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I. Introduction

The main currents of Korean traditional music in the 19th Century were court music, literati music, and folk music. The court music had been performed at court rituals and parties without any discontinuation as usual. The court music faithfully had carried out its duties as functional music at court rituals and parties until the end of 19th Century. The number of court music was being decreased little by little and going to be fixed in the 19th Century. The fixed number of court music in the 19th Century was nearly the same as that of today. It, however, does not mean that the then court music lost its musical meaning and energy as well. Though the number of court music of those days was going to decrease, the then court music was still boasting of its musical meaning and energy.

Unlike the court music in the 19th Century, the number of literati and folk music was quite contrary. These two were going to build their new musical worlds and beauties in their unique styles at the same time. It is believed that the present musical style and form of Boheoji (步虛子, now called Boheosa, 步虛詞, or Hwanghacheong, 黃河瀅) and its variations, Yeomilnak (與民樂), Yeongsan-hoesang (靈山會相), Gagok (歌曲), and Gasa (歌詞) of the literati music (선비음악) were framed in this period. Pansori (판소리), started as folk music, could achieve its artistic refinement and be widely appreciated in the new form and style in this period. Sanjo (散調), influenced from shaman music and Pansori, was initiated in the end of this period and it became one of the most important Korean traditional music in the 20th Century.

At length, the Western or European music was introduced to Korea in the late 19th Century. It was quite different from the existing all kind of music of those days in Korea. The advent of it was a great shock to the then Korean music and it completely changed Korean music culture before very long. Of all the imported foreign music in Korean history, it was the Western music that made the greatest impact and influence on all Korean music.

The three main genres of Korean music in the 19th Century were the literati music, Pansori and Sanjo, and the Western music except every folk music including folk song, Buddhist Beopae (梵唄), and the court music. In that case, how were the musical pictures of these three
genres of music in the 19th Century? I will study these matters in this paper. I know there hasn't been any intensive study on this matter in Korean musicological society until today, and therefore I think studying these matters will give us a chance to understand the history of Korean music.

II. The Literati Music (선비음악)

Yeomihnak, Boheoja, Yeongsan-hoesang, Gagok and Gasa were the performed and appreciated literati music of the 19th Century in Korea. The first three of these five were started inside Korean court and other two outside Korean court. But all these music except Gasa were appreciated and loved by the people of both sides. How were the musical states of these literati music of outside Korean court in the 19th Century, then?

1. Boheoja (歩虛子)

Boheoja, imported from Chinese Song Dynasty (宋, 960-1279) around 12th Century, was one of the most beloved music in the court of Goryeo (高麗, 918-1392) and Joseon Dynasty (朝鮮, 1392-1910). It had been loved without discontinuation in the court of the two dynasties as music for dance, ritual, and Gochwi-ak (鼓吹樂, music for king's procession) since the import (Sheen, 1995, p.143). When it became a piece of the literati music, and how was its musical situation in the 19th Century, then?

The first Korean civilian anthology of music which contained Boheoja is Geum-hapjabo (琴合字譜) written by An Sang (安詳, ?-?) in 1572 (NCKTPA, HJ. Vol.22, 1987, pp.57〜60). It is the oldest anthology for the music of Korean zither Geomungo. It contained Bojeoja and its full words irrespective of the movements. Therefore it can be presumed that Boheoja became a piece of the literati music before 1572.

Though many Geomungo anthologies of the 17th Century contained Boheoja and its words irrespective of the movements, Sinjeung-geumbo (新證琴譜, 1680) contained Boheoja with its imperfect words and movements (Chang, 1975, p.52; NCKPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.41〜44). Thereafter Boheoja is found in the several anthologies of the 18th Century: Hangeum-sinbo (韓琴新譜, 1724) contained Boheoja without its words and its two variations, Mihwanip (尾還入) and Sehwanip (細還入, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.18, 1985, pp.59〜64; Chang, 1975, p.52). Boheoja in Eoeunbo (漁隱譜, 1779) is the same as in Hangeum-sinbo (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.192〜195).

But Boheoja and its variations of the 19th Century were different from the previous period. The Boheoja of Samjuk-geumbo (1841) in the first half of the 19th Century was divided by 7 movements, it is almost same as the current Boheoja, and another two new variations of it,
Yangcheong-hwanip (兩清還入) and Ujo-garak-hwanip (羽調加拉還入), were contained in it (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.69 and 71). Boheoja and its four variations were contained in many Geomungo anthologies after Samjuk-geumbo as Ohuisang-geumbo (吳喜常琴譜, 1852, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.39, 2004, pp.169–181 and 197–199), Ageum-gobo (巖琴古譜, around 1882, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.115–119 and 130), and Yeogyang-aun (嶔陽雅韻, 1886, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.52–53). It is certain that Bojeoja and its four variations could not be contained in all the music anthologies of the 19th Century. Quite a few of those anthologies contained mainly Gagok (歌曲) and did not contain Bojeoja and its four variations.

But lots of music anthologies of the 19th Century contained Bojeoja and its four variations, which are exactly or nearly same as the current Bojeoja and its four variations, or some of those pieces. Therefore it can be said that the present Bojeoja and its four variations were firstly shaped in the first half of the 19th Century and finally framed or systematized as the current style and form in the late 19th Century.

2. Yeomilnak (與民樂)

Yeomilnak was a perfect piece of court music. After composing by King Sejong (世宗, reigned, 1418－1449), it had been used or performed as Gochwi-ak and court party music until the fall of Joseon Dynasty (Sheen, 1995, p.143) since then. The first civilian anthology of music which contained Yeomilnak is Geum-hapjabo, too. Therefore I think it became a piece of the literati music at the same time as Boheoja.

Geum-hapjabo (1572) contained Yeomilnak and its full words as Boheoja irrespective of the movements (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.22, 1987, pp.43－57). After Geum-hapjabo, the Yeominak of ten movements was contained in Sinjeung-geumbo (1680) with its full words (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.35－41). The Yeomilnak of seven movements without its words for Geomungo is found in Eoeunbo (漁隱譜, 1779, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.195－197). It means the length and words of original Yeomilnak were shortened and disappeared in Eoeunbo. Yeomilnak started to change in Eoeunbo as such.

movements. It means the Yeomilnak of those days was performed in seven movements or in six movements without first movement. This Yeomilnak of six movements had continued until the early 20th Century in Bangsan-hanssi-geumbo (方山韓氏琴譜, 1916). It was restored in seven movements in Bangsanhanssi-geumbo (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.163〜170).

Yeomilnak became a piece of the literati music in the late 16th Century, started to change, disappearance of its words and shortening of its length to seven movements, in the late 18th Century as above. Though there was an exception, the length of it was shortened to six movements again in the 19th Century and restored to seven movements in the early 20th Century as mentioned above. The Yeomilnak of the 19th Century showed us a state of confusion as such, and we can say that the 19th Century was a confused period for the Yeomilnak of the literati music.

3. Yeongsan-hoesang (靈山會相)

The first civilian Geumungo anthology which contained Yeongsan-hoesang is Gyeongdae-geumbo (慶大琴譜, 1651, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.18, 1985, pp.199-200). Yeongsan-hoesang was contained in several Geumungo anthologies of the 17th Century after Gyeongdae-geumbo. The contained time of Yeongsan-hoesang in old Geumungo anthology was later than that of Boheoja and Yeomilnak. But the Yanggeum-sinbo (梁琴新譜) of 1610 mentioned Yeongsan-hoesang (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, p.87). Therefore it can be said that Yeongsan-hoesang had been already loved by the people of outside court.

Originally Yeongsan-hoesang started as a piece of court music as Boheoja and Yeomilnak. Geum-hapjabo introduced Boheoja and Yeomilnak to the people of outside court and they became the literati music. Geum-hapjabo was written by An Sang, a government official musician of Jangakwon (掌樂院, national music institute of Joseon Dynasty). Therefore I think Yeongsan-hoesang was also introduced to outside court by an official or a musician of Jangakwon and then became a piece of the literati music.

The first variation of Yeongsan-hoesang, Jungnyeongsan (中靈山), is contained in Hangeum-sinbo and Eoeunbo (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.64; NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.18, 1985, p.195) of the 18th Century. It means Yeongsan-hoesang started to change and increase the number in the 18th century as Boheoja. Several pieces of Yeongsan-hoesang for Geumungo, including the first piece Sangnyeongsan (上靈山) and the last piece Gunak (軍樂), are found in Yuyeji (遊藝志, between late 18th Century and early 19th Century) without systematic order and name (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1985, pp.134-137). Some other pieces of Yanggeum, from the first piece Sangnyeongsan to the sixth piece Hahyeon-huanip (下絃還入), are found in it as well (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1985, pp.145-148). Therefore I think that though the changed and increased pieces of Yeongsan-hoesang of those days were the foundation of the present
Yeongsan-hoesang, all the pieces of the Yeongsan-hoesang of those days hadn't any order and system yet.

The six pieces of Yeongsan-hoesang, from Sangnyeongsan to Hahyeon-hwanip, are contained in Gura-cheolsa-geumjabo (歐邏鐵絲琴字譜, 1817) for the Yanngeum of the early 19th Century (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.101-108). Almost all anthologies for Ggeomungo and Yanggeum contained Yeongsan-hoesang after Gura-cheolsa-geumjabo, but the order and the number of it were not all the same as those of the present Yeongsan-hoesang. Sometimes even the order and the number of Yeongsan-hoesang of those days were different each other. Though the Yeongsan-hoesang of Samjuk-geumbo (1841) is systematized nearly same as that of today, Sangheyon-hwanip (上絃還入) and Haheyon-hwanip of it were not perfect if compared those of today (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.63-68). The order of Yeongsan-hoesang in Ohuisang-geumbo (1852) is the same as that of today, but the names and the movements or sections of Yeombul-hwanip (念佛還入), Taryeong (打令), and Gunak (軍樂, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.39, 2004, pp.186-195) were a little different from the present ones. But the Yeongsan-hoesan of Huiyu for Geomungo (around 1841-1884) shows us the same order and number as today's. The Yeongsan-hoesang in Mandang-sojang-geumbo (晚堂所藏琴譜, around 1880), Ageum-gobo (律譜, around 1884) and Yulbo (律譜, around 1884) is the same as that in Huiyu (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.34, 1999, pp.180-195; Vol.2, pp.111-114 and pp.138-142). Therefore we can say that Yeongsan-hoesang started to change or enlarge in the early 18th Century. The appearance of Jungnyeongsan in Eunbo is a clear evidence of it. It can be said that Yeongsan-hoesang had started to frame the form of nine pieces of suite in the late 18th century or in the early 19th Century, but there was no systematic order in it, and therefore the present from of it must had been accomplished in the late 19th Century.


As is generally known, Joseon Dynasty was a strict Confucian country. Joseon Dynasty strictly prohibited any other ideas and religions. Every policy, education and social standard was based on the Confucian ideas. The Boheoja of above is a piece of Taoist music (Kwon, 1994, p.95) and Yeongsan-hoesang a piece of Buddhist music. But these two had been loved by Korean inside and outside court of Joseon Dynasty until the end of the 19th Century. It means the leadership of Joseon Dynasty had open-minded attitude on Taoism and Buddhism.

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4. **Gagok** (歌曲) and **Gasa** (歌詞)

The originator of **Gagok** is **Mandaeyeop** (慢大葉). It was contained in the **Geum-hapjabo** of 1572 for the first time as **Boheoja** and **Yeomilnak** (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.22, 1987, pp.34-36). The **Yanggeum-sinbo** (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.79-81) and the **Hyeongeum-dongmun-yugi** (玄琴東文類記, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, pp.95-96 and 97-100) of the 17th Century, the **Hangeum-sinbo** (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.18, 1985, pp.46-47) and the **Baegunam-geumbo** (白雲庵琴譜, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.16, 1984, p.187) of the 19th Century also contained it. The **Dongdae-geumbo** (1813, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.22, 1987, pp.117-117), the **Geumbo-dan** (琴譜單, after 1825, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.103-105), and the **Geumbo-go** (琴譜古, around 1863 and 1896, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, pp.50-52) of the 19th Century contained it as well. According to these facts, **Mandaeyeop** was a piece of the literati music which had been performed until the mid-nineteenth Century. Therefore the general theory that **Mandaeyeop** was disappeared in the 18th Century (Chang, 1975, p.9; Chang and Han, 1976, p.119) should be corrected.

Four **Jungdaeyeop** in four different keys were contained in the **Yanggeum-sinbo** of 1572 for the first time (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.82-87). These four **Jungdaeyeop** were enlarged to the first, the second, and the third **Jungdaeyeop** respectively in the **Sinjeung-geumbo** of 1680 (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1982, pp.20-26). These enlarged **Jungdaeyeop** had been contained in several anthologies until the **Eoeunbo** (1779, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.180-191) of the late 18th Century though there were some differences between them. But the three **Jungdaeyeop** of **Yuyeji** were in three different keys and only one piece in one key (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, pp.126, 128, and 132-133).

The first, the second, and the third **Jungdaeyeop** in **Samjuk-geumbo** of 1841 were only in two keys, **Ujo** (羽調) and **Gyemyeonjo** (益面調, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.96-101). Only the first **Jungdaeyeop** in **Ujo** and the third **Jungdaeyeop** in **Gyemyeonjo** were found in the **Ohuisang-geumbo** of 1852 (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.39, 2004, p.222-224, 233-235). This musical state of **Jungdaeyeop** was the same in **Gagok-wolyu** (歌曲源流) and **Hyeopyul-daeseong** (1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.5, 1981, pp.22-24 and Vol.14, 1984, p.37). It means **Jungdae-yeop** was disappeared in the late 19th Century right after the disappearance of **Mandaeyeop**.

**Sakdaeyeop** was contained in **Hyeongeum-dongmun-yugi** (1620) for the first time (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, p.103). In **Sinjeung-geumbo** (1680), it was enlarged to the first, the second, and the third **Sakdaeyeop** in four different keys (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.23-34), and then it was enlarged to the first, the second, the third, and the fourth **Sakdaeyeop** in **Ujo** and **Gyemyeonjo**. But it still remained in three **Sakdaeyeop** in other two keys (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.18, 1985, pp.49-58). In **Eoeunbo** (1779), there were four **Sakdaeyeop** in **Pyeonjogyemyeonjo** and **Ujo-gyemyeonjo** (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.184-185, 191), three in
Pyeongjo and two in Ujo (ibid., pp.181-182, 187-188).

The first, the second, and the third Sakdaeyeop of Ujo and Gyemyeonjo, namely six Sakdaeyeop, were contained in Yuyeji (between 1779 and 1813), but others were missed (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, pp.127-129) in it. Previous Sakdaeyeop in four different keys were reduced to two different keys, Ujo and Gyemyeonjo as the present Gagok, in Yuyeji. Besides three Sakdaeyeop in Ujo and Gyemyeonjo, total six, Nong (弄), Nak (樂), and Pyeon (編) were newly added to the existing Sakdaeyeop in Yuyeji. (ibid., pp.130-131). The number of new Sakdaeyeop started to be increase in Yuyeji and all the Sakdaeyeop was nearly formalized and systematized as present Gagok in Samjuk-geumbo (1841, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.72-94). It means Sakdaeyeop was formalized and systematized, and became a large scale suite of vocal music as the present Gagok sometime between Yuyeji and Samjuk-geumbo. But Sakdaeyeop in Pyeongjo-gemyeonjo still remained in Samjuk-geumbo (ibid., pp.95-96). After Samjuk-geumbo, all the Sakdaeyeop have come to the state of today passing through Huiyu (between 1841 and 1884, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.85-99), Gagok-wolyu and Hyeopyul-daeseong (both 1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.5, 1984, pp.22-158; HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.28-69), Hyeongeum-eum-tongnon (琴五音論, 1886, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1884, pp.126-144) and Yeogyang-aun (嚕陽雅韻, 1886, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.57-64), and the Hakpo-geumbo (學圃琴譜, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.16, 1984, pp.206-217) and the Bangsan-hassi-geumbo (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984 pp.172-186) of the early 20th Century.

Besides above mentioned, Ujo-isak-daeyeop (羽調二數大葉) and a few other Sakdaeyeop for female singing were contained Ohuisang-geumbo (1852, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.39, 2004, pp.245-253) and many Sakdaeyeop for female singing as the present ones are found in Gagok-wolyu (1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.5, 1981, pp.129-158). Therefore it is certain that female singers had sung Gagok or Sakdaeyeop before the mid-nineteenth Century. Gagok for female singing is found in Yeochang-gayorok (女唱歌謡錄, 1984, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.16, 1984, pp.230-142) and in Hyeopyul-daeseong (1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.62-69) as well. By the way, a phrase as followings is found in the Ujo-jungdaeyeop of Gagok-wolyu (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.5, 1981, p.129): "Only Ujo-jungdaeyeop and Gyemyeon-uyo-jungdaeyeop have been transmitted until now ... ". It means several Jungdaeyeop were being sung by female singers before 1876. Though exactly when female singers started to sing Gagok cannot be known, it is estimated that female singers had been there from the early stage of Gagok history (Shin, 1995, p.13). But according to upper mentioned facts in several music literatures, I think the tradition of singing Gagok by female singers was firmly established in the late 19th Century.

One peculiar fact on Gagok is found in the 19th Century history of Gagok. The number of musical anthology which contained Gagok was a lot more than that of other literati music, Boheoja, Yeomilnak, and Yeongsan-hoesang. According to this fact, it can be said that the Gagok of the 19th Century had been loved a lot more than other literati music, Boheoja,
Yeomihak, and Yeongsan-hoesang.

Cheonggu-yeongeon (青丘永言, 1728) is the oldest literature which contains Gasa. The words of Sangsa-byeolgok (相思別曲), Chunmyeongok (春眠曲), and other seven Gasa are recorded in it (Kim, 1974, pp.165-178). The oldest musical anthology which contained musical notation of Gasa is Samjuk-geumbo (1841). Sangsa-byeolgok and other four Gasa for Geomungo are recorded in it (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.102-104). Three and six Gasa including Sangsa-byeolgok for Geomungo and Yanggeum are recorded in Uheon-geumbo (愚絃琴譜, around 1861, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.32, 1997, pp.228-233) and Hyeopyul-daeseong (1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.69-72) respectively, and nine Gasa including Sangsa-byeolgok for Geomungo are recorded in the Ayang-geumbo (娥洋金譜, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.16, 1984, pp.63-68) of the early 20th Century. Therefore it can be concluded that twelve Gasa of today were established in the first half of the 20th Century.

Gasa have been transmitted until today in Geomungo and Yanggeum anthologies as above mentioned. It was written down in Yuyeji and Gura-cheolsa-geumbo (both written between the late 18th Century and the early 19th Century) for Yanggeum (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.15, 1984, pp.148; Vol.14, pp.110-112) in the name of Jajj-nayeop (紫芝羅葉), and quite a few anthologies for Yanggeum in 19th Century had contained it since then. It is certain that it had been sung to the instrumental accompaniment until the end of the 20th Century for these reasons.

As stated above, Gagok Mandaeyeop was a genre of the literati music which had been transmitted until the first half of 19th Century and the three pieces of enlarged Jungdaeyeop in two keys, Ujo and Gyemyenjo, had been transmitted until the second half of the 19th Century. Sakdaeyeop was a piece of literati music which appeared in a Geomungo anthology of the early 17th Century for the first time and started to enlarge the number from the second half of the 17th Century, and established its present Gagok form and system in the end of 19th Century or the early 20th Century. The tradition of Gagok for female singers was established in the end of 19th Century, and the Gagok of the 19th Century had been loved a lot more than other literati music. Though Gasa had not been established its present form and system until the end of 19th Century, the Gasa of the 19th Century had some instrumental accompaniment.

On the other hand, most transmitted present Korean old anthologies of 17th, 18th and 19th Century were for Geomungo. Today we have only two Gayageum anthologies, Joljang-malnok (摶堂漫錄, 1786, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.16, 1984, pp.152-163) and Dongdae-gayageum-bo (東大伽倻琴譜, around the early of 19th Century, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.22, 1987, pp.152-163). But quite a few anthologies for Yanggeum appeared in the 19th Century. Yanggeum was introduced to Korea in the mid-eighteenth Century, and adopted by some court musicians and practical scientists. Quite a few anthologies for Yanggeum had appeared since the first notation for Yanggeum in Yuyeji or Gura-cheolsa-geumjabo. These two musical literatures appeared around the end of the 18th Century or the early of the 19th Century. Based on these facts, it can
be said that Yanggeum had been adopted by Korean so soon, only about fifty years after its first introduction to Korea, and had become a beloved musical instrument by the Korean literati in the 19th Century.

III. Pansori (판소리) and Sanjo (散調)

Pansori and Sanjo are very important two genres of non-court music of the 19th Century. These two were created under the influence of shaman music and hold several musical characteristics in common. Though these two were started and created as folk music in different period, now they are regarded as a genre of wonderful art-music, and everybody loves them. How were their musical states in the 19th Century, then?

1. Pansori

We cannot exactly know when Pansori was created. But it is said that it might be created in the early 18th century (Cho, 1984, p.16; Kim, 1984, p.75). Two of the most important things in the 18th Century's Pansori were the establishment of twelve Madang (마당, big piece) of it (Cho, 1984, p.18) and Manhwajip (晩華集) written by Yu Jin-Han (柳振漢, 1711-1791).

The first eight famous Pansori virtuosos with national reputation appeared between 1776 and 1834, and they made Pansori better refined music. These eight virtuosos added their characteristic new Deoneum or Soriye (더늠, 소리제, specially created music in unique style by someone) to the existing Pansori. The slowest Jinjang-jangdan (短短) was created and added to the existing Jangdan by Kim Seong-Ok (金成玉, ?-) in this period (Park, 1976-2, pp.21-22; Jeong, 1984, p.34) as well. The three styles of Pansori, Dongpyeonje (東便制), Seopyeonje (西便制), and Junggoje (中高制), were started to be differentiated in this period (Cho, 1984, p.18; Lee, 1987, p.40). So the Pansori of this period could be more polished and diversified than that of previous period.

Pansori had made rapid progress after the mid-nineteenth Century. The progress of this period was much owed to the appearance of the second eight famous Pansori virtuosos with national reputation. Because of the progress, there were about 200 famous Pansori singers with national reputation around 1860s (Park, 1976-1, p.15). It goes without saying that most progress of Pansori in this period was entirely the result of Pansori singers' efforts. But without patronage and support of the literate stratum and the ruling class of the period, including King Gojong (高宗, reigned 1863-1896) who loved Pansori so much, the progress could not be possible.

The second half of the 19th Century was a kind of turning point in the history of Pansori. It is true that the words of Pansori since its appearance until the first half of the 19th Century had
not been without flawless in the beauty of refinement and its system. But the words of Pansori which had been transmitted until then were polished and systematized by Shin Jae-Hyo (申在孝, 1812-1884). He arranged and edited those words, and finally resulted in the words of six arranged Pansori Madang, namely Simcheong-ga (沈清歌), Heungbo-ga, Jeokbyeok-ga (赤壁歌), Tokki-taryeong, Chunhyang-ga (春香歌), and Byeongangsoe-taryeong (변강쇠타령). The first five of these words are sung today. Besides these arranged Pansori words, he composed several words for Pansori, trained many Pansori singers, and divided Pansori Chunhyang-ga for male, female, and children singers (Jeong, 1984, p.256). The division of it contributed the advent of Changgeuk (唱劇) afterwards. He opened a new world for female Pansori singing through his female student Chaeseon (彩仙, ?-?, Jeong, 1984, p.234; Choe, 1976, p.307). His other female student Heo Geumpa (許錦波, ?-?) dominated the world of Pansori afterwards as a female Pansori singer in this period (Jeong, 1984, p.239).

The arrangement of words and the introduction of female Pansori singers were two great achievements for Pansori by Shin Jae-Hyo in the late 19th Century. By the way, the Gagok for female singing was also established in the late 19th Century. It is not known why female singers appeared in these two genres of music almost at the same time. However it must be sure that the second half of the 19th Century should be called the period of female singers' appearance in the history of Gagok and Pansori. Accordingly I think there is a need to re-study these historical facts intensively.

The support and patronage for Pansori by King Gojong and his father Daewongun (大院君, 1820-1998) was a great help to Pansori singers of those days. King Gojong enhanced their spirits and conferred honorary governmental positions on fifteen famous Pansori singers including Kim Chang-Hwan (金昌煥, 1848-1933). The second eight famous Pansori virtuosos with national reputation played active parts in the world of Pansori in this period. Therefore this period is regarded as the highest period of prosperity (Park, 1976-2, pp.58-59) or the golden age (Kim, 1984, pp.33). The prosperity of Pansori had continued in the early 20th Century and it greatly affected the appearance and development of Changgeuk (唱劇, Choe, 1984, p.311). But Pansori went into the period of decline (Lee, 1987, p.41; Kim, 1974, p.76) in the first half of 20th Century and it lasted for some time.

Pansori opened 19th Century with the first eight famous virtuosos. They added their new Deoneum or Soriye to the existing Pansori. Jinyang-jangdan was added to the existing Jangdan, and the three styles of Pansori were started in the first half of 19th Century. Pansori had continued its development in the mid-nineteenth Century with the help of the literate stratum and the ruling class of the period including king. The words of Pansori were arranged by Shin Jae-Hyo, female Pansori singing was started by Chae Seon, and the five Madang of Pansori were established in the late 19th Century. Seeing the golden age of late 19th Century with the patronage of King Gojong and Daewongun, the second eight famous virtuosos played their parts,
and then *Pansori* ringed in the 20th Century.

2. Sanjo

It is not known to us that exactly when *Sanjo* was started. But it is certain that *Sanjo* was created the late 19th Century. It is generally known that *Sanjo* was initiated by Kim Chang-Jo (金昌祖, 1856 or 1865-1919, Ham, 1983, p.210). He started to play *Sanjo* between 1890 and 1895 (Yang and Park, 2002, p.30). However it is said that *Sanjo* like music was already in Korea and played by Han Suk-Gu (韓淑求, 1865-?) before Kim's initiating it (Lee, 2001, pp.41-53). Therefore it can be said that *Sanjo* was not a created music by Kim but newly systematized music by him. It doesn't matter that Kim is the creator of *Sanjo* or not. The point is that *Sanjo* was started and systematized in the late 19th Century. *Sanjo* greatly influenced Korean music after its creation. Especially the advent of *Sanjo* served as a momentum to the existing Korean music which lacked instrumental solo piece until then. Evolving into solo piece for many other Korean instruments, *Sanjo* opened a new world of instrumental solo music and enlarged the number of repertory in Korean music.

IV. The Western Music

The first introduction of the Western music to Korea was done by Jeong Du-won (鄭斗源, 1581-?) in 1632. He learned very basic level of the Western music theory from some Catholic fathers in China and introduced it to Korea. Several practical scientists of Korea in the 18th and 19th Century introduced *Yanggeum* and bits of information on the Western music to Korea, and they wrote down their experiences of Western music and basic theory in their prose collections. How the practical Western music itself was introduced to Korea and how was the musical situation of it in the 19th Century, then?

1. Military Band Music

The first Korean who studied the Western music was Lee Eun-Dol (李恩道, ?-?). He entered the staff sergeant school of Japanese Army in 1881, studied a bugle, and returned to Korea in October, 1882. After returning to Korea, he started to teach military drill and bugle at a newly-established army base of Western style in November, 1883 (No, 1989, pp.112-137). In addition to his teaching, there were some newly-formed bugle bands at army bases of new-style in Seoul and several local areas in 1881 (Chang, 1974, pp.183-189), the stationary troops of Qing Dynasty (淸, 616-1912) in Korea organized buglers at army bases of new-style in 1882, and a military band of German Navy performed some Western music to commemorate the friendship.
treaty between Korea and Germany in Seoul, 1883 (No, 1989, pp.122-135). The first introduced Western music itself in Korea was a kind of military band music as such, but it had not been spread in Korea ever since.

After returning from the coronation ceremony of Nikolai the first of Russia and seven months trip to Europe, the Korean minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary Min Yeong-Hwan (闵泳焕, 1861-1905) proposed then the Emperor Gojong to establish a military band of Western style, his proposal was accepted, and a law was announced to establish two military bands of Western style at the Royal Body Guards and the Cavalry of Royal Body Guards in 1900. But it was established only at the Royal Body Guards (Chang, 1974, pp.175-183).

After establishing the military band of Western style, then the government invited a German musician, F. Eckert (1852-1916), as a wonderful musician he trained Japanese military band and worked for the Prussian Royal Orchestra as a conductor (Chang, 1974, pp.189-192; Lee and others, 2000, pp.47-48) before coming to Korea. The first concert was held by the band at the Pagoda Park of Seoul in April, 1902, and another concert to celebrate the birthday of Emperor Gojong in September of the same year. Especially the latter one was greatly admired by every foreign representative in Seoul (Chang, 1974, pp.48-49; Lee and others, 2000, pp.48-49; Lee, 1985-2, p.74). Having many concerts for the colorful events of Korean court or government and solacing citizens, the band had much contributed to spread Western music in Korea in the early 20th Century. But the Western music of those days was not art music by artistic desire by Korean, but military music by the requirement of the ruling class in those days.

2. Protestant Church Music

Another start of the Western music in Korea is concerned with the spread of Christianity, especially the hymn of Protestantism. A hymn of Protestantism was sung at Jangyeon (長鴻) in Hwanghaedo (黃海道) for the first time in Korea in 1884. A hymn, "Jesus loves me, This I Know", was sung by the lead of Seo Sang-Yun (徐相巖, ?-?), and he spread it widely (Lee, 1977, p.117; No, 1989, pp.136 and 139). But the full-scale start of the hymn of Protestantism was begun with a missionary of Methodist Church H. G. Apenzeller (1859-1916) and a missionary of Presbyterian Church H. G. Underwood (1859-1916). They started to teach hymn at Jeongdong (貞洞) Methodist Church and Saemunan ( 새문안) Presbyterian Church in Seoul around 1887 (Lee and others, 2000, pp.23 and 67). Music education went side by side with the spread of hymn (Lee, 1985-2, p.31), and Changga (唱歌) was taught at regular school education of new style (Lee, 1985-1, p.479). The full-scale Western music in Korea was started with the spread of hymn and the school education of new style as such, and the start of Changga was created under the entire influence of the hymn of Protestantism.

The hymn, sung in the early stage of Protestantism in Korea, had been included in the regular

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curriculum in the name of Changga for some time at Baejeh-hakdang (培材學堂) and Ehwa-hakdang (梨花學堂) in Seoul, both established in 1886, and at Female School of Yeonghwa (永化女學校, established in 1890) in Incheon (Lee, 1985-2, pp.34-35). Ehwa-hakdang taught Western vocal music and organ in addition to the upper mentioned hymn from 1891 and chorus (Shin, 1986, p.10) from 1894 so that the hymn could transit to higher level of next stage.

The hymn was taught at many private schools run by several Protestant denominations in 1890s, and two hymnals for Methodist Church, which contained the words of 27 hymns, were published in 1892 for the first time in Korea. Underwood published the first hymnal in the Western staff notation, in which 117 pieces are contained, for the first time in Korea as well. The 88 pieces of the hymnal by Underwood were in mixed four parts. But the Chorale and the Psalm of European Protestant Church were not contained in the hymnal (Lee and others, 2000, pp.27-30; Lee, 1985-2, p.37), and the introduction of major and minor modes in functional harmony for the hymnal has continually and greatly influenced all the activities of the Western music, including music education, in Korea since then.

Twelve Protestant hymnals were published between 1895 and 1908. The publishers of these hymnals were the Presbyterian Church, the Methodist Church, the Baptist Church, and the Anglican Church. Several of these were printed again and again. It means the number of Protestant was rapidly increased and so was the spread of the Western music. The hymn of Protestant Church became one of the most powerful driving forces to spread the Western music in the first half of the 20th Century.

The hymn of Protestant Church touched off the education of Changga and its movement (Park, 1992, pp.28-30). The hymn of those days accepted secular words and some of it evolved to secular Changga. Many of secular Changga were used as patriotic and enlightening songs, and various styles of it became a main part of Western music of Korea in the early 20th Century (Lee and others, 2000, p.35).

The introduced other Western music in the late 19th Century was the hymn of Protestant Church which is quite far from the Western art music by artistic desire. But the hymn heavily influenced the spread and the adoption of Western music through two kinds of education, namely Protestant Church and regular school education. Therefore it goes without saying that the influence of hymn on the Western music in Korea was quite different from that of upper-mentioned military band music and more important than the latter one.

V. Conclusion

Boheoja, Yeomilnak, Yeongsan-hoesang, Gagok, Gasa of the literati music and Pansori were the main currents of Korean music except for court and folk music before the end of the 19th Century. These led traditional music culture of Korea of those days. The advent of newly
created *Sanjo* and the Western music, which were added to the existing upper music, enriched the Korean music of the 19th Century. These two kinds of music brought on a great change to the traditional music culture of those days. Especially the Western music of those days asked Korean music to create a new music culture in Korea. Going through following processes, all the upper music of the 19th Century became a driving force to open the music culture of 20th Century.

*Boheoja, Yeomilnak,* and *Yeongsan-hoesang* started their musical changes in the end of the 18th Century, and their changes had severely continued after the mid-nineteenth Century. The enlargement of the former two contributed to increase the number of Korean music with their variations in this severe process of changes, but the latter went the other way, namely its length was shortened in the process. It can be generally said that the present forms and systems of these three pieces of music, including the advent of *Pyeongjo-hoesang,* were commonly started to form in the late 19th Century throughout the process of these changes of enlargement and shortening.

*Mandaeyeop* was a piece of the literati music which had been performed until the mid-nineteenth Century. This view is quite different from a common view on it, in which it is said that it was disappeared in the 18th Century. Though *Jungdaeyeop* had increased its number since the end of the 17th Century, the number of it started to decrease in the early of the 19th Century, and finally it disappeared in the late of the 19th Century.

*Sakdaeyeop* started to increase the number with its variations from the end of the 17th Century. It started to increase its number again in full-scale from the early of the 19th Century, its present form and system were started to form in the mid-nineteenth Century, and its final form of today, a large suite of vocal music, was completed in the late 19th Century. *Gagok* for female singing was generally started to form in the mid-nineteenth Century and finally established in the late 19th Century. Originally *Gasa,* appeared in the music literature of the early 18th Century for the first time, had been sung to the instrumental accompaniment until the end of the 19th Century, and the twelve *Gasa* of today were established in the early 20th Century.

The literati of the 19th Century loved not only *Geomungo* but also *Yangseum,* and this love easily enabled the adoption of *Yangseum* into Korean music. There were more old anthologies of the 19th century for *Gagok* than those of *Boheoja, Yeomilnak,* and *Yeongsan-hoesang,* therefore it must be sure that *Gagok* was loved more by the literati than other three literati music in the 19th Century.

Broadly speaking, *Pansori* was generated in the early of the 18th Century, and it became more refined artistic vocal music by the first and the second eight virtuosos, who enlarged the world of *Pansori,* in the 19th Century. The typical three styles of *Pansori* and the slowest *Jinyang-jangdan* were established in the first half of the 19th Century, and the arrangement of

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its words was done in the second half of the Century. The advent of female singing for Pansori was started in the late 19th Century as Gagok. During the 19th Century, Pansori was supported and loved by all sorts and conditions of people including then the King Gojong. It had been very much thrived in the 19th Century and so the 19th Century is called a golden age of Pansori. The appearance of Sanjo in the end of the 19th Century presented Korean music a new world of instrumental solo music as solo sonata of the Western music and enriched Korean music ever than before.

The practical Western music was started from a kind of Western military music in the late 19th Century. After the first introduction of it to Korea, the Korean Royal government of those days promoted to establish two Royal military bands. But only one was established in the very early of the 20th Century. The band greatly contributed to spread and adopt the Western music in Korea. Influencing greatly the regular music education of school and patriotic movement of Changga, the diffusion of Protestant hymn, started and carried out by the missionaries of Methodist and Presbyterian church as a part of missions in the end of the 19th Century, automatically and widely had spread the Western music in Korea.

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