to the deities for causing the earthquake, Kitani argues that such representations made fun of the monstrous fish and thereby performed a psychotherapeutic function, helping the Edo people change their perspective on the nightmarish experience of the quake. Moreover, according to Kitani, the prints, with their depiction of the apologizing *namazu*, were believed to work as talismans against earthquakes.

Part 3 probes the scientific possibility of a relationship between *namazu* and earthquakes, since *namazu* are thought capable of sensing imminent earthquakes. Part 4 examines how *namazu* have appeared in Chinese mythology, German folklore, and Japanese art. Here we learn that *namazu* have long been subjects of Japanese art. Finally, part 5 presents a quite extensive list by Kato Mitsuo 加藤光男 of *namazu-e* in prints and other media, each entry including a picture, text, and short explanation. This list will, I believe, be a great help for further research on this genre.

This ambitious work provides the reader with important information to supplement Ouwehand's work, and indicates possibilities for further studies of visual representations in Japanese popular culture. For example, the authors of parts 1 and 2 are concerned with just who constituted the Edo population, not only as art producers but also as audience and consumers. They investigate the cultural attitudes shared by these people in their interpretation of such art. One cannot emphasize enough the importance of audience-studies in such investigations of popular culture.

Nevertheless, this ambitious work sets its own limits. In attempting to capture the *namazu* in its broader context by using an encyclopedic approach, the book can spare only a few pages for each author. The reviewer wished, for example, that there were more discussions of the kind Kitani, Kitahara, and Komatsu Kazuhiko 小松和彦 offer concerning the treatment of the *namazu-e* as a sort of "memory bank," the investigation of which can yield valuable information on the social conditions, folk beliefs, and various emotional reactions of the populace. They invite the reader to see the complexity and multivocality in the *namazu-e* as mirrors of people's reactions. These insightful studies, focusing on the Edo people as active contributors to art, will further supplement Ouwehand's symbolic and structuralist interpretation of the visual representations.

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PIHL, MARSHALL R. *The Korean Singer of Tales*. Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 37. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994. xi + 295 pages. Illustrations, figures, tables, bibliography, general index, index to the translation. Cloth US$38.00; ISBN 0-674-50564-6.

Anyone who has ever been to Korea and attended a performance of the musical narrative known as *p'ansori* will probably never forget it. The art and vocal technique of singing *p'ansori* is unique and remarkable in that the music seems to come from the deepest soul of the singer and indeed from the deepest soul of Korea and her people.

The late Marshall Pihl has given us a book that forms a splendid exploration and analysis of the *p'ansori* singer, his songs, and the historical, sociocultural, and literary contexts in which he, his songs, and his audiences have evolved over the centuries. It is the first book-length treatment in English of this art form.

In his introduction Pihl tells us that the word *p'ansori* literally means "song sung in an arena" or "a one-man opera." He says that the four essential characteristics of *p'ansori* are that "it is a solo oral technique, it is dramatic, it is musical, and it is in verse" (3). The plots of the *p'ansori* narratives are for the most part borrowed from folk literature and "fleshed out...by the addition of other materials from the common culture" (69). The singer (*kwangdae*) alternates between sung and spoken presentation, serving as both the narrator of the tale and an actor playing the characters. Accompanied by a single drummer, the *kwangdae* performs on a mat, his only props being a fan and sometimes a handkerchief. A full *p'ansori* performance may take six hours.

In the first section of the book, "The Singer: *Kwangdae*," Pihl traces the history of the singers back to the aristocratic *hwarang* order, said to have been established by King Chinhŭng (r. 534–76) "for ethical artistic and military training" (16). These young men performed at annual court entertainments called *p'alganhoe* by singing, dancing, and praying for blessings. With the decline of Shilla and emergence of the Koryŏ state the status of the *hwarang* fell, and they found themselves dispersed as itinerant tumblers, acrobats, and musicians. The founding king of Koryŏ, T'aejo (r. 918–35), revived the *p'alganhoe*, so that the *hwarang* continued to entertain with music, song, and dance.

After 1392, with the founding of the Chosŏn regime, the *hwarang* "had no choice but to tour and perform their songs and participate in shamanistic rituals" (19). Women conducted rituals while the men provided musical accompaniment. A modern study of shamans documents the presence of male *p'ansori* singers in shaman family lineages. The lowborn socially outcaste status of the shamans and such entertainers as *kwangdae* remained in effect down to the twentieth century.

The Chosŏn court eliminated the Koryŏ *p'alganhoe* but continued a variety show called *sandaehui*, which gave professional entertainers the opportunity to perform in the capital. According to Pihl, this provided a context "that would eventually support the development of an improvisational oral narrative that combined prose and poetry and was vocally demanding, full of musical and rhythmic variation, rich in gesture and characterization, structurally complex, witty and poignant, and abounding in audience give-and-take" (22). By the opening of the eighteenth century, he continues, "a fully formed, extended oral narrative song—called *p'ansori*—began to appear and attract the attention of the lettered populace, who could document its existence" (22).

In the early days these itinerant performers led a difficult, hand-to-mouth existence, wandering from village to village and performing at shrines and marketplaces. They were "of the common people" and reflected the tastes and sensibilities of that audience" (23). Neo-Confucianist court officials strongly disapproved of these low and vulgar performances. *Sandaehui* performances ceased by the end of the eighteenth century, but changing economic conditions made it possible for newly prosperous merchants and farmers to employ the services of *kwangdae* and other entertainers.

Pihl refers to the nineteenth century as the "heyday" of the *kwangdae*. It had already become easier for individual *p'ansori kwangdae* to perform independently of troupes of variety entertainers, since all that was required was the *kwangdae*, his drummer, a mat to perform on, and an audience. Some of the better *kwangdae* "moved out of the marketplace and into the salons of the rich and powerful" (34). One *kwangdae* was so accomplished that he was appointed an honorary Fourth Minister by King Hŏnjong. Another important patron of

kwangdae was the regent Taewon'gun (1820–1898). The patronage of these powerful officials "contributed to the development of the *p'ansori* art and the acceptability of these performers as entertainers to polite society" (35).

Pihl traces the history of five generations of *kwangdae* during the nineteenth century. He calls the third generation "a teaching generation" that flourished in the middle of the century. The teachers of this generation "established classical interpretations and populated the remainder of the century with their disciples" (34), adding new episodes to old songs and creating entirely new works. The fourth generation "took part in the adaptation of *p'ansori*, the establishment of flourishing theaters in the capital, and the formation of provincial touring companies" (35). The fifth generation of *kwangdae*, born in the last years of the nineteenth century, were able to recite to scholars the oral history of their art, providing a link to the present day.

In the last third of the nineteenth century a new theatrical form of *p'ansori*, called *ch'angguk* (singing drama), emerged, in which both male and female singers were assigned individual roles to play and appeared on stage together. The first *ch'angguk*, an adaptation of the "Song of Ch'un-hyang," was presented in 1903. Pihl considers this an "epoch-making transition in the performing arts that marked the beginning of modern theater in Korea" (41).

The second part of the book focuses on the tale itself. Pihl tells us that *p'ansori* emerged from narrative shaman songs in the area of Cholla Province. *P'ansori* and shaman narrative share important features but also show differences, among them the fact that *p'ansori* "deals with realistic issues of human life" and uses "common people, rather than gods and heroes, as protagonists" (61).

In his discussion of the development and transmission of *p'ansori* narrative Pihl refers to the Albert Lord/Milman Parry theory of formulaic oral composition, in which a group of words "is regularly employed under the same material conditions to express a given essential idea" (78). *Kwangdae* have used such formulae "as a device to facilitate rapid oral composition" (78). Pihl provides excellent examples of formulaic strategies employed in *p'ansori* and analyzes episodic and dramatic structures. He contrasts what he calls "the amateur nature" of Yugoslav oral composition with the Korean professional tradition, which "was characterized by training through master-disciple relationships, by membership in professional organizations, by conscious competition among colleagues, and by the maintenance of professional genealogies" (82). The musical building blocks of *p'ansori* are rhythm, mode, and vocalization, which the *kwangdae* mixes and varies to suit the needs of the libretto. Scholarly Korean texts identify fifty-three different techniques of vocalization, and these can only be taught by demonstration and learned by imitation.

Under the heading "Critical History and Performance Theory," Pihl describes the earliest references to *p'ansori*, which appeared in the mid-eighteenth century and were written by educated aristocrats. They begin with Yu Chin-han's translation of lyrics from the "Song of Ch'un-hyang" into Chinese verse after attending a performance in Cholla Province. All of the significant writings about, translations of, and critical references to *p'ansori* and *kwangdae* are described by Pihl in this section.

The final section of the book is Pihl's translation and annotation of one of the most famous *p'ansori* narratives, "The Song of Shim Ch'ŏng," a story about a devoted daughter who allows herself to be sacrificed to the sea gods in order to restore her blind father's eyesight. Pihl first provides a critical history of the texts, which exist in the form of woodblock prints, manuscripts, typeset editions, field transcriptions, and translations. In his translation Pihl employs a system of notations that distinguishes the spoken passages from the sung passages and identifies the type of rhythm used in each passage. It is a splendid translation.

Altogether this book should be of great interest to folklorists, Korean specialists,

musicologists, anthropologists, students of comparative literature and drama, and those interested in broadening their horizons to include art forms perhaps unfamiliar to them but nevertheless deserving of study and appreciation.

Marshall Pihl died on 12 August 1995. This book will stand as a testament and a memorial to his scholarship in the fields of Korean literature, art, and culture, and to his love of the Korean people.

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WALRAVEN, BOUDEWIJN. *Songs of the Shaman: The Ritual Chants of the Korean* mudang. London and New York: Kegan Paul International, 1994. x + 307 pages. Appendices of formulae, formulaic systems and themes, bibliography, index. Cloth US$76.50; ISBN 0-7103-0403-X.

What are Korean shaman songs? The infinitely variable utterances of divinely inspired women? An ancient corpus, long frozen into text like *The Nine Songs* (CH'U 1973) or the Manchu *Tale of the Nisan Shamaness* (NOWAK and DURANT 1977)? The truth, Boudewijn Walraven tells us, lies somewhere in between. These long, complicated, and sometimes humorous songs are learned from a shaman teacher (or sometimes several teachers), and mastery constitutes one of the more daunting tasks of shamanic apprenticeship in Korea.

Printed song texts, without musical notation, seem to have circulated from teacher to apprentice for a very long time. Like Walraven, I have seen dilapidated copies of a standard anthology in the hands of shaman and antiquarian bookseller alike. In recent decades young shamans have practiced their songs with the aid of tape recorders. But once the songs are mastered the shamans who perform them will sometimes delete and elaborate, borrowing from each other and adding imagery from their own contemporary landscape. Mythic figures appear shod in rubber-soled athletic shoes, and (in one of Walraven's examples) events are situated at the time of the New Village Movement (1970s) when shaman rituals and other "superstitious practices" fell afoul of the nation's modernizing agenda. Minor improvisations within a fixed song address the concerns of particular clients. At a series of *kut* held in the summer of 1995, I heard shamans in Seoul sing reassurances to a florist that "bunches of flowers are going in [to fill a large order], whether sitting or standing you will hear the sound of the door [opening constantly for clients]." For an electrician, "Though my client goes east, west, south, and north... I will help so that there will be no power failure." For a family that runs a travel agency, the Spirit Official of the vehicle (Cha Taeqam) will "seize the front tire and seize the back tire and move the vehicle to an auspicious place."

In recognizing the songs as a simultaneously conservative and innovative form, Walraven opens the door to larger issues. Prior studies have hewn to the commonsense assumption that the shamanic tradition is primeval, valued as a repository of the ancient roots of Korean culture. By this logic, shaman songs are the progenitors of Korean literature in a procrustean evolutionary scheme. Walraven's painstaking research shows us that, to the contrary, the shamans have shamelessly borrowed from *sijo* and *kasa* poetry and the Korean vernacular tales that have appeared as both published novels and performed ballad operas (*p'ansori*). Walraven's command of this corpus is impressive! His exacting annotation and analysis of several shaman songs not only reveal the bits of stories, imagery, and turns of phrase that can be traced to literary sources but also show how the shamans have borrowed from the rhetorical