



MAARI HINSBERG
S 2150050

INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE
DESIGNATION IN SOUTH KOREA:

RECONSTRUCTION AND TRANSMISSION
OF *SALPURI*-DANCE

살풀이춤

THROUGH LIVING CULTURAL TREASURE

LEE EUN-JOO

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Introduction

Establishing national identity by defining and validating a canon of traditions as official heritage is a common tool of nation-state formation. The Republic of Korea has exercised this idea during the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) in order to oppose hegemonic intervention and to solidify its own cultural coherence after emancipation. Having been one of the first modern countries to install an authoritative internal heritage protection policy, the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law of 1962 based on the Japanese law of 1950, postulated the governmental support to recognize, preserve, and promote heritage. The goals of the 1962 law are clearly stated in Article 1 (Purpose):

“This law aims for the inheritance of national culture by preserving cultural properties. By utilizing these cultural properties, we promote the culture of the people and contribute to the development of human culture.”¹

Inheriting a national culture and utilizing cultural properties through designation in order to promote a notion of “culture of the people” is quite a contentious claim and will be investigated in this thesis. As the law was drafted under the military regime of president Park Chung Hee (1963–1979), the legislation veiled political motivations of legitimization (Howard 2012, 115). This resulted in the formulation of a cultural canon based on ‘traditional’ practices as a source of national validity. Certain ‘traditional’ elements are presented as symbols of Korean culture and in the example of traditional dance encouraged in both local and global performances through official protection policy and promotion. The process of constructing national heritage can be followed in the designation of *salpuri-chum* as Important Intangible Cultural Property (hereinafter abbreviated to IICP) nr. 97 in 1990.

Presenting *salpuri* as a staged performance through transmission activities omits its contextual roots of rural functionality and reimagines it as representative of the elite. Phenomenon of intangible cultural heritage (hereinafter abbreviated to ICH) is set center stage,

¹Available online at www.law.go.kr/lsInfoP.do?lsiSeq=122422#0000 - accessed 13.05.2020.

All translations from Korean to English hereinafter are made by the author if not stated otherwise. All translations have been approved by at least one native Korean speaker.

displayed, imagined, recreated, even restructured as representative to reminisce a past that once was. This will also be investigated through the designation of the dancer Lee Eun-Joo as Living Cultural Treasure in *salpuri-chum*.

Theoretical framework

The way the term ‘traditional’ is considered here is based on the concept explained by Eric Hobsbawm (1983, 1) - the ‘invention of tradition’ - which states that

“‘traditions’ which appear or claim to be old are often quite recent in origin and sometimes invented.”

It implies that certain practices are constructed, established to convey values of ‘traditionality’ - culturally inherent longevity particular to a nation. These ‘traditions’ make up the cultural-historical identity of the society they are validated in, implying a canon of nationality. Practices applied to validate the inherent singularity of a nation become symbolic to the state in terms of characterising the past and form a contemporary identity based on perceived historical matter.

“‘Invented tradition’ is taken to mean a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules and of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past” (Hobsbawm 1983, 1).

The terms ‘custom’ and ‘tradition’ are also referred to as part of “unofficial heritage” by Rodney Harrison (2013, 18) as

“a set of repetitive, entrenched, sometimes ritualised practices that link the values, beliefs and memories of communities in the present with those of the past.”

This process of establishing traditional practices is how the past is evaluated and sometimes recontextualized to fit the contemporary (political, economical, socio-cultural) goals of a nation-state. There are many ways to do so, the research at hand will look into the theoretical implications of heritagization, commodification, and transmission (Harrison 2013; Harvey 2001;

Park 2014; Saeji 2012; Smith 2006, 2009) in relation to the designation process and transmission of Korean ICH with the example of *salpuri-chum*, a shamanistic dance of exorcist origin.

The distinction of *salpuri* as a ‘traditional dance’ is questionable in terms of its ‘recreation’ by the theatrically trained dancer Han Sung-Jun under the current name for the first time in 1938 (Hwang 1993, 129). Admittedly elements developed from Korean shaman ritual practice to exorcise spirits (Yi 2005, 28, 31; Hwang 1993, 128), the movements of the shaman were translated into an artistic dance to be performed on stage in Seoul during the Japanese colonial period. The dance under the name of *salpuri-chum* has been described to represent the traditionality of Korean dance and on-going historical descent by consisting of movements prevalent in other dance forms perceived as traditional Korean performance. This type of dance, although having been adapted from shaman practice with over thousands of years of history and seen as reason for ethnic survival (Walraven 1993, 5), was deconstructed and decontextualized to stage a performance of distinct Korean ‘traditionality’ to covertly validate a national narrative of consistency under hegemonic administration. This will be investigated from the perspective of nationalist scholarship verifying cultural roots and subsequently establishing a heritage protection system (Janelli 1986; Kim 2006; Tangherlini 1998; Yang 2003, 2004).

Discussed in the second chapter, ‘heritagization’ refers to the process by which phenomena are transformed from functional to objects of display and exhibition (Harrison 2013, 69), performative representations of their reality. As one of the main concepts to discuss the adversity of *salpuri-chum* designation, heritagization is the process of value construction in order to address a contemporary circumstance (Kwon et al. 2018, 1558), whether political, economic, or socio-cultural. Heritage becomes a tool to fulfill purposes further from preservation itself, often utilizing heritage for profit. A result of this process is the promotion of a created ‘brand’ representational of national image or acknowledged cultural canon which is applied through the institutionally reshaped forms of ‘traditional’ practices (Pai 2013, 6; Tonk 2017, 14) in standardized forms. As the heritagization of traditional performing arts is usually constructed from a past that certain cultural groups preserve, according to Saeji (2012, 50) this can be viewed as a response to globalization.

‘Commodification’ as a process by which “things (and activities) come to be evaluated primarily in terms of their exchange value, in a context of trade, hereby becoming goods and services” (Cohen 1988, 380) will be discussed by looking at the practice of *salpuri* as a commercialized dance performance to generate public attention and profit. Often displayed as of distinct ‘Korean traditional’ value, the dance is widely performed to promote South Korea as a tourist destination to international audiences. The effects of commodification are expressed in the process to homogenise, standardise and routinise the cultural practice.

To examine the commodification of ICH, one must unravel its theoretical bearings. As known from the critical heritage approach, heritage is a set of values, meanings and identities that are recognised, constructed, engaged, maintained and transmitted by present people and communities in the process of heritage-making/heritagization (Harrison 2013; Harvey 2001; Smith 2006, 2009). Although the approach deals with many disputes, Smith (2006, 108) points out the issue of recognizing cultural change within the discourse of ‘intangibility.’ Theoretically, ICH would be regarded as living, fluid, mutable, evolving, developing and changing (Su 2019, 250), yet legislation and safeguarding guidelines endeavour to capture a standard in time and form.

The adversity of heritage designation is one of the major topics discussed in the critical heritage discourse. Enlistment can become a competition, establishing a hierarchy for heritage based on evaluation (Askew 2010, 21). The system is structured on exclusion, giving indeterminate criteria of values to phenomena to decontextualize its immediate surroundings and recontextualize them in reference to previous listings with the purpose of profit and attention to the notion of safeguarding (Hafstein 2009, 93). Especially in enlisting performative practices as intangible heritage properties, a problem can be seen in recording a fixed, standardized form of the performance in a certain moment in time. Following researchers responsible for providing descriptions in order to enlist properties, emphasis is placed rather on artistic aspects than on tracing original functionality and development (Yang 2004, 185). Well-intentioned but restrictive preservation efforts can result in shaping vibrant performative practices into “stale, taxidermized re-enactments” (Saeji 2012, 4) or highly staged performances, discussed further in the third chapter.

Heritage serves as a tool through which identity is (re-)created, (re-)interpreted and maintained. MacDonald (2009, 11) interprets heritage as a “discourse and set of practices concerned with the continuity, persistence and substantiality of collective identity,” also constructing and legitimizing it. Collective social memory preserves the cultural and social identity through “ritualized circumstances” of a common legacy (Bessiere 1998, 26 quoted by Park 2014, 95). These circumstances are provided through heritage tourism, where collective memory is communicated through staged experiences. Heritage tourism thus greatly contributes to the formation and maintenance of national identity. These national heritage representations are often invented, manipulated and strategically promoted for touristic consumption (Park 2014, 95). This utilization of dance ties into ritualization which is the creation of certain cultural forms as esteemed, prominent or remarkable to a society in comparison to other quotidian activities accessible to common citizens. A ritualized behaviour is a particular stylized, repetitive, performative, and almost stereotyped pattern that refers to ritual and ceremonial conduct (Stephenson 2015, 25), much like dance.

The repetition of a standard form is established in the process of nomination, fixed in designation, and consolidated and conveyed in transmission. By description, transmission is the communication of knowledge and information from one person or group to another person or group which includes the process of reception and interpretation for the student to comprehend and express a particular performance genre. Examining the process of transmission illuminates the connections between practicalities, aesthetic priorities, and cultural values (Hahn 2007, 50). Introducing transmission to preserve ICH phenomena can have a negative impact, regardless of well-intentioned objectives. According to Yang Jongsung, a folklorist and director of the Museum of Shamanism, repeated representations of performances cause contextual loss. Dynamic expressions of ritual function become professional productions and national symbols of a cultural past, the form of which is forbidden from developing.

“The performing arts form is reshaped twice. First, when it is initially designated by the government; and second after the item has been designated as important intangible cultural property, the carrier reshapes it further through subtle variations, especially [...] individual performers” (Yang 2003, 84-85).

According to Yang (2004, 187), problems that remain within the cultural heritage protection legislation include the standardization and fixation of art forms, the loss of function and meaning, and commercialization. A variety of documented rural dance forms can be reshaped into one form that is then designated and preserved according to official guidelines. Further reshaping of the practice takes place within transmission. Artists designated as Living Cultural Treasures (hereinafter abbreviated to LCT) by the Cultural Heritage Administration (hereinafter abbreviated to CHA) participate in a complex educational system to convey their comprehension of the dance, song, or other cultural phenomena. The masters' proficiency is validated by institutional bodies of authority, thus control is exercised in both the designation and transmission of ICH and LCTs. The loss of function is expressed within the recontextualization of *salpuri-chum* from a ritualistic practice with the purpose to exorcise spirits to a representational dance performance of traditional Korean culture. A dance like *salpuri* can be contextually distanced from its cultural circumstances by conveying the craft through workshops and concerts. The third chapter will investigate these activities with the example of Lee Eun-Joo.

Main research question and methodology

In this thesis the process of designating a dance and a person as representative of intangible heritage will be analyzed within the framework of South Korean heritage protection legislation. In order to assess the effect of heritage preservation within a legislative framework, investigating *salpuri-chum* provides insight into the transformative process ICH phenomena encounters in order to be protected by cultural policy. Investigating the LCT designation of Lee Eun-Joo will illustrate the management of cultural inheritance in practice and how it is conveyed through transmission. My main research question is:

How does cultural heritage designation transform the intangible cultural heritage practice of *salpuri-chum* through the designation of dancer Lee Eun-Joo as a Living Cultural Treasure?

My hypothesis is that a spiritually functional dance has been encapsulated in temporal stylistic descriptions and adapted to be performed by highly trained professional dancers for

foremost representative and promotional purposes as a distinct display of Korean traditional culture. To examine this inquiry, relevant documentation and direct query via interviews as primary sources supported by academic secondary literature on critical heritage approaches, ICH legislation, performing arts, Korean folklore scholarship and nationalism will be used appropriately according to the scope of this thesis. The nomination documents of Lee Eun-Joo and the interview conducted with her, as well as personal correspondence with Lee's student Seo Seong-Won will be analyzed and critically examined in parallel with secondary sources. As the physical investigation of primary sources is restricted due to the global viral outbreak during the time this thesis has been written, only documentation accessible digitally will be used for the main analysis. This means that although the thesis at hand would benefit from analyzing the original designation documents for *salpuri-chum* from 1990, these documents have unfortunately not been digitized and are thus not available for remote research. Instead, the more recent documentation pertinent to the thesis will be used. That of Lee Eun-Joo's designation as LCT prior to 2015, as the document has been digitally issued by the Seoul Intangible Cultural Properties Department for this thesis.

Note on transliteration

All Korean names are transliterated according to their appearance in secondary literature and by family name first, given name second. All Korean authors' names are referred to as in their publications, thus different versions of hyphenation, compilation, separation, and capitalization may occur (eg. Lee Eun-Joo; Yang Jongsung; Pai Hyung Il; Park Hyung yu). Often occurring titles or phrases consisting of three or more words are abbreviated within the text to limit the amount of words. Direct quotes are separated with double apostrophes (eg. "cultural renaissance") and are followed by in-text references. Concepts are separated with single apostrophes upon introduction (eg. 'heritagization') and without punctuation thereafter (eg. heritagization). Contentious concepts are separated with single apostrophes (eg. 'tradition') upon critical analysis.

Chapter 1. Enlistment: the development and reconstruction of *salpuri-chum*

The enlistment process within the system of heritage preservation is structured on exclusion. Value is given based on an indeterminate assortment of criteria. Heritage phenomena and lists depend on selection, review, and evaluation by relevant advisory members who assess authenticity, integrity, and protection possibilities (Meskell 2018, 124). Certain elements can be decontextualized from their immediate surroundings and recontextualized with reference to other phenomena or listings. Such lists are often designed to obtain funds and attention to the task of safeguarding (Hafstein 2009, 93). The selection reflects national rather than global interests, as recognition of heritage affirms historical and territorial claims (Meskell 2018, 126, 140).

1.1 Korean nationalism and the heritage preservation system

Nationalism often emerges from oppression. Nationalistic notions can be seen as an attempt to address the conflict of external factors that challenge sovereignty and development of a formed community. Apart from directly violent repressions such as colonial activities, industrialization and modernization can also trigger nationalistic tendencies. Nationalism as a cultural phenomenon entails the artificial creation of symbolic representations in order to establish and validate a national identity. This is pursued to consolidate a communal comprehension within the nation-state as well as to curate an external image for international cognition. Nationalism is a political tool that strengthens national unity and a way of corresponding politics to culture (Gellner 1983). As the political pinnacle that governs a nation-state is representative of territorial political authority and responsible for enforcing organizational regulations, top-down decision making undoubtedly affects the cultural space we navigate.

It can be argued that South Korean nationalism is based on developmental concerns and patrimonial principles (Kim 2006). In supporting the economy, nationalist orientation plays a motivational and legitimating role in capital building and development strategy. This creates a notion of what is ‘ours’ and what needs thus to be supported in order for ‘us all’ to do well. This also applies to cultural comprehension, as a similar idea is reflected in patrimonial convictions of

heritage management. Confucianism as a strongly instilled way of thought and practice in Korean history establishes any type of transmission through agnatic relation. It has been ideologically interpreted and used by the aristocracy to form a social structure based on patrilineal continuity (Kim 2006). In modern Korea, Confucian convictions can be seen in the use of president Park Chung-Hee's military regime for "legitimizing an elitist, meritocratic, and authoritarian style of leadership" (Kim 2006, 48). In contemporary South Korea, the cultural implications of Neo-Confucian principles can be followed within the workings of a hierarchical society. This extends to heritage preservation. It is very important to establish the origin, value, and succession of inheritance. Patrimonialism is deemed as the key feature of the political system in South Korean society (Kim 2006, 40). Culturally quite a homogenous, socially segmented, and a politically patrimonial country has endeavoured to establish and validate a colonially eroded national identity. The state would attempt this by using the cultural, linguistic, and historical materials available. The committee responsible for the selection of folklore genres for IICP designation uses primary collections and research on traditional performing arts by the early cultural-nationalist folklorists of the 1960-70s. Occasionally traditional imagery would be invented due to lacking documentation, in order to construct a vision of historical consistency and thus justified independence (Yang 2003, 108). New state identities were legitimized through reconstructed myths and memories that cultivated group belonging and sentiment. A national past can be reproduced based on the selective glorification of history; producing symbolic representations of the past may theoretically include unconscious constructions but also intentional inventions, as discussed by Hobsbawm (1983).

The institutional foundations of Korea's cultural heritage management system date back to the early colonial period. Like other political, military, economic, and cultural institutions were established by the Japanese colonizers and administrators, the CHA inherited their official structure and property-ranking criteria directly from the Japanese equivalent, the Government-General of Chosen Preservation Laws Governing Antiquities and Relics that was first published in 1916 (Pai 2013, 7). One of the main goals for early folklore scholarship was to counter colonial Japanese claims of Korean cultural inferiority by which scholars were urged to establish a far-reaching source of unique cultural identity. From the beginning of the Japanese

colonial period in 1910, Korean historians began to promote *kukhon* or ‘national spirit’ in research and to promote objectives to consolidate a national identity (Tonk 2017, 12). Many works refer to the ancient roots of shamanism in some manner (Tangherlini, 130).

Soon after the formation of the Park Chung-Hee government (1961–1979), public folklore performances and scholarly research was actively supported by the state (Janelli 1986, 42). The efforts of folklorists and the cultural revival programme of president Park urged the instalment of a law to protect intangible and tangible heritage based on research of certain traditions. They were interpreted as national assets and perceived to form part of the national Korean identity (Tangherlini 1998, 139; Tonk 2017, 12). The formation of identity was perceived necessary in order to counter an anxiety over “the corrupting influence” of Western values (Kendall 2011, 3). So the Cultural Property Protection Law (hereinafter abbreviated to CPPL) which has been administered since 1962 was created. The cumulative efforts of selective observation, description, promotion and ‘branding’ (Pai 2013, 6) constitute the heritagization of dynamic practices. Simultaneously, president Park aimed to create a new national culture. To continue and further develop cultural and artistic inheritance, the new national culture would have had to be based on indigenous philosophy and a consciousness of identity (Kim 1976, 18). It was not further elaborated what this philosophy would exactly entail. Whether it is adherent to shamanistic, Buddhist or Confucian way of thought, each once prevalent on the Korean peninsula, is not clear.

The president’s five year aim was to bring about a “cultural renaissance” by creating this new national culture based on traditional culture. The “rediscovery, reassessment, development and preservation of tradition in culture and arts” (Kim 1976, 19)² was the prerequisite to fulfill Park’s endeavours. Author Kim Yersu further attests that “rectifying a distorted view of national history would require an exhaustive and objective evaluation of historical cultural documents” (Kim 1976, 19). Kim Yersu illuminates the idea of indigenization within Korean cultural heritage preservation endeavours. Extensive evidence of the Sinification and Westernization of Korean cultural patterns became subject to refinement, modification, and assimilation in order to develop patterns with a distinctly Korean identity (Kim 1976, 13). Describing Korean culture as

² Although more recent literature on the South Korean heritage preservation system exists, the 1976 publication is analyzed due to its proximity to the establishment of the CPPL in 1962 and its publication by UNESCO.

essentially shamanistic was heavily contested at the end of the 1950s (Kim 1976). Discussions about “the essence of Korean culture” ensued and fueled further research. Kim Yersu sees the foremost task of cultural policy to be the systematic rediscovery of vital elements in the cultural tradition of people (Kim 1976, 13). According to Kim, the cultural policy must encourage developments which could “maximize national potential” and “weed out” those elements which could undermine that effect (Kim 1976, 14-15). The author supports strict censorship on literature, performing arts, and popular culture. Thus Kim admits to a highly selective selection process which may even be manipulated for nationalistic goals (Kim 1976). However, Herzfeld (2015, 541) believes that fierce censorship can not completely repress the subversive aspects of folk traditions.

The late 20th century Western materiality induced anxiety over establishing and preserving “Koreanness.” Scholars were encouraged to research folk arts with governmental funding and to prove traditional arts as icons of Korean identity (Kendall 2011, 3; Moon, 2011, 92; Tonk 2017, 12). Folklore scholarship was well supported as traditional arts were perceived to be on the verge of extinction. The government could legitimize their power over the people and at the same time could claim its connection with them through the appropriation of folk art forms. Using folk culture in political discourse in the end of the 1980s was motivated by a desire to claim inheritance over a glorified past (Tangherlini 1998); whereas the inheritance of Cultural Nationalism has greatly affected the political climate in which folklore scholarship has been pursued in South Korea (Janelli 1986, 42). Scholarship on Korean shamanism is well developed and frequently engaged by Korean and foreign academic studies. Due to well funded folklore studies within South Korea that have been described as “nationalistic,” shamanism is considered as an integral part of the official externally presentational discourse of “Korea” and “Korean culture” to the outside world (Tangherlini 1998, 129).

Salpuri-chum is chosen as an example to investigate the workings of cultural heritage legislation on the recontextualization of ‘tradition.’ As a dance of folk origins, it has been decontextualized as an artistic performance for diplomatic gain. Appreciation of unique cultural expressions boosts national and international comprehension of Korean heritage and identity. Validation of national identity works through a process of nomination, designation, and

promotion that can be followed in the authorized cultural heritage preservation system in South Korea. The transformation of *salpuri* into IICP has omitted the function of the dance and made it into a display of the ‘traditional’ to be appreciated by an elite yet passive public. The case of designating Lee Eun-Joo as LCT in *salpuri-chum* will be investigated via nomination documents.

1.2 Korean shamanism and *salpuri-chum*

Salpuri is described as based on spirit exorcism performed in Korean shaman ritual practice. Korean shamanism (*mugyo/musok*) is based on ancestral worship and active ritual work which features dancing, chanting, and channelling spirits (Hinsberg 2018, 27). The earliest evidence of shamanistic practices in the world most likely dates back to the Bronze Age (ca 1000-300 BCE). Although this does not confirm that shamanism originated then, archeological and anthropological sources support the existence of shamans or elements of visionary practice dating back at least 4000 years ago (Rozwadowski 2012). Shamans were considered healers and storytellers. In addition to communicating with the spirits, shamans were those who passed on and preserved traditional beliefs, myths, and customs to their community (Eiss 2011, 440). Shamanism on the Korean peninsula has been considered the indigenous religion, but the lack of a script or certain divine pantheon rather suggests that shamanism was an animistic spiritual belief, yet no less an instrument of popular consciousness than institutionalized religion. The religious and spiritual practices of the people residing on the Korean peninsula have been a means of apprehending motions of the political economy (Kendall 1996). Despite the unstructured character of Korean shamanism, the foundation and practices of the belief have survived into contemporary Korean culture and have influenced the way of thought. Shamanism has remained a highly “adaptable component of culture, society and collective identity” (Kim 2006, 44). Shamanistic elements have contributed to social movements in modern Korea as symbolic features of historical civilization and cultural tradition to validate socio-political struggles of the people and to establish popular collectivity (Kim 2006, 46-47).

In shamanistic ritual practice, shamans employ the use of various means to achieve a trance-like state in order to engage in transcendental communication. This can include the help of substances, but most often by physical and musical expression via dancing and singing or

chanting (Eiss 2011, 440). Shaman dance usually invokes spirits to appease them during rituals and sends them off once any altercations involving living people have been solved. In village communities, shamans have been the centers of communal life, solving individual problems and ensuring collective well-being through regular ritual performance.

Performance is a system for “learning, storing and transmitting knowledge” (Taylor 2003, 16). Performance theory includes ritualistic dramatic and aesthetic qualities. Rituals often involve active emotive expression through music, dance, and visual arts. Performance regards embodiment. The ritualistic activities of Korean shamans can thus certainly be seen as performative with the shaman conveying spiritual manifestation through dance, but usually to a selected group of people who actively participate in the ritual purposefully, not as a passive audience.

Shamans’ ritual activities have also included the community, especially in dancing and playing music. These dances have become known as folk dances. Folk dance does not merely represent a perceived traditional or communal dance, but it involves political and ideological influences having been developed as a social commentary by commoners. This type of dance has the tendency to reflect a past societal reality and is constantly reinvented in order to satisfy modern needs (Lee 2017a, 222).

In pre-19th century Korea, folk dance belonged to the non-ruling class which consisted of labourers - farmers, fishermen, merchants, and tradesmen. They not only observed performances but often participated in them. Folk dance is by definition not a dance created by any individual or group of people, but a communal dance developed over centuries of active practice. The creative expression has usually served the purpose of marking a specific event or for communal gain. Folk dance is a collaborative creation reflecting social cohesion. Emerged from religious and social meaning yet performed for amusement, the living conditions of commoners inspired expressions of incidents and phenomena related to devotional and agricultural incidents, including seasonal customs. Folk dance can be characterized by its participatory nature and connection to the everyday lives of the people. In Korean villages and towns, dancing was considered a part of the lifestyle of communities. It was most likely the resident shaman who would have led the communal performance. They are known to have practiced ecstatic corporeal

expressions during ritual activities and gathered musically inclined villagers to play instruments to accompany their spiritual manifestation. Since yearly rituals for village welfare were conducted that involved inhabitants and musicians from the community (Yi 2008), it can be deduced that festive and functional folk dances could also have been led by the shaman.

The historical development of *salpuri-chum* is closely related to the roots of Korean shamanistic practice, especially exorcism. The word itself is derived from a shaman ritual to exorcise evil spirits and ill-feelings (Lee 2017). The main characteristic of *salpuri-chum* (dance) originated from the *salpuri-gut* (ritual) according to Lee Eun-Joo (2017, 33; Hwang 1993, 128). As shamanistic rituals include song and dance as techniques to invoke spirits, they are necessary elements of the ecstatic practice. In the southern area of Korea, a long scarf would have been used in exorcising spirits, and this element is also seen in *salpuri* today. In the typical *salpuri-gut*, the shaman works with a piece of fabric, flinging it around during the performance. The contemporary dancer is dressed in white and carries a piece of white silk fabric which is one of the most recognizable features of *salpuri-chum*.

The *salpuri* dance consists of three main parts differing in the velocity of movements and music. The performance starts slow, reaches its peak and then slows down again. Each part can be interpreted as corresponding to the *salpuri-gut* (Lee 2017). First, the shaman would coerce forth the correspondent spirit that needs to be consoled; hand movements of the dancer would be gentle and inviting. Then the shaman interprets the problem through communication with the spirit and the dance starts to speed up with active feet movements. The activity reaches its peak when the shaman starts to resolve the problem at hand, the music and dancer speed up dynamically. Moving around the stage and making large gestures with the white scarf as *salpuri* reaches its climax. Finally, the shaman must make sure the spirit can rest and bids farewell. The dancer once again limits themselves to contained movements and finally stands still, letting the scarf lay loose in their hands.

As the *hanbok* (traditional clothing) worn by the dancer performing *salpuri-chum* is usually white, it can refer to funerary customs, but also alludes to a connection with commoners. Historically, commoners could not afford to wear treated fabrics that the royal and noble class would wear, so their clothes were plain, often white or off-white. Lee Eun-Joo explains white to

symbolize the soul and pureness, and considers the white *hanbok* and fabric as necessary features for performing *salpuri* (Lee 2020).

The *salpuri-chum* is not a dance for the royal or noble class. It is a dance that represents the grief of ordinary people. Among the seven dances compared by Lee Eun-Joo (2017) and designated as IICP in Korea that include *salpuri-chum*, *geommu* (sword dance), *tal-chum* (mask dance), *seungmu* (monk's dance), *taepyeongmu* (dance of peace), and *hakmu* (crane dance), *salpuri* is the only plebeian dance, all others are for the court.

1.3 *Salpuri-chum* - invented tradition

The spontaneous bodily expression of dancing through becoming an art form has become a means of articulating intentional creativity practiced through spatial, temporal, and corporeal dimensions. Dancing cannot produce a tangible work of art and as such has been recognized as an ephemeral art form, existing only in the moment of performance or recalled through reproduction. Dance performance, whether contemporary or traditional, relies on the physical presence of a dancer at the moment of realization as a vessel through which to convey matter and meaning - content and emotion. Due to the momentary manifestation of the experience of dance and its limitation in documentation, contemporary dance professionals pursue competence in dance literacy (Yoo 2000, 1), reinterpreting studied movements and rearranging choreography.

The idea of an 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm 1983) can be followed in the reconstruction of *salpuri-chum*. Rather than seeing tradition as a dynamic process, the CPPL perpetuates folklore as a static endeavour, emphasizing older and therefore purer expressions of "Koreanness" (Tangherlini 1998, 139-140). However, as Howard (2012, 114) has noted that history is a variable feast and within it tradition can be understood as an accretion of practice, the rearranged form of *salpuri* has been repeated and consolidated in public comprehension as the 'right' form according to its designation. Elements of shaman practicality and folk functionality have been included or excluded accordingly to accommodate a modern context - the stage. From 1882 shaman rituals were prohibited in public, so shaman practitioners, mainly women, abandoned their vocation to become artistic entertainers called *gisaeng* or *sadangpae* which are considered as the Korean equivalent of Romas. They made a living by performing dance, music,

and theatre plays in front of an audience. This is where the exorcism dance was first performed as something artistic (Hwang 1993, 129), and departed from the subsequent rearrangement.

The exorcist dance movements of shamans were reinterpreted as a staged dance by the dancer Han Sung-Jun (1874–1941). Han was a traditional dancer who came from a long line of dance artists and has been considered an extraordinary figure in collecting and transmitting traditional Korean dances (Kim 2017, 183). He inherited and developed dance practices that reflected the self-image of Koreans (Jeon, Kwon 2019, 161). Han's emphasis in dance development was on the rearrangement of court and shamanic dances to make them into theatrical performances, but allegedly based on vigorous historical research (Lee 2017). This can not unfortunately be confirmed. Even if Han studied historical forms of dance and only rearranged certain elements, a clear change in format and order would have still occurred. An imperative element subject to change had been the environmental reinterpretation - taking a dance already transformed as village entertainment into a theatrical performance in front of a paying audience. It is widely believed and agreed by Lee Eun-Joo that Han created the modern *salpuri-chum* (2011; 2017, 61). In 1934 he established the Institute of Chosun Music and Dance and performed *salpuri-chum* for the first time in a public theater in Seoul in 1938 (Hwang 1993, 129; Lee 2011). This was the first time the title of *salpuri-chum* was used and unanimously known in subsequent performances (fig. 1.1).

Han had also valued dance education and transmission training very highly (Lee 2017; Kim 2017; Jeon, Kwon 2019), which ensured the succession of the *salpuri* that became known through his performances. His version of *salpuri* has since been handed down to Han Young-Sook (1920–1989), his granddaughter, who died one year before the designation of *salpuri-chum* as IICP. Lee Eun-Joo considers herself a direct descendant of this line of *salpuri* performers and this is the main reason for her designation as LCT, as discussed below. However, it is interesting that according to Lee (2017, 69), even if the movements are right, *salpuri* can not be deemed *salpuri* if the dancer does not dance with a white fabric. Although Lee Ae-Joo (b. 1947), another student of Han Young-Sook, has performed *salpuri* with a red piece of fabric (fig. 1.2). The atmosphere seen in the picture below (fig. 1.3) is also indicative of how *salpuri-chum* could be performed in a modern setting, discussed in the third chapter.

Lee Eun-Joo always performs *salpuri* in all-white clothing. She also confirms Han Sung-Jun to have performed in white (Lee 2020). Yet Lee’s predecessor Han Young-Sook has worn many different coloured *hanbok*, described in the 2011 application compiled by herself (Lee 2011). Lee describes how the costume of *salpuri* has changed over time on the example of Han Young-Sook. In the 1950s a dark skirt and light *jeogori* (upper part of *hanbok*) were worn, and a short piece of fabric was used in the dance. In the 1960s even a blue and pink coloured *hanbok* was worn for performing, accompanied by a short fabric in hand. In the 1970s, Han Young-Sook wore an indigo skirt and ivory *jeogori*, or a jade-green combination pictured below (fig. 1.4). From the 1988 performance at the Seoul Olympic Games, the all-white *hanbok* with red ties and long white fabric has been used to perform *salpuri* (Lee 2011, 14).



Figure 1.4. Han Young-Sook performing *salpuri-chum* in the 1950s, 60s, 70s, and in 1988 at the Seoul Olympic Games.

Although the choice of costume worn while performing *salpuri* has been for the dancer to decide, the standard form after the 1990 designation is an all-white *hanbok*. This appearance is now always used in contemporary displays of *salpuri-chum*, almost as a purified form of prior representations. This purification can also be deemed as a departure from the dance’s shamanistic origins, where colorful clothes and paraphernalia would have usually been used. Thus a visual cue to the dance’s shamanistic ritual functionality has been neutralized with pure white.

The notion of tradition as something with a long historical trajectory or a static expression of accretion may instead be formulated more by individual agency. Han Sung-Jun

rearranged and performed a version of *salpuri* that became known as the main form and designated as IICP in the South Korean cultural heritage pantheon. It is also interesting to note that the dance usually associated with female performers became ‘traditional’ through a male dancer’s agency, yet it has been carried on by female artists. The fixated form of *salpuri* continues to be repeated and passed down by senior practitioners to students. From Han Sung-Jun to Han Young-Sook to Lee Eun-joo and her trainees. Transmission activities of Lee and her students will be discussed in the third chapter.

1.4 Lee Eun-Joo - Living Cultural Treasure



Figure 1.5. Lee Eun-Joo performing *salpuri-chum*.

On January 29, 2015 Lee Eun-Joo (b. 1955) was designated as LCT in *salpuri-chum* in the Seoul Metropolitan area.⁴ Receiving the title of LCT (also known as *boyuja*) changes a recipient’s life economically and socially (Yang 2003, 69). Besides gaining respectability, the performer also has a responsibility to uphold their cultural inheritance and actively take part in the promotion and transmission of the craft. LCTs become educators of the public and professional performers; their work is monitored by the Transmission Center for Intangible

⁴ SBS News - news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news_id=N1001621362&plink=OLDURL - accessed 14.05.2020

Cultural Properties (Yang 2003, 101). In the interview conducted for this thesis,⁵ Lee Eun-Joo admits that it is very honorable to be a LCT. She receives a 1000 USD (approximately 885 EUR) monthly grant of governmental support to encourage her performances and educational activities. However, she spends about 3000 USD per month to operate her dance studio which offers *salpuri* workshops and intensive training for about 10 of her individual students (Lee 2020).

Lee Eun-Joo has been trained in western ballet and acquired a philosophy degree at the Johann Wolfgang Goethe University in Frankfurt, Germany. She trained in Korean traditional dance under Han Young-Sook, the dancer who performed *salpuri* at the 1988 Olympics ceremony and the granddaughter of Han Sung-Jun, the choreographer who essentially created the modern dance, as discussed above. Lee has been performing *salpuri* since 1977 (Lee 2011, 22). After the death of her teacher Han in 1989, Lee started introducing Han Sung-Jun and Han Young-Sook's line of *salpuri* to students of traditional Korean dance. Now she is the dean of the School of Art and Physical Education of the Incheon National University and a professor in the Department of Performing Arts of the University as is detailed in her 2017 publication with Kim Young-Shin titled "*Salpuri-Chum, A Korean Dance for Expelling Evil Spirits.*" Lee has published many books on traditional Korean dance. She has started a private tutoring school for dance and even opened a Youtube account where mostly her students' performances can be viewed.⁶

Prior to becoming LCT, Lee Eun-Joo compiled and admitted an application for consideration to the mayor of Seoul in 2011, asking to be designated as the *boyuja* (holder) of *salpuri-chum* to ensure the preservation of the Han Young-Sook style. The document is called Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Heritage Application for the Designation and Recognition of *Salpuri-chum* (hereinafter also referred to as "the application")⁷ and contains paragraphs on the genealogy, transition, music, costume, and transmission of the dance. In the first paragraph of the application, Lee deems it important to designate her as a *boyuja* of *salpuri* as she represents the unquestionable historically developed line of Han Sung-Jun and Han

⁵ Full text available in the appendix.

⁶ Lee Eun-Joo chumyesurwon (Lee Eun-Joo Dance Arts Center) on youtube.com - /channel/UCg8D_eWr82Doqbc1GS0L6LQ - accessed 10.05.2020

⁷ Received from the Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Preservation Department via e-mail on 06.05.2020, in author's possession.

Young-Sook style (Lee 2011, 6). She states that it would not be an exaggeration to say that considering Korean traditional dance, the history of *salpuri* is the history of Han Young-Sook (Lee 2011, 11). Thus she urges that the Hans' style of *salpuri* should be preserved through herself, stating this as the main reason to become LCT.

Having evolved from an early shamanistic exorcist dance over a period of centuries, “recreated” in the 19th century, and displaying basic traditional dance movements and aesthetic qualities,⁸ *salpuri* is seen as a representation of the descent of traditional Korean dance through an ongoing historical continuum (Hwang 1993, 197-198). To sum up, a dancer trained in the genre of traditional Korean dance has taken various elements and rearranged them into what is now known as *salpuri-chum*. It can be deduced that the dance does indeed entail historical elements but is the result of individual artistic interpretation displayed since 1938.

⁸ Identified in the 1993 study of Hwang, Rowe.

Chapter 2. Designation: the regulation of *salpuri-chum*

Heritage protection systems are exclusive by nature and the Korean CPPL is no different. Only certain ‘traditions’ are worthy of preservation. Cultural heritage is activated through the actions of authoritative bodies like the CHA and once activated, heritage becomes the property of the population whose inheritance has been officiated (Saeji 2012, 64). In 2003 UNESCO adopted the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage. The purposes of the convention are established as follows in Article 1:

- “(a) to safeguard the intangible cultural heritage;
- (b) to ensure respect for the intangible cultural heritage of the communities, groups and individuals concerned;
- (c) to raise awareness at the local, national and international levels of the importance of the intangible cultural heritage, and of ensuring mutual appreciation thereof;
- (d) to provide for international cooperation and assistance.”⁹

The Republic of Korea adopted the convention on 9 February 2005. As expressed in the Convention, one of the most vital objectives of ICH management is raising awareness, which includes educational and promotional work. Efforts to safeguard phenomena of ICH can be characterised as conservation. These activities increasingly recognize the importance of development and even creativity in order to convey an integral image of the practice in question.

2.1 Preservation of performative heritage

Performance arts and crafts preservation includes strategies such as documentation and archiving, but places emphasis on physical and visual comprehension. Preservation of the past requires display to establish relevance as symbolic icons for contemporary perception. Displays of ICH involve interpretation, recreation, and restructuring through various conveyed forms, most often through performance. The difference in tangible heritage preservation strategies and

⁹ Full text to the Convention - ich.unesco.org/en/convention - accessed 12.05.2020

ICH is that promotion through performance is required. The phenomenon is represented time after time and exposing it to public interest is pertinent, if not necessary, to its integrity. Different from tangible cultural properties, the permanence of a dance practice is not validated through physicality. Although it is believed all intangible phenomena possess tangible expression (Herzfeld 2015), an original form rather than materiality is subject to preservation efforts.

Conservation as a system of activities to sustain ICH thus involves both preservation and presentation. Even UNESCO encourages “constant recreation” (Howard 2012, 3-4). This can be applied to a dance that is often recreated on stage as a performance for either cultural awareness or entertainment. However, efforts to preserve can also be considered as a nostalgic notion. The aspiration to keep a certain fixed form as evidence of historical continuity can be considered nationalist as a local, regional, or state identity is retained. The more that identity and continuity is threatened, the more a need to preserve persists, like in the case of colonised Korea.

Designated intangible cultural properties are divided into performing art forms and craft forms, either by individual performers or by groups. The systemisation ensures efficient management of properties and is also convenient for the heritage management administration. In the South Korean heritage preservation system, intangible properties are authenticated prior to nomination in reports compiled by the Cultural Properties Committee (hereinafter abbreviated to CPC) which was set up in 1960 within the Cultural Properties Management Bureau (recently known as the Cultural Heritage Administration or CHA).¹⁰ The committee that is in charge of designation research and compiling reports consists of administrative staff, scholars, and expert artists who are elected by a larger body of authority, the Cultural Properties Consultative Committee. Members of this senior committee periodically investigate the maintenance of intangible properties in person (Howard 2012, 117).

The institutionalization of cultural heritage involves the establishment of a system of rules and organizations. In particular, the process entails developing legislation to preserve and transmit cultural heritage. Although the system provides legal protection of properties, the efforts of research, documentation, education, and transmission to encourage public recognition through

¹⁰ CHA homepage in English - <http://english.cha.go.kr/> - accessed 12.05.2020.
The CHA operates under the South Korean government and functions as a sub-ministerial agency since 1999.

state-funded “heritage festivals” often result in grossly decontextualizing heritage (Hafstein 2009, 108; Kwon et al. 2018, 1562; Tonk 2017, 14-15). In fortifying national culture based on ‘traditionality,’ apart from institutionalizing heritage, it is knowingly being made through legislative acts.

Making heritage or heritagization can be understood as a process of attributing cultural-historical value to a phenomenon and admitting it as inheritance, something to secure. Heritagizing practices or objects creates an interest around them as evidence of antiquity, historical continuity, and traditionality. This subjects phenomena to efforts of safeguarding, which greatly entails promotional endeavours. Making heritage a symbol of a nation, community, or custom perpetuates it as only that, making it possible to create a demand for its display - which is often supplied to generate admiration and profit. Preservation is used as a cover to institutionalise and thus reshape folklore practices and its active agents. According to Hafstein (2009, 108), intangible heritage is a mechanism of display. It is used as a tool to attract attention and resources to selected cultural practices. The ICH system becomes an enterprise of display, concerned with the survival and demise of traditions and by extension, communities. In Hafstein’s view, the system is more concerned with raising funds than awareness. This process begins with selection, solidifies in designation, and is perpetuated through transmission. With the example of *salpuri-chum*, dance is used to convey elements of a curated traditionality, made purely into a symbolic display of nationalistic claims of exceptionalism over Japanese hegemony. Through repeated performances and promotional activities, the dance is made into a production.

2.2 Designating the dance

On November 10, 1990, *salpuri-chum* was designated as IICP nr 97 by the CHA.¹¹ In the context of traditional Korean dance, the dancing act itself is not seen as an objectified artistic product but as an interpretive phenomenon recurrent through the practitioner’s recreation of the ‘tradition.’ The dance as a process is oriented on practical manifestation of the dancer’s

¹¹ Inscription of *salpuri-chum* on the CHA homepage in Korean (with more information) - www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1271100970000&pageNo=1_1_1_0# - accessed 20.05.2020

interpretive activity. “Dance [...] is a lived experience comprised of constructed meanings, not a reality defined through essential elements” (Yoo 2000, 146). Furthermore, according to Yoo (2000, 152) dance should not be institutionalized as ‘art,’ disassociated from its context. It is imperative to consider the symbolic creativity of the dance as well as the cultural context which it occupies. If the practice itself and its performers are immediate components of the ICH, context or social environment is an indirect yet vital signifier which describes the economic, cultural, political and interpersonal relations between practitioners, practice, and its reception (Su 2019, 260).

Official discernment of heritage often departs from the premise of unchanging values and standards (Park 2014, 78). Within the heritage preservation system in Korea, the concept of a fixed ‘original form’ (*wonhyeong*) is prevalent as a basis for protection. This form departs from the documented accounts discovered in nomination research (Yang 2003, 2004; Howard 2012). The cumulative reports that establish a designated form valorize an archetype through an interpretation of practices. Yet historical descriptions are rarely exhaustive. Once appointed, the intangible property is judged as the archetype, the most original form, and cannot be changed. As historical evidence is not always accessible, senior practitioners and performers became key informants on putting together an integral view of the practice. Where historical sources or interpretations were absent, committee members could restructure surviving documentation to create an archetypal form (Howard 2012, 118). There have been reported cases where misconception of the original form from the research stage has led to inappropriate designation (Yang 2004, 185). While researchers value artistic aspects of the performance highly, the religious elements and functionality is often overlooked.

Lee Eun-Joo laments that *salpuri* has historically been an improvisational dance due to its accompanying music. As a shamanistic exorcist dance or folklore performance, *salpuri* has not observed sheet music, as is the case with historical court dances (Lee 2017). The performer’s moves are followed by the musician as the emotive movement of the dancer is what constitutes the performance. They essentially take on the role of a conductor to the music accompaniment (Lee 2017, 35-36). This however has changed in the modern context of performing *salpuri* on a theatrical stage with mostly pre-recorded music. Because of the strict guidelines to preserve ICH,

it is safe to say that the vital improvisational element of *salpuri* has not been included in the designation of IICP. In fact it is forbidden to change any aspects of the dance form, whether in steps, costume, or music. As Yang (2004, 185) has pointed out, there is an inclination of shamanism-related performances being standardized into fixed forms once they are designated as cultural property. It could be that the created art form is favoured over ancient animism, to promote an innovative view of Korea. Thus it can be deduced that *salpuri* has been greatly improvisational, and this important element has been omitted in the designation process. Lee Eun-Joo also admits that a standard of *salpuri* exists and is performed today. Three main styles have been recognized by the CHA - Han Young-Sook (1920–1989), Lee Mae-bang (1927–2015), and Kim Sook-ja (1926–1991) style. According to Lee, the standard structure of *salpuri* has to be kept, yet a dancer’s characterizations can differ (Lee 2020).

2.3 Designating the dancer

In 1993 the Living Human Treasures system¹² was established in South Korea to appoint ‘holders’ (*boyuja*) to preserve properties by way of education, management, and promotion. These appointed people, seasoned performers, teach and transmit their knowledge of craft in a hierarchical system of study, as required by the CHA. Students are appointed higher positions through a series of examinations and are approved by CPC. The LCT masters’ and trainees’ program is mainly concerned with the transmission of ICH.

One can follow by which characteristics Lee was nominated in 2011 and subsequently designated in 2015 as LCT. The main distinct feature of Lee Eun-Joo’s *salpuri* is claimed to be that it preserves Han Young-Sook’s *salpuri*, as expanded in the last chapter. As Lee has obtained her *salpuri* training in close contact with Han, she has been incited to embody the dance’s traditional development through acquiring Han’s techniques. Lee has her own artistic quality, but is known as a dancer who perfectly adheres to a traditional skillset (Lee 2011, 17). She has certain elements of subtle repressed sadness - *han*,¹³ in her style that makes her performance of

¹² Guidelines for the Establishment of National “Living Human Treasures” Systems by UNESCO - <https://ich.unesco.org/doc/src/00031-EN.pdf> - accessed 20.05.2020

¹³ See Lee 2017.

salpuri emotional and delicate (Lee 2017). It is stated that Lee has inherited the dance from Han and makes an effort to preserve and disseminate *salpuri* on various platforms, referring to not only performances and educational activities, but Lee's academic work on traditional Korean dance and *salpuri-chum*.



Although Lee Eun-Joo is highly trained and an established dancer, the *salpuri* she publicly displays is a form fixed prior to the 1990 IICP designation. Any artistic interpretation Lee would be more than capable of exhibiting is restricted by the standard her performances depart from, the designated structure of *salpuri*.

Figure 2.1 Lee Eun-Joo and Han Young-Sook, 1989.

Iwamoto argues that designation as a process itself is an ideological device used to create local pride and a sense of 'traditionality' that actually serves tourists (2007, 27-29 quoted by Howard 2012) and not the effort of safeguarding heritage. In contemporary preservation efforts, the process of designation itself has become not only an official stamp of approval to validate phenomena into the pantheon of cultural continuum, but a new recognizable bureaucratic procedure. Individual interpretations or functionality are not valued in the process of designating dance. The perpetuated form of *salpuri* is based on scholarly documentation prior to the nomination. It is important to take into account that folk practices often differ according to region and community, and no standard form exists before systemic designation. This is how an active and dynamically evolving practice is confined into a taxidermized state and classified as 'tradition' in order to fit into the preservation system.

Chapter 3. Transmission: performance and promotion

Music and dance phenomena are designated as intangible cultural heritage. The arts live through recreation and reinterpretation. Performance skills and techniques are transmitted from generations of masters to eager students who in turn become masters. Since performance is deemed fleeting, as momentary acts of (re-)creation (Howard 2012, 138), music and dance are captured for preservation in the process of transmission. Transmission as the communication of knowledge from one individual or group to another does not only express generational inheritance of skills and craft. The process of reception and interpretation of performance comprehension is not only between teacher and student, but includes the general public, the observant audience. In transmission education, knowledge is “conveyed through performative aesthetic and [...] apprenticeship” (Roberts 1993, 62). Educational, promotional, and disseminative work with ICH phenomena can be seen as transmissive activities, an extension of overall intentions of preservation and safeguarding. These efforts rely on individuals or groups deemed authoritative in the crafts by peers, the government, academia or public media for their ability to convey the recreated art forms. Saeji (2012, 65) offers that Korean tradition must be reaffirmed to remain relevant in society through a “consensual heritage discourse” (Smith 2006) that establishes a connection between the art form, artists, and the public population. Without experiencing heritage, the public cannot relate to its cultural roots through preservation efforts. That is why the government gets involved in the heritage system, mainly to support the promotion of cultural assets. The greater public accepts and admires art certified as Important Properties or representational of their shared identity asserted by experts and administrators (Saeji 2012, 65).

The Living Cultural Treasures System of 1993 was established by UNESCO on the request of the South Korean government as a means of promoting the transmission of knowledge and skills of ICH practitioners. Apart from promotion for public awareness, this system entails a certain hierarchical educational structure where appointed LCTs convey their knowledge to pupils (Yang 2003). They perform together as groups at public events. Being required to maintain IICP as it was designated, holders and pupils have certain responsibilities. They are

expected to perform showing their proficiency within the historical development of the genre; their fit into the background of Korean tradition is then assessed in recurrent surveillance meetings, and the appointed people must be prepared to teach to pass on the genre. “They must help the survival of their art” (CPC adviser Yi Pohyong to K. Howard in July, 1991 quoted by Howard 2012, 118-119). So the process of transmission, of handing down a tradition to a new generation of performers is regulated by the government committee that initially established the cultural value of the property and determined the standard form (Yang 2003, 79).

3.1 Political and promotional use of folklore genres

Establishing a Korean identity through scholarly efforts and reinstating traditions as national assets has not only resulted in heritagization of historical phenomena, but has accumulated the achievements of branding Korea as a culturally rich nation (Pai 2013, 6). Promotional endeavours of respective governmental bodies are seen in many festivals and public events held for reviving traditional culture. Designated performers often exhibit their crafts at these events (Yang 2003, 84).

The annual National Folk Arts Contest has been held since 1958.¹⁴ Since the establishment of the CPPL in 1962, the government-sponsored competitive display has acted as a framework for exhibiting ICH properties and folk performing arts as suitable for designation (Yang 2003, 60-61). The judges who decide prizes and awards are often people from the CPC as performing arts’ experts. Author and folklorist Yang sees this contest as a place for revival of traditional performances, but in a competitive setting. He also suggests that presented performance genres have been “improved” for an appearance at the contest and subsequently determined the designated form (Yang 2003, 61). To suit the requirements of the contest, performances must fit into a 15-45 minute time slot which the performers use to full capacity, sometimes rearranging and omitting parts to give the audience and jury “the most vivid [...] performance” (Maliangkay 2002, 226). Lee Eun-Joo participated in the contest with *salpuri-chum* in 1977. She received first prize (Lee 2011; 2020).

¹⁴ The latest National Folk Arts Contest took place on Jeju island in 2018. From the official website - www.kfaf.or.kr/ - accessed 15.05.2020

The 1980s saw the use of folklore imagery in student protest movements and democratic presidential elections. In 1981 a week-long cultural festival was held in Seoul called *gukpung '81*. All designated performers were required to perform to convince the public that the newly stated government of Chun Doo-Hwan (1980-1988) supported the continuation of Korea's traditional culture and its expressions (Yang 2003, 88-89), gaining support from citizens. Folklore genres and their performers were associated with a political agenda of legitimization. Designated performers also received recognition due to extensive publicity (Yang 2003, 89). In 1987 and 1988 the government sponsored frequent performances of IICP at public events (Tangherlini 1998). In 1988 at the Summer Olympic Games in Seoul, performing arts were a central aspect of national display. The opening and closing ceremonies included performances from LCTs and designated folk performers, and *salpuri-chum* by Han Young-Sook was one of the many iconic performances exhibited to make a lasting impression of South Korea as an innovative yet traditionally rich country in the modern world. The government's utilization of folklore genres as symbolic of Korean culture illustrates the pinnacle of protection policy that transforms heritage into entertainment.

These repeated and staged performances for public appeal illuminate the idea of commodification of heritage. Especially ICH phenomena like dance can be evaluated in a context of trade when they are performed for promotional aims (Cohen 1988, 380). The effects of commodification are expressed in the attempts to homogenise, standardise and routinise the cultural practice.

In business economics, the term 'commodification' refers to "the standardization of formerly differentiated versions of a product so that consumers no longer perceive any differences in value" (Tauxe 2012, 135). In the context of this thesis, we can understand the 'product' as *salpuri* and the 'consumers' as the audience. The standardized designated form becomes representational, omitting geographical and temporal variables in style and function. Tauxe continues to explain (2012, 135) that upon commodification, objects or activities become detached from their context and lose original meaning. This can be followed in *salpuri* losing its ritual functionality within IICP enlistment and designation. Considering performances of *salpuri*,

the decontextualization of historical form and appropriation in another context such as a theatrical stage or contest, allows redefinition for and by ‘consumers’ - the audience.

3.2 Transmission of *salpuri-chum*

On October 4th, 2015 a traditional dance concert titled “Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Property No. 46 *Salpuri* Dance Designation Commemorative Performance: Lee Eun-Joo’s *Salpuri-chum*” took place at the National Gugak Center (NGC) in Seoul (fig. 3.1). The performances included various traditional dances from the Lee Eun-Joo Dance Arts Center and a few from herself, most importantly *salpuri*. Tickets for the concert cost 30,000-50,000 KRW which corresponds to around 22-37 EUR. This is not a very expensive price for a concert, yet since what is designated and presented is the heritage of Seoul, it should be accessible to everyone.



Figure 3.1. Poster for concert at NGC on October 4th 2015, pictured Lee Eun-Joo.

The same issue arose on December 8, 2015 when another concert was held by the center. It was similar in content but available by invitation only. It was a publicly promoted event on the NGC website,¹⁵ but exclusive to a circle of people who had received invitations. This is an example of how display of heritage is made into a privileged affair, based on a process of inclusion and exclusion, or financially benefited from. Lee is required to hold at least one free performance a year, she reveals in the interview. She however performs another five times per year at individual ticketed events (Lee 2020).

Lee Eun-Joo started publicly performing *salpuri-chum* in 1977 and has meticulously noted each of her recitals in her LCT application (Lee 2011, 22). She has distinguished solo performances and activities from under the *Han Young-Sook's Salpuri-Chum Preservation Association* since 1997 (Lee 2011, 20). From 2003-2009, special free dance classes for the youth have been offered to learn *salpuri*, but in Los Angeles, not South Korea. Instead of free classes to share the city's heritage, training workshops have been held annually by the IICP Seoul department. In 2019, the 12th edition took place (fig. 3.2) that included enthusiastic amateurs from the public and already trained dancers from the Hansamo Dance Company, established by Lee's student Seo Seong-Won. Seo is one of ten Lee's individual students who pursue a weekly traineeship in *salpuri* and are able to become LCTs in the future (Lee 2020).

Seo Seong-Won has studied Lee's style of traditional dance directly from her, including *salpuri*, and teaches classes based on the designated style.¹⁶ Certain elements and patterns distinctive to *salpuri* can also be attributed to pedagogical legacy, when a dancer either knowingly or unknowingly imitates their teacher's movements. Saeji (2012, 60) believes that the form and the teacher cannot be separated. Transmitting the dance is also a process of transmitting memories of the teachers' embodiment. So the *salpuri* of Lee Eun-Joo, handed down from the Hans, is handed down to new dancers in a professional educational setting.

¹⁵ NGC Website - gugak.co.kr - accessed 10.05.2020

¹⁶ From correspondence with Seo Seong-Won on 15.05.2020, notes in author's possession.



Figure 3.2. Lee Eun-Joo (third from left) with Seo Seong-Won (first from right) and students at the 12th annual *salpuri* training workshop held by the IICP Seoul department in 2019.

Although according to Saeji (2012, 54) Korean traditional arts performers have in some cases resisted a change in performance environments, in fact a noticeable change has occurred in accommodating the stage that results in a lack of interaction with the audience. If the movements of *salpuri* were performed in a folk setting, the audience and performer would not have been distinguishable, as the dance activity was a collaborative effort. As part of a shamanistic ritual, the shaman would have led the movements closely followed by accompanying musicians and supported by the participation of people present. Yet the designated form suits a different context - a professional stage. The dancer is only subject to the admiration of the audience. They are not expected to participate any more but to provide an applause, an element absent from previous practice. Perhaps performing *salpuri* on a theatrical stage is an inescapable result of modern consequences, but observation alone emphasises the dance as a product, a commodity to enjoy, and sublimates the process that leads to the product (Saeji 2012, 56).

Performative heritage phenomena and the associated narrative of national identity appears to serve different purposes for domestic and international audiences. Staging heritage is

commonly used to encourage patriotism on a domestic level; authors Bui and Lee (2015, 189) posit that even to spread propaganda on an international level. They establish that commodification cannot be separated from the politicization of heritage. In the case of *salpuri*, the political issue indeed occurs in shifting a free, communal activity into the economic domain of scarcity (Hannam and Knox 2010, 38), by holding ticketed events. Whether for political, commercial, or reputational gain, *salpuri* becomes a dance performed by highly trained dancers on big stages. *Salpuri* is marketed as a ‘traditional dance’ at heritage festivals and public events for local audiences and representative of Korean ‘traditionality’ to external viewers. The item of living culture is transformed into a symbol of itself rather than a dynamic folk art form, and access is granted based on paid entry. Saeji laments that “If the arts lose their claim to being an authentic expression of Korean culture, they risk losing their value to Korean society” (2012, 68-69). Loss of value results in a loss of interest in the arts that are no longer considered part of the Korean cultural canon. This in turn can reduce or stop the funding of certain preservation efforts. What tourists experience as ‘authentic’ on a theatrical stage can, however, be a contrived curation of local culture and heritage, conceptualised instead as ‘staged authenticity’ (Park 2014, 60). To chase truthful authenticity or originality of ICH is ineffective in the sense that

“each new performance of expression of cultural heritage is a copy in that it always looks back to a prior performance, but each is also an original in that it adapts to new circumstances and conditions” (Bruner 1994, 407).

Whichever presentation of *salpuri* now would be a referenced version of the designated form, adapted through master dancers’ styles and as such a staged recreation of the *wonhyeong* (original form). At the same time, creating another ‘original’ each time performed in a certain spatial and temporal setting.

Regardless of their popular appeal to audiences, designated forms of dance must be performed according to the *wonhyeong* (original form/archetype), without any innovation or artistic creativity. The art form becomes a stereotype, far from functionality or artist’s prerogative. This can cause tension between the authoritative committee and the esteemed holders (Yang 2004, 79), as they are perceived as dancers - artists rather than interpreters. Saeji (2012, 59-60) finds that the dancer considers their conveyed dance as art, but the certifying

agency considers the dance heritage before art. For the dancer, the dance can be an active memory, a “construction, transaction, and negotiation, as opposed to a reproduction” (Roberts 1996, 27). The committee and the individual might find their perception of the practice does not converge, in which case the person will most likely not be appointed LCT as not to compromise the committee’s aims.

Resulting from the CPPL in 1962, any changes to the original form are forbidden, even in light of supplementary research (Yang 2004, 81). Thus *salpuri* has been fixed into a standard form and performed as such. The folk dance or ritual movement has been transformed into a sophisticated art form, considered as part of high culture. Having been constantly recreated as part of village festivals or euphoric interpretations, the dance has been formed into a display of Korean tradition on stage by professionals to a paying audience. As folk form and ritualistic dance, *salpuri* would have depended on audience participation and the leader’s improvisation for its true flow, but this vital element is omitted in contemporary rendition (Yang 2003, 69). Repetitive representation of performances causes the loss of historical context and function. Performances that continually repeat the *wonhyeong* become a fixed standard, a taxidermied version of a living practice. *Salpuri-chum* has become a professional performance and national symbol of a cultural past whose form is barred from development (Yang 2003, 84-85). Yang believes that performing artistic forms are reshaped twice - first upon designation and secondly by the carrier through subtle variations as a way to gain artistic freedom. He also considers the adversity of transmission: “an accurate record must precede an accurate transmission” (2004, 182). If the records have inconsistencies but are fixed as source material for designation, they may contradict each others’ information and any subsequent preservation efforts.

3.3 An alternative *salpuri*?

Considering the adversity of trying to preserve and convey a dynamic dance practice through rigid legislation and repetitive exhibition, another way to perform *salpuri* is difficult in contemporary circumstances, but not impossible. Dancer Lee Ae-Joo (b. 1947) has exhibited another way to bring forward the dance without omitting technical or historical alignment. As a

student of Han Young-Sook, she is aware of the designated version of *salpuri* with its techniques, but has put that capability into a context more familiar as folk performance. In the context below (fig. 3.3), the display is more inspired by folk customs and form. The performance takes place outdoors, open to the elements, almost as a reference to the shamanistic *axis mundi* of heaven-earth alignment (Eiss 2014). The dancer is accompanied by musicians who closely follow her movements. They are also part of the performance. The audience stands near the display, closely included in the activity rather than separated (sitting far from the dancer in a theatre hall).

This possibility of performing *salpuri* is undoubtedly difficult to manage within current circumstances of growing crowds and year-round demand, but worth exploring as an alternative. But even if taking *salpuri* off a theatrical stage and bringing it amongst the people would indeed reference the dance's folk roots of communal creation, this adaptation would be artificially arranged. Omitting an element of the designated dance - it being performed on stage - that is vital to its contemporary form, would further subject *salpuri* to re-formalization.



Figure 3.3. Lee Ae-Joo performing *salpuri-chum* at the Gyeonghui Palace, year unknown.

It is not my suggestion to harken to a past irrelevant to contemporary South Koreans and forcibly recreate a folk environment, or omit certain elements of the form known as *salpuri* now, but to reference a folk background that would provide wider developmental contextualization. Perhaps an option to suggest would be to perform *salpuri* as it has been since 1938, on a theatrical stage, as it is best for accommodating contemporary circumstances, but with a live musical arrangement, as a reference to historical circumstances. This compromise would support the designated form of *salpuri* without dismantling the legal framework that sustains the dance and its performers, and offer the connection and livelihood of folklore it currently misses. Including performers of traditional music (*nong-ak*) would also provide them employment and visibility. Lee Eun-Joo agrees in the interview that live musical accompaniment is required, but the audience does not have to be part of the performance. As for the future of *salpuri*, she is positive and sees the dance as a main element of traditional Korean art, convinced the basic structure will be continued (Lee 2020).

According to Keith Howard (2012, 19) the typical East Asian top-down approach to preservation system privileges scholarly and governmental criteria over artistic qualities - as products of “human technical artistry,” performed, created, and transmitted by professionals. Further evaluation and authorization of heritage settings stems from this approach. Cultural critics cited by Tauxe (2012, 136) have further identified the overall process of commodification in society as a dehumanizing trend. When it comes to the commodification of ICH, it can be seen how designated forms are omitted of personified contextual cues that provide integral understanding of the practices. Yet, esteemed individuals are designated and supported as Treasures by the state. The positive aspect of commodification is that it creates a new field of economic activity and allows individuals to choose where and what to exchange. But commodification of resources can be used for constructing identities and recontextualising appropriated ‘products’ in heterogeneous ways (Tauxe 2012, 136) which can be harmful as a force of global cultural homogenization.

Conclusion

Reconsidering traditions and traditionality in juxtaposition with modernization has been a reaction to the process of state formation in many emerging nation-states. Claims of historical continuity and cultural roots have been utilized by the state for nationalistic imagery. Culture has been perceived as a result of material social processes or as itself a process determined by hegemony and conflict (Kim 2006, 99). This can be seen in the case of colonised Korea, where vigorous folklore scholarship and systematic efforts of cultural heritage preservation subsequently emerged from a struggle for independence. Through the identification of cultural heritage, shared symbols and values of a nation can be defined and interpreted for various gains. The rhetoric followed in East Asian heritage preservation efforts reflects visions of modernization processes set by political elites. Cultural policies, such as the CPPL of 1962, have often been driven by mercenary and nationalistic political aspirations (Saeji 2012, 37). The Korean cultural conservation policy was the result of an endeavour to interweave traditional cultural heritage into the fabric of modernization (Yang 2003, 105). The necessity of protecting traditional modes of expression has also been urged by increased awareness of communal effort in securing cultural patrimony. In South Korea, due to experiencing a loss of cultural identity during the Japanese colonial period, the looming implications of Westernization, and the burgeoning technological innovations since the 1970s-80s, the rediscovery and reconstruction of cultural identity through the preservation of 'traditions' have been a legitimization strategy of a progressive yet firmly rooted country. National culture is institutionalized by policies to protect cultural-historical values for the sake of national identity. Upon politicizing cultural heritage to carry national pride departed from an authorized interpretation, control is exerted over the process of enlistment, designation, and transmission. Well-intentioned yet unavoidably bureaucratic and standardized protocol renders dynamic cultural phenomenon into stagnant re-enactments of itself.

Expressions of cultural-historical value in the preservation legislation are subject to transformation as recontextualized national culture in the form of IICP. This transformation happens through the ritualization of repeated performances in public cultural reproductions under

the guise of preservation, and results in the institutionalization of folklore genres. The cultural heritage preservation system recontextualizes folk art forms into fixed forms for designation. Korean folklore genres, performance arts, have been decontextualized in order to be designated as IICP in accordance with an ‘original form’ at the time of validation and are conveyed as static adaptations. National festivals and international concerts continually repeat the designated form of the performance, perpetuating a taxidermized version of living practice. After designation, any innovation or change of the form is near impossible, regardless of updated research on the matter. The system is bureaucratically strict. Thus performing arts forms perceived as ‘old traditions’ have become unchanging national symbols that are performed to encourage national pride. In the case of *salpuri-chum*, a dance of shamanistic ritual function and village entertainment has been restated as a ‘new tradition’ from 1938 and since performed in a professional context.

Heritage performances are a source of national pride and identity for locals, and an appreciation of a multi-faceted country internationally. While the original meaning and function of the dance have changed, the performing arts now carry an intrinsic meaning as state-designated national treasures and their performers as LCTs. Still, Korean traditional folklore genres have become emblems to maintain national symbols. To an extent, changes in pattern, function, and meaning brought about by the protection policies within designation are inevitable. The act of preserving culture leads to administration and classification, and before properties can be preserved they are identified and documented. If the item nominated is no longer actively performed, even reconstruction may occur. In this process, the selection of phenomena and its form or pattern up for designation will also be specified by experts and administrators. The institutionalization of heritage settings and their safeguarding efforts almost always require an administrative framework. The South Korean system of cultural preservation that is based on the 1962 CPPL provides this administrative framework. A positive outcome of the Korean preservation efforts is the increase of folklore studies, whereby the focus has shifted to collecting and documenting historical material (Yang 2003, 108). The designation enlistment of folk forms as IICP is based on the Intangible Cultural Properties Committee’s use of primary collections and research by early cultural-nationalist folklorists. Considering cultural heritage for

preservation, conservation, protection, and transmission is also a fundamental concern of modern folklorists. It involves public exhibitions, educating society, and validating shared identity regardless of political associations. These objectives manifest as awareness programs, media representation, and public displays. Such programs seek to illuminate diverse heritage settings and encourage cultural continuity. Whereas the cultural policy protects ‘traditions’ and educates future safeguardians, it also manipulates and reshapes folklore genres for political use. The government finds legitimation through international showcases and identification with national symbols (Yang 2003, 109). Public events are often supported by policymakers who may provide more than financial aid, also curating what the performances should convey (Yang 2003, 113). A protection policy is necessary in order to preserve a nation’s memory of its history, but the culture being preserved is vulnerable to the interpretations of those with authority.

LCTs as professional performers of IICP perpetuate standardized forms through transmission education and regulated performances. The government requires the ‘original form’ to be conveyed without changes, thus the performers are expected to demonstrate professional ability in manifesting the *wonhyeong*. This display of professionalism makes the designated forms highly developed into sophisticated art forms accommodated for theatrical stage settings, and can also result in the properties being marketed for commercial benefit. In the case of *salpuri-chum*, the recognition that came with designating Lee Eun-Joo as LCT has increased public performances and awareness of the intangible item and led to wider popularization via concerts and educational workshops. Although the application of the Korean preservation law has caused contradiction and conflict within itself in the presentation of public performances, the legislation maintains performing arts and ‘traditional culture’ as national symbols in the face of rapid change. These symbolic items of cultural heritage have shaped and preserved a national identity, important for the state to consolidate as of communal comprehension. On the other hand, many of the performing arts preserved, including *salpuri-chum*, have their roots in folk practices, yet the folklore genres transform into forms of admiration for the elite. Performative heritage has become stylized and commercialized, and resulted in the sophistication of arts (Yang 2003, 93).

Through the appropriation of folklore genres, the government has been able to legitimize its authority over cultural identification, claiming a connection *with* and *over* the folk. State-sponsored scholarship has made effort to refer to a glorious Korean past, often to the time of a unified kingdom (Tangherlini 1998, 139). Use of folk culture in the political discourse of 1987-1988 (democratic elections, Olympic Games) had the ambition to legitimize the inheritance of tradition. Yet recontextualization of folklore genres and shamanistic ritual symbolism in political expression changes the meaning of activities from seizing a discursive space usually denied by patrimonial order to validating the oppressive sentiment of the rural populace and their customs as of service to the state and the elite (Tangherlini 1998, 141). Rather than seeing folklore genres as living cultural traditions or dynamic practices, their symbolism is picked apart to be used as emblems in heritage displays, perpetuating a static consideration of folk art forms. As Aubert (2007, 10) has concluded:

“The nature of tradition is not to preserve intact a heritage from the past, but to enrich it according to present circumstances and transmit the result to future generations.”

Perhaps as not to subject performative heritage to so-called taxidermy (Saeji 2012), the further development of forms should be encouraged to an extent, not forbidden within the designation process. Although it can be followed how *salpuri-chum* has transformed; reconstructed as a ‘traditional Korean dance’ staged since 1938, its prior movements have been passed down in historical transmission - from shamans to folk artists and entertainers to pioneers and their students. The transmission continues in the contemporary context under the supervision of heritage protection administrators, through apprenticeship, workshops, and concerts. Lee Eun-Joo embodies this effort. Having studied the craft straight from the source, so to speak, she carries on her teachers’ legacy through the LCT designation, and her embodiment of *salpuri* is carried on through performances and educational activities.

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Appendices

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Appendix 2

Transcript of interview with Lee Eun-Joo via email correspondence on 10.07.2020

Appendix 3

Lee, Eun-Joo. *Seoulteukbyeolsi muhyeongmunhwajae jijeong · injeong sincheongseo salpuri-chum* (Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Heritage Application for the Designation and Recognition of Salpuri-chum). Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Department, 2011.

Appendix 1 - List of figures

- 1.1 “Report of Seoul dance performance” in Joseon Ilbo 19.06.1938. Source: Lee, Eun-Joo. *Seoulteukbyeolsi muhyeongmunhwajae jijeong · injeong sincheongseo salpuri-chum* (Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Heritage Application for the Designation and Recognition of *Salpuri-chum*). Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Department, 2011. Not available online.
- 1.2; 1.3 Lee Ae-Joo performing *salpuri-chum* at Gyeonghui Palace. Source: Naver blog *Minjunghaebangyeolsa Park Raejeon ginyeomsaeophoe* (People’s Liberation Activist Park Raejeon Memorial Project) - <https://blog.naver.com/winterflower0606/221247414888> - accessed 18.05.2020.
- 1.4 Han Young-Sook performing *salpuri-chum*. Source: Lee, Eun-Joo. *Seoulteukbyeolsi muhyeongmunhwajae jijeong · injeong sincheongseo salpuri-chum* (Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Heritage Application for the Designation and Recognition of *Salpuri-chum*). Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Department, 2011. Not available online.
- 1.5 Lee Eun-Joo performing *salpuri-chum*. Source: Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Center - seoulmaster.co.kr - accessed 07.05.2020.
- 2.1 Lee Eun-Joo and Han Young-Sook in 1989. Source: Lee, Eun-Joo. *Seoulteukbyeolsi muhyeongmunhwajae jijeong · injeong sincheongseo salpuri-chum* (Seoul Metropolitan City Intangible Cultural Heritage Application for the Designation and Recognition of *Salpuri-chum*). Seoul Intangible Cultural Heritage Department, 2011. Not available online.
- 3.1 Poster for concert at National Gugak Center (NGC) on October 4th 2015. Source: National Gugak Centre (NGC) Website - gugak.co.kr - accessed 10.05.2020.
- 3.2 IICP Seoul department 12th annual *salpuri-chum* training workshop. Source: Naver blog *Dance is Life* - blog.naver.com/ssw5108/221614759974 - accessed 14.05.2020.
- 3.3 Lee Ae-Joo performing *salpuri-chum* at Gyeonghui Palace. Source: Naver blog *Minjunghaebangyeolsa Park Raejeon ginyeomsaeophoe* (People’s Liberation Activist Park Raejeon Memorial Project) - <https://blog.naver.com/winterflower0606/221247414888> - accessed 18.05.2020.

Appendix 2 - Interview transcript with Lee Eun-Joo, 10.07.2020

1. How has the designation of Living Cultural Treasure (인간문화재) changed your career, comparing before and after 2015?

LEJ: It is very honorable to be a living cultural treasure. The government supports about US\$1,000 per month to each living cultural treasure for his/her activities as a living cultural treasure. However, I spend more than US\$ 3,000 per month for operating my dance studio.

2. How often do you perform *Salpuri*? How often for free?

LEJ: A living cultural treasure has to hold the free performance at least once a year. However, I hold my personal *Salpuri-Chum* performance more than 5 times per year (It is not free performance)

3. How often do you teach *Salpuri*? How often for free?

LEJ: I, as a living cultural treasure, teach *Salpuri-Chum* to the students who want to be an initiator of *Salpuri-Chum* once a week.

4. How many people approximately have you taught *Salpuri* (excluding workshops)?

LEJ: I teach about 10 people for being the initiator and about 10 people who just want to learn the Korean traditional dance.

5. Does the Seoul annual workshop (서울시 무형문화재 살풀이춤 연수회) require a ticket to attend? How much is it?

LEJ: Ticket price can be changed according to the situation.

6. Who would you say could be the next Living Cultural Treasure in *Salpuri* from your students?

LEJ: It is not decided yet.

7. Contemporary *Salpuri* is almost always performed in white, when did this begin?

LEJ: Yes.

8. What is the significance of a white *hanbok* and white fabric while performing *Salpuri*?

LEJ: Traditionally, most Korean people like white color. In addition, white color means pureness. The color symbolize soul; thus, white *Hanbok* and fabric are necessary for the *Salpuri-Chum*.

9. Did Han Sung-Jun also perform in white?

LEJ: Yes.

10. Do you consider *Salpuri* a dance with shamanistic roots? If yes, are these elements still present?

LEJ: As you may know, Salpuri-Chum is partly originated from the Korean shamanic tradition. Thus, some shamanic elements still remain. In particular, the accompaniment of the dance is Sinawi rhythm originated from Korean shamanism.

11. Do you feel *Salpuri* has a standard form that has been designated as Important Intangible Cultural Property nr 97 and is performed today?

LEJ: Yes. Now Korean government recognizes the three main styles of Salpuri-Chum; Han Young-Sook Style, Lee Mae-bang Style, and Kim Sook-ja Style.

12. Or do you feel *Salpuri* is still developing - is there an improvisational element?

LEJ: According to dancer, the style of Salpuri-Chum could be a little changed. However, the standard form or structure has to be kept.

13. In what kind of environment could *Salpuri* be performed most authentically? For example on a theatrical stage with/without live musical accompaniment; outdoors with/without live musical accompaniment? Is the audience part of the performance?

LEJ: Although the style of Salpuri-Chum could be a little changed according to the dancers, the basic structure cannot be changed. Only the performing time can be adjusted according to the situation. In general, most performances require the live musical accompaniment. And the dancer's movement can be changed a little according to the Sinawi rhythm. Unlike the Korean traditional music, there is no audience part of performance in Salpuri-Chum.

14. Does the Cultural Heritage Administration require you to perform or teach *Salpuri* a certain number of times in (for example) one year?

LEJ: A living cultural treasure has to perform at least once a year. And the administration requires each living cultural treasure to teach the dance for keeping cultural heritage.

15. Have you performed *Salpuri* at the National Folk Arts Contest (한국민속예술축제)?

LEJ: I participated the National Folk Arts Contests in 1977. At that time, I received the first price.

16. What could be the future of *Salpuri*?

I think that the basic structure of Salpuri-Chum will be continually kept because it is the very important cultural treasure. And the three styles mentioned above will be continually succeeded as the main styles of Salpuri-Chum. I think that the future of Salpuri-Chum will be very positive as far as we understand it as a main element of the Korean traditional art.