

Between Preservation and Renewal: Reconsidering Technology in Contemporary *Pansori* Training

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ABSTRACT: Technology, when used in Korean *pansori* training, is routinely critiqued as producing copycat voices or moving away from long-standing ideologies and traditional practices. At the same time, recording technologies, digitised resources, media circulation and online platforms permeate contemporary training praxis. This article examines this perceived antithesis by first charting the heterogeneous interface between traditional pedagogies and cross-genre, intercultural and amateur *pansori* performance, then tracing shifting attitudes towards technology. Building on the author's fieldwork in 2009 and embodied training alongside recent electronic resources in 2019 and interviews with *pansori* singers and teachers, it further examines the YouTube channel Bonjour Pansori and contemporary iterations of mountain training (*sankongbu*). Technologies in *pansori* training, it is argued, are ontoepistemologically entangled in less clearcut ways than any polar opposition between preservation and renewal might imply.

Keywords: *pansori*, voice training, digital training, online training, technology and performance, recording devices, ontoepistemology of voice

Unreleased discographies: making training technology audible

'You do have a recorder, no?' asks early on in our introductory lesson Moon Soo

Hyun, a young *pansori* singer and teacher.¹ The tone is rhetorical. It is 2009, and I am about to embark on a summer-long training fieldwork in South Korea, exploring *pansori*, a Korean vocal-narrative form performed by a solo voicer, accompanied by a drummer (*gosu*).² Having read the influential monographs by Pihl (1994) and Park

¹ I Romanise Korean terms following the system established by the South Korean government in 2000, also deployed by the National Gugak Center.

² My 2009 doctoral fieldwork consisted of group classes (for Koreans) at the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA), Seoul, and private *pansori* lessons. I attended full-length performances at the NCKTPA and the National Theater, and several *pansori* excerpts at the Korean House and the NCKTPA. Archival research was conducted at the Seoul Arts Centre, the

(2003) in advance, I was aware that—in a solo genre that requires singers to learn copious amounts of text and music by rote—imitating the teacher, taking detailed notes and devising personal scores was indispensable. What I did not expect, however, was the extent to which contemporary pedagogy is permeated by technology.

My surprise must have derived from the way technology was routinely approached in the literature. If mentioned at all, it was relegated to a separate chapter or appendix about recording(s) as distinct from live performance and historic lineages of practice (Howard 1999, pp. 83-105, 2008, Shim 2004, p. 93-98), or was subjugated to other concerns (for example comparing recordings of a song to define an authorial version of its text in Pihl 1994, p. 106-109). When referencing technology as part of pedagogy, Korean scholars admit that it is gradually becoming a staple of learning (Park 2003, pp. 158-163; Um 2013, p. 125). However, they also downplay its increasing significance by presenting it as mere ‘*aide memoire*’ or ‘compliment [sic]’ to ‘traditional oral teaching methods’ (Um 2013, p. 125, p. 149), and critique it as instilling emulative, copycat performance at the expense of creativity and individual vocality (Park 2003, p. 164, Um 2013, p. 149). This article begins from the position that an exploration of the bifurcated position of technology in *pansori* training as both omnipresent and nonessential, as useful tool and perceived risk, is largely overdue.

Pansori plays a critical part in discussions of national heritage and topical understandings of cultural production and traditional arts in Korea.³ *Pansori* has also attracted scholarly attention in European and North-American academia, while

Korean National University of Arts, the National Palace Museum, the Museum of Folk Music and the National Folk Museum, and, later, the Korean Cultural Centre in London. Subsequently, I have attended several *pansori* masterclasses, conferences and performances in the UK and Poland, and primarily engaged with online resources.

³ Debates around the place and function of *pansori* in Korean traditional arts, can be found in Pihl 1994, H-J. Song 2000, Shim 2004, C-H. Kim 2008, Park 2008 and Y-S. Lee 2008b.

pansori-inspired techniques play a growing role in cross-cultural and transnational performer training.⁴ This article adds to this rapidly growing corpus by responding to a telling gap: to this date, discussions of training technologies in *pansori* have been ad hoc and of secondary importance. To redress this, this article probes the largely unexamined interface between technology and *pansori* pedagogy, and asks: What is the role of technology in contemporary *pansori* teaching and learning? How has it affected conventional pedagogy? How are such changes perceived, locally and globally?⁵ While context-specific in character, this investigation—particularly through its focus on digital and online voice training—raises questions of wider concern to performer trainers and researchers: How can the movement of pedagogy into an open-access macrocosm be embraced both as a challenge and a possibility for a practice previously intimately transmitted? How do the new epistemologies of dissemination and ethics of accessibility enabled by technology intersect with the shifting ontologies of traditional practice?

In engaging such questions, first I briefly survey diachronic changes in *pansori* training, map the landscape of interactions between its pedagogy and technology, and locate my analysis within conflicting attitudes towards these interactions. The main emphasis is on two case studies: an online series of training videos (Bonjour Pansori) and contemporary iterations of traditional mountain training (*sankongbu*). To trace the rapidly evolving attitudes towards technologies of *pansori* training and their transnational significance across media and platforms, I experiment with a non-chrononormative, temporally inclusive, transnational and transdisciplinary

⁴ Monographs in English include Pihl 1994, Park 2003, Um 2013 and Jang 2014. The collections by Shim (2004) and Y-S. Lee (2008a), published in Korea, are also intended for an international readership. Choe and Han (2016) address Francophone scholars. For cross-cultural experimentation, refer to Park (2003, 2008, 2019) and McAllister-Viel (2006a, 2007, 2009b, 2015, 2018).

⁵ The article also contributes to the small corpus of work on digitality and other traditional practices (see, for example, Hornabrook 2017 for diasporic Carnatic singing).

methodological design. In what follows, I interweave my training in South Korea in 2009 and my UK training with the Bonjour Pansori videos in 2019. As a foreigner, my writing witnesses the contemporary *pansori* community and its fast-changing training culture also from a non-Korean perspective and embraces a transnational perspective. Alongside my embodied vocal practice, I bring to dialogue voices from three interviews with *pansori* singers and teachers from in situ ethnography in 2009 (J-E. Lee 2009, Moon 2009, Noh 2009) and two recent interviews conducted online (Moon 2019, Park 2019b). All interviewees work inside and outside Korea, are equally interested in performance and pedagogy, and have taught both Koreans and non-Koreans.

‘The old ways of today’s *pansori* masters’ or the new ways of old master-ship?’⁶

The (much debated) origins of *pansori* go back to indigenous rites of female shamans and the songs of low-class travelling entertainers (*gwangdae*).⁷ From the mid-eighteenth-century, through a complex process of gradual and methodical revisions, gentrification, and the systematisation of pedagogy, five narratives (*batang*) came to survive and are still performed.⁸ Up until at least the beginning of the twentieth century, transmission was effected through vigorous one-to-one training under master singers, inside a clan-type system of distinct schools (*yupas*). Each safeguarded a specific version of the songs, with the student absorbing it over several years by imitating the master.

⁶ From Song Hye-jin (2000, p. 111).

⁷ Both the term singer (*changja* and/or *sorikkun*) and performer/entertainer (*gwangdae*) are used in *pansori* depending on the focus, i.e., the singing or the performative aspects.

⁸ *Chunhyangga* (on romantic love), *Simcheongga* (on filial devotion), *Jeokbyeokga* (on war), *Heungboga* (on familial bonds between siblings), and *Sugungga* (on loyalty to the king).

From a *macrostructural* perspective, tuition, at least in the nineteenth century, started at a very young age, usually under a relative. It continued with long practice in the mountains in a period of ‘punishing efforts to acquire a “voice”’ (Pihl 1994, pp. 104-05), and was accomplished when the novice joined an itinerant group of *gwangdae* and debuted in a competition or other festivity. When retiring, the singer would devote themselves to teaching. Examining the *microstructure* of the trainer-trainee relationship, Park has proposed the following model: ‘1) Preparing the learner’s text, 2) Sound reception, 3) Drilling, and 4) Polishing’ (2003, pp. 158-60). In the training studio:

- the trainee prepares the textual fragments to be absorbed in each session, also creating a personal annotation system;
- revision of previous extracts is followed by the acquisition of new ones through listening and imitation;
- detailed repetitions and corrections aim at honing and perfecting vocal style.

This slow-moving, cumulative approach is intended to allow time for the memorisation of intricate, long-form musical texts. It also trains precise ear-training for absorbing sophisticated details of phonation. Trainees do not simply learn text and music on a structural level. The key aim is to embody the sonic qualities of voicing *pansori*—the prosodies, intonations or timbres that define voice as exceeding mere linguistic expression. Shim summarises the overarching progression of the learner in a simpler formula: moving from ‘*sajinsori* (photographic sound)’ to attaining one’s ‘own unique vocal characteristics’ (2004, p. 55). What both Park and Shim emphasise is that the pedagogy of *pansori* is twofold: it does not end with the internalisation of the repertoire but with the shaping of an individual *voice*.

Following the suppression of *pansori* during Japanese Colonisation (1910-1945), academic interest and fears among practitioners that the genre might become extinct nourished a movement towards preservation (Howard 2006). In 1964, the first group of Intangible Cultural Assets was designated, including *pansori* as number 5. Performers are appointed as holders/preservers of selected versions of songs considered intangible cultural treasures (*muhyeong munhwajae*). In this new legislative context, training acts as the main guarantor of preservation. Holders receive a monthly stipend to perform, teach the chosen version of a song in its entirety and appoint their selected successor. *Pansori* courses are also offered by many Korean higher-education institutions, where, in contrast to the strict, lineage-adhering transmission of traditional apprenticeship, learning from several teachers is the norm (J-E. Lee 2009, Moon 2009, Noh 2009). Contemporary *pansori* training has not only become institutionalised—it now is plural and eclectic (see Moon 2009, J-E. Lee 2009).

Although *pansori* has for long existed in close-knit relationship to its distinct local seedbeds, nowadays performances also tour abroad and are globally broadcast on radio, television and the internet, and, in 2003, *pansori* was designated a Masterpiece of Oral Tradition and Intangible Heritage of Humanity by UNESCO. Although ‘[o]rally transmitted arts exist, without exception, as a form of local type’ (K. H. Kim 2008, p. 9), decades of colonially-imposed or government-sponsored internationalisation and the recent, state-sanctioned institutionalisation of education have influenced the way *pansori* is transmitted today.⁹

⁹ The complex links between globalisation and colonialism result in attitudes towards the internationalisation of traditional arts in Korea that range from rejecting Westernisation (B-S. Song 2000, p. 28) to actively pursuing transnational exchange (Kwon 2002, p. 90).

The use of technology is a key factor in such developments. A provisional map of recent, emergent and proliferative intersections of training and technology includes:

1. Coming to training: the rise in discographic releases throughout the twentieth century meant that many singers became aware of the genre and chose to train inspired by favourite recordings or representations of *pansori* in other media. In 1992, singer Jo Sanghyeon related: ‘I enjoyed listening and singing along to the songs. We have a saying, “near ink one is stained black,” and so, since I liked listening to music, it was my destiny that music would become my life’ (in Howard 2008, p. 166).

Further, *Seopyeonje*, the 1993 film by Im Gwontaek dramatising the training of a *pansori* singer’s daughter, made a new box office record in Korea and attracted worldwide attention to the genre, including new trainees.

2. A new horizon of performance expectations: Trainees can no longer expect to perform *pansori* exclusively on stage or in its entirety. *Pansori* is discographed and extracts feature in concerts and TV or radio broadcasts. The *pansori* corpus is extended to include new repertoires and experiments such as *changgeuk* (opera-inspired, full-cast stage versions of the solo songs). Technological mediation is not mere dissemination. It also influences training by dictating new trends and styles.

Over the last thirty years, *pansori* has been released in rap, hip hop, jazz and musical theatre versions as well as in fusions and crossovers (Raskin 2004).

Pansori has also fascinated foreign audiences, academics and practitioners, as evidenced in the wealth of bibliographic and online material available in several languages, and the increasing number of foreigners travelling to Korea to undertake shorter or longer periods of training. Chan E. Park’s (2003, 2008) transnational *pansori* capitalises on the creative possibilities offered by supertitles and simultaneous

translation in combining preserved and new narratives towards a bilingual *pansori*. Tara McAllister-Viel (2006a, 2007, 2009b, 2015) has developed intercultural approaches to training both in Seoul and the UK, also using recordings her tutees make in marketplaces.

In 2003, the *Ttorang Gwangdae Konteseuteu* (Ditch Clowns Contest) attempted to bridge the gap between trained and amateur performance. Taking advantage of the breadth of electronic resources available, professional and amateur performers uploaded a manifesto, organised a contest for singers without official training, instigated new *pansori* street performances, and released their own recordings. In addition, online communities of aficionados and informally trained performers, such as Let's Open Pansori, are now generating 'creative collective work' (Um 2013, p. 201), having access to a plethora of recordings, videos and other documentation.

In this sense, the technological circulation of *pansori* does not only affect the context of its performance. It decisively expands the vocal imaginary of *pansori* by moving beyond the aesthetics of nationalised Korean-ness, strict allegiance to genre, solo vocal responsibility and hard-acquired vocal perfection towards voices that are mixed-genre, multilingual, transnational, collective and amateur. Such change is not only indicative of a friction between traditional and new pedagogies. It is also concerned with the question of whether and how changes of the form of the training result in changes of the qualities of *pansori* voices and, therefore, the aesthetics of *pansori* performances—and vice versa. If the unique qualities of the voice adapt in anticipation of regular microphoned or recorded performance and integrate non-trained or cross-cultural characteristics—if, in other words the voice that signals *pansori*-ness is not the one traditionally aspired to and later painstakingly 'preserved' or 'held'—how far can the genre itself stretch before it changes beyond recognition?

3. Multiplicity and accessibility of teaching material and resources: Aspiring singers can select from a large number of releases: those of modern master singers (Seong Changsun, Park Dongjin, Kim Yeonsu, Ahn Sooksun), in abbreviated versions of songs (Pak Jowol, Seong Changsun) or full-length renditions; early recordings re-released in the Great Voices of *Pansori* series; *changgeuk* versions; and CDs or websites accompanying scholarly publications (see Howard 1999, 2008). CDs and DVDs of performances are available on the market, in specialised libraries and archives (Arko Arts Library, Information Audiovisual Center) or the dedicated museum in Incheon, as well as in digital form online. Further, a wealth of blogs document the fieldwork and training of international students, or include amateur recordings of private singing sessions, visual analyses of melodic lines and vocal qualities through spectrograms, and detailed commentary on related practice-research projects.¹⁰

4. Facilitation of studio learning: as I discovered in my 2009 fieldwork, the second stage of the micro-structure of training (learning by rote and imitation) is now intimately linked to the use of recording devices. During my private lessons with Moon Soo Hyun, she would start by recording the entire section of *Simcheongga* we were about to explore. Frequently, she would record separately the pronunciation of linguistically difficult passages or cycles of the rhythmic pattern (*jangdan*) peculiar to the song at hand, either by clapping and counting carefully in front of my recorder's mike or by performing the *jangdan* on the barrel-shaped drum. She would ask me to record myself while practising and compare my efforts to her version. In addition, she downloaded and emailed online translations and, before embarking on a new passage,

¹⁰ Key websites include those of the National Gugak Center, the Cultural Heritage Administration, the Gochang Pansori Museum or the Gugak FM Broadcasting System. Contemporary and intercultural training are documented by blogger-researchers (Willoughby [2009](#), Creutzenberg [2014](#), Neideck [2009](#)).

recommended recordings and explained the differences between each singer's timbre and pedagogic affiliation.¹¹

The majority of my Korean classmates at the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA) course also used recorders of some sort—usually, digital Dictaphones or iPhones—and our tutor, Noh Hae Yang, approached recording in the same way as Moon Soo Hyun. She also directed us to information related to the songs, published on NCKTPA's web pages. One of my most vivid recollections was our penultimate class, during which one of my Korean classmates brought in a CD recording. After comparing the discographed song to how we had been taught to sing it in class, we attempted both versions, once singing along with our teacher, and once with our newly-introduced, 'mediatised tutor.'

Within changing training contexts, and through proliferative digital and online resources, the hitherto established microcosm of the teacher-disciple dyad has radically shifted. The frictions between traditional pedagogies and new technologies afford an opportunity to democratise *pansori* training through increased accessibility, multimodality and inclusivity. New platforms offer a chance to place emphasis on the trainee and their pluralistic interaction with training materials and resources. Significantly, the collaborative demands of new composition, the growing role of *pansori*-inspired techniques in cross-cultural pedagogics and the voices of revisionist amateurs necessitate that training methodologies partake in the ongoing negotiation between safeguarding and renewing *pansori*.

From 'photocopying' to 'making yours': critiques and reassessments

¹¹ These strategies had little to do with my being a foreigner, since I know how to read phonetically and transliterate Korean. Moon Soo Hyun uses the same methodologies with all her students.

Despite this shifting landscape, contemporary training practices have been regularly criticised as ossified, stifling pluralism and favouring fragmentation (K.H. Kim 2008, pp. 22-23, Park 2003, p. 107). Often, the emphasis of these criticisms is on technology and its uses:

- The younger generation of singers is thought to photographically reproduce the sound of older masters as ‘captured’ in recordings (see Park 2003, Um 2013);
- Online marketing and recording strategies are blamed for the promotion of some singers to the detriment of other important performers (see H. Lee 2013);
- The younger generation of singers is criticised for selectively learning extracts of several songs and styles, a practice regarded as more suited to the marketing needs of recording companies than to the traditional field of live performance (see Howard 2003).

Such criticism of the mass reproduction of *pansori* and the recent rethinking of its pedagogy through technology is not simply linked to a Benjaminian loss of auratic authenticity. These critical attitudes cannot be understood outside the context of emic narratives that tie the emergence of South Korea as nation to the advent of modernity, through the trauma of Japanese colonisation and Westernisation (Namhee 2003, p. 557, B. Lee 1997, p. 8, H. Lee 2013, p. 133).

Another important reason for the scepticism around using technology *as part of the training* is because it seems to break away from a culturally-specific notion of hardship, known as *han*. This is a Korean ideology resulting from a nationally-specific affective atmosphere of grief, sorrow and pain, accumulated through years of war, invasions, and separation of Koreans forced to migrate (Y. Lee 2002). Scholarly

research of the last 15 years has linked several aspects of *pansori* training to *han*, from the forceful use of the breath and the intentional damage of the vocal folds to the hierarchical relationship between master and disciple or the lifelong dedication to a single narrative and style (Willoughby 2000, 2002, 2006, 2008, McAllister-Viel 2001, 2006b, 2009a, 2009c, Thomaidis 2010, 2013a, 2013b, 2017). Hardship and struggle are considered integral aspects of the pedagogy. Using technology effectively challenges this widespread understanding, as it facilitates memorisation, allows trainees to become acquainted with plural styles and narratives, and offers ‘alternatives’ to the master’s way.

Criticisms of technology were prominent in informal discussions with my teachers and other trainees during my fieldwork in 2009. At the same time, both my teachers were already opening up to the opportunities afforded by technology. Ten years later, when I re-interviewed Moon Soo Hyun, technology seemed to be fully woven into all facets of her praxis:

As a trainee: I always listen to my lesson recordings to memorise all musical elements of the song. Referring to old master singers’ CDs and videos from YouTube *is essential* for developing the trainee’s ear.

As a teacher: Sometimes I take video when I teach and send it to some absent or long-distance students [...].

As a performer: I use blogging and YouTube for PR. And I use English subtitles for a foreign audience. (Moon 2019, added emphasis)

Chan E. Park, a prominent *pansori* artist and scholar, in her 2003 monograph also critiqued technology as leading to musical cloning. However, in our 2019 interview, she observed that her practice and research have led to a renewed appreciation of the potentialities emerging through engaging with technology:

Recordings *are essential tools* for all learners.

A learner makes own recordings of his or her teacher, during lessons.

From experience, professional CDs or DVDs, Youtube, should largely be for those amateur listeners not affiliated with teacher and school of learning, but take active interest as a fan, researcher, hobby, or self-study. And everyone

seeking the professional field news or updates, or personal embellishments also browses on Youtube. (Park 2019b, added emphasis)

Despite divergent uses of different media and platforms, an understanding of technology as *essential to* the pedagogy seems to be replacing unmitigated critique.

Rather than disruption, Park finds in recordings a sense of cross-generational listening:

My teacher is no longer living, yet I have continuously been depending on his recordings to review and re-review, re-re-review, and further. In essence, he lives to continue to teach me through his recordings. Listening to them thousands of times, I cultivate closer listening of his artistry as structural entity, the understanding of which is mine to reproduce within the boundary of my own vocal expressiveness. (2019b)

Even potential risks identified by previous generations of artists are currently re-evaluated. Regarding the danger of mimetic, ‘photographic’ copying (*sajinsori*) of the master’s recorded sound, Moon remarks: ‘In my opinion, the phenomenon of *sajinsori* is not from recordings. [...] Singers might lose creativity because their main musical environment is not *gugak* (traditional Korean music)’ (2019). Park provides a detailed reappraisal of its function:

[T]his was my own limited observation during the earlier stages of training. Outwardly, it does feel and look like you’re photocopying. But consider the process of learning a new language: it starts with sampling and ‘photocopying’ your teacher’s articulation and mannerism. The language one day becomes yours to use, and you speak, listen, write, and comprehend in your own way. People who see only the ‘photocopying’ need to go further into the process of training, continuously. (2019b)

Park’s balanced consideration of previous attitudes towards technology in comparison to recent ones is also captured in her closing statement of our interview: ‘Recording technology, despite the loss of oral culture, is a saving grace when it comes to the pedagogical field of traditional singing’ (2019b). The perils of undoing traditional orality, which have been at the core of critiques of modernisation, Westernisation and the fossilisation of creative practice, are now compensated, if not offset, by the

possibilities of endurance and renewal. This interplay between preservation and revitalisation, between tradition as uninterrupted survival and tradition as radically new life, is evident in the latest versions of online and digital trainings of the *pansori* voice.

A new day for *pansori* training? Bonjour Pansori 봉쥬르 판소리

‘Welcome to the channel Bonjour Pansori! My name is Min Hye Song and I am a singer of *pansori*’: a friendly and energetic voice addresses a diffused audience of YouTube watchers, immediately followed by live translation in French (Bonjour Pansori [2019a](#), my translation). This is the opening of the inaugural video of a recent initiative spearheaded by Korean master singer Min Hye Song: the YouTube channel Bonjour Pansori 봉쥬르 판소리. This first upload, made on 8 February 2019, marked a crucial shift towards online *pansori* apprenticeship, designed by a master singer and addressed to international (primarily Francophone and Korean-speaking) audiences. The channel has been rapidly populated with audiovisual material: within the space of 5 months, 22 videos have been uploaded, attracting approximately a total of 5,000 views. The thematic scope ranges from documentation of concerts and activities undertaken by Song and her students in various geographic and educational settings (workshops, conferences, presentations, festivals); educational videos providing historic and aesthetic context for the study of *pansori*; and a sub-series of videos specifically designed for training, titled ‘Cours de Pansori’ (*pansori* lessons).

The second, 5-minute video (Bonjour Pansori [2019b](#)) is an introduction to key vocal qualities of the *pansori* voice. Low vibrating notes, high-pitched straight tones, and sounds initiated with an attack (stressed onset) and then developing into rapid

variation around the fundamental pitch, are all progressively built into a sequence. Song first sings the series of vocalisations in distinct sections, then explains the aesthetic quality of each one, then rebuilds into sections, and concludes this lesson with the full sequence. At each step, Song's demonstration is followed by two students repeating the sounds. We online trainees are encouraged to repeat alongside the onscreen tutees. Our introduction to the sounds is facilitated by a graphic score representing the relative pitch, duration and timbral characteristics of each sound in iconographic approximation: an ascending non-vibrating tone, for example, is rendered into an upwards straight line, while double modulation of a descending tone is turned into a downwards spiral. The scores are embedded into the video within white boxes overlaid in the image and, as the lesson progresses, moving red underscores signal the precise moment in the graphic score voiced by the teacher or her tutees.

Spatio-temporal complexity is a defining characteristic of the training experience in this instance, and gestures towards a move beyond determined periods of training in close proximity to the master-teacher. In the last couple of months, while (re)training alongside the videos, I was able to pause and work through trickier vocal passages, revisit any of the material I felt needed further fleshing out and incorporate the vocalisations from this second video in my everyday warm-up routine—the video effectively deployed as accompaniment and substituting for instruments conventionally supporting vocal exercise. This prizing-open of time is not unlike Jonathan Pitches's observations in relation to his Massive Open Online Course on Meyerhold's biomechanics: 'learners value the opportunity to return to and review exercises at different times, moving backwards and forwards during the course and

extending their engagement beyond what they themselves have set as their designated time online’ (2019, p. 188).

Such disturbance of sequentiality and temporal linearity does not solely concern the immediate ‘now’ of the training. In my case, this new chance at training foregrounded a sense of simultaneous temporal disjuncture and uncanny conflation. Returning to systematic *pansori* training after 10 years from my fieldwork in Seoul, I became emphatically aware of my current distance from this repertoire (and pedagogy) as well as of my lack of access to a Korean master-singer’s studio due to financial and geographic limitations. Alongside familiar tips and coaching, Song provided advice and feedback that added to my prior understanding of the vocalisations and songs—or, in some instances, offered fresh perspectives on vocal technique. At the same time, the ‘Cours de pansori’ uploads were paradoxically similar to my 2009 experience: the vocalisation video, Min Hye Song’s descriptions and the graphic score were akin to my first *pansori* class at NCKTPA. The first entry in my training journal (8 June 2009) reads:

Noh Hae Yang [the teacher] starts by demonstrating four sound qualities of *pansori*, and asking us to repeat on an open [a] vowel: 1) *pungeum* (straight note), 2) *nunghyan* (vibrato, first a more controlled and low vibration, which gradually becomes accelerated and decreases in volume), 3) *kkeognuneum* (straight sound with a downward *appoggiatura* at the beginning, like a *marcato* leading to a belted *tenuto*), 4) *jireununeum* (shouting, high pitched belted note). When demonstrating the latter, she points at one end of the room with an index finger and sends the sound there keeping the energy up until the end of the phrase. There’s no warm up. We just practice these qualities on an open [a] vowel several times.

In both instances, the same four vocal qualities are predominant, we vocalised on an [a] sound, and the sequence was built incrementally through repetition of shorter passages.

Subsequent Bonjour Pansori videos, posted after the one on vocalisation, include clips on reading traditional notation and three video lessons on learning

‘Sarangga’, one of the most widely-circulated songs from the repertoire, extracted from the narrative *Chunhyangga*. This was precisely the same sequence we followed in the NCKTPA classes. This meant that I could easily rely on and assimilate prior knowledge in my interaction with the videos. My 2019 training practice brought these new videos into intra-active entanglement with my 2009 notes, scores, audio recordings and journal entries in a process that encompassed revisiting, revising and accessing new information in equal measure.¹² More than facilitating a continuation and extension of prior training, technology prompted an interweaving of vocal instruction from two temporal space-times (South Korea 2009 / UK 2019) and two sets of materials (archive of 2009 fieldwork / 2019 YouTube channel) in a mutual unfolding of *re-* and *de-*familiarisation: current practice highlighted earlier training as both distant and deeply in-grained, and vice versa.

A fellow trainee / follower of the Bonjour Pansori channel wrote in the comments section of the third video: ‘This is super, I can now train at home too’ (Bonjour Pansori [2019c](#); my translation). This follower also manages her own YouTube series of videos (소울Laure MAFO), broadly on Korean traditional arts and including excerpts of training, rehearsals and competitions. The emphatic use of ‘too’ here implies addition or intensification both in terms of pedagogy (she will now continue training not only in the studio but at home as well) and involvement with the online training community. While up until Bonjour Pansori was created, she had been able to chart her progress and share insights with a community of other trainees/online users, she could now return to her positionality as a trainee interacting with a master (and,

¹² Barad (2014) proposes intra-action to designate emergent relations and encounters between ‘agents’ that are not posited as existing in isolation but are entangled and largely co-constituted. Here, fieldwork material from 2009 intra-acts with 2019 videos in a process of mutual emergence within the current ‘moment’ of training.

implicitly, with the community of trainees also watching the master's videos), even online. In other words, whereas YouTube had operated as a timeframe *parallel to* the teacher-student *training* and a chance to seek support from and exchange information with peers, it was now acknowledged as an opportunity to integrate the teacher-student and trainee-to-trainee temporalities—and experience a sense of the studio without leaving her home.

Training, comfortably and without attendant financial implications, 'at home too' and the opportunity afforded for playful, student-centred and student-led engagement, bear similarities to Frank Camilleri's examination of contemporary Western training technologies. Camilleri has convincingly argued that the intersections of technology and performer training in the West are not necessarily a decisive departure from known models of pedagogy. Rather than mirroring teacher-reliant and curriculum-based systems of transmission, 'new' technologies build on trainee-led, 'learning-on-the-job' approaches, which have always depended on accessibility of teaching material (be they books or videos) and eclectic interactivity with the sources available (ranging from a more experienced peer to a short workshop with a master). 'Though the "new learning technologies" of the twenty-first century take interactivity to new levels, they are essentially based on three elements [interactivity, accessibility, visuality], which can be conflated into the principle of the "interactive accessible visual"' (Camilleri 2015, p. 21). For Camilleri, then, the major shift is not paradigmatic yet: technologies of training are still primarily used to advance *auto-didactic* training, initiated and designed by the trainee. This model has always co-existed with master/tutor- or institution-led tuition and, up to now, new technologies are enhancing and emulating it rather than replacing it.

Bonjour Pansori does not fall neatly into the categories of autodidactic or pedagogue-led training. On the one hand, the YouTube channel embeds and cultivates definite departures from the conventional teacher-tutee relationship. To begin with, unlike blog, DVD, or some trainee-managed video platforms, the master is not alone in delivering the training. In all videos, as described above, Song is accompanied by two of her long-term tutees who take turns demonstrating vocalisation. Song sings for both her proximate and online tutees and we are invited to join the students in voicing either after they demonstrate too or at the same time as them. Therefore, Song is not the sole voice leading the training, but the videos encompass a plurality of tutor voices, albeit the hierarchy is always evident. Secondly, the tutees translate instruction from Korean to French and, particularly when engaging in live linguistic interpretation, there is a dislocation of power dynamics in that during the intervals of translation the tutees are the ‘knowledge-holders.’ Such linguistic multiplicity is not only geared towards internationalisation and the transnational circulation of *pansori*, but it also partakes in an emergent heteroglossic ecology, itself linked to the potentials afforded by technologies of super- and subtitling.¹³ The videos are always subtitled in French and in the three lessons on ‘Sarangga’ the students are encouraged to translate the song and sing their own version in French. This builds on the tradition of creative subtitling discussed earlier and Park’s bilingual *pansori*, only in reverse: while Park communicates the *aniri* in English and performs the songs in Korean, here the students retain the narrative in its original and invent Francophone lyrics for the melody. Moreover, the pedestrian familiarity of YouTube as a medium and the sometimes DIY style of the uploaded videos achieve some unsettling of any

¹³ In deploying heteroglossia, I reference Bakhtin’s critique of linguistic unity (see Morson and Emerson 1990, pp. 139-149), but I am more interested in Korean perspectives on linguistic dialogism, evident in the various languages/registers/dialects embedded in the canon of *pansori batang* and newly-composed *pansori* (Park 2003, pp. 72-84, Park 2008, 153-159, Um 2013, pp. 57-68, Park 2019a).

preconceived perception of Song as a revered and unapproachable master. All videos include moments of laughter and cordial exchange between Song and her tutees, some videos include and acknowledge mistakes in editing or vocalisation (particularly Bonjour Pansori 2019c) and culminate in a euphoric collective exclamation of *chuimsae*. Rather than framing pedagogy as conscious and dutiful struggle along the lines of *han*, Song even admits in the opening video of the series that one of her goals is for online trainees joining in her practice to ‘enjoy themselves’ (Bonjour Pansori 2019a).¹⁴ Across the series of videos, the impression is of an underpinning effort to centre and counter-privilege the tutee above the master figure, to renew and infuse the given setup of transmission with elements and energies derived from an autonomous learning model.

On the other hand, despite any intentional challenges posed to her authority by the playful nature of the videos, Min Hye Song unquestionably remains a master figure. Song is herself an embodied representative of tradition as codified and promulgated by UNESCO and the system of holders. Since 2005, she is the holder/preserver of Intangible Cultural Treasure no.5, the narrative of *Heungboga*. Her training lineage is equally prestigious, as she first undertook tutelage under *pansori* teacher Seong U-Hyang (1932-2014; holder/preserver of the narrative *Chunhyangga*) and, later, she studied directly with Pak Song-Hee (1927- ; holder/preserver of *Heungboga*). Min Hye Song now occupies various other positions of honour, esteem and pedagogic influence: she lectures at the University of Yeongman, is a member of the group of traditional Korean music Aureum, trains teachers of traditional vocal music at

¹⁴ Although there isn’t space here to address the ethics of embodied *han* in online training, I should note that, in this case, *han* is both present (in that there are no warnings associated with perceived ‘risks’ or concrete protective strategies against what Western trainees would understand as ‘vocal strain’) but also absent (in that permanent modification of the vocal apparatus would require longer-term engagement with the techniques).

NCKTPA and is the president of the performance group Soeul Soripan, a company exclusively comprising her direct trainees. In the YouTube uploads, Song can perhaps acknowledge mistakes and allow her tutees to assist in the delivery of the songs precisely because her centrality in the *pansori* scene, both inside and outside Korea, is beyond doubt.¹⁵

Similarly, a cross-examination of the earlier and the latest videos reveals both an embracing of the new, auto-didactic energies outlined above and a gradual return to tenets of the conventional training. In the first videos, the trainees translate live in addition to the subtitles, whereas as the videos progress, this function is fully relegated to the subtitles. In an act of momentary silencing, the trainees are also muted in the final videos when repeating some of the song extract Song demonstrates. This means that, while in the first videos online trainees take part in a diffused version of a sing-along chorus of learners, in the later videos they repeat after Song and at the same time as her tutees but now only hearing their own voices. The live translation of the early videos participates in a phenomenological encounter of embodied voices in that it adds ‘clearly another “voice”, that of the translator’ and ‘calls attention to the independent voice of translation’ (Carlson 2006, p. 183, p. 185). On the contrary, subtitling, like supertitling in live performance, reduces these voices to a textual supplement, a side-text, and renders them functional: ‘a basically transparent aid to communication, a presumably neutral device’ (Carlson 2006, p. 198) in the service of *another voice*. With the muting of trainee’s voices, vocal transmission through the videos is no longer triangulated and multiplied via the trainee’s vocalicity but returns to the call-and-response at the heart of the traditional mimetic approach. Finally, it is

¹⁵ This is further attested by the fact that Choe and Han (2016, pp. 69-82) dedicate an extensive section on Song’s biography, accolades and international work in their book on *pansori* and globalisation.

worth noting that in the second video (Bonjour Pansori 2019b) the graphic score enabled voicing as distinct from and operating beyond the linguistic, and the immediacy of its visuality was not premised on musical expertise. Yet, in the ‘Sarangga’ videos following the lesson on Korean notation, graphic scores are replaced by Korean text set within the square boxes of traditional Korean notation.¹⁶

The modes of transmission, communication, interactivity and trainee agency enabled by the use of technology in this instance exemplify a move towards Camilleri’s auto-didactic model but are also antagonised by the top-down, codified models of transmission, as preserved not only through the system of holders and embodied studio practice but also their adjacent discursive domains in the literature. Such online training could be experienced as the hybrid version that Camilleri described as *guided auto-didacticism*, ‘a self-directed learning and training that utilises information from various sources, but which is ultimately dependent on self-organisation and self-evaluation, which in turn require self-discipline and a reflective capability respectively’ (2015, p.22). However, depending on the positionality of the trainee and their temporal engagement with the YouTube channel, hybridisation can foster trainee autonomy less and rely more on the master pedagogue’s fashioning of the process. This can be experienced as what I propose as *autonomous allo-didacticism* (*ἄλλος* = other, else + *διδάσκειν* = to teach); as part of eclectic, interactive learning outside institutions and curricula, an individual trainee can embrace, momentarily or routinely, pedagogy that is in fact centred on the educator’s curriculum and the institutions or traditions they represent. In this sense, the YouTube user’s ‘I can now do this at home too’ can signal both a continuation of their autonomous learning, as

¹⁶ An overview of discussions around traditional *hap janbo* (square) notation, several examples and comparisons with Western staff notation can be found in Kim, K.-H. (2008, pp. 31-45).

captured in their own training channel, *and* a desire to return more frequently to processes shaped by the master.

In other words, although there is an unmistakable attempt to generate a more rhizomatic, co-gential and inclusive learning environment in this online platform, distinctive traits of the traditional pedagogy not only persist but are reinstated. Bonjour Pansori repositions pedagogy by foregrounding a dislocation of educational hierarchies, playfulness, multilingualism, polyphony and a synaesthetic use of learning modalities. However, these revitalising tendencies work synergistically with practices that tacitly reabsorb them into canonical approaches to training and put the accent on narratives of Koreanness, discipline-specific musical expertise, and master-guided learning.

Mountainous echoes: technologies of contemporary *sankongbu*

The third video in the Bonjour Pansori (2019c) series is the only one not staged inside the studio. The vocal content is, for the most part, a repetition of video 2 and the vocalisations intended to introduce key *pansori* tones and qualities. However, the surrounding topography is radically different. Song, her long-term tutees and a small group of young adult trainees practise outdoors, on a snowy mountainous terrain. Mimetic call-and-response once again forms the core of the depicted exercises, but the acoustics are markedly distinct. Song uses the openness of the landscape to prompt the younger trainees to send their voices outwards and upwards, to engage with the distance and to project. Song herself acknowledges that her voice feels exhausted on the day but keeps demonstrating through a dynamic, forcefully stentorian sound that carries through the landscape—working both with and through any audible breaks in her voicing.

The choice to record video on a mountain and include it in the series is neither simply scenographic nor strictly pedagogic. Rather, the use of the mountain as training location or background seems to be programmatic. Mountains also frame another Bonjour Pansori upload documenting a longer workshop with experienced tutees (2019d) and the only image used by Song as a visual record of her transnational training in Choe and Han's book comes from a 'mountain residency' (2016, p. 76). If the case was that the YouTube videos were designed to facilitate online vocal tuition only, the previous video already 'taught us' the vocal sequences and viewers could easily choose to replay the earlier upload. What is transmitted, then, through such recordings (and other imagery across media platforms) if not musical shape and technique? Why is it significant to hear the acoustics of the *pansori* voice in a mountain setting, from one's 'home too'? Why use an online platform to do so, at the peril of appearing to repeat content?

Traditionally, a teacher would 'enter' a mountain site with their students for a period of *sankongbu* ('mountain study/training') or *pegil gongbu* ('100-day study'). The daily routine would be that of group and individual practice, with breaks for food and rest. Historically, the predecessors of the *gwangdae*, the *hwarang*, 'visited "celebrated" (probably sacred) mountains and rivers, where they sang and danced, praying for national peace and progress' (Pihl 1994, p. 17). In the nineteenth century, the heyday of *pansori* performance and period during which the repertoire and teaching strategies were codified, the typical training scenario would have the tutee dedicate a second phase of intense practice away from urban centres upon completion of initial apprenticeship with a master. Usually, the sites selected for this purpose were Buddhist temples up in the mountains. This typical phase of *pansori* training survived in the 'abridged' form of *sankongbu*. In a further act of temporal condensation, the

technologically-mediated imagery and sonicity of the mountain in the twenty-first century also nods to the established practice of *sankogbu* among *pansori* trainees.

From the perspective of vocal development, one of the key purposes of *sankogbu* was further cultivation of vocal power. Nineteenth-century performers were expected to perform in a wide range of settings, including open-air marketplaces, and prior to technologies of amplification, a consistent period of outdoor vocal exercise was beneficial. Park attests that ‘[i]t is critical for the learner to have a noninhibiting place to project his or her voice without feeling self-conscious’ (2003, p. 160)—and a mountain site offers unlimited resources of favourable acoustics. References to *pansori* trainees as attempting to outdo waterfalls might contribute to a mythologisation of the learning process but they certainly abound in the literature to this date (Howard 2008, p. 91, Shim 2004, p. 54, So 2001, p. 102). Further, some researchers link the necessary breaking/damaging of the voice, before it re-emerged as trained *pansori*, with this specific period in traditional training (see Pihl 1994, pp. 104-05).

The third Bonjour Pansori video (2019c) enacts this approach to traditional training. Through dynamic coaching and conducting, Song encourages her students to project and, despite vocal fatigue, continues to voice strongly and energetically as an example. Moreover, although the video is the shortest in the series (lasting less than 3 minutes), it contains three consecutive repetitions of the vocalised phrases and concludes with an invitation to online users of the channel to continue reprising the sequence as part of their training.¹⁷ Repetition, then, operates on multiple levels: repetition of vocal content *across* videos 2 and 3; repetition of the vocalisations *within*

¹⁷ One of the French words in the video, *répétition*, captures the double meaning of training as sustained repetition with more accuracy. The invitation is a generic one: to continue repeating/training, probably at home. This does raise the question: why aren’t online trainees also invited to join in the mountain workshop? Or in a similar location in geographic proximity? Is mountain training always-already understood as an impossibility for the online viewer?

the video; repetition of the training both *simultaneously with* the recorded instance of singing and *subsequently*, at one's own time. What is imparted through this video upload is not further insight into phonation but, pressingly, an *attitude* towards *pansori* training: the voice needs to be exercised (and exerted) more and more—and uncompromising repetition is key.

Another pedagogic objective of nineteenth-century *sankongbu* can be related to the narrative content of the *batang* themselves. *Pansori* song-stories are filled with descriptions of landscapes and agricultural activities, frequently transposed onto the level of onomatopoeic vocal expression. Working in nature can offer concrete stimuli for a performer who 'reproduces all the sounds, including those of nature' (K. Kim 1996, p. 200). The rhythm and function of the body can change radically in natural surroundings, since better levels of oxygenation in rural environments and higher altitudes alter the depth of breathing and rhythms of blood circulation. Significantly, *sankongbu* is conducive to honing an affective eco-phenomenology of the trainee's body-voice beyond individualised physiology. Moon Soo Hyun embraced such a symbiotic perspective in remarking: '[m]y voice comes from my body, and my body is completely different in the nature' (2009). Similarly, Park advocated that 'nature is indeed an eternal accomplice to music, today as in the past' (2003, p. 162).

In 2009, myself and other trainees at the NCKTPA's *pansori* training course would gather on the mountain site next to the centre and practise, individually and at a distance from each other, during the hour (sometimes hours) leading up to the afternoon training. On 13th July, I noted in my training journal:

I must also confess that the most productive parts of my preparation for the *pansori* classes take place on the mountain near the NCKTPA. There, I can connect my sound with the topography of its birth place, and strengthen my projection by means of competing with the sound of the stream or by imagining that my voice could reach the tops of the trees. Especially when practising 'Sajeolga,' the *danga* (warm-up/introductory song) on the cycle of seasons, the

interaction of my sound with concrete sensory stimuli from nature directly results in a different ‘rounding’/openness of my sound and a meaning of the voiced words beyond mere musicological ‘apprehension.’ I think I notice this, too, when hearing some of my classmates practise nearby.

The extract might be influenced by my readings of *pansori* history and accounts of singers’ lives at the time of writing, but, apart from reaffirming traces of *sankongbu* in contemporary training, the same journal entry also reveals divergences from traditional practice:

Don’t we all transfer the studio model of ‘repeating after the teacher’ to the mountain location? Rather than repeating on our own, having internalised what we learned in class, we still rely on our recordings of the teacher’s voice. We use our devices, me an old cassette-player, most of my classmates digital voice recorders and ipods, and go back, again and again. As I imagine traditional mountain study, the trainee voiced alone, against nature. Our ‘mountain’ is filled with several voices. I do not only hear myself voicing. I can still hear my peers and I can still hear my teacher’s voice: amplified and multiplied, in various locations of the mountain, still sounding ‘indoors’ but now echoing outdoors, rewound and replayed.

Later on the same day, I interviewed my NCKTPA teacher, Noh Hae Yang, who also made reference to recording technologies and *sankongbu*: ‘Not many people do mountain training any more. When I don’t have time for training in nature, I play my teacher’s recordings in the car and I sing trying to sing above the traffic in Seoul’ (2009).

Be it the use of recordings by teachers and trainees or globally circulated YouTube videos, technology appears to attest to the paradoxical contemporary status of *sankongbu* as a practice both preserved and nearly-extinct.¹⁸ This oxymoron is palpable in Noh’s comment. Like other *pansori* professionals, she was not able to practise *sankongbu*, yet she did practise her own *version* of *sankongbu* and discussed training

¹⁸ Discussions of contemporary mountain training vary accordingly: ‘Nowadays, not many students return to these training courses after their graduation. [...] The reasons are school [...], trainers’ and trainees’ state of mind [...], the shortage of patience for hard training’ (Moon 2009). Um, however, observes that some teachers still align with the traditional practice ‘of lodging with the teacher’ and ‘offer a summer-camp or retreat which is usually held outside the city’ (2013, p. 125).

in the car *as sankongbu*. In lieu of mountain training, she used readily available sound reproduction equipment in order to sing outdoors, to further embody her teacher's lessons through repetition, and to test and enhance projection in competition with a given soundscape. Song's short Bonjour Pansori video bears the same ambivalence. Audiovisual documentation allows her online trainees to get a glimpse of the mountain residency, but, understandably, this is the only video in the series not recorded in the controlled acoustics of the studio and the only where the medium of documentation loses its transparency through unedited mistakes. My class's version of the training in 2009 fulfilled conventional training goals (mimetic absorption, increase in vocal volume and resonance, relating textual information to sensory stimuli). Nonetheless, by taking place not after but during our initial period of training with the teacher, it relegated mountain training to an earlier stage of our vocal progress. It further added other voices to the process: those of the proximate peers and the proliferation of the teacher's voice through multiple devices, now sounding together-apart.¹⁹

These examples demonstrate the multiple activations and concurrent contestations of traditional *pansori* training, primarily through digital technologies. Song's Bonjour Pansori video indexes allegiance to inherited convention as it brings the tutees outside, stages training in the mountain and inculcates a sense of hardship, exhaustion and repetitiveness. At the same time, its unique position in the series of videos captures mountain training as an irregularity or rarity, and the remaining videos return us to the familiarity of indoor studio exercise. For the dispersed online community using the video as training reference and material, the video generates both a vertical sense of

¹⁹ For my use of 'sounding together-apart', I echo Barad's thinking on diffraction as 'not a set pattern, but rather an iterative (re)configuring of patterns of differentiating-entangling. [...] There is no absolute boundary between here-now and there-then. There is nothing that is new; there is nothing that is not new' (2014, p. 168). In the moment described here, previous and past soundings—the long line of *pansori* training, the proximate past of the recorded class, and the 'now' of 2009 individual training on the mountain—are (re)configured in the pedagogic spacetime-mattering of this training snippet.

lineage (*I, the viewer, am learning from a master who teaches her students in the mountain, and her practice links back to a centuries-old mode of training*) and a dispersed horizontality (*we, the viewers, form a diffused community of trainees aware that we are training across distant locations, and this emphasises the present of our encounter with the training rather than its past*). Technology homogenises our access to the material while also reminding us that we are different, not only from each other but notably from the ‘live’ tutees training in the mountain. We extend the practice of *sankongbu* online while not practising *sankongbu* as such.

In a parallel move, Noh’s singing over Seoul traffic alongside a recording suspends *sankongbu* tradition while also repurposing admitted discontinuity as a means to claim continuation. Noh sees this as a version of *sankongbu* and the intended learning objectives are emphatically presented as allying with historic practice. Accordingly, our 2009 KCKTPA pre-lesson preparation took its meaning from our explicit or assumed intention to connect to mountain training. But it also renewed mountain training with the possibilities of integrating it with earlier stages of the learning process, of exercising voice in a semi-solitary way, and of having the teacher’s voice effortlessly and willingly at hand.

Jo Scott reminds us that distinguishing between the digital and the real, the virtual and the material in clearcut ways may prohibit us from acknowledging that ‘human-technological interactions also generate materialities, which emerge at the intersection of technologies and actions’ (2017, p. 64). In the three cases examined in this section, technology is not merely used to reiterate and circulate existing practice in a move from production to reproduction, from the embodied materiality of traditional pedagogy to the immateriality of new modes of dissemination. This is not just an instance of recontextualisation, which presupposes a ‘thing’ to be placed in a new context. What

this examination of *sankongbu*—as well as of the YouTube training channel and my 2009 and 2019 training—throws into sharp relief is that recurrent critiques of technology in *pansori* pedagogy are predicated on an absolute division between voice training as ‘given’ and technology as a problematic ‘new’ aid, tool or means of dissemination. The training is thought as having ontic value (and validity) while technology just operates on an epistemic level. By contrast, throughout the article training and technology have been encountered as intra-acting within a dynamic onto-epistemology (Barad 2007). Established and developing pedagogies are not mere ‘facts’ independent of their modes of circulation and technologies of recording and dissemination are not just ‘reflections’ on the facticity of pre-existing embodied practices. Rather, they intertwine in complex, mutually dependent and co-constitutive relationalities. The mountain of traditional *sankongbu*, in its historic, mythologised and aspirational ‘thing-ness’, is not just ‘there’ to be captured, appropriated and reconstructed for a new generation of trainees. The new practices of technological mediation actively reimagine it: as globally dispersed, as reverberating with recorded voices, as the cacophony of vehicular commotion in modern-day Seoul.

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