Introduction to Korean History and Culture 2017 - Pansori and traditional music

Lecture 7

Pansori and traditional music

"As early as the eighteenth century, performers were attending successful state examination candidates on their triumphal tours of celebration. In his Seonho saseol, Yi Ik observes, "Nowadays the successful examination candidate must have a player to make music." A generation later, Yu Deuk-gong (1748-1807) gives a more detailed account of this custom in his Gyeongdo japki (Capital miscellany): "The successful examination candidate receives his diploma and goes in a procession with musicians, gwangdae, and acrobats in attendance. A gwangdae is a player who wears brocade robes and a yellow straw hat in which are stuck silk flowers and peacock feathers. He dances a vigorous dance and makes merry patter. The acrobat does rope-walking, tumbling, and performs various turns." (Pihl 2003:28)1)

Pansori 판소리

• Pansori is an indigenous form of Korean storytelling performance art, that originates in the southwest of the peninsula (North and South Jeolla-do provinces).

"Pansori is a composite art form that combines song (sori), narration and dialogue (aniri), and dramatic action (pallim), but by far the most important element is sori. The preferred vocal colour is harsh and thick, strikingly different from European opera, and signers talk of using a mix of desirable vocal techniques including the 'iron voice' (철성), 'bright voice' (청구성) and 'tough voice' (수리성). Achieving an appropriate voice takes time, and singers describe having to break the voice before finding the 'true' tone, going on pilgrimages to temples or mountains for 100-day training sessions where beside waterfalls they compete to generate greater volume and in caves they work on deeper resonance.

Schools or styles are distinguished, notably the western school (서편제 seopyeonje) thought to have been introduced by Bak Yujeon in the nineteenth century, lyrical, emotional and perhaps slightly feminine, and the more masculine and majestic eastern school (동편제 tongpyeonje). The division is based on the Seomjin River, with a third school having been introduced to soften the southwestern folksy nature when pansori was popularized for the aristocracy." (Howard 2006:60)2)

• The origins of pansori are thought to lie in a synthesis between the local mudang (무당) shaman culture that involved oral epic ritual songs, together with musical accompaniment, and the lettered "high culture" of the yangban literati, many of whom were sent to Jeolla in exile during the mid Joseon dynasty.

• The vocal technique of pansori is directly related to that used by southwestern mudang and not found in other genres of Korean music (such as folk songs).

Entertainers were frequently married to female shamans, who were of the same low social status. In the terminology of Korean shamanism, the musician-husband of a shaman was called changbu or mubu. He would serve as her accompanist on the drum and could also perform as a singer himself. In the changbu song, we encountered a shaman narrative that describes these singers as individual performers in their own right, working outside a shamanistic milieu, who journeyed to the capital where they met new licentiates (those who have passed the state exam) and then accompanied them home to perform sacrificial rites." (Pihl 2003:36)

- Pansori emerged as a distinct form during the 18th century and enjoyed its heyday during the 19th century when it received patronage from yangban all the way up to the palace.
  - During this period it was further enhanced with literary embellishments to appeal to the tastes of the yangban audience.

- Pansori gradually lost its popularity with the demise of the yangban and collapse of the Joseon dynasty at the end of the 19th century.

- It was further challenged by the introduction of cinema in the early 20th century.
  - Some pansori performers may have transferred to the work of silent film narrators.

- At this stage it diversified and innovated itself into staged musical theatre, known as changgeuk (창극 'singing drama'): the major difference being instead of a single storyteller, the roles were performed by separate pansori singers as a stage performance.
  - Changgeuk first developed around the turn of the 20th century: likely influenced by Beijing opera, which had been established in Seoul within the Chinese community.
  - 1950s saw a golden-age of all women changgeuk troupes.
  - Changgeuk is still popular today and the actors are trained in pansori and/or folk song singing.

- The solo pansori tradition was never entirely lost, as it was always considered the 'truer' form, and it re-emerged in South Korea during the postwar era.
  - In 1964, pansori was designated as Important Intangible Cultural Property No 5 (중요무형문화재 제5호) thus receiving official recognition and government support.

- Although the pansori texts have been recorded since the 19th century, throughout the 20th century it was still primarily transmitted as an oral tradition where students memorized passages by heart directly from their teachers.

Pansori terminology:

- **pan** 판 A place or spot where an activity (eg a game) takes place.
- **sori** 소리 Literally "sound", refers to pansori vocal performance.
- **sori-pan** 소리판 A pansori performance.
sori-ggun 소리꾼  A pansori singer. Singers were also known as gwangdae 廣大 光大 which is a more general term for itinerant entertainers (such as portrayed in the 2006 film The King and the Clown 王의 남자) and so is considered somewhat pejorative by pansori performers themselves.

gosu 鼓手 고수  A pansori drummer. The drum used in pansori is called a (sori) buk (소리 북) and the beater a chae 채.

chu’imsae 추임새  Shouts of encouragement and appreciation made freely both by the drummer and the audience. Because modern audiences are typically shy, the pansori singer will remind them to practice their chu’imsae at the beginning of their performance. The drummer also offers chu’imsae throughout. In theory you can shout anything, but the most common chu’imsae are:

- eolssigu! 얼씨구 An exclamation said in positive agreement "Hurrah!"
- jo’ta! 좋다 "Good!"
- jal-handa 잘한다 "[You're doing] good!"
- ye’bbeuda 예쁘다 "[You're] pretty!"
- eu’i! 율이 A sound of encouragement with no meaning.

neoreumsae 너름새  Refers to the singer's gestures and expressions. Also known as ballim 발림. Gestures utilize a folding fan, buchae 부채.

madang 마당  The term for individual pansori plays.

Madang literally means 'courtyard' and denotes the space inside traditional houses (han’ok 韓屋 한옥) where pansori performances were often held.

dan’ga 短歌 단가  Literally, "short songs", used as warm up songs before starting the main performance. The most popular dan’ga is Song of Four Seasons 四節歌 사절가 sajeol-ga which laments the passing of spring youth.

Their content is not directly related to the pansori stories and likely derives from an earlier tradition of Buddhist related songs.

a’niri 아니리  The recitative, spoken sections of the performance.

chang 唱 창  The aria, sung sections of the performance.

deg’eum 得音 득음  A term for perfected vocal ability only attained by master singers after decades of practice. This has been much romanticized in the public imagination.

wanchang 完唱 완창  A complete solo performance of a pansori play, often up to 4-5 hours long. Successfully performing a wanchang demonstrates a level of mastery after which the performer will be considered qualified to teach others.
The Five Pansori madang (plays)

- Of a known repertory of 12-15 plays popular during the 19th century, today just five remain which were first written down and edited by Sin Jae-hyo (申在孝, 1812-84).
- Sin came from a rich commoner-merchant family and lived in Gochang county in North Jeolla Province.

Song of Chunhyang (춘향가 Chunhyang-ga)

- Korea’s archetypal love story.
- Equivalent to "Romeo and Juliet" in terms of cultural referencing and popularity.

Storyline:
In the village of Namwon (now southern North Jeolla Province), Yi Mongnyeong, a young yangban, falls in love with Chunhyang who is the daughter of a gisaeng entertainer. They are secretly married before Yi Mongnyeong has to leave for Seoul to sit the civil service examination, causing them to be parted.

Whilst he is away, a new magistrate, Byeon Hakdo, takes up office in Namwon and tries to make Chunhyang his concubine. When she refuses, he has her condemned to death and thrown in jail.

In the meantime Yi Mongnyeong has successfully passed the examination and is made a secret royal inspector (暗行御史 amhaeng-eosa). Returning to Namwon in disguise he attends the birthday celebrations of the magistrate. Just before Chunhyang is due to be executed he reveals himself and under the authority of the king’s seal has the magistrate arrested reuniting himself with Chunhyang.

Song of Simcheong (심청가 Simcheong-ga)

Her mother having died during child birth, Simcheong grows up in poverty taking care of her blind father, Sim Bongsa.

One day Sim Bongsa is told by a Buddhist monk that he will regain his sight if he offers 300 bags of rice to the local temple. Sim returns home and laments that he hasn’t this money/rice.

By chance Simcheong hears that a group of sailors are looking for a virgin to sacrifice at sea to ensure themselves a safe journey. She offers herself in return for 300 bags of rice and secretly leaves her father.

On board the sailors’ ship Simcheong prays to the Buddha to restore her father’s sight as she jumps into the ocean.

Impressed by her act of filial piety the Dragon King (who lives in the sea and to whom the sacrifice was made) saves her and brings her to his underwater palace. She is subsequently sent back to the world wrapped in a lotus leaf and discovered by the emperor who makes him his empress. They then hold a banquet for all the blind people in the kingdom to find her father. Attending the banquet, Sim Bongsa is shocked when the empress reveals to him that she is his daughter, whereupon he spontaneously opens his eyes and regains his sight.

Song of Heungbo (흥보가 Heungbo-ga)

After their father dies, greedy Nolbo orders his younger brother Heungbo and his family to leave the family home. Heungbo obeys his brother and is reduced to a life of poverty.

3) This was a real system established by the 7th Joseon king Sejo (世祖 r.1455-68) who is famous for usurping the throne from his nephew.
4) The setting of Simcheong-ga is ostensibly China, although the play and characters are otherwise culturally Korean.
One day, however, Heungbo discovers a baby swallow which has fallen from a nest and broken its leg. Heungbo helps mend its leg and the swallow later brings him a gourd seed in gratitude. Planting the seed it quickly grows into an enormous gourd which Heungbo and his wife have to saw open.

Inside they discover gold, silk and rice making them rich. After Heungbo tells his brother the story, greedy Nolbo finds a swallow and breaks its leg on purpose, and then mends it. The swallow similarly brings him a gourd seed which is planted and quickly grows.

But when Nolbo opens the gourd, it turns out to be filled with spirits and bandits who loot his house. Realising his bad behaviour, Nolbo apologizes to Heungbo who forgives him and shares his own wealth.

**Song of the Water Palace** (水宮歌 수궁가 Su’gung-ga )

The Dragon King of the Underwater Palace suffers a sickness which he is told can only be cured by the liver of a hare. The Dragon King sends a tortoise to catch a hare. Meeting the hare, the tortoise invites him to come and live in the Underwater Palace.

When the hare arrives at the palace and learns his fate, he persuades the Dragon King that he has to return to the forest because he forgot to bring his liver! Once back in the forest the hare ridicules the Dragon King and the tortoise for being so foolish as to believe him. Nevertheless he is partly moved by the tortoise’s loyalty to the king.

- This story is first recorded in the *Samguk-sagi* (1145).

**Song of the Red Cliffs** (赤壁歌 적벽가 Jeokbyeok-ga )

Tells the story of the Battle of the Red Cliffs (208BC) as recounted in the 14th century Chinese classic *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (三國志演義 삼국지연의).

- *Romance of the Three Kingdoms* remains popular across East Asia (China - Korea - Japan).

**Pansori in film**

The *Tale of Chunhyang* (춘향전 Chunhyang-jeon).

- First adapted for film in 1922.
- It has consequently become the most remade story in Korean film history with around 15 remakes to date.
  - The 1935 remake, directed by Yi Myeong-u (이명우 1903-? went to North), was the first Korean produced "talkie" film with sound (發聲映畫 발성영화 balseong yeonghwa).
  - A 1955 remake directed by Yi Gyu-hwan (이규환 1904-1984) was particularly successful.
  - These films were not pansori, but only retellings of the story, which had already been made popular as a written story from the late 19th century; as a novel it is called *Chunhyang-jeon* (춘향전 "The Tale of Chunhyang").

**Sopyonje** (1993 서편제 seopyeonje )

[http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-MOMTUcVEc](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Z-MOMTUcVEc) (Korean Film Archive: full film)

- Directed by Im Kwon-taek’s (b.1930).
- Became the first Korean blockbuster movie achieving an audience of 1.03 million.
- This was entirely unexpected considering both its subjective and the fact that it first opened at only a single cinema.
  - The soundtrack, composed by Kim Soochul (김수철 Kim Su-cheol b.1957) sold more than a million copies.
http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=azk-pRo5Fxw (main theme Thousand Year Crane 千年鶴 천년학 cheonnyeonhak played on daegeum flute).

- Sopyonje led to a popular rediscovery of pansori.
- Younger generations today, however, are now too young to have seen it.
- The storyline is set during the 20\textsuperscript{th} century, but utilizes themes from Simcheong-ga.
- Sopyonje strongly romanticizes pansori and emphasizes the emotional aesthetic of han (恨 한).

Traditional music - \textit{gug'ak} (國樂 國樂)

- Traditional Korean music today is referred to as \textit{gug'ak} 國樂 (lit. "national music"), which is a modern Sino-Korea term, likely borrowed from Japanese, and best translated simply as "Korean music" (or "traditional Korean" to distinguished it from Korean pop music).
- The \textit{Samguk sagi} (1145) contains descriptions of music and representative instruments still popular today.
- These include: the 12 string \textit{gaya'geum} 伽倻琴 (lit. "zither of Gaya"), 6 string \textit{geomun'go} 거문고 (zither) and \textit{daegeum} 대금 (bamboo flute).

Some key characteristics of Korean music

- The shape and texture of the melodic line.
- Sophisticated rhythms of varying speeds predominantly based on a 12/8 compound time signature.
- No harmony.
  - Lack of harmony allows for employment of strong vibrato (shaking the note), known as \textit{nong'eum} (_lit. "playing [with the] sound").
- Distinct vocal technique which requires intense practice to condition the throat.
- Korean music makes use of two pentatonic modes (musical scales), \textit{pyeong-jo} (平調 평조) and \textit{gyemyeon-jo} (界面調 계면조).

\textit{Pyeong-jo} mode is similar to a major scale (in Western music) but without the 3rd or 7th note (so C, D, F, G, A).

\textit{Gyemyeon-jo} is similar to a minor scale without the 2nd or 6th note (C, Eb, F, G, Bb).
- The texture of \textit{gyemyeon-jo} is further distinguished by decorations that occur on the 1st and 4th note.
- The 1st note has strong vibrato (\textit{nong'eum}) and the 4th note a weaker "broken note" ornamentation.
- The first tonic note of the modes tend to be equivalent to Bb, or alternatively Eb.

\begin{align*}
\textit{pyeong-jo} \text{ is } & \quad \text{Bb C Eb F G,} \quad \text{or } \text{Eb F Ab Bb C.} \\
\textit{gyemyeon-jo} \text{ is } & \quad \text{Bb Db Eb F Ab,} \quad \text{or } \text{Eb Gb Ab Bb Db Eb.}
\end{align*}
• Gyemyeon-jo is used in particular for music from the southwest, including pansori.
• In the case of pansori, the exact pitch of the notes differ, but maintain relative relationships with each other.

Describing the modes in reference to their usage in pansori:

"In Haedong gayo (1763 漢東歌謠 Korean songs – a collection of sijo poetry and an important source of critical commentary), the feeling of the pyeong-jo is compared to the sensation of "driving a carriage, with reins loosely held, through a garden alive with many kinds of flowers" or to the clear, fresh sensation of "seeing the moon risen high into the midnight sky or feeling a gentle breeze that strokes the placid surface of the water." The pyeong-jo is thought to be appropriate for cheerful and peaceful scenes, like the description of the emperor’s garden in the Song of Shimcheong...

..The gyemyeon-jo melodic line, on the other hand, is said to evoke soft and sad feelings in the listener and, therefore, is commonly used to express melancholy and lament and also to describe the behavior of women. An example from the Song of Sim Cheong is the last will and testament delivered by the heroine’s mother.” (Pihl 2003:92)

Aesthetic value of han (恨 한)

• Han is used to describe an accumulated sadness or bitter resentment/frustration owing to: social discrimination and political disenfranchisement.
• Han is particularly experienced by:
  Women under Neo-Confucianism
  people from the southwest politically discriminated against
  exiled yangban, mudang shaman
  musicians who were at the bottom of Joseon society..

  ..and ultimately the entire nation during the Japanese colonial era and subsequent oppression by South Korean dictators.

• One romantic characteristic of han is that it cannot be released or healed but, at best, rather becomes a source of inspiration and inner strength through which to overcome one’s difficulties.

• Han was a Sino-Korean word used in the premodern era (e.g. in Heo Nanseolheon’s poetry) to describe emotional bitterness: it was used by gisaeng entertainment girls (who were trained in traditional folk music).
• In the late 20th century, it became strongly associated with post-colonial discourse concerning Korea’s modern historical experience.

• Younger generations in Korea now have much less immediate han (except from exam pressures), so it is less present as a popular concept.
• The antithesis to han is heung (興 홍) which denotes ecstasy and excitement: both elements are present in pansori and traditional music.
Folk songs - min’yo (民謡 민요)

- Min’yo is a modern term introduced from Japanese minyō (民謡), which was derived from German volkslied coined by Herder (1744-1803). (Howard 1989:100)

“Only in 1933 was "minyo" used to denote regional songs in a widely circulated anthology of 2,375 songs collected from newspaper readers and collated by Kim So-un (Kim, Chosŏn kujŏn minyo, 1933). In fact the term was initially used by Japanese scholars in respect to Korean songs in a 1924 publication and probably first appeared in the vernacular only in a 1927 copy of the Donga ilbo newspaper (Im Tong-gwŏn, 1964: 250-264). Few Korean scholars used the term until Cho Wang-san’s 1947 Chosŏn minyo kaeron [Outline of Joseon folk songs] and Chang Sa-hun’s 1948 Minyowa hyang’ŏ akki [Folk songs and local instruments].” (Howard 1989:102)

Korean folk songs are divided into the following regional groups:

Gyeonggi-minyo (京畿民謡 경기민요)
- From Gyeonggi-do province surrounding the capital.
- Most melodic, cheerful and popular tunes.

Dongbu-minyo (東部民謠 동부민요 "Eastern folk songs")
- From the mountainous province of Gangwon-do to the east of Seoul and Gyeonggi-do, but also includes the southeastern Gyeongsang provinces.
- Its more popular songs are often incorporated in the Gyeonggi-minyo repertoire.
- Tend to be more plaintive (less cheerful) than Gyeonggi songs.
- Representative songs include Gangwon-do Arirang (강원도 아리랑), Jeongseon Arirang (정선아이랑), and Han-o’baek-nyeon (한오백년 "500 Years of Han")

Namdo-minyo (南道民謡 남도민요)
- From the southwestern Jeolla provinces.
- Generally still quite melodic but can be slightly sadder in tone than Gyeonggi-minyo, sharing the same gyemyeon-jo mode as pansori.
- Representative songs include Yukja-baegi (육자배기), Jindo Arirang (진도 아리랑), Nongbu-ga (농부가 "Farmer’s Song") and Sae-taryeong (새타령 "Bird Tune").

Seodo-sori (西道소리, 서도소리)
- From northwestern provinces of Hwanghae and Pyeong’an-do (both in modern North Korea)
- Representative songs include Gin-ari (긴아리) and Jaiin-ari (자진아리).

Jeju-minyo (濟州民謡 제주민요)
- Songs from Jeju-do island to the south of the peninsula which maintained its own local culture (and dialect) whilst being a place of exile for yangban.
- Representative songs include O’dol-ddogi (오돌도기 - also called 동그대 당실 Dung’geudae Dangsil) and the tuneful Neoyeong Nayeong (너영 나영).

New folk songs (新民謠 신민요 sin-min'yo)
- During the Japanese colonial era (1910-45), with the introduction of Western music and instruments, Gyeonggi-min'yo were set to new music and performed by gisaeng singers who became the first celebrity pop stars.
- This coincided with the establishment of record companies and introduction of radio in the late 1920s.
- Many of these arrangements remain popular today and are regularly performed on television shows.

Instrumental music

**Sanjo** (散調 산조 "scattered melodies")

- Sanjo is a form of solo music, with janggu hourglass drum accompaniment, based on improvised melodic patterns.
- A sanjo performance gradually moves through a cycle of rhythms beginning with the slowest and building up to the fastest: they typically last around 12 mins (but can be longer).
- Like pansori, sanjo originated in the southwestern Jeolla provinces and thus shares similarities with local shaman ritual music.
- During the 19th century sanjo was first established as a distinct genre first for the 12 string gayageum (가야금).
- Since then styles of sanjo have been developed for most other solo instruments, including: geomun'go zither (거문고, first created 1896), daegeum flute (대금), haegeum 2 string fiddle (해금), piri oboe (파리) and ajaeng (아쟁) bowed-zither.
- There are various schools of sanjo which each trace back to a particular teacher.

Instrumental ensembles

**Sin'awi** (신아위)

- Sinawi is today primarily a secularized (i.e. non-religious) form of ensemble music originating from musical accompaniment used in shaman rituals of the central provinces (Gyeonggi and Chungcheong-do).
- Sinawi may also refer to ritual music, and therefore it very much represents the bridge between ritual and secular music.
- It was innovated for stage performance during the Japanese colonial era (1910-45).
- The music is based on melodic motifs which the players improvise on, creating
polyphonic (multi-part) textures, which is otherwise unusual for Korean music.

- It also allows for individual solo sections.

- There is a 1980s heavy metal group called Sinawe, formed in 1986 and still releasing music today!

Jul-pungnyul (줄풍류 "line music")

- Ensemble music enjoyed by the provincial yangban literati.
- Jul-pungnyul scores (notated music) survive dating back to 1759.

Samul-nori (四物놀이 사물놀이 "four instrument game/play")

- Somewhere in between "creative" and "traditional" music.
- Though now considered a genre in its own right, samul-nori is essentially a brand name for farmer’s music known as pungmul (풍물) - designated as Important Intangible Cultural Property #11.

Where pansori has become perceived as embodying the emotional aesthetic of han (恨) which "at its simplest, indicates shared oppression, a grievance founded on invasion, war, and political control." samul-nori gives expression to heung (興) which "denotes ecstatic.. an overwhelming enthusiasm generated by group participation in common activity." (Howard 2006b:78)6)

- Hats with spinning ribbons sometimes worn, are called sangmo (상모: 상모놀이: 상모돌리기)
- 1988 Seoul Olympics opening ceremony employed a large percussion performance.
- 1993 entered the Guinness Book of Records through a performance of 1,100 drummers at the Daejeon Expo.

SamulNori - the original group (formed 1978)

1989 line up: Kim Duk Soo (김덕수 Kim Deok-su) - hourglass drum (장고 janggo)
- 1989 line up: Kim Duk Soo (김덕수 Kim Deok-su) - hourglass drum (장고 janggo)
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XBKk9eFdrA (from 2:48)
- http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ElvGF5oOwCc
- Kim Yongbae (김용배) - small gong (병파리 ggwaenggwari)
- Kwang-Soo Lee (이광수) - large gong (징 jing)
- Ch’oe Chongsil (최종실) - barrel drum (북 buk)
- Derive their musical tradition from that of itinerant percussion troupes known as samul-sadang (사물당 - possibly alluding to the tradition that the bands spent winter months at temples, or else just a phonetic borrowing of Chinese characters)
- Rhythms are taken from local agricultural percussion bands know as pungmul (풍물 풍

물) or nong’ak (農樂 농악 lit. "farming music").
• In contrast to local bands and itinerant troupes, SamulNori perform seated.

Institutionalization and revival of traditional music

• The Cultural Properties Protection Law (문화재보호법 munhwajae bohobeop) was enacted in January 1962.
• The law was closely based on Japan’s own Cultural Properties Law (文化財保護法 bunkazai hogohō) enacted in 1950.
• The law distinguishes both at national and regional level:
  
  **Tangible Cultural Properties** (유형문화재 yuhyeong-munhwajae)
  • Historical and artistic artefacts including buildings, books, calligraphy, paintings, carvings and pottery.

  **Intangible Cultural Properties** (無形文化財 muhyeon-munhwajae)
  • Music, theatre, pansori, dance: rituals: craft skills.
  • Have "designated holders" (보호자 bohoja), informally known as "human cultural properties" (人間文化財 ingan-munhwajae)

  **Monuments** (기념물 gi’nyeommul)
  • Historic sites including temples, palaces, castles, tombs, graves and kiln sites (where pottery was fired).
  • Sites of scenic beauty.
  • Wildlife (habitats): fauna: minerals, caves geological features.

  **Folk resources** (民俗資料 민속자료 minsk-jaryo)
  • Objects and items associated with traditional life including clothes, utensils, tools and houses.

• Among the Tangible Properties and Monuments, those considered most important are also designated as **National Treasures** (國寶 gukpo), a system which predated the Cultural Properties Protection Law.8) The first list of national treasures was drawn up by the Japanese colonial authorities in 1938.

• For intangible properties, the system has been broadly successful: a lot of people now study and practice gug’ak and pansori rescuing them from the edge of extinction.
  • A criticism of the law, however, is that it only preserves one example of each form because without the prestige of government designation teachers cannot attract students - this accelerates the disappearance of alternative schools of practice.

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