play and his farewell song, performed in a series of repetitions throughout the whole day. In these farewell songs, *toch'aebi*'s various origins and multi-faced characters were illustrated in detail on the basis of his origin myth, *ponpuri*. He was addressed by a variety of names, representing the many guises in which he might appear to seduce a young woman. These include the king of the boat (*sŏn-wang*) who plays in every river in Korea, the *taekamsin*, the deity of the high official (Kendall 1985), who is originally the deity living in the Seoul area (referred to as the master deity of the factory and the slaughterhouse near Sunho's factory in Seoul) and *yonggam*, who subsists favorably in damp and remote places and chases "kind" and pretty women in the darkness.

Paradise Imagery in the Farewell Song

In the farewell song, *toch'aebi* appears as the subject of narration, addressing the patient directly about his departing. As if *toch'aebi* himself is recalling their romance to his mind, the *simbang* narrator elucidates the dreadful effect of the romantic possession that had entailed destruction of body and personhood.

Dear King of the Boat! Dear King of the Boat!
In every mountain and valley, *yonggam* plays after the king of boat.

The night goblin and gold goblin²² play. (The tempo of music changes faster.)

The twenty-one year old, Koh-ssi, was possessed due to her good appearance.

You are a maiden, and I am a bachelor.

We vowed to live one hundred years together.

[I was] seen in dreams and in daydreams,

Wherever [you] played, sat, lay on the bed.

In the deep night, [I] came to you for making love.

[My love] penetrated into [your] bones and flesh.

Skin and internal organs were decomposed.

Due to this deity's possession, soul and mind were lost.

Let us stop living together and depart now forever.

Let us play in order to let out the mounted-up resentments of the twenty-one year old.

(For twenty-two minutes *torang ch'um* continues. And immediately another *ŏuje sori* of Park simbang follows.)

In the late afternoon around 4:35 p.m., Park simbang's *ŏuje sori* was named as the song of tearful parting between the living person (*saengin*) and the ghost (*kwisin*). At this time although the patient had nearly stopped sweating, she still cried all the time while dancing. Park simbang interpreted this as the last cry of *toch'aebi* before his lingering departure. Throughout the succeeding five *seŏuje sori*, until eleven o'clock, he sang a farewell song of *toch'aebi* with the theme of "as love leaves, the illness may leave too."

While I play dancing, the time for parting has come.

As I play dancing, it seems enough.

The stoker and the fireman! Prepare the boat!

The gentle breeze is blowing on the silky surface of the sea.

Let us play until the sun sets today, but after tonight, we will separate.

As a human being and a deity are to depart, as the dead souls, so miserable and lonely, are leaving by a boat,

The Halla Mountain weeps, Cheju port also weeps.

When the dead souls are to leave after living together in this house, they also weep.

Let the earth and the water depart!

I am going. I am going away after leaving behind the twenty-one year old in tears.

Tomorrow morning when the boat is ready, let us part and separate forever.

Let us take away this illness. As the illness parts, the lover also parts. As the earth parts from the water, let us part each other forever.

After making you cry many years, the time for parting comes.
For parting, I need a boat. Prepare a boat. Prepare it.

When the tide is out, let us row to the east; when the tide is in,
Let us row to the west. Let us row to the mounting waves on the sea.
Let us go over the mountains and valleys to the good places.
To the place where mountain and waters are good, Where the flowers
and leaves bloom,
Where an only son and an only daughter play,
Where fine men and women play,
Where three thousand gentry men play idly,
Where ten thousand beggars assemble,
Where farming fields and mountains are fertile.
There is the same age fellow on the other side over this mountain and
river.
Let us part, let us part. Let the earth and water part.
(Music is changed into fast tempo. Park simbang exclaim Zota!)

Tonight, tonight, making you weep so much,
You are departing as I am departing.
After living together several years, [I] farewell to Hamdok port. Let us
part forever.

Listen the stoker and freightman! Prepare for departure.
The gentle breeze blows on the silky surface of the sea. Look at the
Halla Mountain.
The rowers at the prow and the stern of the boat!
Load waters and soy source, rice and fire woods.
Make a sacrifice of a live pig for the rite of greeting.
(As if greeting the deity, the patient's mother joined dancing and
exclaimed, "Aigo, Zota! Please play all night long.")

In this farewell song, the simbang suggests the various images of paradise where *toch'aebi* can go. This imagery conjures up a magical, idyllic world of nature and social life where fresh leaves flower forever (the green mountain, in Korean mythology), where flowers bloom fully (the flower mountain, in Korean mythology), where three thousand literary men (representing the dominant gentry class during the Yi dynasty) play idly, where ten thousand beggars (representing the hungry, wandering ghosts, *chapkwi*) gather for abundant food, where farming lands are available, where single offspring and children are well cared for. This paradise imagery, in general, counteracts the bitterness that an afflicted person like Sunho may have regarding senseless, devilish *money*, which is used as the dominant image of suffering during the romantic dialogue. In the simbang's song

it is clear that the attainment of money does not substitute for happiness and well-being. In other words, this paradise imagery has nothing to do with materialistic matters but with purely social and emotional well-being.

The mythical paradise that is bestowed with the qualities of eternal perfection and plenty, is set in opposition to the utterly miserable reality of a twenty-one year old factory worker. The imagery of blooming and parental love represents natural bliss in contrast to that of a sick and lonely single woman whose life is "withering" due to overwhelming pressure from her mother and four siblings. Moreover, in contrast to the toils and poverty of a factory worker, the image of the idle gentry class and the abundant food served to the horde of beggars represents social bliss in this highly capitalist and industrialized society. These images of paradise could be seen as embodying the hope of the contemporary *minjung* class for a redeemed future. Since the potential for these images to become reality is slight, it is the sheer mythic quality of the vision they represent which gives a poignancy and strength to the oppressive reality in which the *minjung* live, and desire to subvert.

Bad Sweats and Filthy Money

As the dancing play reaches its climax, the plea of the patient and the *simbang* for *toch'aebi*'s departure becomes urgent and almost threatening. The goal of the whole day of *sŏuje sori* songs, has been to induce the possessing deity to leave the body of the patient. In the late night of March 16, the patient was completely exhausted, to the point that "the bad sweats" on her palms became dry. This is the visible sign of the expulsion of *toch'aebi*. From Park *simbang*'s extensive knowlege, it takes at least three days and nights' dancing until the bad sweats of the body completely dry out. Here the "bad sweats" are distinguished from normal human sweat in terms of color and temperature; the "bad" ones are

yellow and unpleasantly cold; they appear rarely only when the body gets cold, and denote the sign of possession of foreign substances such as *toch²aebi* or other malignant ghosts. Once these bad cold sweats(*whangji*) are completely consumed, new warm sweats will spring up as if the new person (*sae sar^um*) is born again. Therefore the purpose of rigorous dancing play is to pump out all of the bad sweats. By closely monitoring the progress of dancing, the *simbang* decides whether or not she should stop dancing and move on to the next phase of *kut*, that is, *taegim batt^um*.

Finally exhausted from her fast dancing in a circle (*torang ch^um*), Sunho lay down in her inner room, wrapped well by blankets to keep her warm while resting. Sunho's mother and other female relatives took care of her, watching over her with sympathetic and worried eyes. Park *simbang* advised her mother to keep Sunho's legs bent for a while in order to prevent them from swelling. While Sunho lay in a semi-stupor, her mother, the *simbang*, and the other attendants conversed carefully as if with *toch²aebi* who was still cohabiting inside the patient. Following are verbatim conversations between Sunho's mother and Park *simbang* which were made for that purpose.

Mother: (Approaching Sunho) Why don't you leave quickly and go to the rich houses where comfortable beddings are available? Over there you can eat well and spend money well. Please hurry. Please go away to the people who have handsome appearances and fame after playing here as much as you can. It is so dirty here, smelling filthy of dung and urine. You do not need to live long in such a place. Please, hurry to play noisily and leave for the better place!

(Coming to Park *simbang* who was also resting in another room, she continued to shed tears in front of him) If any other child got sick, I would not cry like this.

Simbang: (Consoling her) I know, I know.

Mother: Isn't she the child who makes a living for five families? "Mother, if you don't ask me to send money only two months while waiting, I will send you a jewelry ring".... She is such a compassionate daughter.

Simbang: An illness attaches favorably to such a thing, you see.

Mother: If she had a little spare money, she sent us clothes. "If mother only keeps house well, I will take care of the rest," she said. But such a child is lying over there. How cannot a fire burn in the heart of her mother?

Neighbors: Please calm down, do not cry like that.

Mother: If the moon wanes, I waited for a postman to deliver the letter. In every letter, she wrote, "Mother, please stop working for other people's farm fields. I will make money and send to you. So you just keep the house well." Such a child now came home like this... Aigo! *That son of a bitch* came in this house and ruined my life!

Simbang: Please stop crying. I am afraid it would trouble that child.

Mother: Aigo! My miserable child! She never rebuked me. Uncle! Please make her cry in the whole heart. Only crying can cool down her heart. After I sent her to the mainland when she was seventeen, I never bought a new dress for her sake. If she went to school, would she go to that factory and catch that illness?

Simbang: That is her fate. (Asking an assistant simbang) Anyway, bring me a cup of cold water.

Sunho's mother's rebuke is against *that son of a bitch*, who was charged for cutting off the source of life, *money*, and brought the family tragedy like a sudden flood. It is the voice of the *minjung* whose collective resentments (*han*) want to be heard and vindicated. According to Sunho's mother, Sunho had sent at least 100,000 *won* (\$ 120, which counts 77% of her salary) out of 130,000 won monthly salary for the last four years. This meant that Sunho had little money left for herself. Sunho was the single financial source for the five family members and education of the younger siblings. Her illness was therefore a family tragedy, leaving them with no future.

In general, *sŏuje sori* represents the social imagery of *han* to the extent that it recreates the reality of exploitation, poverty, social alienation, and perverse allurements of capitalist economy, in mythic form. The focal image is that of *money*, used to conjure up the enchanted world of the carefree life of *tochaebi* (the actual dancer), comparing his sexual desire metaphorically to the

magical power of money reigning in the modern world of the export-oriented factories in Seoul. The greed of *toch'aebi*, who asks for a sacrifice of a whole live pig and every portion of food and products of Cheju island to be loaded in the miniature boat, is manifested in his requests. Such greed is preceded by, and is a model of, or result of, the greed of the capitalist economy that mercilessly absorbs all the energy of a young woman, and abandons her in solitary madness. Sunho is trapped, dependent on money, the symbol of capitalism, which led her into madness when she could not hold onto the proper function assigned by the system. *Toch'aebi's* romantic love relationship with her in fact represents this inescapable dependency. According to the *simbang's* chants, the crystal beads she made in the factory turned themselves into ghosts and "scattered everywhere", becoming the brothers and sisters of *toch'aebi* that possessed Sunho's soul and body.

The Last *Sŏuje Sori*: Sunho's Song of Lament

The last *sŏuje sori* sung (out of 30) was filled with Sunho's lament for her whole life and also an appeal for her family and attending relatives. It was sung in the form of an autobiographical narrative. Sunho directed to her family an apology for her illness which resulted in an unfulfilled responsibility towards them. Sunho wept aloud, and the singer and the audience joined her as if all of them wanted to empty out their own resentments too.

Listen well my mother and my siblings who were born from the same
umbilical cord!
To support my mother and siblings, I worked hard this, this job.
To support my mother and siblings, I ruined my life. I am totally alone.
(The *simbang* weeps loud.)
I don't have any relatives. (The audience begin to weep one by one)
I labored in vain, in vain. The twenty-one year old one's life went
amiss. (Park *simbang* exclaims Zota! while weeping)
Because I did not have money, I couldn't go to school.
Instead I tried to support my siblings' schooling. (Sunho's siblings cry)
I have survived nights as if days and days as if nights. What a fate! My
fate!

My father was short-lived. My uncle died of poison.
 If your dead souls listen to me, please help this twenty-one year old!
 If a letter arrived, my siblings wondered if it was a letter or money
 (Zota!)
 My mother waited for it, and my siblings waited.
 This, this has been so many years. Wearing maiden's braids.

Money, money which has no word! Why did not my father save money
 for us?
 Instead of father, I left home to earn money and support my siblings'
 high schooling. (Sunho cries loud)
 Mother, my siblings, help me!
 With savings I tried to support my siblings' advance to high school and
 their successful entry to society. (Zooota!)

Visiting relatives! Why do you keep silent?
 Father, my father! Why are you so cruel? (Sunho cries again aloud)
 We are five distressed siblings. We are five grief-stricken siblings.
 O sorrowful maiden, please play here now.
 O grief-stricken maiden, please play here.
 All night until tomorrow sun breaks through the morning air.
 (Sunho cried loud, yearning to the dead father, "Father, help me live
 again!")

Tonight, whatever you want to tell, a grievous maiden,
 Please tell it all so that your father and uncle hear it all.
 Grievous words, sorrowful words!
 The twenty-one year old one, tell all of it.
 Sorrowful maiden, grief-stricken maiden! The twenty-one year old one,
 let us play now to the end! (The patient begs her father's help again.)

In the narrative, Sunho describes her resentment towards her sacrificial
 life of hard work for her family's sake. Ordinarily, she would not have dared to
 speak to her family about this resentment. Below this sharp reproach toward her
 fate and others, is an apology about the fact that she could not fulfill her
 responsibility to them due to her illness. As a neutral party in the story, the
 simbang encourages her to release the speech that has been smothered due to
 social convention. The simbang sings; "Whatever you want to tell, O a pitiful
 maiden, please tell it all. Let dead father and uncle hear it all." Her body,
 through rhythmical movements and gestures, speaks her words and statements.
 We can hear the verse indicating this substitution of the body and the words:
 "Grievous words, sorrowful words, the twenty-one year old tells all of them.
 Sorrowful maiden, grief-stricken maiden of twenty-one years old. Let us play

together to the end." Her reproach against her illness and ill-fate here is not only her personal expression of *han*; but also another example of moral indictment of both the patient and the *timbang* as the prosecutor of the *toch'aebi*.

At the end of Sunho's *torang chum* to the last *seouje sori*, Park *timbang* praised the patient, "Eh! You played well! You are so nice!" and also prophesied that it was good for her cure. The audience acknowledged his good work of the past three days and nights. Park *timbang* responded to them jokingly, explaining his strategy to deal with the patient and the possessing deity. To the arrogant deity, he said he pacifies it with threat and force. The timid patient he treats with gentleness. Then he quickly changed the tearful and gasping atmosphere into laughter by turning around his back and showing off his half-exposed hips to the middle-aged female audience with a grin on his face. "Look at this! I was beaten by my old-aged wife. How could you like it so much and laugh that I was beaten up?" Park *timbang* teasingly rebuked the audience. And they responded to it jokingly that he deserved it if he did wrong to her. By making fun of himself again he brought out laughter in the midst of weeping and lamentations. Sunho's mother, whose tears still remained in her eyes, also laughed at his comic behavior. Sunho too laughed, a sign that she was cured.

March 17, the Last Day, Interrogation and Exorcism of *Toch'aebi*

It was the last day of *ch'unŭn kut*. Park *timbang* announced this point clearly when he placed new cups of rice wine on each offering table. From 8:50 to 9:30 in the morning, the last dancing play was held. *Toch'aebi* gave farewell remarks to every participant including the dead family members as well as the patient, expressing a deep sorrow for his possession of this maiden.

After I made her cry for many years, I am leaving, and I am leaving. Because the miserable deity had no place to go, I possessed the twenty-one year old due to her good appearance and kind heart.

together to the end." Her reproach against her illness and ill-fate here is not only her personal expression of *han*; but also another example of moral indictment of both the patient and the *simbang* as the prosecutor of the *toch'aebi*.

At the end of Sunho's *torang ch'um* to the last *seouje sori*, Park *simbang* praised the patient, "Eh! You played well! You are so nice!" and also prophesied that it was good for her cure. The audience acknowledged his good work of the past three days and nights. Park *simbang* responded to them jokingly, explaining his strategy to deal with the patient and the possessing deity. To the arrogant deity, he said he pacifies it with threat and force. The timid patient he treats with gentleness. Then he quickly changed the tearful and gasping atmosphere into laughter by turning around his back and showing off his half-exposed hips to the middle-aged female audience with a grin on his face. "Look at this! I was beaten by my old-aged wife. How could you like it so much and laugh that I was beaten up?" Park *simbang* teasingly rebuked the audience. And they responded to it jokingly that he deserved it if he did wrong to her. By making fun of himself again he brought out laughter in the midst of weeping and lamentations. Sunho's mother, whose tears still remained in her eyes, also laughed at his comic behavior. Sunho too laughed, a sign that she was cured.

March 17, the Last Day, Interrogation and Exorcism of *Toch'aebi*

It was the last day of *ch'unŭn kut*. Park *simbang* announced this point clearly when he placed new cups of rice wine on each offering table. From 8:50 to 9:30 in the morning, the last dancing play was held. *Toch'aebi* gave farewell remarks to every participant including the dead family members as well as the patient, expressing a deep sorrow for his possession of this maiden.

After I made her cry for many years, I am leaving, and I am leaving. Because the miserable deity had no place to go, I possessed the twenty-one year old due to her good appearance and kind heart.

I feel sorry for her, but also I feel bitter because I do not know where to go now.

Although I am reluctant to leave, the breeze is blowing on the sea.

As I look at the sea, the tide is going to be late.

Prepare a boat on the shore. The time to leave comes closer.

It was my wrong-doing. It was my wrong-doing.

As I depart today, I feel so sorry for her.

Let us play at the last round of *kut*.

Let us play to the end of this *kut*.

(Mother makes an encouraging remark to the dancer, "I would be very happy if you dance long enough.")

I made you cry. I made you cry.

As the child cries, the mother also cries.

As the mother cries, the child cries.

Dear sorrowful maidens, let us depart, depart, depart forever. (Park simbang's exclamation, Zota!)

Let us part with the sorrowful dead father. Let us part with the uncle who died in resentments.

Farewell Pon-ssi[mother]! I am going.

Farewell these sorrowful siblings! I am leaving.

Because I made all of you cry, I am afraid of entering the gate of the other world.

A sorrowful maiden! When you arrive at the gate of the other world after you suffer a hardship for these siblings,

I will hold your hands, go up to the high hill, and console your heart which had been burnt in anguish and filled with sorrow.

Let the sorrowful heart of the twenty-one year old and the burnt-over five internal organs and liver be released.

You are parting, and I am parting as the earth parts from the water.

Let them be released. Let this *kut* be released.

Let us play to the rhythm of *seouje*.

Suddenly the patient fell on the dancing floor. Park simbang stopped the music and ran to her, holding a small branch of a willow tree in his right hand. The atmosphere changed swiftly because of Park simbang's threatening gesture. The patient looked, shrieked and barely sat up before Park simbang grabbed her two arms. The rite of interrogation and confession of the possessing agent, *taekim-battum*, began.

Simbang: Come up here! Come here! Tell me the reason why you are dancing. Quickly!

Mother's sister: Answer him all!

Neighbors: Tell him everything you have in your mind!

Simbang: Why are you dancing? Quickly! Why are you dancing? Why are you dancing if you have your own mind? (The patient begins to cry.) The boat is waiting for you now. (Striking her back with the branch of willow tree) What is the reason?

Patient:

Simbang: Look at **this**! You are again going to play wicked, aren't you?

Patient: I danced simply to get cured (barely audible).

Simbang: Why did you try to get cured? How can your dancing help the cure? Where and why?

Patient: At Majangdong in Seoul.

Simbang: Majangdong, Seoul. And where?

Patient: My soul was lost at the toilet. I also saw the dead person.

Simbang: Um, you mean the dead person. Then is **that** seen in dream or not? Isn't there anything else?

Patient: I keep thinking of the dead father.

Simbang: Anyway, is **that kwisin** going to leave or not?

Patient: It will go away.

Simbang: When? Tomorrow or the day after tomorrow?

Patient: Today.

Simbang: What time? (The patient is silent for a while.) What time are [you] going to leave ? (in a threatening voice)

Patient: At ten o'clock.

Simbang: Then where is **that kwisin** going to? Tell the direction. (Park simbang strikes her with the willow branch because she hesitated.) Where are [you] going? Is **that kwisin** really going away or not?

Patient: I will go.

Simbang: As you say so, where is **that** going to ? (the patient's silence) Is **that** going to stay here and live again with you?

Patient: No.

Simbang: Then where is **that** going to?

Patient: It will go wherever it wants to go.

Simbang: If so, is there any place where **they** can drink a cup of water beggarly?

Patient: It will drink the water at its own home.

Simbang: Where is its home?

Patient:

Simbang: The dancing ghosts who possess you, where are **they** going to? Would **they** sail anywhere as they wish? Why are **you** waiting? Speak the direction **you** will go, to where we can then send you. Where should we sail you to?

Patient: To Seoul.

Simbang: To where?

Patient: Seoul.

Simbang: Seoul? Then are you sure that you will never get sick and instead have a healthy body afterwards?

Patient: Yes.

Simbang: Certainly?

Patient: Yes.

Simbang: You say yes! After this *kut* is finished, are you going to complain again here and there of the body? This house is dependent on only you. Aren't you going to lie down again after I leave?

Patient: No. I will not.

Simbang: Are you sure?

Patient: Yes.

Simbang: As you say so, you do not have to take any medicine or injection or acupuncture. You are really lying to me! (striking her with the willow branch)

Patient: No, I am not.

Simbang: Truly? If so, dance once more for the last time while you sing to yourself.

Patient: I won't sing.²³ (Instead, she chose to dance.)

Without the simbang's *sōuje sori*, Sunho danced *torang chūm* for six minutes. After the patient exhausted and fell asleep in the room, the simbang chanted the song of offering cups of liquor.

Today, I offer you the cup of parting to the village of *mōkja-kol*.²⁴ There is a boat waiting for you. This is the cup of parting for the owner of boat, the fireman, and to the stoker of the boat. *Kwisin*, please receive these offering cups. This is also the cup of parting to the four kings of the sea, the king of boat. At the last round, we are going to the seashore; over there we will have the grand feast for the night bogy, the jade bogy, the gold bogy, the *chambong*. And we will offer all of you sacrifices respectively: *younggam*, the king of boat, the dead souls who are sleeping in the sea, the body of the twenty-one year old, the hungry ghosts, the lamenting ghosts. Here are plenty of liquors for you.

***Taekim Battūm*: Interrogation of the Possessing Spirit**

There is an important change in this confessional dialogue. The identity of the possessing spirit or *kwisin* is not referred to by a personal pronoun such as *he* or *you* as had been used in *sōuje sori*; instead, it is referred to by obscure pronouns in either singular or plural such as *it*, *that*, or *they*. The simbang interrogator's strategy is to insult the possessing *kwisin* by means of a threatening tone of voice and gestures, and thus effecting its separation from the patient. Interestingly, the patient tended to concede to the simbang's strategy. She answered still with the double personalities of herself and a possessing spirit. When she was asked if *that kwisin* would go away, she answered as the spirit ("*I will go*"). But gradually she adopted the simbang's usage of the word, *it*, to indicate the spirit. She learned to separate herself from the spirit by objectifying it. At the end she was assured of her return to health by the

simbang, as well as reminded of her remaining responsibility toward her family. In this way the patient would be able to restructure her new social self as well as her health.

Usually the possessing agent is found among the acquaintances or family members of the patient; but in some cases, it is completely unknown to the patient. Unlike Sunho's case, sometimes the patient confesses the *exact* name of the possessing agent and describes the event of its death and how it possessed her. There is one example from another case of *ch'unŭn kut* of an estranged wife and female diver. She confessed it was a couple, Lee Haki, a 25 year old fisherman and his wife who died from a shipwreck at the west sea in the mainland two years before. They were not her acquaintances. The patient, however, always announces one or two names of the possessing spirits. It is a mystery even to the simbang and the audience.

When we look into the past life history of the patient, we can surmise the imaginary relationship between the patient and the possessing spirit. In Sunho's case, it was the dead soul of a man who died in the factory toilet. The event had shocked Sunho three years before. But how can she know this anyway? Her confession of the exact name of the spirit was induced by the simbang's repetitive singing of her personal history through *sōuje sori*. The repetitive narration of *sōuje sori* exaggerated his image into something larger than life and grafted it onto the folk tradition of the *toch'aebi* myth. Besides, she also was hurt deeply by the death of her fellow factory worker who came from the same island. From the similarity of these two deaths the simbang surmised this man to be Sunho's boyfriend who might have been the only solace for her loneliness in a foreign place. A Cheju novelist made a short story on the basis of this surmise from the same material as I have presented here (Han Lim-hwa 1984). But its truth was never clearly cross-checked with the patient.

But in the text of *sōuje sori* Park simbang did not directly touch on this subject, that is, the failure of love; instead, he just alluded to it by juxtaposing the emotional anguish resulting from this failure with the terror of loneliness and harsh work. Therefore, this procedure of *taekim battūm* at the end of the last *seouje sori* does not aim at probing the truth of confession of the name of the spirit; but at assuring the patient of eventual cure at least by revealing in public the identity of the illness.

Later on during a separate conversation with me, Park simbang told me that it was not her dead father or grandfather who was dancing as Sunho initially confessed. On the basis of Sunho's answer, "Let the boat sail to *Seoul*," he judged that it was the spirit of the man who died in the factory toilet. But the real agent of possession behind that dead soul was *chapkwi* which led him to die, still seizing him. *Chapkwi* which are a non-personified flock of hungry and avenging ghosts roaming the empty air, are more powerful and vicious than the spirit of the dead. Because Sunho had not had a proper rite of *nōk dūrim* for soul-return and exorcism right after she lost her soul the first time, the vice of *chapkwi* that had caused the death of that factory worker pierced deeply into her bones and flesh and built its own house.

In this way *chapkwi* had grown to *ch'ilku* or *chōkkwi* of love or resentment, which implies the eternal transfixion of those emotions in the body of the patient. In this case, *toch'abi* is suspected as the hidden agent behind the evil force of *chōkkwi* or *chapkwi*. But *toch'aebi* is not always associated with *chapkwi* or *chōkkwi*. The two terms are used interchangeably to indicate the same thing. However, it seems that *toch'aebi* is closer to a mythical and legendary figure with a personified title such as *younggam*, the king of the boat, more so than *chapkwi*.

The whole process of *taekim battūm* did not last more than twenty minutes. After offering farewell drinks to all *toch'aebi* and *chapkwi*, Park simbang then

bowed to the audience and announced that he had finished the *kut*. The patient's mother and audience together praised his effort so far. This mutual greeting signals the end of the major part of ritual performance; in this case, *sōuje sori* and *nonyōm* (dancing play).

In the next ten minutes, Park simbang prepared the sailing boat for *toch'aebi* and set a special offering table for the rite of *nōk dūrim* and *p'udasi*. Because *kwisin* might have a lingering affection like humans, it is assumed that, when they go away, they take the debris of their romantic involvement with the patient, such as her underwear, hair, fingernails, and toenails, the substances to which they have attached themselves for a while. Park simbang said that the envy of *kwisin* could be stronger than that of living persons.

Nok durim* and *P'udasi*: the Rites of Soul-Return and Exorcism of *Chapkwi

The particular offering table (*nōk sang*, a table of the soul) for this rite consists of one bowl of rice, cold water, three cups of rice wine, and one of Sunho's white colored shirts through which the lost soul would be returned. This shirt must be worn before the ritual performance by the patient at least three to seven days continuously to gather the bad sweats of the sick body, in other words, the spirit of *toch'abi*. Sunho now sat in front of the *nōk sang* with a long white cloth over her head (*pōl-suk-jachi*, the cloth for resolution of the divine punishment). She looked amazingly bright, considering the strenuous dancing plays of the previous three days and nights.

The main purpose of *nōk dūrim* and exorcism of *chapkwi* is to resolve the punishment of the deities and family ancestral spirits and expel the avenging ghosts. For the soul-return, the simbang purifies the shirt by steeping it in the smoke of cedar incense, puts it on top of the head of the patient, and calls her name three times. Then the patient has to answer aloud, "Yes," to each call of

her name. While announcing that the lost three souls are taken back, the *simbang* blows a strong breath on the shirt. He next soaks the shirt, preserving the returned souls (three *nǒk*) with clean water which has purifying power. He touches with that purified shirt the back, the chest, each part of the face, the hands and arms, and the sexual organ of the patient in order to bring the souls back to every part of the body. All of the souls that had been scattered wherever the patient went and stayed are called to return.

This process of soul-return is followed by three exorcism rites for every kind of possible afflicting agent: *pǒl-p'uri* (release of divine punishment), *sin-p'uri* (release of spirit possession of family ancestors who had died in resentment), and *chapkwi-p'uri* (threatening expulsion of all kinds of sundry evil spirits who are the ghosts of men and women, bachelors and maidens, and old-aged people who died in resentment and roamed in the middle space between this world and the other world). At this time, the *simbang* uses his bronze divine knives to "arrest" (*oksal chium*, imprisonment) the sundry evil spirits, removing them to some unknown place. *Nǒk dǔrim* and exorcism are repeated twice in the same manner to complete the exorcism.

In the mean time, male relatives and neighbors prepare the sacrificial roast pig on the seashore. After the *simbang* says farewell to the deities and asks them to return to their original places (*tochin*), all the *simbangs* and the patient are ready to go to the shore for the performance of *yǒnggam nori*, the comic mask play of *tochabi*. Usually *yǒnggam nori* is performed at the shore where *yǒnggam* coming from the mainland must be greeted. The altar and offering tables inside the house are cleared, and a straw rope (*kum jul*) of about two meters are hung at the housegate to protect the house from strangers and evil spirits.

Yōnggam nori: The Comic Mask Play of Toch'aebi

Finally *toch'aebi* reveals his previously disguised personal identity in the concrete form of *yōnggam*. In popular tradition, *nori* means a parody that makes fun of *yōnggam*. *Nori* is one method to guarantee the efficacy of ritual by revealing visibly the mythical deity in reality. I will give a short description of the performance aspect of *yōnggam nori* here in relation to the myth.

According to the origin myth of *yōnggam*, this deity originally had seven brothers, the sons of Huh *chōngsung*, the three highest officials during the Yi dynasty, who lived in the *mōkja* village (the village of eating) at the foothill of Mt. Namsan in Seoul. After they grew up, each brother took charge of each great mountain in Korea. The eldest brother took the Seoul area surrounding Mt. Samkak; the second one Mount Paekdu; the third one Mt. Kumkang; the fourth one Mt. Kyeryong; the fifth one Mt. Taebak; the sixth one Mt. Chiri; and the last and seventh brother Mt. Halla. The *yōnggam nori* is performed in such a way that the eldest brother from Seoul together with other brothers come down to Cheju and take away the youngest one living in Cheju, who has possessed the patient. *Yōnggam nori* is therefore referred to as the play of "indirect exorcism" (Hyun Yong-jun 1972).

Any kind of play or *nori* among other performance genres of Cheju *kut* is considered as an independent rite so that *yōnggam nori* sets a new offering table and starts with *chōgamche*, the opening rite. *Yōnggam nori* has traditionally been held at night or in darkness because *yōnggam* tends to act in darkness. The busy pattern of modern life has made it difficult to conduct the ritual at this time however. Thus Park simbang chose late afternoon instead. The simbangs set the new offering table for the King of the Boat which consisted of the skull of a pig, severed on the top center for a special offering to the eldest *toch'aebi*, seven dishes of millet cakes, and seven cups of rice liquor. These are the favorite foods

Yōnggam nori: The Comic Mask Play of Toch'aebi

Finally *toch'aebi* reveals his previously disguised personal identity in the concrete form of *yōnggam*. In popular tradition, *nori* means a parody that makes fun of *yōnggam*. *Nori* is one method to guarantee the efficacy of ritual by revealing visibly the mythical deity in reality. I will give a short description of the performance aspect of *yōnggam nori* here in relation to the myth.

According to the origin myth of *yōnggam*, this deity originally had seven brothers, the sons of Huh *chōngsung*, the three highest officials during the Yi dynasty, who lived in the *mōkja* village (the village of eating) at the foothill of Mt. Namsan in Seoul. After they grew up, each brother took charge of each great mountain in Korea. The eldest brother took the Seoul area surrounding Mt. Samkak; the second one Mount Paekdu; the third one Mt. Kumkang; the fourth one Mt. Kyeryong; the fifth one Mt. Taebak; the sixth one Mt. Chiri; and the last and seventh brother Mt. Halla. The *yōnggam nori* is performed in such a way that the eldest brother from Seoul together with other brothers come down to Cheju and take away the youngest one living in Cheju, who has possessed the patient. *Yōnggam nori* is therefore referred to as the play of "indirect exorcism" (Hyun Yong-jun 1972).

Any kind of play or *nori* among other performance genres of Cheju *kut* is considered as an independent rite so that *yōnggam nori* sets a new offering table and starts with *chōgamche*, the opening rite. *Yōnggam nori* has traditionally been held at night or in darkness because *yōnggam* tends to act in darkness. The busy pattern of modern life has made it difficult to conduct the ritual at this time however. Thus Park simbang chose late afternoon instead. The simbangs set the new offering table for the King of the Boat which consisted of the skull of a pig, severed on the top center for a special offering to the eldest *toch'aebi*, seven dishes of millet cakes, and seven cups of rice liquor. These are the favorite foods

of *toch'aebi*. The head of the pig, which is skillfully carved, is saved for the eldest of seven *toch'aebi* brothers, who is going to come to take away the youngest one, the actual possessing agent. Twelve parts of bones and roast pork are also displayed separately on the vinyl paper next to the main table. Besides these things two bunches of straw for making a torch and a roll of straw rope woven on the left side are placed on the opposite side. They are to be used for play together with two *yō'nggam* masks which are made of blank, thin, white paper with five holes for two eyes, a nose, and mouth and a crude drawing of a beard. This mask will be burnt together with paper money after *nori* ends.

When preparations are finished, the *su-simbang*, (traditionally wearing a military robe (*kunbok*) at this point), starts *ch'ogamche* in the same way as in other rituals. (Park *simbang* did not wear this robe for convenience. Often this formal dressing is omitted in small-scale *kut*.) The patient sits at the corner of the ritual space as if she hides herself from the *chapkwi* by covering herself with a blanket or a scarf on her head. The whole play of invitation and indirect expulsion of *yō'nggam* continues for an hour. Within thirty minutes the last exorcism of *chapkwi* (*mak-p'udasi*) and the sailing-off of the miniature boat (*pae bangsong*) follow.

While the chief *simbang* chants *yōunggam ponpuri*, one or two assistant *simbangs* sneak away carrying everything with them. At a hiding place, such as behind a rock, they dress as the mythic images of the *younggam*, wearing masks on their faces, ragged robes, old straw shoes, an old and broken top hat reminiscent of that of a gentry man, with an old tobacco pipe in their mouths. On their backs they each carry a sack of pork meat and internal organs wrapped in straw. Holding a torch in one hand, they stand separately in two hiding places, awaiting the call of the *simbang*. (In the case of ritual performances on the grand scale of *yōnggam nori*, performed when a newly built boat is celebrated

as the dwelling of the god of the boat or when a fishing village celebrates a regular collective ceremony for a good harvest at sea, six *somu* can play six *younggam*, fully in accordance with the story of *younggam ponpuri*.)

At the end of *chogamche*, after invoking four kings of the sea, the *simbang* invites *younggam* to the altar: "Dear gracious ancestor, the king of the boat, *younggam*, *chambong*, the night bogy *chambong*, and the king of the boat who assailed this person at such and such an age! Please come alive riding on the horses to this altar for the greeting rite of the sea gods." The *simbang* narrates the myth of the origin of *younggam*. At the end of the narration, he calls the name of *younggam*. In the meantime, two *somu* come closer by hopping towards the altar with their torches as if they are searching for their youngest brother. At the same time that they reach the altar, the narration ends, and they extinguish the torches.

Younggam: Hahaha! (arriving at the ritual space and laughing loud)

Susimbang: *Younggam! Younggam!* (turning on the light again)

Younggam: Huhuhuhuhu. (Two now drunken *younggam* walked into the altar noisily.)

Susimbang: *Younggam!*

Younggam: Huhuhu, what?

Susimbang: Are you *younggam*?

Younggam: Um, I am *younggam*.

Susimbang: Ha, You are the *kotgam*, a rotten persimmon which nobody wants to eat.

Younggam: Huhuhu. (looking embarrassed by this joke)

Susimbang: Ha, *younggam*, why do you come here?

Younggam: We are the sons of Huh chungsung living in the *mukja* village at the foothill of Namsan mountain in Seoul. We are all seven brothers. We travel every mountain and river of eight provinces. We play in the riverside when the tide comes in. We play in the water when the tide goes out. *We are the younggam who can go everywhere to the corner of sea and shore, and fly a thousand miles in a moment.*

Susimbang: You are right. Right.

Younggam: As we heard that our youngest brother came to stay in Mount Halla, we came to look for him, to Mount Paekdu, to Duman River..... to Cheju Island, as we arrived at this village, we smelled the incense and heard, "*younggam, younggam,*" calling my name.

Susimbang: Ha, you are welcome. I was waiting for you anyway.

In this way, seven brothers of *yōnggam* are invited. And *su-simbang* and *yōnggam* continue their dialogue as follows: Which place do you like the most? What kind of weather do you like the most? What kind of food do you like the most? Don't you like female divers and widows? This comic dialogue is the enactment of the myth, a *ponpuri* which is conducted to make certain that the visiting deity is truly *yōnggam*.

But *Yo nggam's* clumsy and gauche behavior, and the parody in the dialogue make the audience laugh. Then the *simbang* introduces the patient as their youngest brother. *Yōnggam* touches the shoulder of the patient and persuades him to leave with them. The *simbang* suggests a farewell feast before they all leave, offering them their favorite food such as liquor, pork, and rice cake. *Yōnggam* is offered a cup of liquor by the patient. With quivering hands due to palsy, however, he barely takes the food and cups of liquor, explaining the reason for his illness as alcoholism. Speaking like an old man, he complains that he is too old and has too few teeth to chew all the good meat, suggesting instead that the patient and the audience eat the meat. This meat should be consumed completely at this time, since the leftovers cannot be taken by anyone except the *simbangs* who are rather immune to the affliction of the *tochaebi* spirit.

Following the *simbang's* suggestion, *yōnggam*, holding a straw miniature boat, invites the patient and the audience to dance together with him to the last rhythm of *sōuje*.²⁵ Once the dancing is over, *yōnggam* asks the *su simbang* to load the offerings onto the boat. Pretending they are heavy, *somu* loads what are actually quite small portions of each offering such as rice, water, or famous products of Cheju like dried mushrooms, shells, and seaweeds on the boat. Money for sailing is also collected from the patient and the audience, and loaded too. Once the boat is filled, *yōnggam* carries it on his shoulder while announcing his farewell, "We are parting, let us go sailing by boat!" Then *yōnggam* leaves

the altar. The boat sails off by itself from the shore or is taken to the far-off sea by the real electric boat. In Sunho's case, a paper box was used as a substitute for this sailing boat because a dry weed miniature boat was not prepared. Before sailing the boat, the *somu* who plays the *yŏnggam* in the play takes money with him. Like this money offering, all offerings must be consumed or taken by the *simbang* except some portions for *chapkwŏ*.

After the *yŏnggam* leave the ritual space, the *simbang* prepares a series of exorcisms (*mak p'udasi*). At first he wraps the patient with a mat to keep her from seeing the harsh performances of exorcism. After a *somu* sends away the tribute boat together with *yŏnggam* while chanting that the *yŏnggam* go away to the palace of the sea, the patient takes the mat off and runs away to a hiding place for a week. This is the end of *yŏnggam nori* and also *ch'unŭn kut*, once *toch'abi* has been expelled from the body of the patient in this indirect, theatrical way.

Conclusion

In the description of ritual performance of a healing ritual and exorcism for *toch'aebi* spirit, this chapter focuses on the life history of a twenty-one year old female factory worker living in the 1980s in contemporary Korea. The basic premise of the analysis of this case history is that an illness of the body is a bodily history, and its cure is best achieved through the reworking and transforming of that history. Then what kind of *history* is it that Sunho, the patient and also the subject of the presented case history, represents? It is the history of the *minjung* (the total name to refer to the subjugated social class in any social system in the past whose historical consciousness impregnates the social transformation) and their collective emotionality of *han* (the unrequited resentments). As Sunho goes through the healing rite, the resentments of the

the altar. The boat sails off by itself from the shore or is taken to the far-off sea by the real electric boat. In Sunho's case, a paper box was used as a substitute for this sailing boat because a dry weed miniature boat was not prepared. Before sailing the boat, the *somu* who plays the *yŏnggam* in the play takes money with him. Like this money offering, all offerings must be consumed or taken by the *simbang* except some portions for *chapkwŏ*.

After the *yŏnggam* leave the ritual space, the *simbang* prepares a series of exorcisms (*mak p'udasi*). At first he wraps the patient with a mat to keep her from seeing the harsh performances of exorcism. After a *somu* sends away the tribute boat together with *yŏnggam* while chanting that the *yŏnggam* go away to the palace of the sea, the patient takes the mat off and runs away to a hiding place for a week. This is the end of *yŏnggam nori* and also *ch'unŭn kut*, once *toch'abi* has been expelled from the body of the patient in this indirect, theatrical way.

Conclusion

In the description of ritual performance of a healing ritual and exorcism for *toch'aebi* spirit, this chapter focuses on the life history of a twenty-one year old female factory worker living in the 1980s in contemporary Korea. The basic premise of the analysis of this case history is that an illness of the body is a bodily history, and its cure is best achieved through the reworking and transforming of that history. Then what kind of *history* is it that Sunho, the patient and also the subject of the presented case history, represents? It is the history of the *minjung* (the total name to refer to the subjugated social class in any social system in the past whose historical consciousness impregnates the social transformation) and their collective emotionality of *han* (the unrequited resentments). As Sunho goes through the healing rite, the resentments of the

minjung would be requited in the symbolic way that the existing hegemonic order of the neo-colonial, post-industrial capitalist world system is recounted and eventually destroyed in the parody of exorcism of evil spirits. As such, the particular interest of this chapter lies in the juxtaposition of a personal history of sufferings with the collective history of *han* as both are naturally blended in the performance of ritual narratives.

This is not my interpretation, it is the view of the minjung themselves, who believe that most shamanic healing rituals, in particular, the possession dancing ritual (*ch'unŭn kut*), become the performative action for the release of *han* (*han p'uri*) which causes illness and misfortune. The ritual narratives of inner sorrow and resentments sung by the *simbang* are the collective remembrance of tragedy and violence in either the personal history of an individual, or the collective history of the minjung. The case history of an illness evokes threads of memory that run as images through the patients' lives, referring to the more general history of love, marriage, and economy of peasant farming and fishing and export-oriented industry in the modern state society. The events of illness and misfortune, as well as the healing ritual, constitute rupture points of this historical continuum that make barely conscious imagery manifest. The whole performance of possession dancing and narrative songs in the enraptured state of spirit (*sinmyŏng*) during the *chunun kut* is designed to construct an image of evil, via the myth of *tochaebi*, and make it penetrable to the everyday consciousness of the patient and the exorcist (the *simbang*).

In the next chapter, I will move to a more theoretical discussion about the origin of the *toch'aebi* myth (*yŏnggam ponp'uri*) and its historical permutations in popular imagination. The analytical premise of that chapter is that the image of *toch'aebi* takes the place of the archetype of evil and *han*, and it constitutes the collective unconsciousness of the minjung in history. The purpose of this

extensive discussion is to examine the historical basis of the popular aesthetics of *han* of the minjung. If *sŏuje sori* in this chapter has illustrated the contemporary hermeneutics of *han* through a case history of a female factory worker, the ensuing chapter will elucidate the geneology of social realism of *han* that has been represented in the performance of "laughter in tears" through *sŏuje sori* and *yŏnggam nori* together. Considering the historical permutations of the toch'aebi myth in oral traditions, I will further pursue in the next chapter its political iconography where the dialectic between popular fear of evil force and desire for its magical omnipotence is transcoded into the collective memory of an "enigmatic" toch'aebi image.

Notes to Chapter 10

¹See Rouget (1985:3-65) for classificatory explanation about difference among possession dance, trance dance, and shamanic ecstasy. The Cheju case is a kind of possession dance.

²The concept of *choech'ek* which I translate here as a sin or offensive liability, must be distinguished from the Euroamerican Christian concept of sin. In the context of Cheju shamanic ritual, *choech'ek* alludes to the moral sense of filial piety, the dominant ideology of Confucianism. By contrast, the Christian concept of sin refers rather to the judicial sense of crime against an Absolute Being, God.

³Choe Kil-sŏng (1986) who studies shamanic rituals concentrating on the east coast area in Korea, suggests a different point of view about the concept of avenging ghosts. He considers this lesser category of spirits unimportant as an object of the study of Korean shamanism due to its negative and marginal position in the shamanic pantheon.

⁴An epic poem by Mun Mubyung and a short story by Han Limhwa is based on the same case story. Mun, a local poet, mainly excerpts from the *simbang's* recitation without description of contextual circumstances. Even these excerpts make sense of what type of life Sunho and her family have lived in contemporary Korea. On the other hand, Han Lim-hwa, a local novelist, creates a fictional life of a young Cheju woman who became conscious of political meaning in her personal misfortune as a lonely factory worker. In Han's short story, titled "Vivari (a virgin)," the protagonist appears as more than a loner in a foreign environment; her single-minded longing for her native village and family in Cheju begins to shatter when she encounters the corpse of her fellow worker found in the factory laboratory who was in fact the union leader. She feels ashamed of her ignorance of why he died or was killed. A sense of solidarity among the workers slowly surfaces in her consciousness.

⁵I wrote a preliminary essay on this particular healing rite (Kim Seong-nae 1984).

⁶Even in the idle season of "summer time" (*yuwŏl-jŏl*) when the deities and spirits become inactive and therefore virtually no ordinary *kut* is performed, *chunun kut* is performed for emergency cases because it is involved in the serious issue of whether a person dies or relives.

⁷Park *simbang* died of heart attack on July 1986.

⁸This exception challenges mythical conventions of gender distinction in *yŏnggam ponpuri*, where *toch'aebi* is a gentry man favoring a beautiful woman, specifically a female diver. Native cultural conventions about *toch'aebi* affliction that are expressed in contexts other than in the myth, however, embrace both gender of *tochaebi*. For example, *tochaebi* represents an evil spirit of either a man (*nam-sae*) or a woman (*yeo-sae*), young or old, single or married. Therefore, not only a singular person but a married couple can appear as the agents of affliction. The exceptional case discussed here is a 29-year old male teacher teaching science in a high school. The consultant *simbang* diagnosed his case as the *tochaebi* affliction after observing his style of dancing for one evening session. After trying every western medical treatment in vain, he followed his mother's

persuasion to try a shamanic ritual as the last resort. The simbang tried to persuade the patient and his family to continue a *chunŭn kut* the next day. But he refused to comply with the advice because of his disbelief in it. He and his family also were concerned with the high cost expected for treatment if he were to continue to dance a few more days. It was too early for the simbang to identify the character of the afflicting agent. However, in the general theory of the simbang's divination, a female evil spirit is usually attributed to the agent of a male patient, whether it is related to his female relatives (in this case his father's unmarried sister who died from difficult childbirth was referred to as one of possibilities for malignancy) or to a totally unknown figure.

⁹ Headache is a chronic illness of divers (Kang Tae-wŏn 1970).

¹⁰ This divers' migratory works outside the island began early in the 1910s since the Japanese colonial government made arrangements for a broader commercial market of their catches (Kang Tae-wŏn 1970). Some went far up north to Vladivostok in Russian Siberia.

¹¹ Walter Benjamin allegorically expressed the social and cultural alienation of individual Parisians in the late 19th century with the same word of the sea of the crowd in his book on Baudelaire. Such a poetic nuance of the enormity of urbaneness has been used rather commonly in social sciences. But here I tried specifically to transpose the image of a vast sea as recited in the simbang's *seouje sori* into my description of an inner landscape of Sunho's suffering. The image of a vast sea is frequently used in the simbangs' songs in order to express the overwhelming sense of impossibilities for change or ill fate, particularly in the case of Cheju people who from 1700 to 1900 were prohibited by law to leave the island.

¹² This plural existence of *toch'aebi* is congruent with seven brothers of *yŏ'nggam* (an imposter of *toch'aebi*) in the origin myth of *yŏ'nggam*. But there appears a difference between myth and ritual in terms of gender distinction. In the ritual, both seven brothers and seven sisters are invoked. In the myth, only seven brothers appear. I interpret this variation from a social-historical perspective. If popular culture defines *toch'aebi* as more generalized and archaic forms of evil, *yŏ'nggam ponpuri*, a story of a shabby-looking idle gentry man, might have been made by the subaltern people during the Yi dynasty with the purpose of parodying the dominant *yangban* class. This question about a historical significance of the *toch'aebi* figure will be further clarified in the next chapter. In short, I contend here that ritual performance is not necessarily reflexive of myth.

¹³ The reason why the personal pronouns in this text are often omitted is that the simbang's narration assumes an autobiographic life story of the patient or her mother, in addition to a biographical myth of the afflicting agent. Even when the pronouns (either personal or indicative) are specified, they are called from the perspective of the subject of narration, and not the third person narrator. Furthermore, Koreans habitually omit the subject in sentence composition in part for the Confucian virtues of self-effacement and humility.

¹⁴ There are three souls (*sam nŏk*) and minds (*sam hon*) according to Cheju shamanic tradition. The number "three" (*sam*) symbolizes perfection, completeness, or normality. Therefore, if a person loses one soul or mind, it implies an abnormal state of personhood.

15 Twelve *sŏk salim kut* is staged for the grand-scale *kut*, and six *sŏk* for the small *kut*.

16 This question has been well developed by Bloch (1974), Rappaport (1983), and Tambiah (1973) who try to explain the magical force or illocutionary power of ritual narratives on the basis of Austin's theory of words as performance. My point is similar to Tambiah's and contrary to Bloch's.

17 This "you" implies *toch'aebi* in comparison with the "you" in the previous paragraph which indicates the possessed one. A dialogical mode can be observed here in the alternations of the second person narrative, *you*, between patient and *toch'aebi*.

18 Terminologies like "dialogical discourse" and "intertextuality" that have become popular these days in academic circles of literary criticism on behalf of Kristeva are originally inspired by Bakhtin's conception of human discourse. According to Bakhtin, any and all relations between two utterances are intertextual: "Two verbal works, two utterances, in juxtaposition, enter into a particular kind of semantic relation, which we call dialogical (1981: 297). Bakhtin makes an inventory of all the types of discourse in which the intertextual dimension is essential: daily conversation; law; religion; the human sciences; rhetorical genres, such as political discourse; and so on (1981).

19 In other words, I can say that dancing in the rhythm of boat rowing (*ŏuje*) serves the medium of "unconscious exteriorization" of the intertextual discourse, paraphrasing Kristeva (1980:66).

20 See Kristeva's discussion of subversive force of carnivalesque laughter and Menippean discourse; Victor Turner's idea of *communitas* and anti-structure (1969); and Rappaport's idea of luminous experience at the liminal stage of ritual (1983).

21 In this village, there was a massacre of hundreds of men by the counter-insurgency force (on the same beach where the comic rite of exorcism of *toch'aebi* was performed at the end of this healing rite) during the April Third Insurgency in 1948 (Kim Minju and Kim Pong-hyŏn 1963).

22 According to Pu's 1984 article, the night goblin (*yach'a*) and gold goblin (*kumch'a*) indicate grotesque-looking spirits.

23 Usually the patient sings a popular song of Seoul if the possessing spirit comes from there.

24 In the mythic text of *yŏnggam ponpuri*, this village is the home village of *toch'aebi*.

25 Kendall (1985) has illustrated the similar phenomenon of possession dance or *mugam*, in the case of a shamanic *kut* in Kyungki-do area near Seoul. In her case, the dancer is not a specific person as in the case of Sunho; it is the audience. Their possession dance is a momentary dance at a specific point of ritual process when the audience is possessed by the deities such as *taegam*, the generals. But this does not continue day and night for several days solely for the purpose of curing.

CHAPTER 11

UNMASKING *TOCH'AEBI* AND THE WILD SPIRITS

The purpose of this chapter is to trace the history of the myth of *toch'aebi* and the origin of the *toch'aebi* exorcism rite, *yŏnggam nori*. In Korean popular tradition, there have been numerous folktales of *toch'aebi* and also similar myths of *toch'aebi*-like figures such as *yŏnggam* or *chŏyong* (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1978; Kim Yŏl-kyu 1983). Among them we can discover stories similar to that of *toch'aebi*, whose main character is portrayed as either a popular hero or the agent of affliction and evil. What does this story of *toch'aebi* as an ambivalent character purport to tell? Why is this uncanny, yet funny story, cherished by the common people? As I presented a Cheju episode of *toch'aebi* possession previously in this chapter, I unmask the mystery of this *toch'aebi* character in light of its historical reappropriation in the scenes of political resistance and cultural parody. I describe the way in which the historical status of the *toch'aebi* character typified in the images of *yŏnggam* and *chŏyong* is created, justified, and modified in the different social contexts of ritual performance. As in the previous chapter, my discussion focuses on the *minjung*, the subaltern class people who are the producers and also the users of the *toch'aebi* image, and also the representations of the *toch'aebi* image as the allegory of their political unconscious.

The myth of *toch'aebi* recited for exorcism and healing rites is something more than a literary genre in the Korean oral tradition. It poses itself as a vision of the common people (*minjung*) in the imaginary realm, which is caught between a certain reality and pure fiction. The image of *toch'aebi* itself is a myth to the

extent that the storyteller uses it as either the myth of the self or that of the anti-self, depending on the particular circumstances of storytelling. This myth has narrative significance that makes it memorable so that it can be recognized by the audience. The power of narrative as such here is rooted within a given culture which inculcates a particular narrative impulse. This narrative impulse, in turn, assures its memory and its mythical permanence by means of repetition (cf. Adler 1985). In the context of the Korean history of the common people, both myth-maker and audience, the narrative impulse involved in the *toch'aebi* myth is rooted in the particular emotion of *wŏnhan*, an unrequited sense of resentment and desire for vengeance that is preserved by the spirits of the dead. The Cheju *simbangs*' recitations of the myth of *yŏnggam* are geared toward expressing this particular emotion and relieving that emotion at last. The effectiveness of such recitation is engendered by the redemptive power inhering in these stories of the *toch'aebi*-like characters of *yonggam* or a "crazy" (*turin*) person, such as one hero named Sunho.

Regardless of the different social and situational contexts in which the myths and folktales may be told, the popular mythology of *toch'aebi* or *toch'aebi*-like figures consistently represent the folk theory of evil and emotional expressiveness such as resentment. By tracing the mythological genealogy of the *toch'aebi* image and other popular images such as *yŏnggam* and *chŏyong*, this chapter ultimately aspires to delineate the conflicting representations of *wŏnhan*, the repressed resentment of the common people.

Social Origin of *Toch'aebi*: *Yŏnggam*

Since *toch'aebi* is actually played as *yŏnggam* in the ritual performance, I shall begin with the description of the historical character of *yŏnggam*.

extent that the storyteller uses it as either the myth of the self or that of the anti-self, depending on the particular circumstances of storytelling. This myth has narrative significance that makes it memorable so that it can be recognized by the audience. The power of narrative as such here is rooted within a given culture which inculcates a particular narrative impulse. This narrative impulse, in turn, assures its memory and its mythical permanence by means of repetition (cf. Adler 1985). In the context of the Korean history of the common people, both myth-maker and audience, the narrative impulse involved in the *toch'aebi* myth is rooted in the particular emotion of *wŏnhan*, an unrequited sense of resentment and desire for vengeance that is preserved by the spirits of the dead. The Cheju *simbangs*' recitations of the myth of *yŏnggam* are geared toward expressing this particular emotion and relieving that emotion at last. The effectiveness of such recitation is engendered by the redemptive power inhering in these stories of the *toch'aebi*-like characters of *yonggam* or a "crazy" (*turin*) person, such as one hero named Sunho.

Regardless of the different social and situational contexts in which the myths and folktales may be told, the popular mythology of *toch'aebi* or *toch'aebi*-like figures consistently represent the folk theory of evil and emotional expressiveness such as resentment. By tracing the mythological genealogy of the *toch'aebi* image and other popular images such as *yŏnggam* and *chŏyong*, this chapter ultimately aspires to delineate the conflicting representations of *wŏnhan*, the repressed resentment of the common people.

Social Origin of *Toch'aebi*: *Yŏnggam*

Since *toch'aebi* is actually played as *yŏnggam* in the ritual performance, I shall begin with the description of the historical character of *yŏnggam*.

Yŏnggam is a deity (*sin*) who behaves like a human being but manifests his authority by exercising the wickedness in human nature. On the other hand, the *toch'aebi*, whose nature is closer to a goblin or a night bogey than to a ghost, acts as a parody of *yŏnggam* or *ch'ambong*. In history, *yŏnggam* is a term for high bureaucrats such as the prime minister and other high ranking administrators who governed local offices during the Yi dynasty. In Cheju shamanism these bureaucrats are parodied as *toch'aebi* who afflict beautiful women (*ch'imno hada*, literally the act of invading the body), eventually causing illness. An even sharper parody is expressed in the *yŏnggam nori* when the *yŏnggam* is expelled from the altar. His expulsion from the scene brings forth ironic laughter in the audience who have experienced the power of those officials. In a sense, this laughter is the narrative strategy of a shamanic construction of myths that juxtaposes two contradictory images of *toch'aebi*, who is first idealized in the figure of a high-born, hereditary elite, *yŏnggam*, but whose honor is then discredited as a mere evil spirit.

This mythologization of *toch'aebi* as *yŏnggam* is a popular interpretation of the historical reality of the *yangban*-dominant and Confucian Yi Dynasty that governed Korea for 500 years until 1910. All bureaucrats were then recruited exclusively from the *yangban* class. As portrayed in the mythic story, the *yŏnggam* represents the *yangban* class during that time. The *yangban* class collected taxes in the form of dues from the commoner class.¹ *Yŏnggam* also represents the sexually immoral men from the *yangban* class, who could take any desirable women as concubines from the commoners. These men of the *yangban* class caused exploitation, remorse, and a negative sense of destiny that had burdened the hearts of commoners, and precipitated the collective memory of *han*. Both *yŏnggam ponp'uri* and its ritual enactment in the form of a comic

mask play (*nori*) express the commoner *minjung's* capacity for parody that subverts the dominant power into a ludicrous image.

The historical origin of this image of *yŏnggam* can be traced as far back as the seventh century. According to Hyŏn Yong-jun (1968), *yŏnggam*, typically portrayed as a frolicsome deity, has a similar historical image in the ancient legend of *chŏyong* during the United Kingdom of Silla around 700 A.D.² According to the legend of *chŏyong*, the afflicting deity (*yŏksin*) was sleeping with *chŏyong's* wife when *chŏyong* merrily came home drunk late one night. Instead of scolding or expelling the scoundrel *yŏksin* immediately, *chŏyong* sang a song to his wife and the *yŏksin*. *Yŏksin* was deeply moved by *chŏyong's* singing and graceful dancing; he knelt down in front of *chŏyong*, asking for his forgiveness. *Yŏksin* then vowed to *chŏyong* that he would not invade any house where *chŏyong's* mask or painting had been placed on the entrance gate. It is said according to written records that, on the basis of this myth and dancing rite of *chŏyong*, the people began to use the mask or painting of *chŏyong* as a magical talisman against *yŏksin* and other evil forces.³

This *chŏyong* myth and exorcism rite is structurally similar to the myth of *yŏnggam* and *yŏnggam nori*. *Yŏksin* is compared to the *toch'aebi*, the afflicting agent who hides himself inside the patient, and *chŏyong* to the *yŏnggam* who is playing the exorcist. But the relational pattern of the two has been modified. In the *chŏyong* story, the two are in confrontation. In the context of *yŏnggam nori*, however, two figures are related as brothers; that is, *yŏksin* is portrayed as the youngest brother of *chŏyong*, the eldest *yŏnggam*. Given this comparison of the two myths, it becomes clear that the key principle of parodic discourse is manifested in the brotherhood of two opposed historical images--the evil spirit and the exorcist. This parodic association of contradictory images permits the

mask play (*nori*) express the commoner *minjung's* capacity for parody that subverts the dominant power into a ludicrous image.

The historical origin of this image of *yŏnggam* can be traced as far back as the seventh century. According to Hyŏn Yong-jun (1968), *yŏnggam*, typically portrayed as a frolicsome deity, has a similar historical image in the ancient legend of *chŏyong* during the United Kingdom of Silla around 700 A.D.² According to the legend of *chŏyong*, the afflicting deity (*yŏksin*) was sleeping with *chŏyong's* wife when *chŏyong* merrily came home drunk late one night. Instead of scolding or expelling the scoundrel *yŏksin* immediately, *chŏyong* sang a song to his wife and the *yŏksin*. *Yŏksin* was deeply moved by *chŏyong's* singing and graceful dancing; he knelt down in front of *chŏyong*, asking for his forgiveness. *Yŏksin* then vowed to *chŏyong* that he would not invade any house where *chŏyong's* mask or painting had been placed on the entrance gate. It is said according to written records that, on the basis of this myth and dancing rite of *chŏyong*, the people began to use the mask or painting of *chŏyong* as a magical talisman against *yŏksin* and other evil forces.³

This *chŏyong* myth and exorcism rite is structurally similar to the myth of *yŏnggam* and *yŏnggam nori*. *Yŏksin* is compared to the *toch'aebi*, the afflicting agent who hides himself inside the patient, and *chŏyong* to the *yŏnggam* who is playing the exorcist. But the relational pattern of the two has been modified. In the *chŏyong* story, the two are in confrontation. In the context of *yŏnggam nori*, however, two figures are related as brothers; that is, *yŏksin* is portrayed as the youngest brother of *chŏyong*, the eldest *yŏnggam*. Given this comparison of the two myths, it becomes clear that the key principle of parodic discourse is manifested in the brotherhood of two opposed historical images--the evil spirit and the exorcist. This parodic association of contradictory images permits the

ironical inversion of meaning contained in the honorable title, *yŏnggam*; thus, *yŏnggam* is indeed evil.⁴

Such a parody of brotherhood between *yŏnggam* and *toch'aebi* poignantly criticizes the hierarchical relationship between the dominant and the subjugated by envisioning the ideal of equality apart from any confrontational reality. Furthermore, when the very source of evil is made into a magical talisman for exorcism by means of poetic transposition, this ironic twist of reality represents the redemptive desire of the *minjung* for the structural inversion of official social order. Interestingly enough, even before the *chŏryong* mask was used, *toch'aebi* figures and masks had been used for the same purpose of exorcism in ancient times. The exorcistic effect and subsequent healing power inhering in the performance of *yŏnggam nori* comes from this magical power of parody.

The following discussion in this chapter will examine the historical geneology of this principle of parody and redemptive desire of the *minjung*, which will be traced in the multiple forms of the *toch'aebi* image in Korean popular tradition.

The Demonic Mask: The Original Type

The original figure for *toch'aebi* was a demonic mask that was used as a magical talisman against evil (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1978). The roof tiles of *toch'aebi* figures (*kwimyŏn wa* or *kwimyŏn wadang*) had been used in prehistoric times for the same purpose (Chin Hong-sŏb 1981).⁵ In Korea, male and female *toch'aebi* figures were originally placed on palace buildings or Buddhist temple roof tiles and front door rings. These *toch'aebi* figures evoked the potent, grotesque image of a round or square face with protuberant open eyes, a round upturned nose with flaring nostrils, a gaping mouth (thick lips), showing long and sharp canine teeth with a protruding tongue, and curly hair and beard. The wide openness of the

toch'aebi face immediately invokes a sense of terror and compelling force.

Sometimes *toch'aebi* figures have other bodily parts with extra attachments such as two horns sprouting from the forehead, four legs with a tail, an animal's sharp toenails, protuberant nipples, or a full-blown bulge like a frog. *Toch'aebi* figures with these elements reflect wild animal creatures close to the demonic figure, whose grotesque face can defeat the evil spirits.

Although the primary purpose of *toch'aebi* figures was to warn evil spirits not to enter the house and its sacred space, gradually their grimness had diminished into a form closer to a standard human face once their use became popularized among the commoners during the Yi dynasty. In spite of their original grotesque images, they no longer evoked a sense of terror. Instead, due to their exaggeratedly wide-open protuberant eyes and nose, the *toch'aebi* figures looked rather comic. According to a historical record of the Three Kingdom Period, people believed if they danced wearing this demonic mask and laughed loudly, their illness would disappear (Yi Tu-hyŏn 1978).

The domestication of the *toch'aebi* image as such is typified in folk tales (*mindam*) that treat *toch'aebi* with affection and a queer sense of humor. According to Yi Pu-yŏng (1981:65) and Yim Sŏk-je (1981), *toch'aebi* is clearly distinguished from the spirits of the dead. *Toch'aebi* is not a ghost (*kwisin*) or deity to be worshipped; it is a natural demon (*imae*) with a human face but with a bestial nature characterized by possession of a tail and sharp canine teeth. However, *toch'aebi* is not like a Christian devil or a hobgoblin that revels in vice. In the tales of *toch'aebi*, his diabolicalness does not appear; he does not bring destruction to humans; instead he breaks into mundane reality and brings forth a philosophical moment of laughter and irony in the context of storytelling. In other words, *toch'aebi* is not a spiritual being but an idea or symbolic type that represents the demonic.

In old literature, *toch'aebi* as the imaginary demonic creature is referred to by various Chinese characters depending on its feature and function (Yim Tong-kwŏn 1981:16). He is the anima of all natural objects that have been used one time (but discarded now) long enough to be able to transform themselves into human forms. These objects are not related to human souls but to human secretions such as sweat, blood, and skin dirt that smell mephitic. For example, these objects are eggs, worn-out blankets, lanterns, mats, human hairs, dogs, menstruation pads, cooking griddles, broom-sticks, and so on. Although *toch'aebi*, in the fantastic world of the tales, takes the form of a hairy bachelor, a pretty woman, or a widow with long hair in a white dress who lures humans to remote places on dark foggy nights, it always turns itself back into the original object in the daylight reality. Sometimes it appears as a very tall man whose height reaches to the heavens, but at other times it appears as a small baby. *Toch'aebi's* occult art and elasticity of size allude to its free spirit in the fantasy.

This art of unlimited transformation and flexibility between the two realms of fantasy and reality is indeed the cultural construct of popular imagination about the existence of a super power beyond human perception. It represents the *minjung's* desire for the power of a free-wheeling overturn of oppressive reality. In the context of one story, a man's fantastic feast at the palace with a pretty woman is destined to disappear in his miserable reality of garbage heaps under the bridge while holding a worn-out cooking griddle (Yim Tong-Kwŏn 1981). This story tells that, despite the realization of the vanity of wealth and pleasure, the fantasy can unfold freely in storymaking and telling.

What then does the *minjung* storyteller desire from these *toch'aebi* tales? To answer this question, we need to examine the values represented by the *toch'aebi* image. Two conflicting values, namely the chimera of the super-human being and the lesser quality of the sub-human class, are revealed. First, the

storyteller attributes *toch'aebi's* superhuman power to imaginary objects such as a magical club or a horsehair cap (formerly worn by gentry officials during the Yi dynasty) or clothes which symbolize the authority of the dominant *yangban* class. By using these objects, *toch'aebi* can bring sudden wealth and treasures to his favorite humans, who become his lord. *Toch'aebi* is known to be an expert blacksmith. He can transform stones to gold or silver. Sometimes *toch'aebi* divines the cause of a particular illness to help the shaman. *Toch'aebi* is both malevolent and benevolent.⁶

Besides this superhuman capacity, *toch'aebi* behaves like a man of whimsical moods: simple-minded, very passionate, easily angered, greedy, noisy, and one who enjoys singing, dancing, gambling, drinking, and philandering. He is cantankerous, always doing the opposite of what a person wishes and enjoying the consequent bewilderment, but his cross temper can be used by humans who cleverly lie to *toch'aebi* to achieve their original wish. In this case he is not as intelligent as humans. In short, his cantankerousness, low intelligence, and unruly life style sums up the social character of the people.

When we reflect upon the social history of these folk tales, both the superhuman power and the anti-social character of *toch'aebi* as such, however, demonstrate doubly the twisted meanings of the *toch'aebi* figure. If the marvel of *toch'aebi's* horsehair cap is borrowed from the actual authoritarian power of the gentry class, its fantastic potency serves a redemptive desire of the storyteller, the *minjung* class. Under the substratum of this imagery of a fabulous world, however, there exists a profound inversion of original meaning. A sudden acquisition of wealth and treasures, gold and silver, a palace, a grandiose feast, and a beautiful woman are all realistic images of superfluity that are typified in the life style of the dominant social class, or at least what the storyteller imagines it to be. Instead of needing laborious efforts and a proper procedure to

achieve them, the dominant class and bureaucrats whose social status was ascribed by birth could obtain them forcefully from the subjugated commoner class. The theme of easy gain of superfluity critically comments on the vanity of the dominant class. Even more, the anti-social and immoral character which was often identified with the illiterate under-class people is here inverted to that of the ruling class. In particular, *toch'aebi*'s cross temper and strong sexual desire embody the features of the avaricious exploitation and greed of the same class. The Confucian authoritarian bureaucrats during the Yi dynasty, at their worst, could be regarded as the counterpart of that image of *tochaebi* that originally has referred to the lower social class.

Similarly, Yi Pu-yŏng (1981:72), a Jungian psychiatrist, suggests a psychological meaning of the *toch'aebi* image from the social and political perspective:

Indeed, *tokkaebi* [a standard Korean term for *tochaebi*] has abided inside a Korean character. And doesn't it seem that Koreans have experienced in reality what appears in the stories of *tokkaebi*? They might have invented various modes of adjustment strategies in order to control their own ambivalent feelings toward the immeasurable power of authority figures. However, as we know *tokkaebi* is not a human being but a kind of ghost, we can postulate that Koreans see an authority figure as they see a ghost. Or it may be possible that the authority figure also identifies himself with a ghost as if he is given the magical *tokkaebi* club. Projection that is 'seeing as if' is closely associated with identification that is 'behaving as if'... the psychological meaning of *tokkaebi* requires of the task that we clarify what we humans project on and identify with.

Although Yi refers to "Koreans" in a general way without specifying a particular period, his theoretical suggestion here opens to further historical exploration of the possibility of an ideological use of the *toch'aebi* image by the minjung people. Their political desire to abase the hyper-real power of the *yangban* class had grown sharply during the latter period of the Yi dynasty, that is, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The ambivalent character of *toch'aebi* manifests itself in the minjung storyteller's dialectical thought and liberal practice which is well attested to in the pattern of the relationship between the storyteller and the *toch'aebi* character within a story. The storyteller deals with this ambivalent character of *toch'aebi* with cleverness and ease. According to the typical plot of the story, the protagonist is usually a wood cutter who is lost in the forest, or a poor old man (Yim Sŏk-je 1981). From a hiding place, he accidentally hears a conversation among *toch'aebi* about how they can conjure up treasure and abundant food by striking a magical club or wearing a horsehair cap. Then, by using artifice, he steals the magical club or the horsehair cap from the *toch'aebi*. Overnight he becomes rich enough to live like a *yangban*. In the stories, the minjung is always the protagonist who makes use of *toch'aebi*'s magical objects for advancement on the social ladder.

The *toch'aebi* here serves the minjung. The minjung project their own desire onto *toch'aebi*. They borrow the symbolic objects of power and authority from the gentry class and control them under their own authority. At least within the plot of the story, *toch'aebi* becomes identified not with the *yangban* class but with the minjung who can now exercise all qualities, either positive or negative, that were once attributed to *toch'aebi*: for example, flexibility in size, gratification of animal sexual instincts, an intuitive power to look into the truth and a queer sense to search for treasure, primitive emotions of a freewheeling mood, and a constructive creativity that can yet be changed into an unmistakable destructive force.⁷ As far as the political imagery of superhuman power is concerned, we can see how the minjung take on this oppositional practice in dealing with the ruling class and the evil force of their dominance. The same attributes of power that are borrowed from the gentry class are appropriated for the opposite purpose--not for dominance but for resistance. This resistance is

The ambivalent character of *toch'aebi* manifests itself in the minjung storyteller's dialectical thought and liberal practice which is well attested to in the pattern of the relationship between the storyteller and the *toch'aebi* character within a story. The storyteller deals with this ambivalent character of *toch'aebi* with cleverness and ease. According to the typical plot of the story, the protagonist is usually a wood cutter who is lost in the forest, or a poor old man (Yim Sŏk-je 1981). From a hiding place, he accidentally hears a conversation among *toch'aebi* about how they can conjure up treasure and abundant food by striking a magical club or wearing a horsehair cap. Then, by using artifice, he steals the magical club or the horsehair cap from the *toch'aebi*. Overnight he becomes rich enough to live like a *yangban*. In the stories, the minjung is always the protagonist who makes use of *toch'aebi*'s magical objects for advancement on the social ladder.

The *toch'aebi* here serves the minjung. The minjung project their own desire onto *toch'aebi*. They borrow the symbolic objects of power and authority from the gentry class and control them under their own authority. At least within the plot of the story, *toch'aebi* becomes identified not with the *yangban* class but with the minjung who can now exercise all qualities, either positive or negative, that were once attributed to *toch'aebi*: for example, flexibility in size, gratification of animal sexual instincts, an intuitive power to look into the truth and a queer sense to search for treasure, primitive emotions of a freewheeling mood, and a constructive creativity that can yet be changed into an unmistakable destructive force.⁷ As far as the political imagery of superhuman power is concerned, we can see how the minjung take on this oppositional practice in dealing with the ruling class and the evil force of their dominance. The same attributes of power that are borrowed from the gentry class are appropriated for the opposite purpose--not for dominance but for resistance. This resistance is

carried out in the exquisite form of parody, by making the sanctity of dominant power laughable and fragile. In the story, without moral complication, the minjung protagonist uses the tactics of theft and fraud in order to become equal to the dominant class. However, the power of liberty exercised as such may be permissible only in the realm of fantasy.

This feature of subversive inversion shown in the folk tales of *toch'aebi*, indeed, represents the narrative strategy prevalent in the myths and rites of *toch'aebi*-like beings such as *yŏnggam*, *yŏksin* and *chŏyong*. Given the premise of the ambivalent character of the *toch'aebi* image, the discussion extends to the major question of how significantly the myths and exorcism rites of *toch'aebi* or *toch'aebi*-like beings reflect the process of historical permutations of that demonic figure. In the rest of this chapter I will elucidate the geneological trails of the several sets of symbolic associations, one by one in order, between *chŏyong* and *yŏnggam*, between *yŏnggam* and *toch'aebi*, and between *toch'aebi* and *yangban*. By doing so, I will try to draw upon the genesis of the political imagery of evil as well as the healing power that has timelessly forged the undercurrent of the minjung's collective unconscious.

***Chŏyong* Mask Dance: The Prototype**

First by demonstrating the structural similarity of both mask plays, I will try to answer the question of why *yŏnggam* is identified with the king of the fishing boats and related to the sea. Thereafter I will examine the historical background of both *chŏyong* and *yŏnggam* myths as they are related to exorcism and healing rites. These two inquiries may suggest an important clue about the mythological creation of the *toch'aebi* or the *yŏnggam* image in the late eighteenth century.

The *chōyong* mask dance appeared around 700 A.D. during the United Silla Kingdom when Buddhism was the state religion and the political ideology of an aristocratic society (Yi Tu-hyōn 1978: 51-58). At that time the *chōyong* mask dance, accompanied by the chanting of the *chōyong* myth, was performed for the religious purpose of exorcism (*nanye*) at market places as well as at the court room. According to legend, *chōyong* was the youngest of seven sons of the King of the East Sea (now called the Japan Sea). An outdoor feast of the Silla king at the Kaeunpo was disturbed by a thick fog that did not disappear for many days. In an attempt to make the fog disappear, the king built a new temple as an offering to the dragon king of the sea. Then the seven dragon sons of the king of the sea appeared at the shore and danced joyfully. In gratitude for their reception of his offering of a temple, the king brought the youngest of the seven dragon sons, *chōyong*, to his palace and gave him a high political office assisting the king. He gave *chōyong* a beautiful woman for his wife. According to the other historical records, *chōyong* danced and sang every night at the market places in Seoul. But the audience did not know where he came from or who he was. So they called him a ghost. Later on commoners imitated *chōyong*'s dancing and singing for their own exorcism rites.

From the above description, it becomes clear that the *chōyong* mask dance primarily took the form of an exorcism rite like *yōnggam nori*, either as a court performance or as a street performance. And *chōyong* was the shaman exorcist. Cho Tong-il's comparative study of shamanic rituals and popular theatre (1979:59-60) has suggested that there was some similarity between the *chōyong* mask dance and *yōnggam nori* in terms of the theatrical process. In the *chōyong* mask dance, two dancers wearing *chōyong* masks on their faces appear on the stage. *Yōksin* is mentioned only in the chanting and expressed indirectly by the dancer's gestures of expulsion. Similarly in *yōnggam nori*, one or two *yōnggam*

with paper masks appear on the altar. They are the elder brothers of the youngest *yŏnggam* who is hiding in the body of the patient. The number of seven brothers of both *chŏyong* and *yŏnggam* is also identical. If transposed to the context of *yŏnggam nori*, *chŏyong* plays the role of the eldest brother or the elder brothers (in comparison with the two or more *chŏyong* mask dancers). As Hyun Yong-jun (1968) contends, this structural similarity of both mask plays answers the key question of why the *yŏnggam* is the stranger god from the sea (cf. Yoshida 1982 in case of Japan) or the King of the Boats (*sŏnwang*) in the story; both *chŏyong* and *yŏnggam* are dragon sons.

Hyun Yong-Jun (1968a) proposes a useful hypothesis about the blending of the dragon son and national hero myth with the myth of exorcism. The myth of *chŏyong* as a dragon son originated from that of a national hero who protects the kingdom from foreign invasion. At the time, Buddhism was the state religion, serving the dominant ideology of the aristocratic state and, in particular, the unification of all three kingdoms in the Korean peninsula. In the process of the syncretism of Buddhism with the folk belief system, the dragon, the imaginary animal with divine supremacy in folk culture, came to be worshipped as the national guardian deity. In many tales of heroic generals and patriots, they become incarnated as a dragon after their deaths for the sake of continuous national protection. Selected as the king's political assistant, *chŏyong*, who danced at the court, was given the role of national hero. *Chŏyong* the dragon son also acted as the exorcist on the public level when he danced in market places and streets. Actually in the written narratives of the *chŏyong* myth and mask dance (Samkuk Yusa and Tongkyŏng Chapki), *chŏyong* is portrayed both as a national hero and as an exorcist. The parallel existence of the courtroom dance and the market dance illustrates the fact that the idiom of exorcism parallels the ideology of national security.⁸

This theme of *chōyong* as both the national hero or the governing figure and the exorcist opens a historical understanding of the political imagery of evil. In a short essay in a popular magazine, Lee Kang-ryōl (1986) suggests a plausible social historical interpretation of the *chōyong* mask dance. According to Lee, the confrontation between *chōyong* and *yōksin* accounted for the class conflicts between the aristocrats and the minjung commoners at the time. But the written narratives of the *chōyong* myth and mask dance emphasize the generosity of *chōyong* toward the adultery of *yōksin* instead of direct revenge. As Lee (1986) and Hyōn Yong-jun (1968a) have said, this touch of storytelling is indeed influenced by a Buddhist monk, Ilyōn, who had written down the myth and wished to impress the reader with the spirit of compassion in Buddhism which was the state religion during the Koryō dynasty (950-1380 A.D.). Actually during the Koryō dynasty, however, consecutive to the United Silla Kingdom, the character of *chōyong* had been changed into the one who threatened *yōksin* and even ate him eventually. This transition of *chōyong*'s character is influenced by historical change heading toward sharper and more violent class conflicts later in the Koryō dynasty. But the *chōyong* mask dance during the Yi dynasty survived only in the court room performance. Its original meaning of a confrontation between *chōyong* and *yōksin* had been mixed up with the principle of *yin-yang* and the five directions in Chinese philosophy. Its exorcism function had been diminished; instead, its performative aspect had developed into a purely theatrical mask dance of five *chōyong*. In the same manner as *chōyong* is mythologized as a national hero belonging to the ruling class during the United Silla Kingdom, *yōnggam* is mythologized as the *yangban* gentry class during the later period of the Yi dynasty. The next section will focus on how *yōnggam* portrays the realistic image of the *yangban*.

This theme of *chōyong* as both the national hero or the governing figure and the exorcist opens a historical understanding of the political imagery of evil. In a short essay in a popular magazine, Lee Kang-ryōl (1986) suggests a plausible social historical interpretation of the *chōyong* mask dance. According to Lee, the confrontation between *chōyong* and *yōksin* accounted for the class conflicts between the aristocrats and the minjung commoners at the time. But the written narratives of the *chōyong* myth and mask dance emphasize the generosity of *chōyong* toward the adultery of *yōksin* instead of direct revenge. As Lee (1986) and Hyōn Yong-jun (1968a) have said, this touch of storytelling is indeed influenced by a Buddhist monk, Ilyōn, who had written down the myth and wished to impress the reader with the spirit of compassion in Buddhism which was the state religion during the Koryō dynasty (950-1380 A.D.). Actually during the Koryō dynasty, however, consecutive to the United Silla Kingdom, the character of *chōyong* had been changed into the one who threatened *yōksin* and even ate him eventually. This transition of *chōyong*'s character is influenced by historical change heading toward sharper and more violent class conflicts later in the Koryō dynasty. But the *chōyong* mask dance during the Yi dynasty survived only in the court room performance. Its original meaning of a confrontation between *chōyong* and *yōksin* had been mixed up with the principle of *yin-yang* and the five directions in Chinese philosophy. Its exorcism function had been diminished; instead, its performative aspect had developed into a purely theatrical mask dance of five *chōyong*. In the same manner as *chōyong* is mythologized as a national hero belonging to the ruling class during the United Silla Kingdom, *yōnggam* is mythologized as the *yangban* gentry class during the later period of the Yi dynasty. The next section will focus on how *yōnggam* portrays the realistic image of the *yangban*.

The *Yangban* as *Toch'aebi*

Narrowing down the historical spectrum to Cheju, how is *yonggam* associated with *toch'aebi*? In other words, how did *toch'aebi* become *yonggam* within the context of Cheju local history? *Yŏnggam nori* is not only a comic play but also the enactment of historical consciousness of the minjung during the late eighteenth century. Pu Suk-hee (1982) and Mun Mu-byŏng (1984a, 1984b), both young native folklorists, present a fruitful study of the political history of *yŏnggam nori*. Both compare the two versions of *yŏnggam ponp'uri*. The one version is a village shrine myth (Chang Chu-gŭn 1972), and the second version is the well-known one that is often recited at the healing rite (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1980). In their comparison of the two texts, they interpret the temporal variability of *yŏnggam ponp'uri* from the perspective of the "development of *toch'aebi* to the deity of *yangban* class" in relation to concrete historical events.

The two versions commonly portray *yŏnggam* as an afflicting agent identical with *toch'aebi*, but the first text does not suggest any concrete indication of *yŏnggam* as the *yangban*. In this first text, *yŏnggam* is born in a Cheju port and not in Seoul, and he is not presented as having a human origin. Because of *yŏnggam*'s local origin and his lesser characterization, Pu Suk-hee (1982) considers the first version as a more primitive text of *yŏnggam ponp'uri*; the second text explicitly portrays *yŏnggam* as a man of the *yangban* class with a concrete social origin and a complete life history. He is the son of a rich and high-ranking government official living at the rich and exclusively *yangban* class village in Seoul. The later development of *yŏnggam*'s character as the *yangban* reflects the historical consciousness of the storyteller minjung during the Yi dynasty as well as in contemporary Korea (because the same version of the myth is still recited). This historical consciousness is the issue at stake.

This personification of *yŏnggam* as the *yangban* was the typical folk expression recorded in the popular novels which were written in the vernacular language (Korean, the language of the commoners, in contrast to the literary language, Chinese) and widespread during the eighteenth century. Their common theme was the parody of the dominant *yangban* class and the vulgar exposure of their hypocrisy. Among others, the representative novel at the time was *Huh-saeng Chŏn* (A biography of a gentry class man, Mr. Huh). These vernacular novels, popular on the mainland, could have greatly influenced the Cheju people too. Pu indicates the similarity between the descriptions of *yŏnggam*'s and Huh-saeng's social origins; just as Huh-saeng was born in the gentry village (*mugchŏk-gol*, the village named after the distinctive odor of the writing materials used in Chinese calligraphy), *yŏnggam* was born in the same village whose name, *mŏgcha-gol*, was slightly ridiculed, indicating "the village of eating". Immediately we can notice how the village name is parodied in *yŏnggam ponp'uri*. The honorable name of the village is mocked in order to indicate how greedy for food or how irresponsibly idle the the gentry villagers could be in reality.

The vernacular novel specifically favoring the style of biographical narrative was a newly arisen genre among the commoners as contrasted with the predominant genre of Chinese classical literature which was read exclusively by the literary men from the *yangban* class. The popularity of this parodic novel is closely related to the social advances of the commoners around the late eighteenth century when the strict Confucian four-classes estate system got shaken and loosened up. As members of the commoner classes such as merchants and peasants grew rapidly in wealth and independent ownership of land owing to national development of market trade and capital accumulation, they boldly expressed their criticism of the already vanishing dominance of the *yangban* class through folk arts such as mask plays or epic songs. More aggressively, they

organized and sponsored professional theatre troupes who were recruited from part-time feast performers among the peasants, and wandered through an expansive network of marketplaces. One of the main themes of their performances was a parody of the *yangban* class (Cho Tong-il 1979). *Yōnggam nori* was one popular expression of social parody.

Let us again see how *yōnggam* is portrayed as the *yangban* in the comic mask play of *yōnggam nori*. *Yōnggam* was supposedly handsome with a well-built body. Around the time when he arrived at Cheju in search of his youngest brother, however, he is described as a fallen gentry man with a shabby appearance and severe palsy in his hands. His original forceful posture has disappeared. He wears a bamboo hat (instead of horsehair top hat) with a broken cap, a formal robe only with a collar left; he smokes dried and tasteless grass tobacco in a short pipe. When offered a glass of sweet liquor, he cannot hold the glass due to his palsy. With apologetic gesture and voice, he instead asks the *simbang* to drink first. *Yōnggam*'s shabby look and demeanor devoid of authority marked the popular parody of the fallen reality of a *yangban*-dominated feudal society during the Yi dynasty around the late eighteenth century.

Furthermore, with respect to the concrete history of Cheju during that period, we can examine the impact of the social knowledge and collective consciousness of the *minjung* on the symbolic association of *yangban* with *yōnggam*, that is, *toch'aebi*. First let us look at the natural and cultural environments of Cheju Island in terms of her relationship with the mainland central government. In the beginning of history, Cheju was an independent kingdom which paid regular tribute to the mainland kingdom. At the end of the Koryo dynasty, the island was submitted to the mainland Korea. Throughout most of the Yi dynasty (A.D. 1392-1910) Cheju suffered political isolation and economic stagnation due to its natural barrenness as a volcanic island--which

also made it attractive as a refuge for political exiles. The major concern of the central government was to prevent the separatist tendency or rebellion of the Cheju natives by imposing a heavy duty of regular tribute under the guise of a free-tax policy. Most of the governors of Cheju were political drop-outs and easily turned themselves into tyrants when freed from surveillance of central politics. Their average term of office was only 30 months, because the central government feared the possibility of their anti-government schemes on the remote island. This short term of office led the governors to idleness and also hasty extortion; typical of tyrannic exploitations were the forceful enslavement of commoners, the unreasonable imposition of the insular tax on orange trees, and the unnecessary expansion of officers through bribery.

The worst case of their exortion was the imposition of a heavy duty of tributes on Cheju commoners (except a few native yangban who were exempted from it). The list of tributes covered everything produced on the island, from oranges to horses, horsehair top hats and caps, and dried sea products. They were sent to the palace in Seoul on a monthly and yearly basis. Because the sea around the island was very wild and rough, the boats loaded with tributes were often wrecked, and few sailors survived. A strange array of grave posts without tombs lining the seashore proves even now the frequent death of the sailors or fishermen at that time. Under the heavy burden of tributes and tyranny, many islanders left for the mainland forever. Threatened by the shortage of local tributes as well as labor forces for fortifications of the island against Japanese pirates, the central government forbade the natives to leave the island for over 200 years, from the seventeenth to the early nineteenth century. This enforced insular imprisonment was lifted only after several civil protests and peasant rebellions at the end of the nineteenth century. The seemingly natural sense of victimization among Cheju natives that erupts instantly on occasions of

encountering mainlanders or foreigners is rooted in this particular history of oppression and bureaucratic extortion.⁹ This sense of victimization has also inculcated the political imagery of *han*, the unrequited sense of resentments of the *minjung* on Cheju Island.

In the *yōnggam nori*, we can also see how greedy *yōnggam* is when he lists the whole range of staple food items, some of which were identical with the lists of the official tributes to the royal palace. As an indirect means of expulsion of the afflicting agent, the Cheju *simbang* offers this tribute to *yōnggam*. Put into the narrative structure of the myth, a bachelor *yangban yōnggam* brought in an illness by having sexual intercourse with an innocent, beautiful woman, and as a cure, the natives alleviate the (sexual) greed of the *yangban* by paying tribute. The indirect exorcism of *yōnggam nori* not only aims to cure the patient; but also reflects the critical historical consciousness of the *minjung*. The illness caused by *yōnggam* implies here is not merely physical disease; it is assigned the new meaning of social illness once the collective experience of suffering is disrupted in the interpretive process of folk healing. The fact that the afflicting deity, *toch'aebi*, is transformed into the *yangban yōnggam*, shows that, if one patient's illness contaminates the whole community and becomes a social disease, the *yangban* as *toch'aebi* posits himself, is the enemy of the *minjung*.

Offering a tribute to the *yangban*-class *yōnggam* and sailing off on a miniature boat (*pae-pangsong*) are indeed more than the replica of the submissiveness of the Cheju commoners in the political arena. Rather, this action expresses their defiance against the authority of the *yangban* class. As *toch'aebi* is expelled out of the altar, the dominant power of the *yangban* class and repressive central government must be lifted. Furthermore, the farewell dancing and feast among the audience together with the patient and *yōnggam* at the end of the exorcism rite illuminates the open-ended inclusiveness of *nori* itself that

encountering mainlanders or foreigners is rooted in this particular history of oppression and bureaucratic extortion.⁹ This sense of victimization has also inculcated the political imagery of *han*, the unrequited sense of resentments of the *minjung* on Cheju Island.

In the *yŏnggam nori*, we can also see how greedy *yŏnggam* is when he lists the whole range of staple food items, some of which were identical with the lists of the official tributes to the royal palace. As an indirect means of expulsion of the afflicting agent, the Cheju *simbang* offers this tribute to *yŏnggam*. Put into the narrative structure of the myth, a bachelor *yangban yŏnggam* brought in an illness by having sexual intercourse with an innocent, beautiful woman, and as a cure, the natives alleviate the (sexual) greed of the *yangban* by paying tribute. The indirect exorcism of *yŏnggam nori* not only aims to cure the patient; but also reflects the critical historical consciousness of the *minjung*. The illness caused by *yŏnggam* implies here is not merely physical disease; it is assigned the new meaning of social illness once the collective experience of suffering is disrupted in the interpretive process of folk healing. The fact that the afflicting deity, *toch'aebi*, is transformed into the *yangban yŏnggam*, shows that, if one patient's illness contaminates the whole community and becomes a social disease, the *yangban* as *toch'aebi* posits himself, is the enemy of the *minjung*.

Offering a tribute to the *yangban*-class *yŏnggam* and sailing off on a miniature boat (*pae-pangsong*) are indeed more than the replica of the submissiveness of the Cheju commoners in the political arena. Rather, this action expresses their defiance against the authority of the *yangban* class. As *toch'aebi* is expelled out of the altar, the dominant power of the *yangban* class and repressive central government must be lifted. Furthermore, the farewell dancing and feast among the audience together with the patient and *yŏnggam* at the end of the exorcism rite illuminates the open-ended inclusiveness of *nori* itself that

brings forth a cure and a reconciliation and fellowship of the minjung even with the evil enemy. This open-ended inclusiveness of *nori* is the factor that let the minjung express themselves more freely and also allows the *nori* to maintain its vitality.

In sum, the pairs of symbolic associations of *yŏnggam* as the *yangban* and the *yangban* as *toch'aebi* project the collective expression of the minjung's historical consciousness. And the exorcism rites for *toch'aebi* are a parodic defiance against the hegemonic power of the *yangban*, serving to strengthen internal solidarity among themselves. The irony germinating in the festive mood during the exorcism rite represents the principal aesthetic strategy of the minjung's ritual performances, and lends itself to their philosophy of subversive openness (in contrast to their submissiveness in reality). This subversive openness is more than the cathartic resolution of class confrontation; it brings forth the laughter through which this confrontation may dissolve, and free the patient from the affliction.

Toch'aebi: Benjamin's Dialectical Images

So far I have examined the historical geneology of *toch'aebi* myths and the iconographic development of the *toch'aebi* image. Here we clearly see how popular creativity interweaves various threads of historical transmissions of *toch'aebi* myth and constantly invents a unique ritual and religious tradition serving more than aesthetic purposes.

In general, the *toch'aebi* image is mythologized as a Jungian archetype that represents an originary power of human creativity and transformation hidden behind its grotesque appearances. In the introductory statement of the book *Tokkaebi in Korea* (1981), Kim Kwang-un, who was then the director of The

National Folk Museum in Seoul and also the editor of the book, addressed the same understanding of the archetype:

...it seems that *tokkaebi* attracts us exactly due to the 'impossibility to know its identity'. Therefore, it was not the purpose of our symposium at the museum to reveal the identity of *tokkaebi*. Instead, it might be more correct to say that the symposium purported to *reenchant our nostalgia for tokkaebi hidden deeply in our minds*. (Italics mine)

His statement portrays *toch'aebi* as an ahistorical generalized image of a demonic figure which abides in the fantasies, dreams of an impersonal nature, those which "refer to something essentially unconscious." Being an object of modern men's nostalgia, the *toch'aebi* image is considered originally prehistoric, thus beyond history, like the Jungian archetype existing in the "collective unconscious" where "the individual experience has been lost." (Ibid.)

The *toch'aebi* image, however, is not merely unconscious, or eternal, or universal, but used consciously as it moves in history as a recurring image that turns up in response to recurrent experiences of the minjung. *Toch'aebi* can be identified with a certain character in terms of its social and cultural circumstances at a specific time and place. The minjung is the author as well as the protagonist of the *toch'aebi* folk tales and the original *ch'ŏryong* myth, and at the same time the performer and the audience of the *ch'ŏryong* mask dance and the *yŏnggam nori*. Through either confrontational or fraternal relationships with *toch'aebi*, *ch'ŏryong* and *yŏnggam* as the anti-types sustain the mythological form, but also imply contradictions and a subversion of the myth itself as far as they retain the subjective intentions of the wishes and anxieties of the minjung.

At this point, Walter Benjamin's notion of "dialectical images" is apt for explaining the "conscious" use of the *toch'aebi* image by the minjung. There may be no direct connection between Benjamin and the Korean *minjung* in terms of the historical and cultural specificity. However, with respect to the strategy of Allegory, I see their similarity, or even an historical conjuncture in which the

toch'aebi image and the "dialectical images" of commodity objects at arcades display the bygone grandeur of the dominant social classes--the *yangban*, or bourgeoisie class. My purpose now is to expose the most paradoxical, revolutionary possibilities of the *toch'aebi* image by opening it up to the notion of "dialectical images" and exploring its political use by the cases of Sunho's illness and the resistance movements in modern history in Korea.

The import of Benjamin's thought for our consideration of the *toch'aebi* image will become clear by means of the exploration of his thought on the salvaging of the present through the past, specifically by means of images. Once the archaic form of prehistory, the dialectical image, "the dialectic at a standstill," points toward a waking possibility, and a possibility for awakening "a knowledge of the past which is not yet conscious." (Benjamin 1983-1984:N1,9:3). Waking is clearly a metaphor for historical consciousness. Benjamin, examining his nineteenth-century Paris, shows us how such waking occurs, seeing in the arcades an image of such power. The paradoxical state of historical images, as Benjamin describes it, is like that of a commodity which has lost its use value (Ibid., N5,2:12):

...they are hollowed out in their alienation and, as ciphers, draw meanings in. Subjectivity takes control of them, by loading them with intentions of wish and anxiety. Because the dead things stand in as images of subjective intention, these latter present themselves as ordinary and eternal.

Dialectical images are both part of an historical process and its arrest, "constellations of alienated things and thorough-going meaning, pausing a moment in the balance of death and meaning." (Ibid.)

Important to understanding Benjamin's concept of the dialectical image is a prior understanding of his materialist historical approach, which "dissipates the appearance of permanence, even of repetition in history" (1983-1984, N9,5:12). Refuting the historicist's idea of progress and continuity, Benjamin's

concern as a dialectical materialist is to "brush history against the grain" (1969:257), to see history as "the subject of a structure whose site is not homogenous, empty time, but time filled with the presence of the now (*Jetztzeit*)."
(Ibid.:261) The past is not just in the service of the present, but *discontinuous* with it: "in order for a part of the past to be touched by the present, there must be no continuity between them." (Benjamin 1983-1984;N7,7:17) After this forced rupture, time stands still, robbed of power.

This destruction is, however, accompanied by the "constructive principle" of the materialist historian as he remains in control of powers enough to "blast open the continuum of history," seeing "a revolutionary chance in the fight for the oppressed past" in the image (Benjamin 1969a:267). The materialist presentation of history not only "leads the past to place the present in a critical condition," but causes an awakening to the 'state of emergency' in which we live, which is "not the exception, but the rule." (Ibid.:257) As Benjamin calls it in "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," (1978:162), the dialectical thought of a materialist historian is indeed "the organ of historical awakening."

Thus far, the exploration of Benjamin's concepts of dialectical images and materialist history suggests the way to open the archetypal image for our purpose here, which is, in part, an attempt to posit the active function of the *toch'aebi* image in popular culture and history. When dialectically envisioned, the archetypal image reveals a web of the past, present, and future woven around it. The archetypal image constructed in each epoch presupposes its deconstruction in another time, for it is both frozen, or arrested, and in motion, "blasted out of the continuum of history into the present which assign its immediate meaning" (1969:261). The temporal erosion and reassignment of meaning of the *toch'aebi* image is exemplified well where the status of *chōyong* is transformed from the exorcist to the brother of the evil *yōksin*. An even more

radical case of inversion of meaning is seen when the *toch'aebi* figure used in roof-tiles for the purpose of exorcism is later transformed into an opposed image of evil and affliction. Demonstrating the discontinuity of subjective intentions of the minjung, two examples do justice to the subversive openness of popular culture that can defeat a "constellation of dangers" (Benjamin 1983-1984:24) which is transmitted through the mythological form. Put differently, in each epoch, the minjung use the *toch'aebi* image, with awareness of its mythicity to move into another epoch and subvert the hegemonic myth of their fateful subjugation that may result in silence and death.

By redeeming the *toch'aebi* image relevant to the present, the minjung, like a materialist historian in Benjamin's term, blast open the continuum of history, threatening the tradition of official order. *Yonggam nori*, for example, demonstrates well this historical materialist's practice by means of the aesthetic principle of parody. In the midst of festive dancing and parodic laughter, the revolutionary potentials of the *toch'aebi* image bring to the fore an ethics of the survival and life of the minjung to counter the political use of affliction that would gradually proceed toward death in reality. The ritual death of the patient at the end of the *toch'abi* exorcism as illustrated in the case history of Sunho, a 21-year-old factory worker living in Seoul in the 1980s, testifies to such a death.

Sunho's ritual death, however, seems so easy and incidental that the event looks not tragic but almost comic, light-hearted. When Sunho endures theatrical threats of a stabbing knife or torch fire (during *mak-p'udasi*) and wears a straw net on her face like a corpse, her seemingly easy death accepts the historical truth that the minjung have likewise died in the past. Ironically, this death's insignificance to the minjung can bring forth the living sense of survival "in the state of emergency" at the present rather than the fear of death. This may be the reason why the minjung audience can fearlessly laugh at the shabby-looking

radical case of inversion of meaning is seen when the *toch'aebi* figure used in roof-tiles for the purpose of exorcism is later transformed into an opposed image of evil and affliction. Demonstrating the discontinuity of subjective intentions of the minjung, two examples do justice to the subversive openness of popular culture that can defeat a "constellation of dangers" (Benjamin 1983-1984:24) which is transmitted through the mythological form. Put differently, in each epoch, the minjung use the *toch'aebi* image, with awareness of its mythicity to move into another epoch and subvert the hegemonic myth of their fateful subjugation that may result in silence and death.

By redeeming the *toch'aebi* image relevant to the present, the minjung, like a materialist historian in Benjamin's term, blast open the continuum of history, threatening the tradition of official order. *Yonggam nori*, for example, demonstrates well this historical materialist's practice by means of the aesthetic principle of parody. In the midst of festive dancing and parodic laughter, the revolutionary potentials of the *toch'aebi* image bring to the fore an ethics of the survival and life of the minjung to counter the political use of affliction that would gradually proceed toward death in reality. The ritual death of the patient at the end of the *toch'abi* exorcism as illustrated in the case history of Sunho, a 21-year-old factory worker living in Seoul in the 1980s, testifies to such a death.

Sunho's ritual death, however, seems so easy and incidental that the event looks not tragic but almost comic, light-hearted. When Sunho endures theatrical threats of a stabbing knife or torch fire (during *mak-p'udasi*) and wears a straw net on her face like a corpse, her seemingly easy death accepts the historical truth that the minjung have likewise died in the past. Ironically, this death's insignificance to the minjung can bring forth the living sense of survival "in the state of emergency" at the present rather than the fear of death. This may be the reason why the minjung audience can fearlessly laugh at the shabby-looking

yangban with a *yonggam* mask. In the midst of ironic laughter, however, the minjung are aware of their susceptibility to unforeseen deaths. The reality of their fear of death is projected onto their sympathetic alliance with the flock of spirits of the dead ancestors who are wandering and whose resentments (*han*) are suspended forever in the empty intermediary space between this world and the other world.

The Wild Spirit in the Modern World

One basic question must be examined in terms of Sunho's case history in previous chapter: why is Sunho's illness or madness (loss of appetite for life and work) attributed to *toch'aebi*, the wild spirit of mythic origin? Within the context of Sunho's life history, we can see the switching of image association from *toch'aebi* with *yonggam* to *toch'aebi* with the dead soul of a fellow factory worker who died in the toilet three years ago. The identity of this dead soul was already known to the *simbang* before the ritual started. But during the *simbang*'s ritual interrogation, the dead soul was publicly convicted as the actual agent of Sunho's madness. Just as a *toch'aebi* seduces a beautiful woman, he intrudes (*ch'imnohada*) on his fellow worker. Pausing a moment in the balance of his actual death and his desire for return, the dead man afflicts Sunho.

Why then does he return? Like a monad capable of leaping out, this ghost of a dead man is the *toch'aebi* image which contains within it the era, blasting "a specific era out of the homogenous course of history." (Benjamin 1969a:263). The "specific era" here indicates the era of export-oriented industrialization in the capitalist world system in the 1980s in Korea. In "the moment of a specific recognition" (Benjamin 1983-1984, N3,1:8), the dead man begins to tell a story of the deadly hardship of factory workers. His hyper-real alliance with Sunho via spirit possession not only preserves this specific era, but also "bears to the highest

degree the stamp of the critical, dangerous impulse" (Ibid., N2a, 3:7) that can dissolve the mythology of economic prosperity and national progress of that era. I want to examine here the way in which this ghost stands in as the image of the modern day minjung.

By analogy, the cohabitation relationship between the patient and *toch'aebi* is transposed to the emotionally symbiotic relationship between the co-workers. In other words, the dead fellow worker's unrequited resentments (*han*) mirror the unspeakable suffering of Sunho. If the dead man remains a *chapkwi*, a restless ghost, Sunho is the living *chapkwi*. Her illness is a bodily attempt at inscribing the marginal history of the minjung within the body that is the self, and also a tentative yet life-giving historiography that finds the dead hand of the past never so terribly alive as in the attacks by the spirits of the lamenting dead.

This dialectical solidarity between the dead soul and the living person, the patient (a maiden) and *toch'aebi* (a bachelor), operates through the powerful medium of visual images. As *toch'aebi* is characterized as the wild spirit in ancient roof-tiles and folk tales, their shared emotion of *han* pushes forward the wildness of *toch'aebi* to the marginal area of contemporary Korean history under the surge of the export-oriented economic development which has progressed rapidly since the late 1970s. Within the network of this circulation of images, if the spirit of the dead fellow worker¹⁰ denotes the existential condition of Sunho directly, *toch'aebi* connotes the phenomenal character of the resentful, yet wild souls of the contemporary minjung who are represented by an unskilled, impoverished, working class maiden named Sunho.

Sunho's story is not a solitary case of the "wild" soul in the modern world. Sŏ Nam-dong (1982:342), a Protestant theologian who advocates minjung theology, a Korean adaptation of liberation theology, points to the similar case story of Kim Kyung-sook, who died in a labor union struggle in 1979. He

degree the stamp of the critical, dangerous impulse" (Ibid., N2a, 3:7) that can dissolve the mythology of economic prosperity and national progress of that era. I want to examine here the way in which this ghost stands in as the image of the modern day minjung.

By analogy, the cohabitation relationship between the patient and *toch'aebi* is transposed to the emotionally symbiotic relationship between the co-workers. In other words, the dead fellow worker's unrequited resentments (*han*) mirror the unspeakable suffering of Sunho. If the dead man remains a *chapkwi*, a restless ghost, Sunho is the living *chapkwi*. Her illness is a bodily attempt at inscribing the marginal history of the minjung within the body that is the self, and also a tentative yet life-giving historiography that finds the dead hand of the past never so terribly alive as in the attacks by the spirits of the lamenting dead.

This dialectical solidarity between the dead soul and the living person, the patient (a maiden) and *toch'aebi* (a bachelor), operates through the powerful medium of visual images. As *toch'aebi* is characterized as the wild spirit in ancient roof-tiles and folk tales, their shared emotion of *han* pushes forward the wildness of *toch'aebi* to the marginal area of contemporary Korean history under the surge of the export-oriented economic development which has progressed rapidly since the late 1970s. Within the network of this circulation of images, if the spirit of the dead fellow worker¹⁰ denotes the existential condition of Sunho directly, *toch'aebi* connotes the phenomenal character of the resentful, yet wild souls of the contemporary minjung who are represented by an unskilled, impoverished, working class maiden named Sunho.

Sunho's story is not a solitary case of the "wild" soul in the modern world. Sŏ Nam-dong (1982:342), a Protestant theologian who advocates minjung theology, a Korean adaptation of liberation theology, points to the similar case story of Kim Kyung-sook, who died in a labor union struggle in 1979. He

proposed her death as the representation of *han* of the minjung, specifically eight million workers. A special funeral ceremony for her death was banned by the government which was afraid of a possible break-out of anti-government demonstrations among the mourners. Seo laments that due to the government's oppressive reaction, the collective *han* of the minjung and also Ms. Kim could not be requited forever. The stories of Kim Kyung-sook's death and the failed observance of her funeral ceremony now circulate only as underground discourse, as if they were legends from a distant past. However, the collective memorization of her death story by the political dissidents and radical workers ever since contributes to sustain the conscious solidarity of the minjung.

In the parody of *toch'aebi* as the *yangban* class man, in general, the hidden interior polemic of the contemporary minjung's *han* [see Sunho's weeping tears and laments for poverty and misfortune] is revealed as having a great potential for inciting popular resistance to the widely-practiced exploitation of cheap labor by the export industrialists (who would be perhaps comparable to modern day *yonggam* and *yangban*) and global multi-national corporations. The image of *toch'aebi* here reflects on the raw intensity of emotions of both the victim and its offender. In this context, I will explore further the constructive principle of the minjung's materialist historiography, which use properly the image of *toch'aebi* or *chapkwi*, the wild men and women who have been pushed far away to the frontiers of economic development, as the organ of political awakening.

The Living *Toch'aebi* and Modern Rebels

In Cheju, there is a new category of *toch'aebi*: the "living *toch'aebi* (*san toch'aebi*)," literally referring to the people whose behavior looks eccentric, imitating *toch'aebi*. The crazy or wild people who wander around idly in remote areas such as forests or seashores in darkness, occasionally displaying a violent

temper, or chasing women in the village, are called *san toch'aebi*. This category of people, however, has nothing to do with any particular illness or *toch'aebi* spirit possession. A person can remain in this state of *san toch'aebi* forever. But usually this state breaks out temporarily in emotional disruptions or tragic experiences. It would be more correct to say that only when a person has a sustained character disorder is it diagnosed as *toch'aebi* possession. In general, *san toch'aebi* indicates the anti-social person.

But there is an historical variation of living *toch'aebi* who have appeared in the recent history of the Cheju. This type of *toch'aebi* is an heroic rebel who has fought against the tyrannical central government or foreign colonialism in any form since national modernization began in the early twentieth century. The first case was called Koh *toch'aebi* according to a folk legend of the same title (Chin Song-gi 1975:315). He was a supreme game hunter and rifle gunman who skillfully shot the hat of a French Catholic priest three times without killing him, but managed to frighten a few hundred enemy Catholics during the severe clash between the native and Catholic believers in 1901 in Cheju. Koh *toch'aebi* was one of the rebel generals who fought against the first Western force accompanied by a French priest (who was then fully protected by the last king of the Yi dynasty) and native Catholics, some of whom took advantage of the Catholic priest's privileged role. After the rebellion failed due to the intervention of the French Warship, Koh *toch'aebi* was arrested under the charge of treason and sent away to the royal court in Seoul. After he demonstrated shooting skill sufficient to impress the king, his life was saved. After he died in his home village, he became the general ancestor (*kunung chosang*) of the Koh-ssi family who was supposed to receive a special offering in every Koh-ssi family ritual. Koh *toch'aebi*'s adroitness in game hunting and shooting was superhuman and peculiar enough to be compatible with the magical power of the archaic *toch'aebi*.

But more importantly, it should be noted that he was given superhuman power because he was an heroic rebel of the minjung, at least within the narrative structure of the folk tale.

Similarly, the second case of a living *toch'aebi* as an heroic rebel is the communist guerrillas who had hidden themselves in the forest of Mt. Hall during the April Third Event in Cheju. After an initial victory, the guerillas had retreated into the forests and isolated themselves from the outside world. They often attacked the villagers for food and shelter. According to short novels of their exploits, their appearances were typified as follows. They were heavily bearded, barefoot, and dressed in dirty clothes; hungry and violent, their eyes burned with intensity. They resembled the unknown, disorderly *toch'aebi*. Actually their guerrilla warfare itself was *toch'aebi*-like, unpredictable. They were either feared or welcomed by the natives depending on which side they chose to take. Their rebellion was stamped anti-national by the Republic of Korea which was a newly established democratic nation-state in the midst of struggles against the communist rebels.

According to folk belief, the archaic types of *toch'aebi*, which indicate the marginal creatures on the frontier of society are now dead, owing to bombing and the noise of western rifles during the war. Instead, in modern history, a new category of *toch'aebi* appears: anti-social or anti-national rebels. Besides the two examples of Koh *toch'aebi* and the communist guerrillas, radical students and free-union workers who have fought against the oppressive military government for the last 40 years since 1948 can also be considered in the same category of living *toch'aebi*. These radical political protesters are stamped as "impure anti-national elements" by the government, some of whom are still in prison under the charge of pro-communist treason.

This revival of the *toch'aebi* motif in a contemporary context is, in fact, anarchical and rebellious because it rejects the chronology and accuracy of historical events. Those returned souls of the dead and *chapkwī* in healing rituals are incorporated elements of historical and social fantasy which are sensitive to the underground existence of forbidden images. Although the moment of political resistance makes use of mythical imagery of the *toch'aebi* image, that is not based on mythology itself. Myth might be *dangerous* when it is used "as proof of the eternal recurrence of the same, thereby obscuring the difference between myth, history, and reality." (Bovenschen 1978:87)¹¹ On the contrary, re-appropriation of the *toch'aebi* image by the "disorderly" rebels in this case is a radical, if utopian, inversion of the myth of the anti-hero, neither reflexive nor simply intuitive. The ancient imagery of *toch'aebi* that represents animality and the lower class is inverted into the contemporary imagery of a super-human, revolutionary anti-hero. This allegorical alliance of the grieving rebellious dead souls with *toch'aebi* looks anachronistic on the surface. But this anachronism serves to invoke messianic possibilities that may be dormant in the *toch'aebi* image.

At this point, I want to recall Benjamin's notion of dialectical images in order to understand the redemptive function of the *toch'aebi* image (in contrast to the regressive function of Jungian-type archetypal image toward identification with the origin). Although not "archaic," but having links to the mythic, the dialectical image of *san toch'aebi* dissolves the mythology of the anti-hero in the space of history. It is always awaiting the moment of recognition, bearing "to the highest degree the stamp of the critical, dangerous impulse that lies at the source of all" appropriation of images (Benjamin 1983-1984, N2a, 3:7). Eventually, this dialectical image reinvents a myth of the folk hero. Seeking to destroy the forces of stasis and oppressive reality, the power of the *toch'aebi* image

is generated from its "blasting" of the object out of the continuum of history, a constant iconoclastic destruction.

Toch'aebi is the language of the minjung's desire for this destruction, but by this very act, the image of *toch'aebi* heals people. At the peak of dancing and singing of *sŏuje sori*, this *critical and dangerous impulse* constitutes the state of rapture, *sinmyŏng*, that emerges at the times in which the personified identity of *toch'aebi* can be recognized on the surface of the historical consciousness of Sunho's life. The spirit of Sunho's dead fellow worker is identified as the actual agent of affliction. As the *simbang* pleads with the family and audience for an understanding of Sunho's toils of exploitation at the factory, he asks for the retribution of his tragic death. Although the event of his death could be insignificant in memory, his unrequited resentments await the moment of return and speak to the world. He is a *chapkwi*, the avenging ghost who nearly destroyed the personhood of a young maiden, but through the narrative process for purging and purification of his entangled resentments, this destructive impulse is transformed into the power of healing. The wildness of *toch'aebi* is constituted by the bringing together of the extremes of destruction and healing.¹²

So far I have depicted the dialectic of the destructive and healing forces inherent in the image of *toch'aebi* from the perspective of the minjung. But the same wildness of *toch'aebi* can also be used by the official order for the opposite purpose, mainly to tame its wildness and eventually destroy it. At this point, we need to ask such questions as why the dead factory worker is allied with *toch'aebi* and also why the healing power of wildness is imputed to him.

Although the historical permutations of the imagery of the wildman is quite different from the Korean and Cheju cases, Taussig (1987) similarly interprets the imagery of the savagery of South American Indians in relation to the myth of the wildman of the late Middle Ages. The monstrous duality of the

diabolical and the godly of the wildman of the late Middle Ages (widely known by Richard Bernheimer) is used for the understanding of the magical quality immanent in the imagery of the Indian savage. The Indian savage is "the wild man, half-human and half-animal, who represents the spirit of the unknown and the disorderly, loose in the forest, encircling the city and the sown land, disrupting the conventions upon which meaning and the shaping function of images rest" (Taussig 1987:223). Taussig contends that the healing power is indeed connected with the evil wages of the wild folk which are unpredictable and eliding (Ibid.,:223).

Likewise, in the cases of *san toch'aebi* and *chapkwi*, the government or the more powerful class's imputation of mystery and the demonic to the lower class or the anti-social rebels is breathtaking. The wildness is incessantly invoked while pointing to the need for order in an attempt to tame such wildness. This wild man is conflated with the people of the underclass throughout Korean history, populating the margins of society. But the violent act of domestication for the purpose of the elimination of evil and the wicked can be a creative act. In modern Korean history, this "taming" practice has evolved into the legacy of modernization that has been forcefully proceeding since the waning Yi dynasty opened its gate to colonial forces such as the Catholic religion, Japanese imperialism, and American-style state nationalism which is geared to oppress the communist rebels and political dissidents. Ironically, however, the nation-state, which places its foremost emphasis on an ideology of national modernization and anti-communism, recruits its spiritual force from the wild folk, that is, the pre-modern tradition of peasants who are now driven out of their lands and become the urban poor or unskilled workers. The revival movement of folk arts and cultural festivals on the national level that was launched by President Park Chung Hee's military regime since the 1960's *coup d'etat* must be a

symbolic case (cf. Choi Chungmoo 1987). The wildness at the frontiers and undergrounds of modern society is coopted by the centrifugal force of official order to serve the order as a counter-image.

Another use of healing power appears in the vigorous cult of the primitive among the modernist artists who search for the origin of Korean spirit in shamanism. They claim themselves to be the modern shamans, imitating the performing arts of ritual dancing and music (Rees 1985). However, their artificial conjuration of the mystical primitive image of shamanism tends to limit its effect to the performers themselves and their small audience. This self-indulging cult of exorcism may entail fetishism of the wild spirit in compliance with the oppositional practice of official order that aims at its domestication.

Despite its confusing cultic reproduction of healing power, however, the wildness must perforce retain its difference, "untamed," as Taussig insists (1987). In the political "exorcism" of the military regimes since the 1960s in Korea, the archetype image of *toch'aebi* remains wild despite the taming practices of the official order which has created the counter-image of anti-social or anti-national rebels only in order to eliminate them. Fermenting since the late 1970s under the extreme oppression of civil liberty in Korea, the "culture movement" and folk nationalism (*minjung minjokchŭi*) among the leftist radical students and artists inspire *toch'aebi*'s destructive wildness for "letting out of the collective resentments of the minjung" (*han-p'uri*). In this case the wildness of *toch'aebi*-like rebels is appropriated to oppose the official order by the "unmasking of the unvarnished truth under the veil of false claims and the arbitrary 'hyper-real' ranks of the evil and wild folk." (Taussig 1987:223) This untamed expression of the wildness on the political arena is parallel to the "laughter in tears" realism propagated in *yŏnggam nori*.

symbolic case (cf. Choi Chungmoo 1987). The wildness at the frontiers and undergrounds of modern society is coopted by the centrifugal force of official order to serve the order as a counter-image.

Another use of healing power appears in the vigorous cult of the primitive among the modernist artists who search for the origin of Korean spirit in shamanism. They claim themselves to be the modern shamans, imitating the performing arts of ritual dancing and music (Rees 1985). However, their artificial conjuration of the mystical primitive image of shamanism tends to limit its effect to the performers themselves and their small audience. This self-indulging cult of exorcism may entail fetishism of the wild spirit in compliance with the oppositional practice of official order that aims at its domestication.

Despite its confusing cultic reproduction of healing power, however, the wildness must perforce retain its difference, "untamed," as Taussig insists (1987). In the political "exorcism" of the military regimes since the 1960s in Korea, the archetype image of *toch'aebi* remains wild despite the taming practices of the official order which has created the counter-image of anti-social or anti-national rebels only in order to eliminate them. Fermenting since the late 1970s under the extreme oppression of civil liberty in Korea, the "culture movement" and folk nationalism (*minjung minjokchŭi*) among the leftist radical students and artists inspire *toch'aebi*'s destructive wildness for "letting out of the collective resentments of the minjung" (*han-p'uri*). In this case the wildness of *toch'aebi*-like rebels is appropriated to oppose the official order by the "unmasking of the unvarnished truth under the veil of false claims and the arbitrary 'hyper-real' ranks of the evil and wild folk." (Taussig 1987:223) This untamed expression of the wildness on the political arena is parallel to the "laughter in tears" realism propagated in *yŏnggam nori*.

The Social Realism of "Laughter in Tears"

Yŏnggam nori, the exorcism rite of *toch'aebi*, is a sacrificial feast. In practice, it sacrifices a whole pig as a substitute for the patient and makes a travesty of the feast of official tribute payment during the Yi dynasty. But the laughter of this feast as earnestly produced by the *simbang* actor with the *yŏnggam* mask is destructive so that it could expel *toch'aebi* completely from the altar. In that sense, *yŏnggam nori* is not simply a parody, no more comic than tragic; it is both at once (cf. Napier 1986). It is a feast of both death and healing at the same time (cf. Kister 1986). The *yŏnggam nori* that is staged at the end of a healing rite is a feast that accompanies the audience's eating of sacrificial meat, drinking, and dancing with the masked *yŏnggam*. In such a way the whole rite of exorcism is transformed into a merry feast, although this merry time is rather theatrically directed. All sacrificial meat must be consumed at the scene; if there is leftover meat, only shamans can take them because they are polluted by the evil *toch'aebi*. But this feast marks a rare occasion when people can eat meat. Therefore, it is still a festive event to the audience. This popular-festive imagery of the sacrificial rite lives in the realistic, entirely conscious life of the *minjung*.

It is the comic solemnity of the festive character that provokes this festive atmosphere despite the serious intentions of the participants for a cure of the patient. *Yŏnggam* does not have an intimidating and forceful posture as indicated by his name; instead, he appears weak, shabby, aging, drunken, with trembling hands and few teeth. Although he was invited to this feast, he cannot eat the sacrificial meat or drink the liquor offered. This biological image of *yŏnggam*'s senility is subtly combined with social and ideological ones from the patriarchal, ascetic, elitist Confucian dominant ideology. This is a typical carnivalesque popular-festive image of debasement and an abusive negation of

the existing sovereignty (cf. Bakhtin 1968:217). The sad and the terrifying, the serious and the important are transposed into a gay and light key. This is the solution of the popular imagery of feast for the saddened personal and social reality of illness and misfortune.

The folly of *yōnggam* is thus deeply ambivalent; it has not only the negative element of debasement and destruction of the existing order and terrifying reality, but also it has the positive element of renewal and truth; the same person at once possessed and ritually dead by violent exorcism at the end of the rite (Sunho wore a left-woven thatch rope on her face in order to pretend to be a corpse) wakes up and revives. The clowning and folly of *yōnggam* is the only way that it can avoid becoming the scene of death. Laughter annihilates the barriers of tense confrontations and collapses into the immediate scene of chaos and confusion (*nan jangpan*). More important, however, is that it demeans and eventually changes the order of death radically, calling for *rupture* with the old order. In this sense, one might say that *yōnggam nori* as a comic play of exorcism is not simple parody but also murder and revolution. Similarly, we could notice the same principle in the merry exclamations of joy (Zota!) during *sōuje sori*. This also brings *rupture* rather than *rapture* (*sinmyōng*), as the modernist artists who experiment with the primitive art would fantasize. At the most mournful moment of weeping, this ironic exclamation disrupts the flow of narration of inner suffering, invoking a somewhat resigned yet hopeful sense of healing.

In conclusion, the carnivalesque "laughter in tears" in both *yōnggam nori* and *souje sori* cannot be simply comic in the spectacle of social realism of *han* of the minjung. It is the reality of magical healing that brings the fable and fantasy of madness and class oppression into its everyday occurrence. Sunho's madness and her fellow worker's death at the factory toilet remain, in fact, nothing other

than ordinary tragic experiences. But this mundaneness of tragedy is made "hyper-real where society abuts the wilderness at the frontier" (Taussig 1987:223). The archetypal image of *toch'aebi* bears the stamp of the critical and dangerous impulse for a waking destruction of that impenetrable everydayness. The wild creatures bearing the burden of society's anti-self, the mad woman Sunho and the hungry ghost of her dead fellow worker in solidarity stand at the frontier of neo-colonialism and export-oriented capitalism, laughing in tears at the falling social order. Their life stories and memories of their deaths (including Sunho's ritual death) are fully resuscitated through ritual performance, speaking to a better future and paradise where Sunho might regain sanity and the dead soul can rest.

Notes to Chapter 11

¹During the Yi dynasty under the Confucian political ideology, the commoners were called *yangmin* in the sociological term, indicating the tax-paying non-*yangban* three classes in the four social estate system (*sa-nong-kong-sang*, the *yangban* gentry-peasant-artisan-merchant). But they were also called *minjung* in political term, indicating the subjugated class who are conscious of social inequity and ready to rebel against it.

²There are several written texts of folk legends and songs of *chōyong* which accompanied the *chōyong* dance at the royal feast.

³This theme of sexual intercourse in association with affliction is common to other cultures (Crapanzano 1982).

⁴See Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson's comparison between irony and parody in linguistic pragmatics (1981:311).

⁵According to Chin Hong-sob (1981:26-30), these *toch'aebi* figures originate from ancient China during the Shang dynasty for the same purpose.

⁶According to Yoshida (1981), this *toch'aebi*-like goblin exists also in the folk religion of Japan. His character is associated with polluting objects and also a blacksmith.

⁷In the analysis of the same features of *toch'aebi* tales, Yi Pu-yong (1981:74) suggests a different interpretation. He considers *toch'aebi* as the archetypal image in the Jungian collective unconsciousness, the image that can bring out creative personal transformation after unpleasant and suffering experiences of terror, conflicts, instability, oppression, or resentment. Here he draws parallel of the potential existence of superhuman power of *toch'aebi* behind its grotesque countenance with the Jungian unconscious libido. If we do not fall into the trap of intra-psychic reductionism or Jungian ahistorical universalization of libido, this concept of the collective unconscious or the archetypal image can be a very useful tool for our understanding of historical permutations of the image of *toch'aebi* in the popular traditions that will be elucidated later on in this chapter.

⁸One residual element of this congruence is the shaman's ritual costume (*kunpok*) for exorcism that imitates the formal robe of police officer during the Yi dynasty.

⁹The ethnographer had to face harsh blame as a potentially exploitative foreigner when she met the village educated youngsters in their early twenties who reacted to questions with extreme antagonism. Even her study of Cheju shamanism was taken as a typical example of internal-colonial exploitation of virginity of native culture. They were very afraid that the ethnographer would exaggerate the primitiveness of the island, unintentionally alluring the outside capitalists who might commodify the whole island for tourist industry. Actually their claims and fears turn to be a truly devastating reality of Cheju Island whose lands have been eroded by the mainland and Korean-Japanese capitalists.

¹⁰The story of death of this factory worker is not informed in detail or inquired by the *simbang* perhaps because its factuality is insignificant. In

the recitation the *simbang* generalizes individual experiences of *han* so that the audience could share them. The mythicity of a life story may be preserved in that way.

¹¹ Bovenschen's article on the witch myth (1978) shows myth operating in the social realm politically. The revival of the witch motif in feminist movements in Europe suggests that the mythic image resonates beyond its historical significance. The witch has been repressed as reality and myth since the Middle Ages and the witch trials. Thus reclaiming that mythical image because it "resonates" today is a complex and potentially revolutionary gesture. The image 'witch' was adapted by the person affected, and used against the enemy who had introduced it.

The myth of "femininity" in the bourgeois world is, however, an example of 'dangerous' use of myth: "the demonification and idolatry of woman in the witch and the saint were cut off from the empirical woman." (Ibid.,:108) In her historical consideration of the image of the witch, Bovenschen notes how amazing it is that ancient feminine allegories survived, and that "the allegories of the industrial age...continued to be embodied by female figures even though these had only symbolic value and had little connection with women's everyday lives." (Id.,:111) She suggests here that only by being familiar with myth, allegory, symbols, and ancient imagery can we reclaim these from the archaic and use them to negate our own oppressive reality.

¹² In his satirical mask play "Malttuk", Kim Chi-ha (cited in Seo 1982:337) personifies *toch'aebi* or the *han* of *minjung* as Malttuk, a servant of Yangban (his opposite character). In the play, Malttuk is exploited and killed by Yangban, but he returns this world as a ghostly monster, Emae, who devours Yangban. Although I myself did not read the play, according to Seo, Kim tries here to expose two contradictory aspects of perversity of *han*; the people are in danger to be devoured by their own cumulative emotions of political oppression on the one hand; in order to get free from *han*, they have to kill this monster as represented by Yangban figure.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS:

CEREMONIAL LADDER, COSMOLOGY, AND THE RITUAL

During the period of the Anti-Superstition Campaign in the 1970s, the *simbangs* were arrested for their ritual activities and were brought to court if they resisted paying a special fine for their "immodest acts to interrupt civil life" (*mipung yangsok banghae joi*). The typical question of the Judge, the *simbangs* told me, was if they could explain how this world (*isŭng*) and the other world (*chŏsŭng*) differ. The *simbangs* would explain with a sense of humor: if we are active with open eyes, we are in this world, but, if we sleep at night and close our eyes, we are in the other world. With such a witty yet profoundly common-sense answer, the *simbangs* defended themselves. But their answer says something more. They themselves admit that even they cannot verify if there is somewhere the other world, *chŏsŭng*. Nevertheless, certainly Cheju shamanism is grounded in belief in this notion of the other world (*chŏsŭng*). The *simbangs* believe the eighteen thousand gods or eight thousand gods live between this world and the other world. Offering food and proper reverence, *simbangs* pray to the benevolence and assistance of these gods for health and luck.

The Ceremonial Ladder (*Chet'dari*)

Although there are eighteen thousand gods inhabiting Cheju Island, this number simply indicates the pantheistic nature of the belief system of Cheju shamanism. These gods are hierarchically ordered in a pantheon from the Jade Sky Emperor to impersonal forces like evil and misfortune. According to the *simbang's* terms of reference, there are four groups of supernatural beings: deities

[*sinjŏn* or *sindo*], dead souls [*yŏnghon* or *yŏngsin*], servant soldiers [*kunbyŏng*, *kunjol*, *chapkwi*, or *chŏkku*], and evil [*se*] and misfortune [*me*].

1. Deities [*Sinjŏn*]

Sinjŏn are divided into three sub groups. The first group of deities are cosmic deities that control the cosmos, nature, and human conditions such as birth and death, illness and livelihood. They are the Jade Sky Emperor [*okwhang sangje*], the Great King of the Underworld [*jibo sackŏn tewang*], the Mountain Great King [*sansin tewang*], the Dragon Emperor (of the sea world) [*yowang whangjokuk*], the Great Buddhist Monk [*sŏsan tesa*], the Child Birth Grandmother [*samsŭng halmang*], the Sun Moon Palace, the First Lord [*chŏkong*, the tutelary deity of the simbangs], the Second Lord [*ikong*] or like a gardner of Western [Buddhist] paradise who takes care of the magical flowers that control death and rebirth, the Third Lord [*samkong*, the lord of human destiny], the Ten Kings [*siwang*] and the Sixteen Messengers (of the other world) [*chasa*], the Plantation Deity of Agriculture [*sekyung*], the House Lord [*sŏngju*], the Gate Guard [*munjŏn*], the Kitchen Queen [*chowang*], the Five Direction Generals [*obang sinjang*], the Gateway Guard [*olle chiki*], the House Fence [*chŏngsal chiki*], the Seven North Stars [*puk'du ch'ilsong*], the Old Child Birth Grandmother [*kusamsŭng halmang*] who causes children's disease and death, and the Toilet Lady.

The second group of gods are the Shrine Lords [*ponhyang*], who are also called the Land Officials [*tojikwan*].

The third group of gods are the ancestral deities [*chosang*] of surname clans. There are two kinds of tutelary ancestral spirits of clans: Warrior Heroes [*kunung*], who are the founding ancestors of the whole clan, and Sun Moon [*ilwŏl*] or the Sun Moon Ancestors [*ilwŏl chosang*] who protect the branch-clan families. These Sun Moon deities are also tutelary spirits of the particular

occupation of the family ancestor when that becomes the hereditary career of the whole family group. For instance, *Ch'ekpul Ilwŏl* are the deities for families with the career of geomancy; *Puldo Ilwŏl* for midwives; *Hongbo Ilwŏl* for government officials; *Sansin Ilwŏl* for hunters. These *Ilwŏl Chosang* do not have their own myths; rather they indicate the popular consciousness of historical transmission of clan unity. By contrast, the ancestral deity of the *simbangs*, *Ch'okong*, has a myth and is ranked high in the pantheon. In this respect we can see that the *simbangs* distinguish their mythical ancestry from that of other folk practitioners who have *Ilwŏl Chosang* as their ancestral spirits.

2. Dead Souls [*Yŏnghon*]

People believe that the soul is separated from the body after death, and it stays in the living world for two full years as a spirit [*honbek*]. After that the spirit of the dead, which is called "the dead soul" [*yŏnghon*], enters the other world [*chŏsŭng*]. However, if the spirit does not go well to *chŏsŭng*, it bothers the descendants by possessing them. The *simbang's* rites, *kwiyang p'uri* (releasing an exile) and *siwang maji* (greeting ten kings of the other world), are performed to send the wandering spirit of the dead to the other world safely. Whenever a grand scale rite is performed, all of the dead souls of the family ancestors within the past five generations, as well as those of the in-laws and neighbors, are invited. They are called Village [*maŭl*].

3. Ghosts

Ghosts are Soldiers [*kunbyŏng*], Servant Soldiers [*kunjol*], Avenging Ghosts [*ch'okwi*], or Lesser Evil Spirits [*chapkwŭi*]. *Kunbyung* are the spirits of the soldiers who died in warfare both on and off the island. *Kunjol* are the servants of the Mountain God, the Sea Dragon King, the Boat King, and all of the high ranking deities. *Ch'okku* are the avenging ghosts who died without fulfilling love, or desire or releasing their grudges. *Chapkwŭi* are all possible specters that

would haunt people: they attach to men, women, the young, the old, children, thousand-year-old anonymous tombs, the heavens, the earth, the four directions, the twelve *kanji*, shrines, *simbangs*, seashore rocks, creeks, gardens, every surname clan, the drowned, the strangled, the androgenous figure, and so forth. They are the dead souls of people who died by accident, or without living out their full life or resolving resentment, and thus roam around the middle space between this world and the other world. They cause troubles and misfortunes to people. Although these ghosts are also the spirits of the dead-like *youngchon*, they are not welcomed to the altar; instead, they are expelled.

4. Evil [*se*] and Misfortune [*me*]

Se originated from a myth about a princess of the underworld king who strangled herself to death because she could not fulfill her wish to marry a man who was already married in the human world. One hundred days after death, the evil of headache came out from the head of her corpse; the evil of deranged eyes came from her eye ; the evil of bad smell from her nose. This kind of *se* is believed to cause physical diseases and also separation of married couples. A special rite to expel these evils, *sedarim*, is performed wherein the *simbang* gestures, dispelling birds with a divine knife, because the bird makes the sound *se*, the same as "evil" in Korean. *Me* is the impersonal agency that causes illnesses and financial loss. Like *se*, *me* is also the sound that the hawk makes, and is similarly expelled during the rite.

Cosmology

In Cheju shamanism, cosmology is divided into two realms, this world (*isŭng*) where people live and the other world (*chŏsŭng*) where the dead live. Once a person dies, the soul leaves the body and stays in the middle space of air between this world and the other world for two full years. During this time,

because the dead souls stay close to their old homes, their living descendants regularly offer morning meals of rice and porridge to them. After two years, the dead souls leave this world forever and move to the other world where their ancestors live together in a village.

The notion of *chōsŭng* is not identical with that of Buddhist Lotus Paradise (*kŭgrak*), where only the person with merit accomplished while living would be able to enter, although these words are sometimes used interchangeably in the ritual narrative: *Chōsŭng* is the place all dead souls can enter regardless of personal merits in the past. Perhaps the expression "the highest village in the other world" (*chōsŭng sang-maŭl*) to which the *simbang* wishfully prays to send the dead souls would be the closest notion of the Lotus Paradise. Nevertheless, even this hierarchical expression of *chōsŭng* merely conveys the descendants' best wishes toward the dead souls rather than the actual structure of the cosmos. This means simply "a good place" (cf. Choi Chungmoo 1987 who also makes the same point). There is no sense of moral judgement in the notion of *chosung* in contrast to that of the *kugrak*.

Rather, in Cheju shamanism, the state of death decides whether the dead soul enters *chōsŭng* or not. A normal state of death requires a proper funeral ceremony in which the corpse is cleansed and dressed with specially prepared attire, *hosangot*. Usually people prepare the *hosangot* made of fine silky cotton as soon as they reach sixty years old. This attire is the same set as the formal wedding ceremonial costume, a white blouse, a white skirt, and a white robe with red sash (Ko Puja 1984). The reason people consider the *hosangot* to be as precious as the wedding dress is that the life in *chōsŭng* is a new life so that social rank in the previous life no longer has authority. Everyone is treated the same as long as the dead soul wears the *hosangot*. If any dead souls enter *chōsŭng* without wearing the *hosangot* because they did not have a proper

funeral ceremony due to sudden or accidental deaths, they can be neglected by others with *hosangot*. According to episodes of shamanic rites (Ko Puja 1984), these spirits of the dead reappear in shamanic recitations complaining that they are naked [in case of cremation] or still wet [in the case of accidents at sea or drowning] or in blood-stained clothes [in case of war or other violent deaths]. When their desire to get a proper suit of *hosangot* is very strong, they can cause troubles to their living family members in order to convey their desire for a proper funeral and attire. The living family then offers the rite of *chilchim* [that which sends the dead to *chōsŭng* safely] in which the *simbang* burns a new set of clothes and shoes as a *hosangot*.

Besides the *Asŭng* and the *chosŭng*, there is another special kind of cosmic world, the Third Heaven [*sam hanŭl*] where only *simbangs*, specifically those who have offered at least one *sinkut* [a rite for the *simbang*'s tutelary deities--*sam siwang*, the three brothers in the origin myth of *chōkong*] in return for the favors of the deities, would enter after death. According to Ahn Simbang who is one of the most prominent *simbangs* and also a governmentally designated Human Cultural Treasure, *sam siwang* are the godly kings who control human life as the name means literally Three Body King [*sam sin wang*] in Chinese characters. In the origin myth of *chōkong* [the First Princess], *sam siwang* are three illegitimate sons of a Buddhist monk and a virgin from the aristocratic family; due to their illegitimate births they are socially neglected and also are divested of the highest public offices which they won in the national examination; in order to get revenge on the three thousand gentry men who envy their prizes, the three sons of the monk ascend to *sam hanŭl*--meaning "the heaven above heaven." There they crown themselves the Three Ten Kings and make the King of Hell (*Yōmla Tewang*)--Yama of the Hindus--their chief minister. They cause illnesses to people and command the King of Hell to capture those people. Then the King of Hell

commands the *simbangs* to conduct a *kut* rite and make a plea to the *sam siwang* that the ill person may recover. Because the *sam siwang* are the tutelary deities of the *simbangs*, they may look favorably on the *simbangs*' plea. Thus far the story is Ahn Simbang's theory of the sacred origin of the Cheju *simbangs*. As such, through the idea of the Third Heaven and the Three Ten Kings, the *simbangs* express their sense of separation from normal people by mythologizing their divine origin and defining a separate cosmic space for themselves.

The Ritual

The cosmic hierarchy of deities and spirits is reenacted in the ritual performances of the *simbangs*. According to Hyŏn Yongjun's classification (1974: 108-112), the *simbang's* ritual has two types: one type based on the belief in soul-loss and the other type based on the belief in the will of spiritual beings.

In the case of the first type of ritual, people believe that a human has three souls (*nŏk*) that maintain the health and balance of the whole body. If any one of these souls leaves the body it breaks the balance and causes illness. The rite of *nŏk dŭrim* is performed in order to bring that lost soul back and reunite it with the body. This case of soul-loss frequently happens to children under fifteen. When a child is frightened or falls down, his or her soul easily breaks away. In this case, the child sweats unusually and is frightened often during sleep. Such symptoms are diagnosed as soul-loss [*nŏk nagam*], and the midwife *simbang* [*samsŭng halmang*] is called on by the parents. While calling the lost soul and the name of the child, the *simbang* puts the sick child's old blouse on the crown of his head and breathes "Hoo!" on the blouse. This means the *nŏk* once separated from the body and kept in the blouse is transferred back to the body again. The *simbang* repeats this breathing three times and, once it is done, lets

the child drink three mouthfuls of cold water to assure that the returned nŏk is calmed down.

There are three kinds of ritual forms which are associated with the belief that the spiritual agents are the cause of illnesses and misfortunes. This type of ritual has different styles of performance depending on whether the spiritual agents are benevolent or malevolent. For the benevolent spirits the *simbang* pray to them to relent in their anger at people or to relinquish their punishments and also give blessings. Most of the rituals belong to this type. The simplest form of this type is *pinyŏm*, which consists only of a prayer without performance of a dance or music. In this case, the *simbang* sets up an offering table and invites a certain kinds of spirit to the altar. The main function of the *simbang* is to receive the oracle from these spirits and to deliver it to the concerned clients who sponsor the ritual. For malevolent spirits such as *chapkwi* the *simbang* expel them with a threat--*p'udasi*--or appease them with good food and dancing--*yŏ nggam nori*.

The performative features of Cheju *simbangs'* ritual are expressed in the *kut* rites that combine various artistic forms of myth recitation, dancing, and orchestral percussion music. As the etymological meaning of the word *kut*--which means entertainment or amusing play--suggests, the *kut* rite indicates performance. Depending on the scale of the performance, there are two types of *kut*: a small scale *kut* rite (*jakŭn kut*) and a grand scale *kut* rite (*kŭn kut*). The *jakŭn kut* is concerned with a single category of spirits or deities and a specific kind of crisis event. For this, one chief *simbang* and three other musicians are needed, and they take turns for each segment of the performance. The *kŭn kut* is a composite of such small *kut* rites, requiring three to fourteen days of grandiose performances.

The Altar Setting (*Tangk'ŭl*)

The difference between the *jakŭn kut* and the *kŭn kut* lies in whether the *simbang* set up *tangk'ŭls*, or altar shelves representing the whole world of deities and the spirits of the dead. In the grand scale *kut* rite (*kŭn kut*), the *simbang* makes four wooden altar shelves hung from the ceiling toward the four directions in the central floor room. These *tangk'ŭls* are the places where the deities descend. Each *tangk'ŭl* represents a sub-cosmic world of four groups of benevolent supernatural beings (that exclude *chapkwi* and evils such as *se* and *me*). They are *samch'ŏn chesŏgkkung tangk'ŭl* for the gods of heaven, *siwang tangk'ul* for the ten kings of the other world (*chŏsŭng*), *munjŏn ponhyang tangk'ŭl* for houseguard and village tutelary deities, and *maŭl yŏngsin tangk'ŭl* for the spirits of the dead in the family and village. Depending on the numbers of *tangk'ŭl*, there are two types of *kŭn kut*: the Four Altar Shelves Kut (*sa tangk'le kut*) and the Middle Altar Shelves Kut (*jung tangk'ŭl kut* or *kobun tangk'ŭl kut*) with three shelves except the *tangk'ŭl* for the heavenly deities. In total four altar shelves represent a miniature of the cosmos.

The Ritual Process

The *simbang's* ritual starts with the preparation of offering tables [*chesang*] and the setting up of a high pole [*kun tae*] a four to five meter bamboo tree with a white flag at one end. This pole is connected to the offering table inside the house by a long white cloth (*tari*). Through the pole and the cloth, the deities and spirits descend from heaven, and sit down on the altar. After this preparation is done, the performance [*kut*] begins with the invocation rite (*ch'ogamche*) that invites all deities and spirits to the altar. The descent of the deities and spirits on the altar shelves sanctifies the ritual ground with the immediacy of a "here and now" dimension. *Ch'ogamche* is structured by nine

segments which are divided by short pauses. The first segment is the Founding of the Cosmos and Human Dwellings (*paep'o toụp'ch'im*). To the slow tempo of a grandiose orchestra, the specially attired chief *simbang* recites the myth of creation of the cosmos and nature such as heaven and earth, the sun, the moon and stars, mountains and rivers; and also of the formation of the Korean land and nation. The second segment is the Informing of the Date and Place (*nal kug sŏmkim*). In this part the reciter explains the exact time and location of the ritual event. During the third segment (*chipan yŏnyu takkŭm*), the *simbang* explains the reason why the kut is being performed there and then, describing in detail the short history of the illnesses and misfortunes of the sponsoring household.

The following segments are to open the gate of heavenly space for the descending deities and spirits (*kunmun yŏlim*), to expel evils and purify the road by which the deities will descend (*setarim*), to greet and seat them on the altars (*oriŏng sinchŭngkwe*), to serve them offerings and pray to them (*chŭmul kongyŏn*), and finally to entertain them with music and dance (*sŏk salim*).

Once all the deities and spirits are seated at their own altars respectively (*tangk'ŭl*), a separate rite is performed for each deity from the high-ranked deities to the low-ranked ones, one by one, starting from the Buddhist Child Birth Grandmother (*puldo*), then the Sun Moon (*ilwŏl*, or the household and clan mythic ancestors), the First Lord (*chokong* or *simbang* ancestors), the Second Lord (*ee kong* or the manager of the magical flower garden in the west), the Ten Kings of the Underworld, the Plantation Lord (*sekyung* or the agricultural god), the Houseguard, and lastly the Shrine Deity. The rites are structured by the combination of three performance genres: myth recitation (*ponp'uri*), greeting rite (*maji*), and theatrical entertainment (*nori*). For each deity, two genres are combined in the following fashion: *ponp'uri* plus *maji* or *ponp'uri* plus *nori*. In this case *ponp'uri* functions like a text for the other two performance genres.

However, for the lower-ranked deities such as the Houseguard, the Shrine Deity, and the spirits of the dead, the greeting rite (*maji*) is not performed; instead, the *nori* part is emphasized. In short, the *kut* is structured in such a way that the *simbang* "explain the origin" of the spiritual beings, "greet them by purifying their way and treating them with offerings," appease their anger and alleviate human misfortunes through entertainment (*nori*), and in the end, send them back to heaven--the rite of *tojin*.

APPENDIX B

THE CHRONICLE JOURNAL OF THE APPRENTICESHIP: *CHŌNSU KIROKPU* OF A SIMBANG, MIZO

The Acquisition of the Journal

Mizo, a young female *simbang*, showed me the journal she had kept recording her activities over a period of two years beginning from August 9, 1982 until October 13, 1984. She kindly permitted me to copy it for future reference. This journal starts from about the time when she was officially granted the status of apprentice to Ahn Simbang, a government-designated Living Cultural Treasure. It is not clear whether it was her personal choice to keep a record of her activities as an apprentice or an official requirement of the position. Certainly her chronicle shows a distinct style. It records the particular events of illness and misfortune and also the names of the hosts and ancestors involved in the rituals. This also suggests an interesting function of the chronicle. It effectively allows the *simbang* to historicize individual cases of misfortune by linking them to long-term family histories of ancestral figures and social prestige. I have tried to make this a direct word-for-word translation in order to leave the text intact.

The Chronicles

1982

August 9: Chochun-myon, Chochon-li

At the KMB' house. For the 48-year old wife [of K], ailing with no relief from either the hospital or medicine. While sleeping, [she] had a dream of ancestors (*chosang*). A brother [of K] became mentally deranged after a car accident. In the past in this family there was a Buddhist healer called Chossi Grandmother. Although she was very ill when the April 3rd Event had occurred in Cheju, she knew what was going on. After her death, her offspring threw away a ritual cymbal [*parang*] that she had valued very

highly. Thereafter the whole family suffered various misfortunes. *Chosang* were Kim-ssi who had worked as a local official; the deity of the Three Buddhist Ways [*sampuldo*] who was called Cho-ssi; the General Kwaunchang who carried a fire gun and spear, and commanded one thousand soldiers, three thousand soldiers, and ten thousand soldiers; and a *chosang* who received a jar filled with rice, and got on good terms with three thousand military officers and three thousand soldiers.

October 21: At the K-ssi house

Cheju Supreme Judge who achieved the highest passing mark in the state examination in the year of Kwangpal, a long time ago, and the First Lady.

November 10

The first place in the east in the state examination, the first place in the west. One entertainer woman [*gisaeng*] to one officer. Music and banners.

December 12: Kimnyong-li

A dancing rite inside house for a 20-year-old crazy son.

December 12: Cheju City

A rite for a new house lord.

December 13

A *kun kut*. A rite for Seven Stars [*ch'ilsong*] at the orchard. The Bead Grandmother.

1983

February 24: Chochon-myon, Chochon-li

KBK's house.

February 26: Cheju City, D-tong

A rite for the house lord of a new house. The Kang's house. The Maiden of Huksan-do Island drifted on the seaweed-wrapped wooden board.

February 24: Chochun-li.

The Lee house. A rite for the dead, a 86-year-old grandmother who adopted a son because she did not have her own son.

February 24: Cheju City

A rite for the dead, the Kim-ssi. In January 3, 69-year-old father died. Afterwards 41-year old-son died.

February 29: Cheju City

The rite for the house lord. KYO had a car accident on January 19.

February 20*: Chochun-li

The Ko-ssi. A Rite for Seven Stars. After having had a *kun kut* for the conception of a son, a son was born. Offering the rite for Seven Stars and for the House Gateway Lord every three years. (* I guess Mizo recorded her activities on this date later than February 26 from memory.)

March 12: Cheju City, Yongdam-dong

The Rite for the House Lord. Ancestor of official rank.

April 2: Chochun-myon, Wasan

The rite for the dead, KTJ's wife who committed suicide by drinking pesticide after a domestic quarrel. She had a two-year old son.

April 4: Chochun-li. The lower village.

29-year-old daughter. The Ahn Judge and the Lords of Seven Stars.

April 9: Cheju City. At the site of old Cheju college.

The front alley. CCH's house. The rite for the House Lord . The father's sister was a *simbang*. After her death grandfather and father got sick. Her ritual divinatory items and musical instruments such as a drum, a big bronze gong, a small gong, a hour-glass drum had been buried. With divinatory items (*maengdo*) a Kim-ssi led a great *simbang* career. After the father stopped the *simbang*'s career, he became seriously ill. A fortune-teller suggested to him that he have a *kut* performed. When Ahn Simbang did a *kut* for him, he announced that the father would live three more years. The father died after three years.

April ?

A rite for the House Lord of a maternal nephew of the mother of the pharmacologist at YS drugstore.

May 3: New Cheju City

The Park-ssi grandmother, 63 years old. Her sons work at public offices. One of them is the executive at a tourist hotel [in Seoul]. The youngest son of the 26 year old son had died. Gentleman who received a government office by making a gift of a horse-hair woven hat for gentry men.

May 23: Chochon-li

A Rite for the dead, C-ssi house. Elderly woman 78 years old who was killed in a car accident three days before on her way back home after visiting her daughter living in Sinchon. No son. Two daughters and the grand-daughter-in-law "cleared the road [to the other world]."

May 24: Cheju City

P Bakery. Did a *kut* because a 59-year-old housewife was sick. She was married to Kim-ssi who died at 27 during the April Third Event. Had a son from him. Remarried Choi-ssi from whom a son was born. No clear diagnosis at hospital. Suffered from insomnia. Cannot sleep until 2 a.m.--feeling suffocated on the chest and often sadness.

May 28: Wasanli

A *kut*. The household of the 49-year-old and the 50-year-old couple, and their 25-year-old son. [Originally] from Songdang-li. The Ancestor of Home Place (*ponhyang*) is Tosan-li. The household committed an offence against the Seven Stars. The son died in the end.

June 6: Cheju City

In front of the elementary school. The shop owner. His 28-year-old son lives in a town in the mainland. He became ill two months before. No relief at the hospital. Lost weight day by day. Mother diagnosed his symptoms as indicative of soul-loss. [Chosang] Kim-ssi of Kwangsan original land, Kim chonjok whose boat heading to the mainland was wrecked. "Evil force of

resentment, evil force of wreckage, grand rite of release of earthen jar."
(*wonsari, nansari, tongee-tae-p'uri*)[a prayer passage].

June 19: Cheju City, Yongdam

Wife Ko-ssi, 34 years old. Husband, Ho-ssi 46 years old, living in Pusan. Did a *kut* because of wife's illness. From fortunetelling, [it is said that] husband's father beat a wife, and she died in five minutes. Thereafter the husband, then a nine-year old boy, grew like an orphan. In Cheju he met the current wife and lived with her children. The sickly wife went to hospitals in Pusan, and tried every kind of medicine, Western and herbal, in vain. For this reason at their grand-aunt's house they had a rite of exorcism (*p'udasi*).

August 6: Sinchon-li

A rite for Greeting the Buddhist Deity. A 62-year-old mother hosted a *kut* for her ailing son of 28 years. Her other son and daughter were killed by fire, and later on her husband died at sea while boating. *Chosang* are Gentleman Kim-ssi, the Bead Grandmother, and Gentleman Yun-ssi.

August 6: Chochon-li

K-ssi. After divorce, he went to Seoul to pick up the corpse of a newpew, and there he lost his soul.

October 11

Work. The same.

November 2: Sonhul-li

At A-ssi house. The Mountain God. Seven Stars. Blacksmith Koh. S-ssi grandmother offered a rite for the Buddhist Deity for 4-year old and 15-year old children. A rite for the House Lord. The oldest brother died during the April Third Event. The second oldest brother committed suicide by taking poison and hanging himself at the age of 18.

November 5: Hwabuk-dong

K-ssi *simbang*

November 16

[The same place for the same person]. The after-rite (*tuimaji*).

1984

March 3: Halim-up, Chosu-li

A rite for *simbang's* house, C-ssi mother. The tutelary lord is the Mountain God Ilwol [Sun and Moon] in Kangwon Province. This mother acted as a *simbang* since she was seventeen.

March 8: Kimnyong-li

A rite for divers (*haenyŏ kut*).

March 8: Cheju City. D-tong

The M-ssi household.

March 13: Chochon-li

H-ssi. 49-year-old husband had liver cancer. *Chosang* had a high official rank.

March 16: Kimnyong-li
A rite for the dead.

March 21: Chochon-li
A *kut*.

March 26: Cheju City
For a mother of WCY, very rich, living in Japan.

April 30: Cheju City
KWJ. For the husband, 39-year-old singer. Father-in-law died during the April Third Event.

May 19: Chochon-li
A member of Lions' Club. Did a *kut* because 58-year-old wife was sick, diagnosed as cancer. Husband's ancestor, K-ssi the Boat Lord, Ko-ssi the Boat Lord below Sekoal. Wife's father's sister was a great *simbang* in Japan.

May 23: Hamdok
KYC's grand-aunt from Japan did a *kut*. 73,71, 45,3,42,35,39,31 [the age of each family member]. Household affairs went very badly. Most of sons got divorced. 42-year-old son had a car accident. There are the spirits of the dead who were killed violently. *Chosang* is the Boat Lord.

May 29: Hamdok
H-ssi house. Wife was suffering from an illness or injury to her neck. No cure after surgery. No clear diagnosis about the illness--even from Seoul University Hospital. This is the reason why we did a *kut*. *Chosang* are Not Harubang [the Grandfather], Han Chongwon, To Chipso, To Wongam,* twelve banners and appointment letters that had been handed down over some generations but were now buried in a grave. [The] father-in-law was Kummul Togam [the Blacksmith], Sonyang Yonggam [the Boat King]; [the] paternal grandmother, Sam Puldo [the Three Buddhist Deities]; [the] father's sister and her husband, Sam Puldo and Ch'aekbul; after the family suffered the event of San Tongtui [arousing the mountain gods by disturbing the earth], [the family offended also] the Seven Stars and the House Lord; the spirits of the dead, the elder father-in-law was shot by a gun due to his being mistaken for the second oldest brother [of the father-in-law]; the third oldest brother died at sea by drowning at the age of 8. (* All three names indicate official ranks.)

March 29: Cheju City. Todam-tong
Did the rite for the Ten Kings of the Underworld.

April 1: Cheju City. Sinsanmoru
Did the recitation of the myth of Choso [the messenger-god who takes the dead to the Ten Kings of the Underworld with him].

April 4: Chochon-li

The rite of Greeting Buddhist Deity. Recitation of the origin myth of the Messenger.

April 9: Cheju City. Chungduru

C-ssi house. Did a *kut* of invitation of High Officer Kang [the deity of Carpenters].

May 3: New Cheju City

Rite for Ritual Offering. Did a rite of clearing the path (of the dead to heaven).

June 6

Rite for Greeting Sun and Moon. Rite of purifying the altar and offering.

April 1

A rite for the dead [*kwiyang puri*] for a 24-year-old son who died during his military service. His father did not favor this son. Earned "the original contracting money" [*won maengshoe*] 4,000 *won*.

May 5: New Cheju City

OYH's mother's house. Earned 44,300 *won* for the ritual contracting money [*kut maengshoe*].

June 2: Cheju City

Near M drug store. KSK's house. 60-year-old household head did a *kut* for his 27-year-old ailing daughter. Hospital said she was suffering from "nervous anxiety". The patient danced. Even after one-half day of dancing, she did not show any sign of exhaustion. Ancestor is *Ch'aekbul* [the Learned Buddhist]. The spirit of the dead is the sister-in-law who lost her soul at a well by the sea when she was young.

June 2: Kimnyong-li. Cheju City. Samdo-dong

I-ssi's sister-in-law by marriage. Kun-tang, Songseki, Somun [names of the shrines]. The Dragon King.

June 3: Cheju City. Ildo-dong

KSO's house, own three commercial cars. Due to the lack of fortune at the house. Did the Rite of Exorcism of the Entrance Guard.

June 13: Chochon-li

Tuimaji [the Rite of Aftermath].

June 14: Cheju city. Yongdam

The M-ssi family. The Rite of the Dead [*kwiyang puri*] for 82 year-old elderly woman. Daughter-in-law and the oldest daughter living in Japan. The second daughter, the third daughter, and the grandson-in-law, who are living in Cheju, tried to observe memorial services for the spirit of the 82-year old grandmother. The daughter-in-law appealed to her sister-in-law to move the tablet of the dead to Japan. For this reason [I did] the rite of *chilch'im* together with the rite of *kwiyang puri*.

June 26: Choch'on-li. J village

The house of S-ssi. The daughter, a seven-year-old, was ill. *Chosang* is Chilsong Tongtui [the evil of the Seven Stars] so that we had a *pudasi* [the Rite of Exorcism].

July 8: Kujwa-up. Hato-li. S village

K-ssi household. Chief *simbang* was Cho. Husband was 27 years old, and wife was 29 years old. The sons were four and two years old. Mother was 72. *Chosang* were Kochonjok [a learned man with Ko-ssi surname], Sonang [the King of the Boat], and Chaekbul [Book Buddhist]. Also belonging to a Buddhist sect, Kuinsa [a temple in the southern mountains on the mainland]. *Yonghon* [the dead souls] were the brother-in-law, the middle brother-in-law who was killed in an accident, and his wife who died during child-birth, a nephew who had a boat and died at sea, and another nephew who was accidentally killed. The reason for the *kut* was the illness of the daughter-in-law. The content [*naeyong*] was concerned with the son, the only son. On July 9 around nine o'clock in the evening, in the midst of the patient's dancing, the patient herself spoke of [the identity of the possessing spirit]: "Chang Min-ho of 32 years from Koche Island was an orphan who lost his parents during childhood, worked on a boat since he became 23 years of age, and suffered from the same disease." In front of the audience of neighbor women, the patient drank a bowl of liquor and then announced that [he] would leave, but tomorrow.

July 12: Cheju City. Sosara

H-ssi household. The husband was 50, and wife was 31. The oldest son was four years old, and two daughters were six and two years old. Whenever he got drunk, the husband got crazy and beat all members of family. The wife got anxious to know why this happened to her family. So she had a sacrificial ceremony [*totche*], with a whole roast pig for the shrine deity of Kimnyongli, and also a *pudasi* rite for exorcism.

Chochon-li. S-dong. Laundry

The rite for the House Lord. The home place was S city, but the son came here to open a laundry. If he had more money, he could have had a larger-scale ritual.

September 9: Kimnyong-li

The Rite for the Dead [*kwiyang puri*]. K-ssi household. Leaving two married sons and one unmarried daughter, the grandmother died. The oldest son took care of her, but the second son fought with her a lot so that the dead grandmother had resentment toward him. Because the grandson was sick, I did *pudasi* again, a rite of exorcism.

September 13: West Kimnong-li

The Rite for the Dead [*kwiyang puri*]. P-ssi mother. The father, 51 years old, was alcoholic and always wandered around like a crazy person. Three days before, while quarrelling with his mother over the property of household, he drank a poison and died immediately. Three sons and one daughter, and his wife and two sisters are left besides his 85-year-old mother.

September 21: Cheju City. H-dong

K-ssi. Tuimaji [the return rite for greeting of forgotten spirits]. Mun Grandmother Simbang had had a client relationship with K household for

twenty years as her *sang tangol* [the high client]. This year K household built a new house. The rite for the House Lord. After having done the rite of greeting the Ten Kings, we went there to do the rite of *tuimaji*. *Chosang* were Kim Chon'chok [the Learned Man], the Yi-ssi *chosang*. [*Kut* for *chosang*] Once every three years.

September 22: Sinchon-li

The *kut* for the mother of Kim Simbang.

October 1: East Kimnyong-li. T-dong

H-ssi household. The Rite for the Dead [*kwiyang puri*]. The wife K-ssi was 47 years old. Seven daughters and no sons. The husband worked as the chief officer at the Fishery Office and contributed to the village development. But he got sick and went to the hospital. He was diagnosed as having cancer. He died on September 27. Did a rite of *kwiyang puri* and *chilch'im*.

October 4: West Kimnyong-li

P-ssi household. The rite for the Dead--man of 94 years. The grandmother already died. Among four sons, the oldest son and the second son died. Only two sons are left.

October 5: East Kimnyong-li, C-dong

The mother of I-ssi. The sacrificial ceremony with a roast pig [*tot'che*]. Daughter came from Japan to observe the memorial services for the dead mother. *Tot'che* for the shrine god of Kwonaeki. [Visited] Songseki *tang*. The ceremony for the Dragon King at the sea.

October 5: Cheju City. E-dong

Y-ssi household. The sacrificial ceremony with a roast pig. The wife was HKJ. The husband was the army officer. The wife suffered from a stomach disease. According to a fortune-teller, her illness was caused by the shrine god [*hanjip*]. For this reason, she had *Tot'che*. *Chosang* are Yun Tongji [the gentry man with the Yun-ssi surname], Han Tongji, Kwang'chong Halmang [the Grandmother Deity].

October 6: Cheju City, H-tong

K-ssi Simbang household. The Rite of Exorcism [*p'udasi*]. The household had a *kun kut* before because K Simbang suffered from liver cancer. He had been hospitalized at T clinic. On a certain day of October he had a bad dream. His wife, L Simbang went to a fortune-teller. *Yonghon chosang* [a spirit of the dead] at the house of [K Simbang's] the most frequent client. At Sinchon Kunmulmori, Kim-ssi Tongji, Kusul Halmanim [the Grandmother Deity of Beads] went to the seashore and picked up the *chosang*. In the family of K Simbang there was a grandfather who was ship-wrecked and then lost his soul [*nok nagam*] at sea. Two sons and one disabled daughter. The wife and her parents, her brother's couple, wife's sister. Two sisters of the wife are members of the Invisible Cultural Treasure Group. At Ch'ilmori *tang*, we did a rite of exorcism [*pudasi*], and a rite for consoling the King of the Boats from nine o'clock in the morning to five o'clock in the evening.

October 10: Chochon-myon. Chonchon-li

The rite for the House Lord. S-ssi household. The husband was 57, and the wife 58. Two sons and three daughters. Last year they had a loan and built a new house this year. 42,000 *won*. *Chosang* was Chaekbul Chosang who had practiced accupuncture for babies when the father's middle brother was alive.

October 13: North Cheju County, Kujwa-up, East Kimnyong-li

K-ssi household. *P'udasi* and *Ch'unun Kut* [the Dancing Rite]. KTO, 29 years old, got sick and went to the hospital. But no clear diagnosis for the illness. Still his heart was beating badly, and sometimes he would lose consciousness. He came to Kimnyong and had . But in two days he got sick again, so he had another rite of exorcism. In vain. *P'udasi* and the Dancing Rite. *Chosang* of the K-ssi grandfather's side were the Mountain God, Seven Stars, Governor Yang's *Chosang*. *Chosang* of the grandmother's side were Sun Moon *chosang*; on the mother's side, Ko-ssi Grandmother, Kim-ssi Grandmother.

APPENDIX C

THE WAY OF A SIMBANG

Inheritance and Qualification

Although it is commonly known that the Cheju shaman is predominantly a hereditary shaman (*sesupmu*) (Kim T'ae-gon 1981; Ch'oe Kil-song 1978), the *simbangs'* cases show rather a mixture of both possessed, or gods-descended shaman (*kangsinmu*) and the hereditary type (Hyon Yong-jun 1974). That is, one becomes a *simbang* by succeeding to a career from parents hereditarily or through suffering from a divine disease (*sinbyong*). Besides these two dominant ways of becoming a *simbang*, there are three other ways rather in minor forms; one becomes a *simbang* by picking up shamanic implements accidentally; by marrying a *simbang*; and finally to make a living. Like the possessed shaman in the mainland, the Cheju hereditary *simbang* also becomes initiated into the career of a *simbang* through a particular sign of being called by the tutelary spirits. Two other means of initiation, that is, by picking up the implements and by suffering from a mysterious illness, follow the same principle--becoming a *simbang* by a calling or a unintended choice. On the other hand, the last two cases, by marriage and in order to make a living, can be interpreted as the intentional choices.

Among these five cases, the hereditary *simbang* is the dominant type. There is no a certain rule like paternal or maternal inheritance; but any one, either man or woman, who inherits the divine implements, *sam mengdu*, is the heir of the career. *Sam mengdu* indicates a set of three invocative and divinatory implements, rattels (*yorong*), a bronze cup and two coins (*sanpan*), a bronze divine knife (*sinkal*). Not only they are used as ritual implements but they also

symbolize the patron spirits of the *simbang* career, who are revered as the *simbang's* ancestor, *simbang chosang*. If there is in the *simbang's* family someone who could inherit the career but refuses, that person falls mysteriously ill, and, according to the *simbang's* interpretation, this illness is "caused by the offspring's mistreatment of their ancestor" (Hyŏn Yong-jun 1982:932). In such a case the ill person will be cured once he or she inherits the *sam mengdu* and starts to work as a *simbang*.

When the Cheju *simbang* means by the inheritance of the the *simbang* career it indicates three levels of inheritance: inheritances of "the shrine to which the *simbang* is bound as the cremony-keeper" (*mein tang*), the client clans and families (*tan'gol*), and a set of divine paraphernalia (*sam mengdu*). Since the priestly role is considered to be primary among other roles, the priesthood bound to a certain shrine is also inherited along with the divine instruments *sam mengdu* that is particularly attached to the shrine. Such social bond between the *simbang* and the shrine is extended to the client network. Once the client relationship is established, this bond affects on the *simbang* and extends to a spiritual level so that the *simbang* may serve the patron spirits of a certain clan like a surname group of Kim-ssi or Ko-ssi as well as the living members of that clan. *Tan'gol*, the client network forms a loose cult group. The client initiates parent-child relationship with the *tan'gol simbang* by offering a *tangju tari*, a roll of white linen, up to the private shrine of the *simbang* as a symbol of contract between them. This *tangju tari* signifies a spiritual genealogy that link the tutelary spirits of both the *simbang* and the client beyond social and ritual reciprocity. If the *simbang* ignores the patron spirit of the client clan, the *simbang* would be punished by that spirit for ignorance. I saw a case that proved the significance of this *tan'gol* relationship. In this case, the *simbang* was severely punished and died from vengeance of the patron spirit of the client clan. Ko

simbang inherited from his father the Sun-ssi family's patron spirit, called Kusul Halmang [Beads Grandmother]. A box of beads and hairpin that represents Kusul Halmang has been kept at the house shrine of the client. After the elderly woman client in that family died suddenly, her son and daughter-in-law asked the simbang to throw away the box after the funeral ceremony. They were educated people following a modern way of living. So after a grand scale ritual to send the dead to the other world, Ko simbang moved the beads and hairpin to his private shrine at home and threw away the box to the trash. Since then, whenever Ko simbang got drunken, he went crazy and behaved violently, breaking his home shrine or beating his wife. He also became very ill. He suffered from cold sweats and aches of bone joints all over his body. His illness was diagnosed as a hardening of liver. But whenever he performed a *kut* rite and invoked the name of that patron spirit of the client family, he would come alive again. Once he had a dream of a young woman wearing green blouse and red skirt of traditional Korean costume and walking into the hospital where Ko simbang was treated. In spite of many times of exorcism rites for the sake of his recovery, he died soon after the dream.

The Order of Apprenticeship

Whatever the motive to become a simbang would be, in any case, anyone should go through a learning process. The basic items to learn include the technique of memorizing and reciting the hierarchical geneology of deities and their individual myths; playing musical instruments such as drums and gongs; dancing; the knowledge of ritual procedure; and divination. These items are learned by apprenticeship as a servant or an assistant under the supervision of a competent simbang during the actual scene of performance. There is no

particular place for internship or fixed duration of apprenticeship. Learning process and achievements varies individually.

In terms of the ritual function, *simbangs* are classified into three groups: *kūn simbang*, *somi*, *chebi*. *Kun simbang* is the *simbang* whose competence in performance excels and also who can direct a grand scale *kut* rite (*kūn kut*) that requires several assistants. *Somi* means a minor shaman who can conduct a small scale *kut* rite and play musical instruments at the grand scale *kut*. *Chebi* is an assistant who does not have the competence to conduct a rite and therefore can only serve errands at the ritual. Usually the *simbang* starts from the rank of *chebi* for apprenticeship training, and advances to *somi* and *kun simbang*. This advancement, however, is not automatic but depends on solely individual talent and performative competence.

On the other hand, in terms of the role division in the actual context of ritual performance, even the *kūn simbang* can be called as *somi* if he or she is employed temporarily to assist the head *simbang*, *su simbang* who direct the whole process of rite like a stage director taking care of the whole management, from the financial matter to the arrangement of diverse ritual performance segments properly in accordance with the goal of the ritual event. Six members are needed at least for a performance team, one *su-simbang*, four music assistant *simbangs*, and one *chebi*. This performance team thus plays a ground for apprenticeship.

Once a novice masters those skills and attains a certain competence to conduct a grand scale rite as a *kun simbang*, he or she holds a formal initiation rite, *sinkut*, under the direction of prominent *simbang*. Through this *sinkut* a *simbang* is registered to the social organization of *simbangs* in this world as well as to the *simbang's* tutelary spirits, *samsiwang*, who are represented in three divine implements. The *simbang* who observes the first *sinkut* is called the *ha-*

sinch'ung in the social hierarchy of the *simbangs*. This hierarchy has three classes divided into low, middle, and high class of "god-servants" (*sinch'ung*): that is, *ha-sinch'ung*, *chung-sinch'ung*, and *sang-sinch'ung*. In every time going up the step, the *simbang* has to have the *sinkut* again. In total, three times of *sinkut* may well perfect the qualification of *simbang*.

However, these days this qualification system no longer retain its authority as before the Japanese colonial period. More people without having a *sinkut* work as a *simbang*. I myself did not have a chance to see the authentic performance of *sinkut* (which usually take two full weeks and requiring ten musicians) during the two years of fieldwork, except two semi-grand scale rite for the mainland-type *mudang* who wished to enter the social network of Cheju *simbangs*. I was told that Mizo's *sinkut* held in 1982 was the most recent *sinkut* performed in a traditional way. In spite of diminished authority of that ranking system, the honor endowed with the *simbang* who had held a *sinkut* is still respected. Although Mizo was only twenty two when she had her first *sinkut*, she was a fully qualified and competent *simbang*, that is, a *kun simbang*. When she visited at a *kut* rite conducted by Park *simbang*, she was greeted at the entrance in a full respect like in the case of ten gods of the other world by Park *simbang* in a formal ritual costume accompanied with an assistant who carried a small guest table of a cup of liquor and incense and a background orchestra. She was greeted as one of living teacher of *simbang's* way together with the spirits of the dead *simbang* who attained full qualification during their life time. They are called *simbang sŏnsŏng*, the *simbang* teachers. Each one's name is invoked in every *kut* rite and asked for helping and boosting spiritual power of the invocator. Sixty-four old Park *simbang* would never receive this level of honor because he never had a *sinkut*. For this reason, he would not belong to the *simbang sŏnsŏng* in the other world after death. Like in the case of Park *simbang*, the meaning of

a formal initiation rite becomes less and less significant in the career of simbang. Some prominent simbangs worry about this diminishing process of their religious authenticity.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abe, Kazuhiro
1983 "Race Relations and the Capitalist State: A Case Study of Koreans in Japan, 1917 through the mid-1920a." *Korean Studies* 7: 35-60.
- Akiba, Takashi and Chijo Akamatsu
1937/1938 *Chosen muzoku no kenkyu* (Study of Korean shamanism) 2 vols. Tokyo: Osakayago Shoten.
- Anderson, Benedict
1983 *Imagined Communities*, London:NLB.
- Apte, Mahadev L
1985 *Humor and Laughter: An Anthropological Approach*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- ARARI Yon'guwon [Institute for the Studies of Asia, Africa, and Latin America], eds.
1988 *Cheju minjung hang jaeng* (Cheju People's Revolts, Vol. 1). Seoul: Sonamu Ch'ulpansa.
- Asad, Talal
1983 "Anthropological Conceptions of Religion: Reflections on Geertz." *Man* 18: 237-59.
1986 "The Concept of Cultural Translation in British Social Anthropology." In *Writing Culture*, ed. James Clifford and George E. Marcus. Berkeley: The University of California Press.
- Atler, Robert
1981 *The Art of Biblical Narrative*. New York: Basic Books.
- Babcock, Barbara
1977 "The Story in the Story: Metanarration in Folk Narrative." In *Verbal Art as Performance*, ed. Richard Bauman, pp. 61-77. Heights II: Waveland Press.
- Bakhtin, M.M.
1968 *Rabelais & His World*, trans. Helene Iswolsky. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
1981 "Discourse in the Novel," In *The Dialogic Imagination*, trans. C. Emerson and M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Barthes, Roland
1970 "Historical Discourse." In *Introduction to Structuralism*, ed. Michael Lane, pp.145-55. New York: Basic Books.
1977 *Image Music Text*. New York: Hill and Wang.
- Benjamin, Walter
1969a "Theses on the Philosophy of History." In *Illuminations*, trans. Harry John and edited by Hannah Arendt. New York: Schocken Books.

1969b "The Storyteller." In *Ibid.*

1973 *Understanding Brecht*. London: NLB.

1977 *The Origin of German Tragic Drama*. London: New Left Books.

1978a "Berlin Chronicle." In *Reflections*. pp 3-60. New York: Harcourt Brace, Janovich, Inc.

1978b "Surrealism." In *Ibid.* pp 177-92.

1978c "The Author as Producer." In *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, eds. A. Arato and E. Gebbartt. New York: Urizen.

1983-4 "N [Theoretics of Knowledge: Theory of Progress]." *The Philosophical Forum* 15 (1-2).

Bloch,, Maurice

1974 "Symbols, Song, Dance and Features of Articulation." *European Journal of Sociology* 15 (1):55-81.

1984 *From Ritual to Violence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bogoras, W.

1904-1910. *The Chukchee*. In *Memoires of the American Museum of Natural History* XI:1-2: New York.

Brecht, Bertolt

1964 *Brecht On Theater: The Development of an Aesthetic*, trans. John Willett. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd.

Bourdieu, Pierre

1977 *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bovenschen, Silvia

1978 "The Contemporary Witch Myth: The Witch, subject of the Appropriation of Nature and Object of the Domination of Nature." *New German Critique* 15. Fall.

Buck-Morss, Susan

1983 "Benjamin's Passagenwerk: Redeeming Mass Culture for the Revolution." *New German Critique* 29:211-240.

Ch'ae, Hi-wan

1982 "Ch'ilsinmyondaeui munhwaundong" (Cultural Movement of the 70's). In *Munhwawa T'ongch'i* (Culture and Political Rule), ed. Christian Insitute for the Study of Justice and Development, pp. 205-9. Seoul: Minjungsa.

Ch'ae, Hi-wan and Yim Chin-t'aek.

1982 "Madang'gukeso madang'gusuro" (From Open Theater to Public Ritual). In *Han'guk munha'gŭi hyon'dan'gye I* (Present state of Korean Literature I), ed. Yom Mu-ung and Paek Nak-ch'ong. Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yongsa.

Chang, Chin-gak

- 1983 "1901 nyon minran e kwanhan ilgo" (A Study of Cheju People's Revolt of 1901). *Han'gukhak Nonch'ong* 3:77-93.

Chang, Chu-gŭn

- 1972 "Chejudo musok ūi tokkaebi sinang e taehayō" (About a folk belief of tokkaebi in Cheju shamanism). *Kukō kyoyuk* 18-9.

- 1973 *Kankoku no mingan shinko* (Korean Folk Beliefs). Tokyo: Kinkasha.

Chang, Yun-sik

- 1980 "Heavenly Beings, Men and the Shaman: Interplay Between High and Low Culture in Korean History." In *Papers of the First International Conference on Korean Studies*, ed. The Academy of Korean Studies. Seoul: The Academy of Korean Studies.

Chang, Ul-byōng

- 1985 "Minjuhw undong ui inyom kwa chonkae," (Ideology and Development of Democratization Movement). *Han'guk Sahwoe Yon'gu* 3:217-249.

Cheju-si (Cheju City)

- 1985 *Cheju samsip nyōnsa* (The Thirty Years History of Cheju City). Cheju: Cheju-si.

Cheju-do (Cheju Province)

- 1982 *Chejudo chi*. (Chronicle of Cheju Province).
- 1985 *Cheju tojōng sasip nyōnsa hwabo* (The Forty Years Photographic History of the Administration of Cheju Province). Cheju: Cheju-do.

Chin, Hong-sōp

- 1981.. "Watang e saekyo chin tokkaebi." (Tokkaebi inscribed on roof tiles). In *Hankuk ui tokkaebi* (Korean Goblin), ed. Yim Sok-je et al, pp 23-42. Seoul: Yolhwa tang.

Chin, Sōng-gi

- 1960 *Namguk ūi muka che il chip* (First Volume of Shamanic Songs of Southern Country). Cheju: Cheju minsok munhwa yonkuso.

- 1972 "Chejudo ipchun kut nori" (the ritual play for greeting spring). *Sonangtang* 2.

- 1976 *Namguk ui mindam* (Folk Tales of Southern Country). Seoul: Hyongsol chulpansa

- 1983 "Tangsin: Cheju Shamanism." In *Korean Folklore*, ed. he Korean National Commision for UNESCO, pp.141-164. Seoul: The Si-sa-yong-o-sa Pub. Inc.

Cho, Haejoang

- 1983 "The Autonomous Women: Divers on Cheju Island," In *Korean Women: View from the Inner Room*, ed. Laurel Kendall and Mark Peterson. New Haven, CT: East Rock Press

- 1979 An Ethnographic Study of a Female Diver's Village in Korea: Focused on the Sexual Division of Labor. Ph.D dissertation. University of California, Los Angeles.
- Cho, Hŭng-yun
1983 *Hakukŭi Mu* (Shamanism of Korea). Seoul: Chungum Sa.
- 1984a "Some Problems in the Study of Korean Shamanism." In *Shamanism in Eurasia*, ed. M. Hoppal, pp. 457-475. Gottingen.
- 1984b "Han, mandulojin han'gukin ui simsong." (Han, the Artificial Korean Psyche). *Hankuk munhak* 12.
- 1986 "Mu (shamanism)e kwanhan yŏn'gu." (On the study of Mu or shamanism). *Tongbang Hakchi* 43:223-256.
- Cho, Tong-il
1979 *Talch'umŭi yŏksawa wŏnli* (History and Principle of Mask Dance). Seoul: Hongsong sa.
- Ch'oe, Je-sŏk
1979 *Chejudo ŭi ch'injok jojik*. (Kinship Organization in Cheju Island). Seoul: Ilchi sa.
- Ch'oe, Kil-sŏng.
1978 *Han'guk musog ui yon'gu* (A Study of Korean Shamanism). Taegu: Hyongsol Chulp'ansa.
- 1986 *Han'guk ŭi chosang sungbae* (Korean Ancestor Worship). Seoul: Yechon sa.
- Ch'oe, Nam-sŏn.
1927 "Salmangyo Chagi" (Review of literature on shamanism). *Kyemyong* 19: 2-51.
- Choi, Chungmoo
1987 The Competence of Korean Shamans as Performers of Folklore. Ph.D. Dissertation. Indiana University.
- Chŏn, Kyŏng-su
1986 "Kwankwang kyongchewa kwankwang munhwa ui chongsok yuhyong." (Tourist economy and dependency type of tourism culture). *Han'guk Sahwoe Yŏn'gu* 4: 89-110. Seoul: Hankilsa.
- Clark, Charles Allen
1932 *Religions of Old Korea*. New York: Fleming H. Revell.
- Clifford, James
1982 *Person and Myth: Maurice Leenhardt in the Melanesian World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- 1983 "On Ethnographic Authority." *Representations* 1(2): 118-146.

1986 "On Ethnographic Allegory." In *Writing Culture: The Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, ed. J. Clifford and G.E. Marcus, pp.78-121. Berkeley: University of California Press.

1988 "On Ethnographic Surrealism." In *The Predicament of Culture*, pp.117-151. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Comaroff, Jean

1985 *Body of Power Sprit of Resistance--The Culture and History of a South African People*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Connor, Linda, Patsy Asch, and Timothy Asch

1986 *Jero Tapakan: Balinese Healer: an ethnographic film monograph*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crapanzano, Vincent

1977 "Introduction." In *Case Studies in Spirit Possession*, eds. V. Crapanzano and V. Garrison. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

1980 *Tuhami: Portrait of a Morroccan*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cumings, Bruce

1979 "Political Praticipation in Liberated Korea: Mobilization and Revolt in the Kyonsang Provinces, 1945-50 Leftists." *Journal of Korean Studies* 1(1): 163-203.

1981 *Origins of the Korean War: Liberation and the Emergency of Separated Regimes*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Cumings, Bruce and John Halliday

1988 *Korea: The Unknown War*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Czaplicka, M.S.

1914 *Aboriginal Siberia*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

de Certeau, Michel.

1984 *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Steven Rendall. Berkeley: The University of California.

Dirks, Nicholas

1987 *The Hollow Crown: Ethnohistory of an Indian Kingdom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

1988 "Ritual and Resistance: Subversion as a Social Fact." CSST Working Paper #16, the Center for Research of Social Organization, The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dow, James

1986 "Universal Aspects of Symbolic Healing: A Theoretical Synthesis." *American Anthropologist* 88(1): 56-69.

Dunsmore, Roger

1977 "Nickolaus Balck Elk--Holy Man in Hisotry." *Kuksu: Journal of Back Country Writing* 6: 4-29.

- Dwyer, Kevin
1977 "On the Dialogic of Fieldwork." *Dialectical Anthropology* 2(2): 143-151.
- Ewald, Janet
1988 "Speaking, Writing, and Authority: Explorations in and from the Kingdom of Taqali." *Comparative Studies of Society in History* 30: 199-224.
- Eliade, Mircea
1964 *Shamanism: Archaic Technique of Ecstasy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fabian, Johannes
1983 *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes its Object*. New York: Colombia University Press.
- Favret-Saada, Jeanne
[1977]1981 *Deadly Words*, trans. Catherine Culler. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foster, Stephen
1982 "The Exotic as a Symbolic System." *Dialectical Anthropology* 7(1):21-30.
- Foucault, Michel
1975 "Film and Popular Memory." *Radical Philosophy* 11:24-29.

1977 "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History." In *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, pp. 139-164. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

1980a "Two Lectures." In *Power/Knowledge*, ed. Colin Gordon, pp. 78-108. New York: Pantheon Books.

1980b *History of Sexuality. Vol.1*, trans. Robert Hurley. New York: Vintage.
- Geertz, Clifford
1973 *Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books, IN., Publishers.
- Genovese, Eugene D.
1972 *Roll Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made*. New York: Vintage Books.
- Girard, Rene
1977 *Violence and the Sacred*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio.
1971 *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, trans. Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International Publishers.
- Greenblatt, Stephen
1980 *Renaissance Self-fashioning: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Guha, Ranajit.
1981 "The Prose of Counter-Insurgency." In *Subaltern Studies 1: Writings on South Asian History and Society*. Delhi: Oxford Univeristy.

- 1983 *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India*. Delhi: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Gregory, Steven and Daniel Timerman
 1986 "Rituals of the Modern State: The Case of Torture in Argentina." *Dialectical Anthropology* 11(1):63-72.
- Halifax, John
 1979 *Shamanic Voices*. New York: E.P. Dutton.
- Hamel, Hendrick
 [1813]1959 "Journal of the Unfortunate Voyage of the Yacht Sparwer." In *A Chronological history of the Voyages oand Discoveries in the South Sea or Pacific Ocean. Part III*, pp 199-227. London: Luke Hansard and Sons.
- Han, Lim-hwa
 1984 "Vivari" (A Virgin). *Cheju Munhak* 3.
- Handler, Richard
 1985 "On Dialogue and Destructive Analysis: Problems in Narrating Nationalism and Ethnicity." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41:171-82.
 1988 "Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative, and the Quest for Authenticity in 'Living History.'" *Cultural Anthropology* 3(3): 242-60.
- Handler, Richard and William Saxton
 1988 "Dyssimulation: Reflexivity, Narrative, and the Quest for Authenticity in 'Living History'." *Cultural Anthropology* 3(3): 242-260.
- Hanguk Ilbo (Korea Daily News)
 1 Feb 1988 "Cheju muga--konan ŭi sŏm...ilman p'alch'onsin kwa whahae ŭi norae" (Cheju Shamanic Songs--the Island of Destitute...Eighteen Thousand Gods and the Song of Reconciliation).
- Harner, Michael
 1982 *The Way of the Shaman*. Bantam Books.
- Harrell, Stevan
 1986 "Men, Women, and Ghosts in Taiwanese Folk Religion." In *Gender and Religion: On the Complexity of Symbols*, ed. Caroline Walker Bynum, Stevan Harrell, and Paula Richman, pp.97-116. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Harvey, Youngsook Kim
 1979 *Six Korean Women: the Socialization of Shamans*. St. Paul: West Publishing Co.
- Henderson, Gregory
 1983 Review of *The Origin of Korean War* by Bruce Cumings. *Korean Studies* 7.
- Hertz, Robert
 1960 "The Collective Representations of Death." In *Death and the Right Hand*, ed. Rodney and Claudia Needham, pp 27-86. London: Aberdeen.

Hertzfeld, Michael

- 1986 "Closure as Cure: Tropes in the Exploration of Bodily and Social Disorder." *Current Anthropology* 27(2): 107-112.

Hobsbawm, Eric, and Terence Howard, eds.

- 1983 *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hoppal, Michael ed.

- 1984 *Shamanism in Eurasia*. Gottingen.

Hulbert, Homer B.

- 1903 "The Korean Mudang and Pansu." *The Korea Review* 3 (4-9): 145-149, 203-208, 257-260, 301-305, 342-345, 385-389.

Humphrey, Caroline

- 1983 *Karl Marx Collective: Economy, society and religion in a Siberian collective farm*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hurtig, Janise

- 1989 "The Araucanians (A Story)." *Michigan Discussions* 8: 157-173.

Hwang, Son-myong.

- 1980 *Minjung chonggyo undongsa* (The History of Popular Religious Movements). Seoul: Chongno Sojok.

Hyon, Hak-sun

- 1983 "Chejudo san kamgul ūi yut'ong haplihua pangan." (A suggestion for rationalization of marketing of Cheju oranges). In *Cheju yŏn'gu ūi hyonhwang kwa chŏnmang*. (Current situation and future perspective of Cheju studies), pp. 99-112. Cheju: T'amna munhwa yon'guso.

Hyŏn, Kir-ŏn.

- 1981 *Chejudo changsu sŏlhwa* (Legends of Generals in Cheju Island). Seoul: Hongsong sa.

- 1982 "Uritulŭi chopunim" (Our Grandfather). In *Yongma ūi kkum* (Dragon's Dream). Seoul: Munhak kwa chisong.

- 1986 "Cheju chŏnsol kwa cheju saramdul ui saam ui yangsik--cheju munhwa wa chesam segye e taehan yebijok kwanch'al" (Cheju legends and the Modes of Life of Cheju People--A Preliminary Analysis on Cheju Culture and The Third World). In *Cheju Munhwa ui chejomyong* (Revisit on Cheju Culture), eds. Yang Sun-pil et al., pp.240-259. Seoul: Inyom.

Hyon, Ki-yong

- 1979 "Suni Samch'on" (Aunt Suni). In *Suni samch'on* (Aunt Suni). Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa pipyeong sa.

- 1983 *Pyŏnbang e ujit'nun sae* (Border Bird Cries). Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa pipyeong sa.

Hyŏn Pyŏng-hyo

- 1962 *Chejudo pangŏn yŏngku che ilchip: charyo pyŏn* (First Volume of Study of Cheju-do Dialect: Source). Seoul: Ch'ongyonsa.

Hyŏn, Yong-jun

- 1963 "Chejudoŭi musokuire" (Shamanic Rite on Chejudo). *Hankuk Ŏnŏi Munhak* 3:45-61.
- 1964 "Tangsinhwa ui motif wa kibon hyŏngsik" (A Motif of Shrine Myth and its Basic Structure). *Kunmun Hakbo* 2:66-101.
- 1965 "Chejudo ŭi mugyŏk" (Cheju Shaman). *Chedae Hagbo* 7:159-184.
- 1966 "Chejudo musok ŭi chilbyŏng kwan." (Cheju shamanistic belief system about illness). *Chejudo* 21. Cheju Province.
- 1968a "Chŏyong sŏhwako" (A Study Note on Choyong Legend). *Kugo Kukmun Hak* 39-40:209-243.
- 1968b "Chejudo tangsinhwako" (A Study Note of Shrine Myth on Cheju Island). *Chejudo* 23:57-78.
- 1970a "Tangsinhwa ŭi naeyong kusŏng kwa paegyŏng minsok sinang" (Content Structure of Shrine Myth and Its Underlying Folk Belief). *Chejudo* 25: 11-40.
- 1970b "Chejudo haech'on saenghwal ŭi chosa yŏn'gu (II)" (A Research Study of a Coastal Village On Cheju Island). *Kunmun Hakbo* 3:20-48. Cheju College.
- 1971 "Chejudo ŭi yusik purag'che" (Confucian Village Ceremony on Cheju Island). In *Minsokhak Nonchŏng*, ed. A Special Collection of Folklore Articles for commemoration of the 60th birthday of Professor Sok Chu-son, pp.227-252. Seoul.
- 1974a "Kaekwan" (Introduction). In *Chejudo minsok chosa chonghap pogosŏ* (A Comprehensive Report of Folklore Research on Cheju Island). Seoul: The Ministry of Culture and Information.
- 1974b "Musok" (Shamanism). In *Ibid.*, pp. 87-125.
- 1976 *Chejudo chŏnsol* (Legends of Cheju Island). Seoul: Somun tang.
- 1980 *Chejudo musok charyo sajŏn* (Dictionary of Cheju Island Shamanism). Seoul: Singu Munhwasa.
- 1982 Chejudo musin ŭi hyŏngsong (Formation of Cheju shamanic Gods). *Tamla munhwa* 1:1-26.

Jameson, Frederic

- 1981 *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- 1984 "Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," *New Left Review* 146:53-92

Janelli, Roger L. and Dawnhee Y.

- 1982 *Korean Ancestor Worship*. Stanford: Stanford University Press

Kang, Ch'ang-il

1985 The Cheju Peasant Revolt of 1901. Ph.D. Dissertation. University of Tokyo.

Kang, Tae-wŏn ed.

1970 *Haenyŏ yŏn'gu* (A Study of Female Divers). Cheju: Hanjin Munhwa sa.

1979 *Kujwa-myun chi* (The Record of Kujwa County). Chejudo.

Kapferer, Bruce.

1983 *Celebration of Demons*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

Kendall, Laurel M

[1977]1983 "Caught between Ancestors and Spirits: Field Report of a Korean Mansin's Healing Kut." In *Korean Folklore*, ed. the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 107-140. Korea: The Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers, Inc.

1979 *Restless Spirits: Shaman and Housewife in Korean Life*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Columbia University.

1981 "Wood Imps, Ghosts, and Other Noxious Influences: The Ideology of Affliction in a Korean Village." *Journal of Korean Studies* 3: 113-145.

1988 *The Life and Hard Times of a Korean Shaman*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii.

Kim, Chi-ha

1984 *Pap* (Food). Waegwan: Pundo Ch'ulp'ansa.

1985 "Minjung munhak ui hyongsik munche" (Problems of Forms of People's Literature). In *Namnyok tang paetnorae* (Rowing Songs in the Southern Land), pp.279-296. Seoul: Ture.

Kim, Chŏm-kon

1973 *Hanguk chŏnjaeng kwa nodongtang chŏnryak* (Korean War and Strategy of Labor Party). Seoul: Tolbaeke.

Kim, In-whoe

1981a "Kodae sahwoe esŏui sŏngyŏk kwan kwa kŭi kyoyuk sasang chŏk ūimi." (The concept of sacred territory in the ancient society, and its meaning for educational philosophy). *Yonse nonch'ong* 18: 21-35.

1981b "Han'guk musok yŏn'gusa" (The History of Studies of Korean Shamanic Tradition). In *Hankuk musok ūi chonghap jok koch'al* (A Comprehensive Study of Korean shamanic Tradition), eds. Kim In-whoe et al., pp.1-30. Seoul: Korea University.

Kim, Min-ju and Kim Pong-hyŏn

1963 *Chejudo immindul ūi 4.3 mujangtujaeng sa--charyojip* (Materials on the History of the April 3rd Armed Uprising of the Cheju-do People). Osaka: Munchosa.

Kim, Nam-sik

1984 *Namnodang yŏn'gu* (A Study of South Labor's Party). Seoul: Tolbaekye.

Kim, Ok-hee

1980 *Chejudo shinchuk-nyŏn kyonan-sa* (History of the Shinchuk Incident).
Cheju: Diocean publications.

Kim, Seong-nae

1978 Folk Concepts of Illness and Healing Practices in a Korean Rural Village.
M.A. Thesis. Seoul National University.

1984 "A Healing Rite of a Cheju Simbang in Korea: A Preliminary Analysis."
Cheju-do yŏn'gu 1.

Kim, Su-nam

1983 *Chejudo yŏngdung kut* (A Cheju Kut for the Wind and Rain God). Seoul:
Yolhwa Tang.

Kim, Sung-hae

1988 "Partners for Religious Dialogue in Korea." *Inculturation* 3(3): 38-41.
Seoul.

Kim, Tae-gon.

1966 *Hwangch'ŏn muga yŏn'gu* (A Study of Shaman Songs of the Underworld).
Seoul: Ch'angu sa.

1971 *Han'guk muga chip: cheil kwŏn* (A Collection of Shaman Songs: vol.1).
Seoul: Won'gwang Taehak Minsok Yon'guso.

1981 *Han'guk musok yŏn'gu* (A Study of Korean Shamanism). Seoul:
Chimmundang.

Kim, Tae-nŭng

5 October 1962-10 January 1963, passim. "Sŏngkyo-nan (The Catholic
Rebellion)." *Cheju Shinmun* (Cheju Newspaper).

1970 "Panch'ŏng hanin tului cheju poch'ak." (Anti-Ch'ing Chinese drifters on
Cheju). Chejudo.

Kim U'chang

1981 "The Narrative Tense in the Korean Novel: A Speculative Observation."
Korean Studies 5: 79-91.

Kim, Yŏl-gyu

1977 *Hanguk sinhwa wa musok yon'gu* (A Study of Korean Myth and
Shamanism). Seoul: Iljogak.

Kim, Yŏng-don

1968 "Chejudo minyo e pichin seoul" (Seoul pictured in Cheju folk songs). In *Yi
Sung-nyŏng paksa songsu kinyŏm nonch'ong*. Seoul.

Kim Yun-sik

1976 *Sokum ch'ongsa*. In Ko Bong-sik.

- Kister, Daniel. S.J.
1986 *Musok kwa puchoriguk*. (Shamanic Theater and Absurd Theater). Seoul: Sokang University.
- Ko, Bong-sik ed.
1976 *T'amna moonhŏnchip*. (A collection of Literatures on T'amna). Trans. Kim Bong-ok. Cheju City: Committee of the Education Department of Cheju Province.
- Ko, Ch'ang-hun
1988 "4.3 minjung undong ul ponun sigak kwa yŏn'gu kwache" (Perspective to look at April Third People's Movement). *Silch'on Munhak* 10:353-374.
- Ko, Kwang-min
1982 Chejudo chŏnyŏtang ponp'uri yŏn'gu (A Study of "Maiden Tang-ponp'uri" in Cheju-do). M.A. Thesis. Cheju National University.
- Ko, Pu-ja
1984 "Chejudo min ŭi hosang ot kwa nesekwan." (Cheju people's belief in the world beyond and mourning costume for the dead). *Chejudo yŏn'gu* 1: 211-220.
- Ko, Ŭn
1984 "Han ŭi kugpogul wihayŏ" (For Overcoming Han). *Han'guk sawhoe yŏn'gu* 2: 131-161.
- Kristeva, Julia
1969(1980) "Word, dialogure, and novel." In *Desire in Language: A Semiotic Approach to Language and Art*, ed. Leon S. Roudiez, trans. Thomas Gora. A. Jardine and L.S. Roudiez, pp.64-91. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Kondo, Dorinne K.
1986 "Dissolution and Reconstitution of Self: Implications for Anthropological Epistemology." *Cultural Anthropology* 1(1): 74-88.
- Kwangwang Cheju (Cheju Tourism)
December 1985 "Chon'tong minsok nori ui kwangwang chawon hwa." (Making of traditional folk plays into tourism resources). Special issue.
- Lambek, Michael
1981 *Human Spirits: A Cultural Account of Trance in Mayotte*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Ki-baik [Yi Ki-baek]
1984 *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner and Edward J. Schultz. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Lee, Kwang-kyu
1984 *Chaeil han'gukin* (Koreans in Japan). Seoul: Ilchi sa.
- Lee, Kwang-rin
1986 "The Rise of Nationalism in Korea." *Korean Studies* 10: 1-12.

Lentricchia, Frank.

1983 *Criticism and Social Change*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Levi-Strauss, Claude

1967a "The Sorcerer and His Magic," in *Structural Anthropology*, New York: Anchor Books.

1967b "Effectiveness of Symbols." In *Ibid.*

Lewis, I.M.

1971 *Ecstatic Religion: An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism*. Harmondsworth, U.K.: Penguin.

Lommel, Andreas

1967 *Shamanism: the Beginnings of Art*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Mannheim, Bruce

1987 "A Semiotic of the Andean Dreams." In *Dreaming: Anthropological and Psychological Interpretations*, ed. Barbara Tedlock, pp. 132-153. Cambridge: Cambridge University.

1989 Discursive and Presentational Form in Language: Subliminal Patterning in a Quechua Folksong. m.s.

Marcus, G.E. and M.M. J. Fischer

1986 *Anthropology as Cultural Critique*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Merill, John

1980 "The Cheju Rebellion," *Journal of Korean Studies* 2: 139-97.

Miller, Joseph

1980 "Introduction: Listening for the African Past," in *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History*, ed. by J Miller, pp.1-60, Hamden, Connecticut: Dawson & Archon.

Mink, Louis O

1978 "Narrative Form as a Cognitive Instrument." In *The Writing of History--Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, eds. Robert H Canary and Henry Kozicki, pp.129-149. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Mitchell, Stanley

1973 "Introduction," in *Understanding Brecht*, Walter Benjamin, trans. Anna Bostock, pp. vii-xix. London: New Left Book.

Mitchell, W. J.

1984 "What is an Image?" *New Literary History* 5(3): 502-537.

Mullaney, Steven.

1988 *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Mun, Mu-byŏng

1987a "Chejudo kut undong ūi silchŏn kwache" (Practical strategies of *kut* movement in Chejudo). In *Minjok kwa kut* (the Nation and Kut), ed. Minjok kut hagwhoe (the Nationalist Kut Association), pp 185-220. Seoul: Hakmin sa.

1987b "Kut si/ "nalang jukŏn dakpat e mutŏng..." (A Kut narrative poetry/ "If I die, bury me under the mulberry tree..."). In *Ibid.*, pp.270-307.

1984a Chejudo kut ūi yŏn'guksŏng e kwanhan yŏn'gu. (A Study on the Theatrical Character of Exorcism on Cheju Island). M.A. Thesis. Cheju National University

1984b "Iai nŏk turyo chupso-kut si." (Please, return the soul of this child back!). *Kyongchak chitae* 1:57-80. Cheju.

Napier, A. David

1986 *Masks, Transformations and Paradox*. Berkeley: University of California.

Neihardt, John G.

1959 *Black Elk Speaks*. New York: Washington Square Press.

Nemeth, David

1984 "Graven Images and Cosmic Landscape on Cheju Island." *Korean Culture* 4 (1):5-19.

O, Sŏng-ch'an

1967 "Yi Chae-su nan kirok 1 & 2" (A Record of the Yi Chae-su Insurgency, 1 & 2). *Chejusi* 4/5:119-122, 73-82.

1988 "Sasip nyŏn tongan ūi han: 4.3 sagon ui silsang." (Forty years of *han* : the reality of the April Third Event). *Sindonga* 4:560-577.

1988 *Hanla ūi tŏng'gok sori-4.3 cheju tae hak'sal ūi chŭngŏn* (Lamentations of Halla--Testimonies of Great Massacre of the April Third Event). Seoul: Sonamu.

Ohnuki-Tierney, Emiko

1984 "Native Anthropologist." *American Ethnologist* :584-586.

Ortner, Sherry B.

1988 Patterns of History: Cultural Schemas in the foundations of Sherpa Religious Institutions. m.s. prepared for E. Ohnuki-Tierney, ed., *Symbolism through Time*.

Pak, Hyŏn-ch'ae and Chŏng Ch'ang-ryol

1985 *Han'guk minjok chŭi ron III: Minjung chok minjok chui* (Theory of Korean Nationalism III: Minjung Nationalism). Seoul: Changjak kwa pip'yong.

Pak, In-bae.

1985 Mungwap'ae munhwaundongui songnipkwa ku hyangbang (The Shaping and Direction of Cultural Movement of the Culturists). In *Hanguk Minjokchuuiron III* (Theories of Korean Nationalism III), eds. Pak Hyon-ch'ae and Chong Ch'ang-nyol, pp.420-455. Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pip'yongsa.

Pak, Su-yang

1985 *Kimnyŏng li hyangto chi* (The Local Record of Kimnyong Village). Pusan.

Pihl, Marshall R.

1981 P'ansori: The Korean Oral Narrative. *Korean Studies* 5.

Poole, Deborah A.

1988 "Landscapes of Power in a Cattle-Rustling Culture of Southern Andean Peru." *Dialectical Anthropology* 12:367-398.

Pu, Suk-hee

1983 "Yonggam nori e pich'in minjunguisik." (People's consciousness reflected in *yonggam nori*). *Chaedae Hakbo*.

Ramanujan, A.K.

1986 "Two Realms of Kannada Folklore." In *Another Harmony: New Essays on the Folklore of India*, ed. Stuart H. Blackburn and A.K. Ramanujan, pp.41-76. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ricouer, Paul

1980 "Narrative Time." *Critical Inquiry* 71:169-90.

Price, S.R.F.

1986 "The Future of Dreams: From Freud to Artemidorus." *Past & Present* 113 (November):3-37.

Rappaport, Joanne

1987 "Mythic Images, Historical Thought, and Printed Texts: The P'aez and the Written Word." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 43(1):43-61. Spring.

Rappaport, Roy A.

1979 "The obvious aspects of ritual." In *Ecology, Meaning and Religion*. Richmond, California: North Atlantic Books.

Rees, Gillian (review)

1985 "Mourning for the Death of Water: Tradition Meets the Avant-Garde in Gok III." *Korean Culture* 6(2): 37-45.

Robinson, Michael

1986 "Nationalism and the Korean Tradition, 1896-1920: Iconoclasm, Reform and National Identity." *Korean Studies* (Berkeley) 10:35-53.

Rosaldo, Renato

1980 *Ilongot Headhunting, 1983-1974: A Study in Society and History*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

1984 "Grief and a Headhunter's Rage." In *Text, Play, and Story*, ed. E. Bruner, pp.178-195. Washington D.C.:American Ethnological Association.

1989 *Truth and Social Analysis*. Beacon.

Rouget, Gilbert

1985 *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Trance*, trans. Brunhilde Biebuyck. Chicago: The University of Chicago.

Sahlins, Marshall

1985 *Islands of History*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Sands, William F.

1930 *Undiplomatic Memories*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

Schiefelin, Edward L.

1985 "Performance and the Cultural Construction of Reality." *American Ethnologist* 12(4): 707-724.

Shirokogoroff, S.M. 1935.

1935 *Psychomental Complex of the Tungus*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.

Sin, Haeng-chŏl

1982 "Cheil cheju kyopo: ku sosu chiptan uirosŏ ui songyok kwa kye chung kucho"(The Cheju Islanders in Japan: Their Characters as a Minority and stratification on structure). *Thmla munhwa* 1: 123-156

So, Tae-sŏk

1980 *Han'guk muga ūi yŏn'gu: sosa muga chesŏk ponp'uri yŏn'gu* (A Study of Korean shaman Songs: A Study of Narrative Shaman Song in the Chesok Origin Myth). Seoul: Munhak sasang sa chu'lpnpu.

Son, Chin-t'ae.

[1927]1947 *Minjok solhwai yongu* (Study of Korean Folktales) Seoul: Uryumunhwasa.

Song, Kŏn-ho and Kang Man-gil, eds.

1983 *Han'guk minjokchu'ui non II*. (Theory of Korean natinalism II). Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa pip'yong.

Sorensen, Clark W.

1988 "The Myth of Princess Pari and the Self-Image of Korean Women." *Anthropos* 83: 409-19.

Sperber, Dan and Deirdre Wilson,

1981 "Irony and the Use--Mention Distinction." In *Radical Pragmatics*. Peter Cole ed. New York: Academic Press, Inc.

Stallybrass, Peter and Allon White,

1986 *The Politics & Poetics of Transgression*. Ithaca: Cornell University.

Stewart, Susan

1978 *Nonsense: aspects of intertextuality in folklore and literature*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

1983 "Shouts on the Street: Bakhtin's Anti-linguistics." *Critical Inquiry* 10: 265-281.

- Tambiah, S.J.
 1973 "The form and meaning of magical acts." In *Modes of thoughts*, eds. R. Finnegan & Robin Horton. London: Faber & Faber.
- Taussig, Michael
 1984a "Culture of Terror--Space of Death: Roger Casement's Putomayo Report and the Explanation of Torture." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26 (4):467-87.
 1984b "History as Sorcery," *Representations* 7 (summer):87-109.
 1986 *An Australian Hero*. m.s.
 1987 *Shamanism, Colonialism, and the Wild Man: A Study in Terror and Healing*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Tedlock, Dennis
 1979 "The Analogical Tradition and the Emergence of a Dialogical Anthropology." *Journal of Anthropological Research* 35:387-400. Reprint. *The Spoken Word and the Work of Interpretation* (1983). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
 1985 *Popol Vuh*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Turner, Victor
 1967 "Introduction." In *The Forest of Symbols*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
 1969 *The Ritual Process*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company.
 1982 *From Ritual to Theatre*. New York: Performing Arts Journal Press.
- U, Rag-ki
 1978 *Chejudo: kugmin kwankwang* 1.(National Tourism on Cheju Island. Vol.1). Cheju Province.
- Underwood, Horace G.
 1910 "The Shamanism of Korea." In *The Religion of Eastern Asia*, chapter 3. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co.
- White, Hayden
 1982 "The Politics of Historical Interpretation: Discipline and De-sublimation." *Critical Inquiry* 9:113-137.
 1973 *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth Century Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Williams, Raymond
 1966 *Modern Tragedy*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.
 1977 *Marxism and Literature*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Willis, Roy
 1981 *A State in the Making: Myth, History, and Social Transformation in Pre-colonial Ufipa*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Yang, Jung-hae
1970 "Samsŏng sinhwawa Honinchi." (The Myth of Three Surnames and Marriage Pond). *Kukmun Hakbo* (Cheju College) 3:49-73.
- Yang, Han-kwŏn
1988 Chejudo 4.3 pokdongŭi paekyonge kwanhan yŏnku (A Study of the Backgrounds of the Cheju 4.3 Insurgency). M.A.Thesis. Seoul National University.
- Yang, Sun-p'il
1984 "Yubaeji munhwa." *Cheju Munhak* 3.
- Yi, Chae-o
1984 *Haebang hu han'guk haksaeŋ undong sa* (The History of Korean Students' Protest Movements after the Liberation). Seoul: Hyungsong sa.
- Yi Ch'ang-gi
1982 Chejudo ūi inku sŏngjang. (Population Growth in Cheju Island). *T'amna munhwa* 1:157-85.
- Yi, Hae-ch'an
1985 "Han'guk haksaeŋ undong ūi palch'ŏn kwa minjung chihyang." (Development of Korean Students Movement and its People's Orientation). In Pak Hyon-ch'ae and Chon Ch'ang-ryol.
- Yi, Hyŏng-sang
1979 *T'amna Sullyŏkdo: Namhwan Pakmul* (T'amna Inspection Map: Various Things Observed in the South). Sungnam City: Hanguk Jungshin Munhwawon [Institute of Korean Cultural Studies].
- Yi, Kang-ryŏl
1986 "Woegukin ūi ch'uminka? koguryo ūi t'alch'uminka?" (A Foreigner's Dance? Or Koguryo's Mask Dance?). *Chontong Munhwa* 7:48-55.
- Yi, Nŭng-hwa
[1927] 1976 *Chosonmusokko* (Essays on Korean Shamanism). Seoul: Paengnokch'ulp'ansa.
- Yi, Pu-yŏng
1965 "Wŏnryŏng chŏnsŏl kwa han ūi simli." (Legends of avenging ghosts and the psychology of han).
1981 "Simlihakjŏk ch'ukmyŏn esŏ pon tokkaebi" (a psychological approach to tokkaebi). In Yim Sok-je et al, pp. 61-76.
1985 "Chugunja wa sanjaui taehwa: shamanism kwa simlihak." (Conversations between the Dead and the Living: Shamanism and Psychology). In *Chejudo Muh'onkut* (Cheju shamanic rite for placation of the spirit of the dead), photographs of Kim Sunam, pp 94-99. Seoul:Yolhwa tang.
- Yi, Sun-ok,
1931 *Yi chae-su silki*. (A Biography of Yi Chae-su). Osaka: Chungdo munhwa tang.

Yi, Tu-hyŏn

1984a "Han'guk ūi minsokhak yŏn'gu" (Folklore Study in Korea). In *Han'guk ūi kamyŏn-guk* (Korean mask play), pp.11-30. Seoul: Ilchi sa.

1984b "sŏnmyo wa kwangch'ŏng agi sŏlhwa." (Sonmyo and the folktale of Maiden Kwangch'ŏng). In *Ibid.*, pp.271-286.

1978 *Han'guk minsokhak non'go*. (Studies on Korean Folklore). Seoul: Hagyon sa.

Yim, Chin-t'aek

1981 "Iyaki wa p'ansori--p'ansori e kwanhan mot kaji ch'uron." (Story and p'ansori: a few thoughts on p'ansori). *Silch'on munhak* 2:329-365.

Yim Sŏk-je

1981 "Sŏlha sok ui tokkaebi." In Yim Sok-je et al, pp. 43-60. Seoul: Yolhwa tang.

Yim, Sŏk-je et al. eds.

1981 *Han'guk ūi tokkaebi*. (Korean Goblin). Seoul: Yolhwa tang.

Yim Tong-kwŏn

1981 "Mingan sinang esŏui tokkaebi" (Folk Belief of Tokkaebi). In Yim Sok-che et al., pp.7-17. Seoul: Yolhwa Tang.

Yim, Tu-hong

1988 "Taenaorum ui kiok." (Memory of the Hill Taenaorum). In ARARI 1988.

Yoon, Soon Young

1977 "Occupation, Male Housekeeper: Male-female Roles in Cheju Island." In *Virtues in Conflict*, eds. Sandra Mattielli, pp 191-207. Seoul: Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch.

1983 "Magic, Science and Religion on Cheju Island." Reprint. In *Korean Folklore*, ed. the Korean National Commission for UNESCO, pp.165-180. Seoul: The Si-sa-yong-o-sa Publishers, Inc.

Yoshida, Teigo

1981 "The Stranger As God: The Place of the Outsider in Japanese Folk Religion." *Ethnology* 20(2): 87-99.

Yu, Chŏl-in

1984 "Ilsang saenghwal kwa tososŏng: chejudo muhwa e taehan inchi inryuhakjok chŏp'gŭn." (Everyday life and insularity: cognitive anthropological approach to Cheju culture). *Chejudo yon'gu* 1:119-144.

Yu, Che-chŏn

1984 "So: minjung kaenyŏm ūi naepo wa woeyŏn." (Preface: concepts of minjung). In *Minjung* (People), eds. Yu Che-chon et al, pp.11-17. Seoul: Munhak kwa chisong sa.

Yu, Tong-sik.

1975 *Hanguk musogŭi yŏksa wa kujo* (The History and Structure of Korean shamanism). Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Yun I-hum

1985 "Munhwa pyŏndong kwa ta chongkyo sanghwang ŭi munche." (Cultural change and the problem of multi-religion phenomena). Presented at the symposium at the tenth anniversary of the Korean Council of Social Science Studies. Seoul.

ADDENDA

Hyŏn, Ki-rŏn

1986 "Cheju chŏnsŏl kwa cheju saramdŭl ŭi sam ŭi yangsik," [Cheju legends and people's life style]. In *Cheju munhwa ŭi jaechomyŏng* [Reappraisal of Cheju Culture], eds. Yang Sun-pil et al. Seoul: Ilnyŏm. pp.240-259.

1983 "Yŏksa chŏk sasil kwa munhag chŏk insig--Yi Hyŏng-sang mog-sa ŭi sindang chŏlpe e taehan sŏlhwa chŏk insik." [Historical facts and literary conception--mythical perception about Governor Yi Hyŏng-sang's shrine destruction]. *T'amna munhwa* 2:95-126.

Kim, Yŏng-don

1968 "Chejudo minyo e pichin 'sŏul'." ["Seoul" reflected in Cheju folk songs]. *Chejudo* 36.

Kim, Yong-bok

1982 "Minjung ŭi sahwoe chŏnki wa sinhag." [People's social biography and theology]. In *Minjung kwa han'guk sinhak* [Minjung and Korean Theology], ed. by Committee of Theological Study, KNCC. Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute. pp. 369-392.

Park, In-bae

1987 "Kongdongch'e munhwa wa minjung chŏk sinmyŏng." [Community culture and popular ecstasy]. In *Minchok kwa kut* [Nation and the Kut (Shamanic rite)], ed. by Minchok kuthwoe. Seoul: Hakminsa. pp. 145-184.

Seo, Nam-dong

1982 "Han ui hyongsanghwa wa kui sinhakchok songch'al." [Representation of han, resentment, and its theological reflection.]. In *Minjung kwa han'guk sinhak*, ed. by Committee of Theological Study, KNCC. Seoul: Korea Theological Study Institute. pp. 319-347.

Yi, Pu-yŏng

1980 "Wŏnryŏng chŏnsŏl kwa han ŭi simli." [Legends of avenging ghosts and the psychology of han, resentment]. In *Chŏnt'ong sahwoe ŭi minjung yesul* [popular arts in the traditional society]. ed. by Kim Hung-kyu, pp.95-107. Seoul: Minumsa.