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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 *Boheoja* (步虛子, now called *Boheosa*, 步虛詞, or *Hwanghacheong*, 黃河清) 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)

Yeomilnak, *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* (步虛子)

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 *Boheoja* 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 (兩淸還入) and *Ujo-garak-hwanip* (羽調가락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* (峩琴古譜, around 1882, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.115~119 and 130), and *Yeogyang-aun* (嶧陽雅韻, 1886, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.52~53). It is certain that *Boheoja* 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 *Boheoja* and its four variations. But lots of music anthologies of the 19th Century contained *Boheoja* and its four variations, which are exactly or nearly same as the current *Boheoja* and its four variations, or some of those pieces. Therefore it can be said that the present *Boheoja* 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.

Samjuk-geumbo (1841) contained the shortened or changed *Yeomilnak* of seven movements without words (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.56~61). But many musical anthologies for *Geomungo* and *Yanggeum* (洋琴, dulcimer) of the 19th Century contained the *Yeominak* of six movements, from the second movement to the seventh movement (*Huiyu*, 羲遺, around 1841-1884, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.17, 1985, pp.70~71; *Uheon-geumbo*, 愚軒琴譜, 1861, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.32, 1997, pp.244~251; *Hyeoyul-daeseong*, 協律大成, 1876, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.26~21; *Ageum-gobo*, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.119~123). These anthologies left out the first movement of *Yeomilnak*: Namely *Yeomilnak* was changed and shortened again. But the *Yeomilnak* of *Ohuisang-geumbo* (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.32, 1997, p.39) was still seven

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* (芳山韓氏琴譜, 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 *Geomungo* 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 *Geomungo* anthologies of the 17th Century after *Gyeongdae-geumbo*. The contained time of *Yeongsan-hoesang* in old *Geomungo* 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 *Geomungo*, 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 *Yannggeom* of the early 19th Century (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.101-108). Almost all anthologies for *Ggeomungo* and *Yanggeom* 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-hoesang* of *Huiyu* for *Geomungo* (around 1841-1884) shows us the same order and number as today's. The *Yeongsan-hoesang* in *Mandang-sojang-geumbo* (晩堂所藏琴譜, around 1880), *Ageum-gobo* (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 form of it must had been accomplished in the late 19th Century.

The advent of *Pyeongjo-hoesang* (平調會相) in the 19th Century is a noticeable musical event in the history of *Yeongsan-hoesang*. The *Samjuk-geumbo* of 1841 contained it for the first time (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.2, 1981, pp.68-69) and *Ohuisang-geumbo*, *Sangnyeongsan*, *Jungnyeongsan*, and *Hahyeon-hwanip* (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.39, 2004, pp.208-210). The *Hyeopyul-daeseong* of 1876 shows us some parts of it (NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, p.28), and therefore it must had been shaped in the first half of the 19th Century and 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.

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 *Hyeonggeum-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* (界面調, 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 *Hyeonggeum-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 *Pyeonjo-gyemyeonjo* 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), *Hyeonggeum-oeum-tongnon* (玄琴五音統論, 1886, NCKTPA, HJ.Vol.14, 1984, pp.126-144) and *Yeogyang-aun* (嶧陽雅韻, 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* (女唱歌謠錄, 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-ujo-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*,

Yeomilnak, and *Yeongsan-hoesang*.

Cheonggu-yeongeon (靑丘永言, 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* (愚軒琴譜, 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* (峨洋金譜, 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* (拙庄漫錄, 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 *Sorije* (더늠, 소리制, specially created music in unique style by someone) to the existing *Pansori*. The slowest *Jinyang-jangdan* (長短) 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 *Sorije* 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 (李殷丕, ?-?). 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 (清, 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 (閔泳煥, 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 (長淵) 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 (徐相崙, ?-?), 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

curriculum in the name of *Changga* for some time at Baejae-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

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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