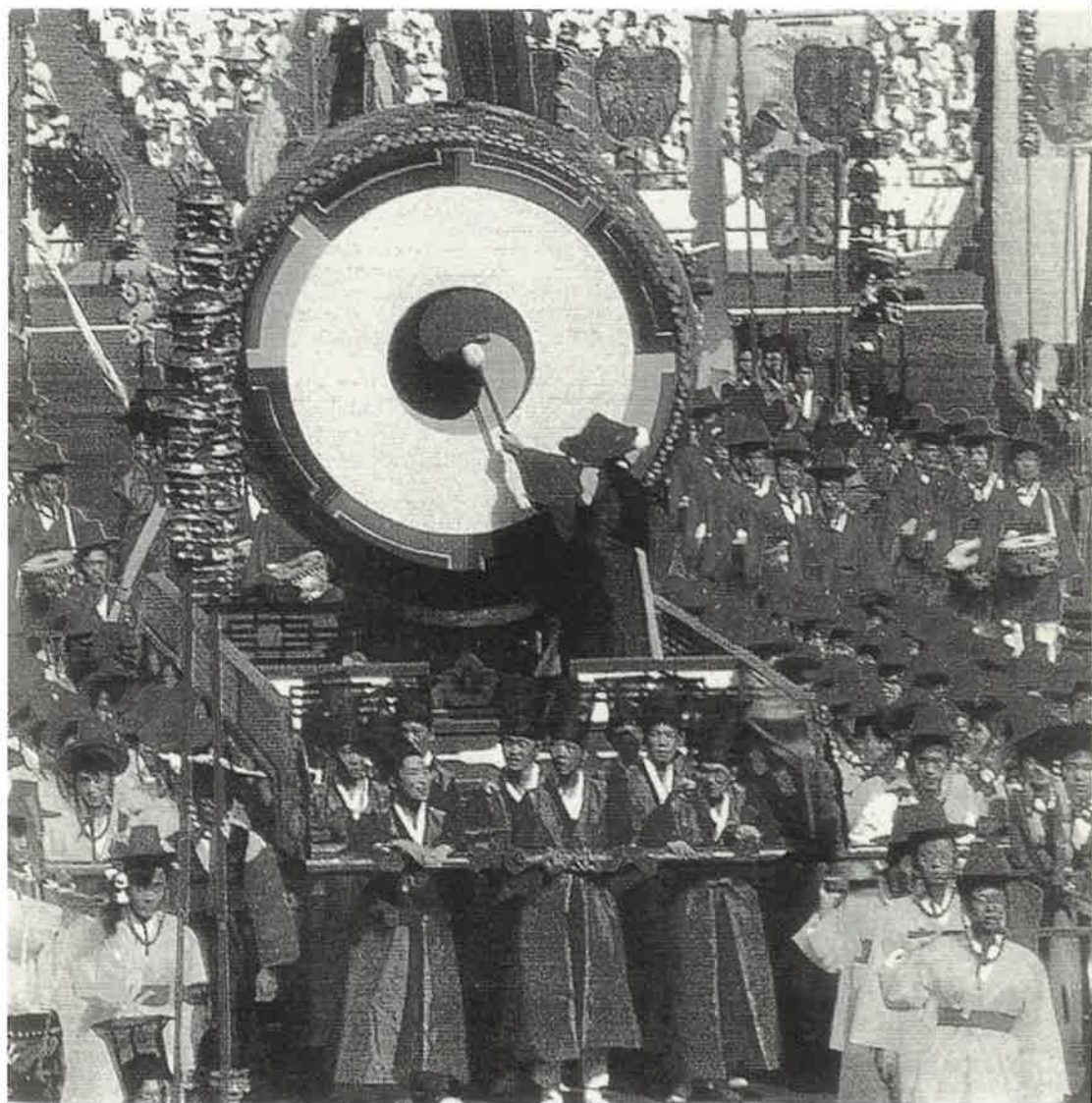


Stories inside Stories

Music in the Making of the Korean Olympic Ceremonies

Margaret Walker Dilling





INSTITUTE OF EAST ASIAN STUDIES
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA • BERKELEY
CENTER FOR KOREAN STUDIES

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Foreword

This book and the reality of its publication are a tribute to the spirit, determination, and sense of commitment of and to Margaret (Marnie) Walker Dilling, sister of the Religious Order of the Sacred Heart and professor at the University of California, San Diego, who passed away on May 13, 1997. In the last weeks of her life she brought the manuscript to a nearly publishable state and communicated with a community of us who might see the project to conclusion.

I would like first to acknowledge the effort of that community, in more or less chronological order of participation: Park Seh-jik, Lee Gi-ha, and Lee O-young, whose gracious guidance of her field research in Korea permitted Marnie to do the dissertation and encouraged publication of it in this book; Professor Hong Yung Lee, chair Clare You, and Dr. Jonathan C. Petty of the Center for Korean Studies, University of California, Berkeley; Mary McGann RSCJ of the Franciscan School of Theology, Graduate Theological Union in Berkeley, California; Mary Charlotte Chandler, University of California at San Diego; the late Sister Koh Do-yim RSCJ and Sister Kim Jae-soon RSCJ in Seoul; Hwang Okon, Eastern Connecticut State University; Isabel Wong Capwell, University of Illinois at Urbana; Lee Byong-won, University of Hawaii; Hwang Jun Yon, Seoul University; Susie Lim, Donna Kwon, Janice Kande, and Dr. Hilary Finchum-Sung of the University of California, Berkeley.

Finally I would like to offer special thanks to the generosity of the Korea Foundation, Seoul, for the grant through which the final publication of this volume has been made possible.

This is a book about the music in the Opening and Closing Ceremonies of the Seoul Olympics (1988) that was watched on television by millions of people. More specifically, this is a book about the planning—the mode of proceeding—and decisions that resulted in a remarkable presentation. As I followed Marnie's research and writing I endlessly marveled about the degree to which Korea's intellectual and creative community were placed at the heart of the process and also that they permitted her to observe it. Their challenge was to balance articulation of the Korean sense of contemporary self and also of tradition with the necessities of international theatricality that the Olympic ceremonies demand. As we hear Marnie's account of the intentions and experience of the Korean planners and also of the sensory experience of the ceremonies we also approach understanding of the ceremonies as a performance of "Korea." Had Marnie lived to see the manuscript through to publication it would no doubt have

been shortened, tightened, and otherwise modified from this version that she completed one week before her death and put into the hands of colleagues. On the phone she asked me to write an introduction. Only after her death did I discover that she had ambitious plans for it, a near-chapter to be titled “Olympic Ceremonies as Narrative, Representation, and Cultural Performance.” Alas, I must apologize to Marnie for insufficient knowledge to write such an introduction on her behalf.

When Marnie asked me to write that introduction I was both happy and sad—happy because she was such an important and positive force for the field of ethnomusicology in general and Korean music studies in particular, and sad for the obvious and great void her departure left. Hers was a presence in my life since the first day nearly twenty years ago when she came to my office to inquire about the study of ethnomusicology. Already an accomplished musician, teacher, and administrator in various of the Sacred Heart high schools in California, Marnie clearly was a seeker of new challenges and a person of great conscience. She always carried a little bag packed for an overnight in jail because she was frequently demonstrating for causes. We later joked about the fact that when she was well toward completing her dissertation (in 1991), I finally asked her “please, Marnie, put the bag away until you finish your thesis.”

Expecting initially to focus on American music, then on Chinese music as an ethnomusicologist, Marnie was won over to Korean music at a precise moment: while viewing a video of *sungmu puk* in a course at Berkeley titled “Music of the East Asian Tradition,” taught that term by Isabel Wong. It was the rhythm of Korean music that captivated her, the drumming that set her to moving and thinking. Intending a thesis on *nongak* (farmer’s band music), she studied performance in Chollanamdo, Chollabukdo, Korea, between 1986 and 1989 and followed the Korean student cultural movement on five university campuses (1988–89). The Seoul Olympics was to have been just one of five contexts she studied in which *nongak* was significant. In the San Francisco Bay Area, Dr. Dilling was active with the Korean Youth Cultural Center in Berkeley–Oakland. She also focused on African American gospel music between 1990 and 1994 and championed gospel choir instruction at the University of California at San Diego.

Hired as the first ethnomusicologist at UCSD in 1991, she attracted hundreds of students to her courses on World Music, Africa and the Diaspora, Music of Ethnic Americans, Music of East Asia, and Doing Ethno-

musicology. Dilling was active in the Society for Ethnomusicology and was elected in 1992 to a term on the Council. She was perhaps proudest to have been a founding member of the Association for Korean Music Research and its first secretary (1995–96). Though she had just begun publishing her research, I can draw your attention to “The Marathoner and the Turtle: Conflicting Narratives of South Korea at Taejon Expo '93,” in *Defining Korea: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on the Politics of National Identity and Culture* (Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, 1997). It was the first step toward what would have been her second book. Unpublished papers and her collected research materials are now available in the Music Library at the University of California, Berkeley.

Margaret Walker Dilling, here is your book, *Stories inside Stories: Music in the Making of the Korean Olympic Ceremonies*.

Bonnie C. Wade
Berkeley, California
September 2006

Editor's Note:

The author and editors have adhered to the Mc-Cune-Reischauer system of romanization. However, exceptions have been made where a place name or an individual is more widely known by a romanization that does not correlate to the McCune-Reishchauer system (such as in the spelling of Seoul). In this case, the more widely used romanization for an individual's name has been retained throughout the document. The names of most Korean individuals are cited according to the Korean style of name presentation (i.e., surname first) except where an individual has chosen otherwise.

The Day the Drum Was King

The Seoul Olympics opens like the dawn of genesis in empty space. Poised in the universe between Heaven and Earth, Humans greet the sun in an act of homage to harmonize the forces of Heaven and Earth, an echo of the role of the king, the royal seat is filled not by the king but by an enormous drum marked on either head with a swirl of red, blue, and yellow symbolizing forces which hold the cosmos in dynamic and delicate balance. Dragon Drum (*yonggo*) and splendid retinue cut a diagonal across the open space in the morning of the world to the pulse of folk drums and melodies of court music until all reach the foot of the cosmic tree, the link between Heaven and Earth as well as nest for the sun. At the third stroke of the great drum, the sun rises and the cosmic tree reveals itself as the Olympic torch holder. Soon the tree will burn with fire from Olympus and the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad will open a new era of harmony and progress for humanity from the momentary center of the universe—the city of Seoul.

So began the story of the ceremonies, a narrative enacted in mythic terms from Korean cosmology, archetypes from world religions, biblical imagery of origins, Olympian references, and ancient and contemporary theories of metamorphosis. While the *t'aegŭk* symbol of Heaven, Earth, and Humans on the two heads of the Dragon Drum represented the ceremony narrative at the cosmological level, the Dragon Drum itself held together the entire dramatic sequence of the pre-ceremony ritual in sight, sense, and sound. Years before the ceremony began or was even envisioned, the story of the drum had begun. This is not a single story but one with versions varying according to the tellers of the tale. As such it prefigures the multi-strand approach to the ceremonies of this study and deserves a primary place. The story of the Dragon Drum takes place on a more earthly plane than the scenario. However, it is also subject to idealization, whether reconstructed by the chief administrator of the Olympics making up for an oversight, or by the protagonist himself setting out with an abundance of generosity on a path full of obstacles to make the world's biggest drum. At this process level of narrative, garnered from interviews and documents, the makers of the ceremonies tell stories of themselves from behind the scenes which seldom came to public view. Now these stories thicken the texture of the ceremonies, particularly when heard from contrasting or even contradictory perspectives. The official story of the

Dragon Drum maker as authored by the president of the Seoul Olympics sets forth the ideal Korean as those in power wished the citizenry to serve the nationalistic project. The drummer's story reveals a different set of motivations rooted in traditional rural, ancestral, and shamanic values. To juxtapose the two versions underscores the differing perspectives and serves as an opening model of the processual layer of the ceremony narrative.

The Story of the World's Biggest Drum

There was a man named Kim Kwan-shik who was skilled in the art of drum making. He came from a family of drummakers from Taejŏn in North Chŏlla province, South Korea where his father, Kim Ch'ang-ho, Kwan-shik, and his three brothers managed a factory for making traditional instruments. One day in September, 1981, a year after his father's death, Kim was watching news on TV from Baden Baden, Germany: Korea had been selected to host the 1988 Olympics. He was ecstatic. He clapped his hands, shouting, "Yes, that's it." On the spot he decided to make the biggest drum in the world, one that could be heard the farthest away, and to dedicate it to the Seoul Olympic. His brothers tried to talk him out of it but he had made up his mind. So began a seven-year saga.

To make the biggest drum in the world he had to find the biggest cow in the world. The cow skin for the drumhead must be without blemish; even a mark the size of a needle's eye would make the sound less than perfect. After six months of combing Korea for such a skin he selected two cows, each weighing 1,200 kilograms. But he was not satisfied. So he set out again, this time leaving Korea and searching in other countries for just the right animal. In a year's time he had found five cows in the United States, breeding cows each weighing 1,650 kilograms. With his own money he had them imported to Korea: two cows for the two large drum skins and three more cows in reserve. Next he had to find just the right timber for the frame of the drum. He finally secured an enormous Douglas Fir tree grown in the Rocky Mountains, its age and size apparent in the 198 annual rings inside each burl.

After coming home from the United States with all these basic materials Kim Kwan-shik was suddenly seized with panic: what if the drum sounded American instead of Korean? To guard against this he decided to hold strictly to the age-old process of making Korean drums in his handling of the cow skins and the wood. Surely that way he could Koreanize these

PART ONE

Scenes

Beyond all Barriers

Barriers of race, ideology, and wealth—Moving beyond the numerous barriers that set us apart, we gather together in Seoul: the world's arena, a place where Humanity becomes one family again united with Heaven and Earth, a place where broken barriers result in new beginnings, old wounds heal, and the divine rapture of creation leads us in a cosmic dance, shoulder to shoulder, to the future of the universe.

The evolution of the scenario for the Seoul Olympic ceremonies shows the planners gradually reaching consensus on a central image that would determine all that followed. It emerged from a month of intense discussion on the reality of Korea as that situation applied to the world of nations. From this core image would flow the intended meaning and structure of the paired ceremonies. I attribute the ultimate success of the whole venture to that basic decision to "say it like it is" with a word so real and concrete that it could be realized dramatically and applied universally. The word was "wall" (*pyōk*). Expressed progressively as "breaking down the wall," "going over the wall," or, in its final translation, "Beyond all Barriers," and expanded to the above vision statement, the symbol affected the production in literal and metaphoric senses, from song text to allegorical actions. Overcoming walls became the explicit and public theme appearing in programs, broadcast commentaries, and ceremony dramatizations. By adopting the theme of walls, the planners "seized the chance to transform the needs of Korea into ideology." (Ch'oe Jong-ho, 1991.8.24).

Long before naming this core insight the planners had commenced with an implicit philosophical principle, which the performance dramatized though it functioned more behind the scenes as a model of their way of proceeding. The fundamental idea guiding the planners was the East Asian principle of *samjae sasang* (philosophy of a threefold principle). Drawn from Taoism, *samjae sasang* posits a triple foundation to the cosmos in which Heaven, Earth, and Humans interact in a dynamic interdependence in order to maintain the world in equilibrium.¹ A modified visual form of

¹ Although *ch'ōn*, *ji*, and *in* are often translated Heaven, Earth, and Man the Korean and Chinese words for the third character *saram* and *in* do not have an exclusively male connotation of "man." Hence I translate *in* as "humans" through-

Planners

The cultural elites who prepared the Seoul Olympic ceremonies in the microcosm of ceremony preparations acted out both habitual and novel dynamics present in the larger Korean social and political system of the period. The fact that the preparation process took place from 1981 to 1988, seven volatile years in contemporary South Korean history, framed a shaky temporal theater for the planners as they carried through their task. The simultaneous planning of both the Asian Games and the Olympics supplied the interactive space; the experience of staging the Asian Games two years before the Olympics became a “model in the mind” that had to be superseded for something new to appear. Preexisting roles and relations between those planners performing out of past scripts and those able to improvise new ones generated subplots to this drama.

That the Games in South Korea followed on Games in the United States influenced Korean self-expectations. Several planners said to me afterwards, in reference to the preceding Los Angeles ceremonies in 1984, that South Korea did not have the infrastructure of a large-scale entertainment industry with impresarios and experienced professionals “like Disney Productions. Instead we called on our scholars.”¹ What to the Koreans appeared to be a deficit showed itself in hindsight to be an asset, as evidenced in the depth of the scenario and the artistry of the final production. But prior to the Olympic watershed, such diffidence about their resources revealed South Koreans’ lack of confidence in their ability to be as culturally competitive on the international scene as they had already become economically and aspired to be politically.

This chapter analyzes from behind-the-scenes the public and private purposes driving the people who planned the Olympic ceremonies. It introduces the organizers as they established their committees, articulated value-revealing goals, and worked out procedures. In their interactions over

¹ Kim Kyŏng-shik, Interview, October 11, 1988; Hahn Man-young, Interview, September 29, 1988; Kim Chung-gil, Interview, October 14, 1988. As one of the Seoul ceremony composers with administrative responsibilities for 1988, Kim Chung-gil had attended the Los Angeles. ceremonies, remarking to me that, at the time, he did not see how Korea could improve on such an extravaganza. But the planners were determined to “avoid the smell of commercialism as at the Los Angeles Olympics,” just one of the ambiguous attitudes latent in SLOOC’s operating goals.

Scenario

The Olympic ceremonies planners spent nearly the entire first year of the all-too-short two between the Asian Games and the Olympics composing the scenario. They were convinced that the master plan had to be in place before any steps could be taken to organize personnel, scenes, music, dance, and production. The slow growth and multiple versions of the scenario were not a matter of technical delays but a function of the seriousness of the project. For the planners, the scenario provided the main vehicle for projecting an image of “Korea” to the world.

For this they wanted not merely pleasurable, striking images. They set themselves a more daunting task: to tell the story of Korea to the world in such a way as to set up a sympathetic vibration with foreigners through cultural constructs. While they might fuss over implications and dramatic details, for their primary medium the scenario planners drew almost instinctively on Korean narrative models. Almost immediately they resorted to an imported and indigenized Taoist cosmology of the dynamic relation between Heaven, Earth, and Humans to locate their project on a mystical plane of universal scope. From the ritual structure of their shamanic religious practice they drew the overarching structure of the two ceremonies. From archetypal patterns of birth-crisis-death-rebirth they borrowed a symbolic template fitted to Korean history and all human history in generalized terms.

More self-consciously, they examined their own history to come up with the primary metaphor that governed the symbolization process of the ceremonies. They then combined these narrative structures with native and foreign methodologies in order to elicit particular responses from the global audience. As the scenario gradually moved from a loose composite of individual items to a symbolically concentric dramatic whole, so too the music plan moved from a list of traditional musical types to a score that implemented the scenario while making audible the ceremonies’ designs. Hind-sight on the intense process of scenario crafting maps the makers’ own narratives inadvertently constructed by their interactions. Their working by traditional group methods based on neo-Confucian hierarchies came into conflict with authoritarian manners inherited from South Korea’s military culture and artistic individualism derived from the West well stirred by crisis management expedencies. The story of the making of the scenario by its final architect, Lee O-young, recapitulates the planners’ process. In

PART TWO

Music

Scores

In an attempt to show the ideology of the Seoul Olympics and the quality of Korean music to the world we asked excellent domestic composers to write music on the basis of the scenario. We asked them to try and produce music that would harmonize Korean traditional music and Western music and have universal appeal for the world's people. (*CATR*, 1988:68).

According to the Korean planners' agendas for the Olympics as a cultural communication music was to function in the ceremonies as an aural analog and reenforcement for the message of the scenario, a showcase for Korean traditional music in its uniqueness and excellence, a synthesis of East and West in sound, and a vehicle for attracting culturally diverse sensibilities to a sympathetic resonance with the Korean people. Kim Chung-gil expressed similar goals to those of the composers so succinctly and fluidly during our interview they presented the quality of well-rehearsed formulae reflecting consensus among the planners. The music should be Korean-like, cosmopolitan (elsewhere he says universal, world-wide in its appeal), interesting and splendid; not "art" music, and as much as possible the composers should work together in helpful collaboration. (Kim Chung-gil, 1988.10.14).

These five directives provide a frame for looking at the music of the ceremonies, the process by which it came to be, as well as criteria for its evaluation by insiders and outsiders to the process.¹ The directives were to the final compositions what the scenario was to the final production: blueprints capable of multiple interpretations. These were more numerous and diffuse for the music than for the scenario because there was less unity of direction in the musical score than in the scenario; no single unifying component for the music compared to the vision statement, "Beyond all Barriers," and its quality-control role for the scenario.

¹ In-house guidelines not meant for public exposure contained further directives that composers should subsume their individual artistic standards into the joint effort toward the "good of the whole" and to forego professional competitiveness during the project. These points do not appear in the "Comments on the Music of the Opening Ceremony" in a list of music guidelines in the Broadcasters' Manual, which were obviously written after experience of the completed compositions (Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee, "Scenario for the Opening and Closing Ceremonies: Beyond All Barriers: Commentary for Broadcast and Press Materials," 1988: 39 [Korean], 1988:44-45 [English]).

Ceremony

Official Ceremonies as Ritual Narrative

The pieces of music prescribed by the Olympic Charter are performed in conjunction with ritual actions and symbolic items of the Official Ceremony. A fanfare follows upon declarations of opening and closing the Games and the transfer of the Olympic Flag. The Olympic Hymn accompanies the raising and lowering of the Flag. National anthems coincide with the raising of national flags. That would seem unremarkable enough if not for the fact that by association with such actions and symbols music participates in spiritually transforming the world order that the Charter affirms to be the business of the Olympic Games to accomplish. I now want to look at this visionary order to determine the degree to which the music genres mandated by the Korean planners either enforced or modified the Olympic agenda. I take up the particular configuration made by each item of official music at Seoul within the general effort to Koreanize those ceremonies. Finally, I compare the music for the official Seoul ceremonies with that arranged for Los Angeles, with the recent Games set against the historical backdrop of the first Opening Ceremony of the Modern Games in Athens. I conclude with the narrative implications of the ceremonial music for the stories told at Seoul. Heard from this perspective a fanfare of trumpets or a foursquare anthem is far from prosaic in its reference.

The Olympic Worldview

According to the Olympic Hymn the ultimate source of vitality for the Games and the athletes is the “immortal Spirit of Antiquity,” creator of Goodness, Truth, and Beauty. The palpable link with the transcendentals of Greek philosophy and the spirit of Hellenism, with the gods of Olympus and the life force of the sun, is the sacred Flame. Its arrival into the stadium from the Temple of Hera parallels the descent of the deity in typologies of religious ritual. Although lit from on high by the sun and leaping upwards, the spatial direction of the Flame’s arrival is horizontal and interhuman rather than vertical and otherworldly as expressed in the overland relay ritual. In the Olympic ideal salvation comes not from divine intervention but from human effort. It is founded in the human body and perfected by human heroes who transcend their mortal limitations by striving ever “farther, higher, stronger” (*citius, altius, fortius*). The Olympic Charter argues that by assenting to the creed of fair and frank competition and

Korean Traditional Music

Interpretations of Korean Traditional Music

Once the goals for music were set and communicated more or less well the composers' task of translating these abstractions into sound—universal, Korean, startlingly new, but not art music—loomed large. While agreed on wanting to take advantage of the occasion to convey Korea's rich musical heritage as well as modernity to the opening ceremony viewers, reaching consensus on appropriate ways to convey the "Koreanness" of their tradition to a world audience evoked some of the artistic problems that they faced.¹ Conceptual, experiential and practical snares lay in the way of the music makers as they carried out their task. I found that only a few of the eleven composers for the ceremonies felt secure in their knowledge of traditional Korean music theory from either study or performing. Most of the models that they seemed to hold of traditional music were of a skeletal or textbook variety. Working within the limits of training and habit, of varying familiarity with native music traditions and skill in adapting their resources to present purposes, they sometimes fell short of the necessary group consensus, resulting in quick resorts to tried and true formulae of traditional music. In others they found unique solutions.

The purpose of this chapter is to show the gamut of adaptations that the composers and arrangers made of the current performance practices for existing repertoires of traditional music, while in the next chapter the focus will be on the various means and degrees by which composers "Koreanized" their new works for the ceremonies. Whether arrangement or new composition based on traditional models, the "Koreanness" of particular pieces can be pinpointed in several ways: 1) by an examination of musical elements, as in the presence of melodic and rhythmic factors—tunes and *changdan*—in various attenuated states; 2) by familiar performance practices, like characteristic vocal ornamentation; 3) by Korean instruments in adapted ensembles, including combinations with Western orchestral instruments and styles; and 4) by genres like *p'ansori*, *nongak*, and *minyo*. But

¹ For instance ceremony planners were guided by the seemingly conflicting goals of wanting to show the "unique character of Korean culture" yet wanting to avoid "typical images like the fan dance." The difference of opinion over the inclusion of the traditional circle dance/song, "*Kanggangsullae*" exemplified this tension between perceptions of the typical and the trite.

Art

It is possible to regard the prescribed Olympic ritual events at Seoul as so transformed that they serve primarily the grand ritual scheme of the Korean scenario. Rather than risk heresy with the Olympic creed, one could construe the integration of required actions into the vision of Heaven, Earth, and Humans as a highly skillful observance of the spirit rather than the letter of Olympic ceremony law. The universalism of the Olympic effort rooted in physical and interhuman perfectibility was both respected and raised a notch into dimensions of cosmic complementarity by the scenario and its expressive enactments from a culture capable of challenging the Greek in age and cumulative art and wisdom. Or again, the Seoul ceremonies could be placed within the wider frame of a cultural Olympics celebrated in the early Games and a history of overcoming obstacles and surpassing self-limitations. Yet the more sublime the interpretation the more apparent is a root difference of ethos in Greek and Korean culture as articulated in the Olympic context. Much of the official rhetoric of the Charter is devoted to confirming the centrality of the individual as the locus of ultimate achievement in the Olympic worldview, to proscribing the ascendancy of the group, whether racial, national, or athletic. On the other hand, tracing the process and the “product” of preparations for the Korean ceremonies provides repeated instances of a cultural valuing of the primacy of group effort over individual success.

The issue of the relation of the individual to the group in a creative enterprise emerges constantly in a study of the music newly composed for the occasion. It is variously formulated by those involved as submission of one's own creative work to consensus judgment, or as the principle of the common good over personal success, or as the primacy of function over art. Signs of pulls and tears in the fabric of allegiance to the group occur when a composer gives priority to his personal creative principles and musical vision. The new compositions thus provide arenas for the acting out of tensions raised by an ethic of the common good.

On another front, the composers as well as the designers of the scenario had to hold together in a kind of complementary tension the “human” dimension of practical concerns for the scene at hand, the “earth” of historical precedent in musical systems, styles, and elements drawn from native Korea and Western learning, and the “heaven” of a music of sufficient stature that it would “last.” As if balancing these forces analogous

PART THREE

Voices

Controversies

Plots and Subplots: Three Cases

The making of the scenario and of the ceremony score demonstrated how three working principles—a universal subject, a specifically Korean character, and an effect of shock or surprise—had guided the writers and the composers of the scenario in their effort to be universal, distinctly Korean, and new. Three particular pieces of music exemplified the original policy in diverse musical idioms: 1) a song in pop music style designed to be universally appealing; 2) a composition, modeled on Korean traditional art song, which was distinctively Korean; and 3) a pair of electronic compositions generated by computer, which were considered avant garde. For various reasons, each of the pieces became a center of controversy, stirring up heated debate and changes just weeks before, days before, even the night before openings. In the light of sparks that flew during these interactions, negotiations over music mirrored the points of view of artists, men of sport, intellectuals, administrators, media experts, and performers. Their inside stories on the making of the ceremonies are told in their art and in their actions, in what they said and what they did not say. Together they provide subplots to the story going on behind the scenes with its alternate versions of values and forces in Korean society from those explicitly intended for communication in the overt ceremony plot. In these stories out of public view some patterns in the criteria for group decisions emerge with sufficient frequency to suggest shared values and standard modes of interacting among the protagonists. These include the intense concern for how each cultural manifestation would be viewed by foreigners, the veiling of nationalist purposes with universalist rhetoric, neo-Confucian hierarchies operative in “face-saving” maneuvers in the explanation of reasons, and top-down decisions masking as consultation. Any temptation to label these traits as typically “Korean” is mitigated by the fact that, while the individuals shared a common goal, each set of players brought to its elaboration diverse backgrounds, sensibilities, and agendas.

A first pass over each of the three telltale pieces details the plot of its coming to production. The second section goes beyond the stated intentions and musical enactments of the planners in order to reframe transactions about the three particular pieces within a wider context of issues. The source is still the planners’ own words—this time their interpretations of the musical process—but with an added attempt to make articulate the

Perspectives

You know, ordinarily a Korean gentleman would not tell “inside stories” to the public. But as a foreigner you can say things that we cannot. And once you have put it in print then I can’t help but comment on its accuracy, to balance what might be a little exaggerated, to fill in the picture. Perhaps I’ve talked too much but that’s just my personality—I’m unable *not* to express my opinion. I would suggest that you say more, not less, that you explain some of the interpersonal situations even more precisely. You are in a position and have the information now to do that; we are not. (Hahn Man-young 1991.9.11)

An invitation from my principal “informant” to speak for him and his colleagues on the inner workings of the planning process, matters too sensitive for a proper Korean gentleman to disclose, offers both an open sesame and an occasion to pause. Hahn sets up our roles of insider and now-privy outsider as concealer and revealer of a treasury of privileged information, or “secret stories (*pihwa*).”¹ Because he continues to live though with marked freedom within an environment ruled by Korean social codes, the limitations on any public first-person disclosures are clear. These codes do not hold for, are not expected of the inquisitive foreigner (with the assumption that over-direct Westerners do not observe our modes of discretion anyway), and I become a willing mouthpiece for “the way it was,” albeit at the protected distance of a second-hand witness.

Further strategies are used for getting the stories while protecting the speakers. Asking the same question of many while not disclosing prior answers provides a spectrum of versions and variants. When the content is too sensitive the text is paraphrased anonymously particularly for evalua-

¹ SLOOC’s 684-page in-house evaluation document by the ceremony production team gives over an entire section to “secret stories” surrounding eleven “special matters” or problems: 1) the structure of the ceremony planning committees; 2) the writing of the scenario; 3) the organization of the ceremony production team; 4) securing the sky divers; 5) making the official song; 6) pacifying the ceremony choral group; 7) preparing the program booklet; 8) getting the torch lighters up the cauldron; 9) constructing the Ojak Bridge; 10) constructing the revolving mike stand; 11) securing national masks from NOCs for the Chaos scene. (SLOOC, *Ceremony Administration Team Report* (CATR), vol. 4, 1988, pp. 274–288).

Reviews

By Heaven's favor and God's help the Seoul Olympic Ceremonies received the highest praise as being the most brilliant in history . . . But for this experience of magnificent scenes we had to pay the price of undergoing innumerable difficulties of every kind. (CATR 1988:i).

There was a just proportion between the brilliance of the ceremonies and the pains taken to achieve that success. Beforehand fear was rampant among Koreans, keenly aware as they were of the magnitude of what was at stake in the whole enterprise. In their minds, the rise or fall of South Korea in world opinion would hang on this pair of events. The fear of failure and subsequent shame that weighed on them points up the polar extremes they had to traverse. "If the ceremonies should fail it would bring frustration to the Korean people and be a regrettable lost opportunity." (CATR 1988:i). "Even if one element did not function well the whole would go wrong" (CATR 1988:ii). "It is thus no exaggeration to say that the success and failure of the Opening and Closing Ceremonies are directly related to the success and failure of the Games itself." (*SLOOC Official Report* 1988:391–392). In the burden of individual responsibility for the success or failure—more likely failure—of the whole people, even an official document conveys a tone of distinctively Korean *han*. The music was no exception. "What people heard as sounding easy we had to kill ourselves to make [it] happen." Countering the fear of failure and the grueling effort was surprise when it turned out so well. Some Koreans who had shown little enthusiasm for the Olympic project beforehand expressed to me their amazement that Korea could bring off such a world class performance. Even the day before when it looked like the ceremonies might fail Lee O-young took public responsibility for success or failure, whereas, after the ceremonies were a success, many stepped forward on safe ground to claim "It's my work," "I did this."¹

¹ Lee O-young corroborated this point by pointing to statements he had made in an interview with *Hanguk ilbo* the morning of the ceremonies, inferring that anyone willing to sponsor a performance when its outcome is in doubt is more likely the author of the plan than those who take credit only after the successful fact. From our first interview, September 9, 1991.

Chronology of Events Affecting the Olympic Ceremonies

KEY:		
{PW}:		peace wall
{CATR}:		official schedule
{Int}:		interview with initials
bold:		events directly impinging on the scenario and/or music of the ceremonies

1981	9. 30	The 84th IOC session in Baden-Baden votes for Seoul to host the XXIVth Olympiad {PW}
	11.26	An extraordinary meeting of the Asian Games Federation in New Delhi decides to hold the 10th Asian Games in Seoul {PW}
1982	4.23	The Seoul Asian Games Organizing Committee [AGOC] activated {PW}
	8.10	The master plan for the Seoul Asian and Olympic Games completed {PW}
	—	Pak Yong-gu and Korean Art Critics Association begin to collect their ideas for the Asian Game and Olympic Ceremonies {Int Pak Yong-gu}
1983	2.14	The secretariats of the Seoul Asian Games and SLOOC combined {PW}
	6. 3	The emblem of the Seoul Olympics adopted {PW} [stylized <i>t'aegûk</i> and rings]
	—	Kim Ch'i-gon examines films of past Olympics for ideas on ceremonies {Int Kim Ch'i-gon}
	10.20	Korean Broadcasting System (KBS) designated as the host broadcaster for the Seoul Olympics {PW}
1984	4.7	The baby tiger, mascot of the Seoul Olympics, named “Hodori” {PW}
	6.22	The motto for the Seoul Olympics, “Harmony and Progress” adopted {PW}
	—	Los Angeles Olympic Games
	9.29	The Olympic stadium [Ch'amshil] dedicated {PW}
1985	1.10	The catchphrase of the Seoul Olympics, “The World to Seoul, Seoul to the World” adopted {PW}
	4.	The Cultural Ceremonies Division of the Opening-Closing Ceremonies [OCC] established {PW}

SLOOC Administrative Organization

for the Ceremonies Organizational Chart for SLOOC ¹

<p>Policy Research Office- Vice President for Games Operations (Cho San-ho)</p> <p><u>Council of Games Operation</u> Deputy Secretary General for Sports Operation Sports Coordinator -Sports Operation Dept. I -Sports Operation Dept. II -Pusan Office -Medical Services Dept. 29 Sports Operation Headquarters</p> <p>Council of Arts & Culture -Arts and Culture Dept.</p> <p>-OPENING AND CLOSING CEREMONIES DEPT.</p>	<p>President (Park Seh-jik) Vice President & Secretary General (Kim Ok-jin)</p> <p>-Planning Dept. -Data & Information Dept. -General Affairs Dept. -Security Dept. -Business Dept.</p> <p>Deputy Secretary General for Administration -Human Resources Dept. -Logistics Dept. -Technology Dept. -Facilities Dept. -Spectator Services Dept. -Executive Center for Olympiad of Art -Olympic Village Dept. -Press Village Dept. -Transportation Dept.</p>	<p>Executive Secretary Spokesman Auditor Vice President for Int'l Relations (Kim Un-y g)</p> <p>Deputy Secretary General for Int'l Relations</p> <p>-Protocol Dept. -Int'l Affairs Dept. -Accreditation Dept.</p> <p>Council of Press and Broadcasting</p> <p>Press & PR Dept. -Broadcasting Operation Dept. -Int'l Press & PR Dept.</p>
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<p>Committee of Specialized Experts (Advisory Committee-15)</p> <p>(Executive committee: Yi O-ryong Kim Munhwan Han Yang-sun Lee Kang-sook Pyun Jong-ha Yi Sang-su Kim Ch'i-gon Yi Gi-ha)</p>	<p>----</p> <p>Production Board - (P'yo Jae-sun)</p>	<p>Chief of Cultural Ceremony Headquarters (Kim Ch'i-gon)</p> <p>Chief of Op-Clos Cer Operations Unit (Yi Gi-ha)</p> <p>-----</p>	<p>-----</p> <p>Dept Chief Outside Coordination</p> <p>Executive for Domestic Coordination</p> <p>Overseas Coordination Executive</p>	<p>Chief of Operations' Office</p> <p>Chief of Operations</p> <p>Executive for Operations</p> <p>-Executive for Security</p>	<p>General Dept Chief of SPOC</p> <p>-Executive for SPOC</p>
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¹SLOOC, *Report of the Evaluation Committee for the Seoul Olympics* (EC SO) 1988:6.

Olympic Ceremony Planning Personnel

Frequently recurring names in this study

PLANNERS	POSITIONS
Hahn Man-young	Member of six advisory committees related to music in the ceremonies
Hwang Byung-ki	Composer
Kang S -h	Music Director of the Closing Ceremony; composer
Kim Ch'i-gon	Assistant Secretary General of SLOOC for Culture and Ceremonies
Kim Chung-gil	Music Director for the Opening Ceremonies; composer
Kim H -jo	Member of the Music Advisory Committee; composer
Kim Ky g-shik	SLOOC staff liaison between Ceremonies Unit and musicians
Kim Mun-hwan	Member of the Executive/Steering Committee; co-drafter of the final scenario; translator of the official song into Korean
Kim Un-yong	Vice-president of SLOOC; member of the International Olympic Committee. President of the National and International Taekw do Associations;
Lee Kang-sook	Music advisor on the Ceremonies Executive/Steering Committee
Lee O-young	Member of the Scenario Planning Committee and the Executive/Steering Committee; drafter of the final scenario
Pak Yong-gu	First chairman of the Scenario Planning Committee; music and art critic.
Park Seh-jik	President of the Seoul Olympic Organizing Committee (SLOOC)
P'yo Jae-sun	Director and General Producer of the Ceremonies
Yi Gi-ha	Director General of the Ceremonies Operations Unit
Yi Sang-man	Member of the Music Advisory Committee

Scenes and Composers/Arrangers for Opening-Closing Ceremonies

Section	Order	Composition	Composers	Time	Position	Notes
Events before the Official Ceremony <i>Ammadang</i>	1	<i>Kang sang je</i> Han River Festival	Kim Hûi-jo	7 min	Prof., Seoul Art Academy	
	2 <i>Haemaji</i> Greeting the Sun	<i>Saeb'yók kil</i> Passage at Dawn	Pak Pôm-hun	8 min	Chung'ang University	
		<i>Yonggo haengnyôl</i> Dragon Drum Procession	Kang Jun-il	5 min	Composer	
		<i>Ch'ôn -ji- in</i> Heaven, Earth, Heavens	Ch'oe Dong-sôn	4 min	Composer	
		<i>T'aech'o ùi pit</i> Light of Genesis	"	6 min	Composer	
	3	Olympic Fanfare	Kim Chông-gil	1 min	Seoul Nat. Univ.	
	[4] 5	[Entry of President] Welcome	Kim Hûi-jo	5 min	Seoul Nat. Univ.	
	[6] [7] [8] [9] [10]	[Entry of Athletes] [Opening Speech] [Welcoming Address] [Opening Declaration] [Hoisting of Olympic Flag]				
	11	<i>Sônghwa ch'aehwa</i> The Lighting of the Olympic Flame	Kang Sôk-hûi	5 min	SNU Music Dept.	
	[12] [13] [14]	[Olympic Oaths] [Korean National Anthem] [Exit of Athletes]				
Official Ceremony <i>Kongshik haengsa</i>						
Events after the Official Ceremony <i>Twitmadang</i>	15 A Great Day	<i>Kangbok kwa ch'a il ch'um</i> Prayer of Blessings Dance	Kim Hûi-jo	7 min		
	16	<i>Hwagwan mu</i> Flower Crown Dance	"	5 min		
	17	<i>Hondon</i> Chaos	Kim Chung-gil	5 min	SNU Music D	
		<i>Pyôgûl nô môsô</i> Beyond All Barriers	Hwang Byông-gi	5 min	Ehwa Univ.	

¹An amplification of the composer chart given in *CATR*, p.70.

Overview of Modern Olympic Arts Festivals¹

Real contests for the arts began with the Vth Olympiad of the modern era held in Stockholm in 1912 along with various performances of Swedish music held within an art festival. The demarcation between contest and exhibition was clearer in Amsterdam in 1928 at the IXth Olympiad with dimensions growing to 1,150 works of art from all over the world entered in the contest and more than 10,000 people visiting the exhibition. At this time the five categories established by Baron de Coubertin for the contest had subdivided; literature into lyric poetry, epic poetry, and drama; music into song, instrumental music, and orchestral music divisions; sculpture into bas relief and metal work; visual art into oil painting, watercolor, and graphic art; and architecture into works for stadiums, gymnasiums, and parks. The original stipulation, that the theme of every artwork should be related to sports, remained. A significant step at Amsterdam was the publication of an independent report on the art contest, which was also done after the Xth Olympiad at Los Angeles. The 1932 cultural festival also included the first official budget for the art contest, a three-year preparation, and representation from 24 countries.

The arts stood out in Berlin in 1936 for several reasons: the exhibition, displaying the historical importance of the Olympics with many ancient items excavated in Greece, was held independently of an art contest and the German NOC commissioned a sculptor to make the Olympic bell. Significant for the history of the role of art music in the ceremonies is the official song for Berlin being composed by Richard Strauss and the fact that much of the orchestral music, which had received prizes in the art contest, was performed for the opening ceremony. Although comparisons with Berlin always carry a sharp edge, the German featuring of quality music for the ceremonies might have changed the state of the question for

¹ This summary is totally indebted to the research and resultant publications of Yi Sang-man, particularly to his article, "The Creative and Artistic Character of the Olympic Cultural Events," *Music Room*, No. 10, publication of the Korean Music Pen Club 10th anniversary edition, Yeŭm Publishers, 1986, pp. 98–124. ["Ol-limp'ik munhwa haengsa-ŭi yesul-sŏng gwa ch'anjo-sŏng," *Ŭmak pang* 10 ho, Han-guk ŭmak p'en k'ŭllŏb 10 chunyon kihyŏmho, Tosŏ ch'ulp'an Yeŭm.]

Composers' profiles¹

Kim Hŭi-jo

<i>Opening Ceremony:</i>	Han River Festival (composer)
	Dragon Drum Procession (arranger)
	Welcome March (comp.)
	March Past (arr.)
	Korea Fantasy (arr.)
	Great Day— <i>Ch'a il</i> Dance (comp.)
<i>Closing Ceremony:</i>	Flower Crown Dance (arr.)
	Delivery of the Olympic Flag (arr.)

Kim Hŭi-jo was born in 1920 during the Japanese occupation when there was no music academy in Seoul. As a youth he took private lessons in piano, violin, and composition. While his teachers had studied music in foreign countries, Lim Wŏn-shik [Im Won-shik] and Chung Pong-cheol [Chŏng Pong-ch'ŏl], his seniors by just one year, went to Japan for their music education when Kim was limited to private study in Seoul. He graduated from a commercial high school and worked in a bank from 1940 to 1945, continuing to study music. From 1945 to 1948 he played in Koryŏ Symphony, which was established just before Independence in September 1945. As director of the ROK military band from 1948 to 1957 he composed innumerable marches. From 1957 to 1962 he was assistant professor of composition and conductor of the university band at Kyŏnghŭi University. Simultaneously, from 1958 to 1970 he worked in the Korean Broadcasting System Orchestra. There he reorganized the 60-piece KBS Symphony conducted by Kim Won-shik to a twenty-five member orchestra to play for a weekly thirty-minute TV music program which continued for about ten years. When he began studying traditional music at KBS he quit his job at Kyŏnghŭi University. In 1962, when the *Yegŭrin* musical group was estab-

¹ The relative length or brevity of my treatment of individual composers is a function of the focus of this study and certainly not an indication of the composer's creative output or the merit of his work. In some cases, length and completeness of coverage depend on the accessibility or circumstances, as in the loss of a follow-up interview tape (Ch'oe Dong-sun) by a research assistant, or the sudden death of one composer (Chang Ik-hwan) before a follow-up interview could be arranged.

Musical Examples

Chapter Five: Ceremony

“Fanfare '88”

Ex. V-1 (F1) Opening of the “Fanfare '88” (p. 199)

Two staves of music in B-flat major, 2/4 time. The first staff contains a melody starting with a half note B-flat, followed by a quarter note A, a triplet of eighth notes G, A, B-flat, a half note G, and a triplet of eighth notes F, G, A. The second staff contains a bass line starting with a half note B-flat, followed by a quarter note A, a triplet of eighth notes G, A, B-flat, and a half note G. The piece ends with a final chord of B-flat, D, and F.

Ex. V-2 (F2). “Fanfare '88” — Rhythmic motives (p. 199)

A four-staff musical score in B-flat major, 2/4 time, showing rhythmic motives. The first two staves (treble and alto clefs) feature a melody of eighth notes and a bass line of quarter notes. The last two staves (treble and bass clefs) feature a melody of eighth notes and a bass line of quarter notes. The piece includes several triplet markings and a final chord of B-flat, D, and F.

References

Primary Sources

Interviews

All of the following interviews were conducted in Seoul, Korea by the author with some assistance by Korean research assistants identified in the Preface. Tapes and transcripts of the interviews in Korean and English are in the library of the author in San Diego, California.

SLOOC and Ceremony administrators, executive committee members, scenario committee members, expert advisors, and staff:

Ch'oe Jong-ho, in his office at Yonsei University, 1991.8.24.

Hahn Man-young, in his office at the College of Music and at the Faculty Club of Seoul National University on frequent occasions from June 1988 to October 1989. Interviews on the following days were taped and later transcribed: 1988.9.29, 1988.10.4, 1988.10.8, 1989.5.5, 1989.5.8, 1989.5.21, 1989. 6.8 and 1991.9.11.

Han Yang-sun, in her office at the Department of Physical Education at Yonsei University, 1991.8.24.

Kim Ch'i-gon, at the Shilla Hotel, 1989.9.16; in his office at the National Museum of Art in Kyōngbok Palace, 1989.9.23.

Kim Chung-min, location cannot be determined, 1991.9.3.

Kim Kyōng-shik, in the ceremony offices in the basement of Ch'amshil Stadium, 1988.10.11, 1988.10.14; at KBS Radio Station, 1989.5.13.

Kim Mun-hwan, in his office at the Aesthetics Department, Seoul National University, 1988.10.12; Seoul National University Faculty Club, 1989.10.5; during an evening at Munye Theater, 1989.9. 15, and on several informal occasions through 1993.

Kim Un-yong, in his office at Kukgiwōn in Kangnam-gu, headquarters for the International Taekwondo Association, 1989.6.5.

Lee O-young, in his home in Seoul, 1991.9.9; in his daughter's home in Hollywood, CA, 1992.6.24.

P'yo Jae-sun, in the producer's office at Ch'amshil Stadium, 1988.10. 10 and 1988.10.14.

Park Seh-jik, in suites on the 55th floor of the DLI '63 Building, Yōūido-dong, 1989.9.26.

Pak Yong-gu, in his MBC office in Map'o-gu, 1989.10.11.

Yi Kang-suk, in his office at the College of Music, Seoul National Uni-

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