As cultural interaction has increased, the musical changes that take place in non-Western culture have numbered among the most important topics in the studies of world music since the 1970s. Musical changes due to cultural contacts have been discussed in various terms: "cultural dissonance" (Meyer 1967); "purists and syncretists" (Blacking 1977); "influence or confluence" (Chou 1977); "Westernization or modernization" (Nettl 1978); and "musical transculturation" (Kartomi 1981). With the development of electronic technology, the changes are also attributed to "mediamorphosis," that is, electronic mutation of musical communication (Blaukopf 1983, 1994). Blacking (1995: 173) emphasizes the importance of the topic in general:

The study of musical change is not only interesting because music reflects the deeper sources and meanings of social and cultural continuity and change; it is of vital concern to the future of individuals and societies because it may reveal not only how people have changed their music but also how, through the medium of music, people can change themselves in unexpected ways.2

Newly-composed Korean traditional music, called ch'angjak kugak, which...
emerged in the 1960s and steadily increased its value in the life of South Koreans, provides an example of a musical change that reflects and forecasts other changes in contemporary South Korea. Although Westernization and modernization are among the most significant responses that define musical changes in small, non-western nations, including South Korea, a deeper understanding of musical changes, i.e., the analysis of attitudes or aims of composers as well as socio-political situations behind external evidence, often offers a different perspective.

This paper examines the musical as well as socio-political changes in contemporary South Korea, more specifically from the 1950s through 1970s. I argue that the new Korean traditional music is not simply a result of desire to "advance" in the sense of Westernization or modernization, but rather the outcome of search for an "ideal" music that can represent Korean cultural identity. I will first define ch'angjak kugak in terms of an invention of a new tradition that has its reference to the past (Hobsbawm 1983: 1-4). Then, the evolutionary process of creating new music will be examined by observing how composers invent an "ideal" musical tradition that combines different elements from various sources, especially from the traditional genres. Other significant changes in the music of South Korea in relation to its rapid socio-political changes will also be analyzed. In conclusion, I will discuss the role and meaning of ch'angjak kugak in contemporary South Korea.

Socio-political Changes in the 1950s and 1960s: a Dawn of Contemporary South Korea

The 1950s and 1960s mark a dawning period of contemporary South Korea, that witnessed many social and political changes. After the liberation
from Japan in 1945, there was a strong desire to build a new nation but hopes were crashed when a civil war broke out in 1950 resulting in the division of the nation. The First Republic, while claiming to adopt democratic policies, was a dictatorial government. Starting with the April Revolution in 1960, Koreans, particularly academics, students, and other intellectuals, strongly advocated the establishment of a new government with new cultural, economic, and social policies for its people. However, the Second Republic was too weak and lacked commitment for revolutionary changes. With slow economic and social changes, some even demanded returning to authoritarian government while others advocated an American-style liberal democracy.

As people sought a stronger leadership with a new ideology, the military officer, Park Jung-hee emerged as the leader with a coup and established the Third Republic in 1963. Many Koreans who were generally ambivalent about democracy supported the new government. One of the reasons for denying democracy was the belief that it was the Western political ideology that had led the nation to a divided state. On the other hand, people could not turn to the "old" Korean ideology, since it hinders the advancement or modernization process. While the conflict between the two contrasting ideologies continued, under the tight control of the government, strong, well-planned economic reforms became the government’s main policy. The living condition of the general public improved gradually, and therefore the new leadership appeared to be the answer to the peoples’ strong desire to have a new nation. Park called the new political system a ‘Korean-style democracy.’ However, it was in reality a harsh authoritarian system with only a hint of democracy.

During this political disarray, the new government implemented nationalism as its ruling ideology and called for modernization of Korea under that ideology. Adopting a Western economic system was justified to advance or modernize the nation in concordance with the people’s strong motivation to enhance the power of the nation. Park, while governing the nation in a totalitarian fashion, implemented a variety of cultural policies, involving intellectuals and academics. This provided an outlet for those people who participated in the democratic movement and allowed them to engage in their goal of creating a new Korea. It was during this time that ch’angjak kugak was recognized as the new music for a new Korea.

Inventing a New Musical Tradition for the New Nation

Since its introduction in the late 19th century, Western music (mainly the
European art music) has greatly affected the musicscape of South Korea. The history of 20th century music in South Korea has been characterized, for the most part, by the conflict between Western music [yangak] and Korean traditional music [kugak], reflecting society's struggle between Western and "old" Korean ideology. Until now the division between the two ideologies, as well as musicians, exists especially in the eyes of the general public. In the early days of struggle to sustain the nation's independence while advancing to become a modernized nation-state of the 20th century, it was the new kugak pieces, calling for a new national spirit, that invigorated the national sentiments among people while yangak composers were spending their time learning and imitating Western music. The rift between the two groups, which persisted for many decades, originated during this time (1960s) and even manifested itself in two distinct music majors offered in Korean colleges. Since then, although it has been formally expressed or mandated, ch'angjak kugak has come to refer to compositions for traditional instruments that incorporate significant musical elements of traditional music.

In the early days of contemporary South Korea, yangak was the dominant musical phenomenon that held daily relevance to the people of South Korea. On the other hand, "old" kugak, i.e., chöntong kugak, had become something of a relic, being restricted largely to academic circles and folk festivals as a mere symbolic presence. As opposed to "old" one, the "new" kugak has slowly but steadily gained an established place in the daily lives of Koreans. Although both musics belong to the same category (traditional music) and share similar musical traits, the processes by which they are composed differ significantly. In chöntong kugak the concept of "composition" or "composer" in modern sense is non-existent. A piece of music was formed primarily through performances. Musicians were expected to perform differently each time. According to traditional performance practice, there was no distinction between composer and performer. Every good performer was ipso facto a co-creator of the piece. The term hyöngsông [formation] has been coined to explain this compositional process of traditional music (Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn 1992b: 168).

The first word, ch'angjak [newly-composed], implies that the piece is created by an individual composer and written down for a precise performance to express the creator's intention. It bears repeating that the whole idea of composing a piece of traditional music was revolutionary in the beginning, no less so the idea of inventing a new kugak that could be related to modern life in Korea. The older kugak had lost its relevance, and music with a national identity had disappeared due to kaehwa sasang
[enlightenment thought] of the late 19th century and the assimilation policy of the Japanese colonial regime. Koreans strongly longed for a new music that represents a new image of uri [our or us].

Eric Hobsbawm defines an invented tradition as

a set of practices, normally governed by overtly or tacitly accepted rules of a ritual or symbolic nature, which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past. In fact, where possible, they normally attempt to establish continuity with a suitable historic past.... In short, they are responses to novel situations which take the form of reference to old situations, or which establish their own part by quasi-obligatory repetition (Hobsbawm 1983: 1-4).

By this definition, ch'angjak kugak can certainly be said to have emerged as an invented tradition of modern Korea. First, new compositions were written by synthesizing many diverse elements but always in reference to the past. Second, in order to connect the present with the past, ch'ontong kugak was studied and its central elements were incorporated into the new compositions. Recently, musical elements from diverse cultural backgrounds have also been adopted, reflecting the diversity of contemporary South Korea. This new tradition of Korean music will be the answer to the nation's long-standing desire for a music that displays the distinctiveness of the Korean heritage.

New Music in the Early Period

Compositions by Kim Ki-su (1917-86)
Composition of new traditional music began with Kim Ki-su. He was the only one composing new music for traditional instruments from 1952 to

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6 The persistent use of the term uri [our or us] among Koreans in discussing national culture, which used to be considered by foreigners to be a defensive mechanism (Killick 1990: 193), is now no longer perceived as an assertion of nationalism. Though it seems unwarranted to foreigners, the possessive pronoun uri is in fact conventional and normal among Koreans, even in expressing an individual's point of view. First-person singular pronouns are hardly used in Korea, a society in which collective or communal interests are arguably much more important that those of individuals. Although the term "our" as it is used to describe new traditional music naturally indicates national pride and solidarity, the term also reflects the music's close connections to the daily lives of South Koreans.

1961. He wrote pieces mainly for large orchestras, which was an appropriate ensemble for expressing the subject of national commemoration, as in "Songgwangbok" [Celebration of Liberation], "Kaechōnbu" [Ode to the Origin of the Nation] in 1952, and "Sae Nara" [New Nation] in 1962. His compositional style was a combination of different elements. While adopting the tradition of court music as the foundation, he incorporated the rhythmic diversity of folk music with the comparatively large orchestration of the West. He also started to modify traditional instruments in order to increase the tone colors and volume. Although he is currently recognized as a pioneer of new music (Hwang Byung-ki 1982; Shin Yong-sŏn 1991), his contribution to the development of ch’angjak kugak is considered questionable because of his close imitation of Western-style orchestral writing and unusually elevated sound volume in his works. Nonetheless, his unique writing style and pioneering effort to write new music inspired many composers to follow in his footsteps.

Several important observations can be made regarding Kim Ki-su's works in the 1950s and early 1960s. The title of the pieces hinted at the rise of nationalism in the kugak field almost twenty years prior to its strong appearance in the late 1970s. The effort to fuse the two contrasting styles, traditional Korean and Western, launched a movement to create a new type of music that included both traditions, yet differed from both. Observing what he viewed as the worldwide dominance of Western culture, Wiora (1965: 147-97) saw the 20th century as the last of his four ages of music history and predicted a musical homogenization into one huge global industrial culture. Contrary to his prognosis, in modern-day South Korea the adaptation of the Western cultural system to a new environment stimulated the birth of a new music with its own characteristics that were distinctly different from both its component parts.

Young composers of Seoul National University

The students of Seoul National University who had led the democratic movement and advocated the new life movement in 1961 also made a major contribution to the development of ch’angjak kugak. The students’ movement reflected the peoples' general fear of political as well as cultural invasion from the outside. Beginning with the establishment of the Traditional Music Department at Seoul National University in 1959, young composers started

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8He started to compose in 1939 during the Japanese occupation and was forced to write pieces under political pressure. He regretted it so much that he even tried to disown the pieces he wrote during this period.
to write new music for traditional instruments. New music [shin ümak] was the term used for the newly-composed music to distinguish it from the "old" music. The Korean government wholeheartedly supported the new music movement, since its spirit coincided with that of a new nation with a nationalistic ideology.

With much governmental support for federally-affiliated institutions such as Seoul National University and the National Classical Music Institute (presently, National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) as well as the private sector, ch'angjak kugak became an important musical genre for young composers to reckon with. It provided for them a great opportunity to move out of unknown status through composition competitions. Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn (b. 1936), Hwang Byung-ki (b. 1936), Kang Suk-hee (b. 1936), Kim Jung-kil (b. 1935), Baik Byung-dong (b. 1936) who will appear in the revised *New Grove Dictionary* in 2000 are representative of this group.

Following in the footsteps of Kim Ki-su, the new music of the 1960s was mainly orchestral pieces, except for a few solo compositions. The twelve pieces that were premiered for the general public in 1961 and 1962 were all ensemble works (Yi Sang-kyu 1995: 109). Since they were primarily written for traditional instruments, the timbre and other musical details such as the imitation of traditional melodic lines with numerous ornamentations, are similar to old traditional music. They employed, however, a close adaptation of Western musical forms, mainly the sonata form, as in the symphonic genres of Western tonal music. Compositional techniques of the Baroque era, such as counterpoint, fugue, and canon, were also favored. The title page usually bore the information regarding the date of composition and instrumentation in both Korean and English languages as well as the name of the composer and the title of the piece. (A zeal for learning new languages and world history triggered by the enlightenment movement in the late 19th century was resurrected after the liberation from Japan and the learning of English as well as Western ideas and values was taken as an indication of one's high intellect). Except for the names of the instruments, every element was written down in the manner of Western symphonic scores, including expression and dynamic markings in Italian, reflecting the composer's familiarity with Western orchestral practice.

Composers also enlarged the orchestral sound by adding more instrumental parts, imitating the tradition of the West, rather than following the conventional traditional way. (The increase in the volume of the traditional orchestra was a serious issue at that time and ultimately resulted in the establishment of the "Committee on the Improvement of Traditional Instruments at the National Classical Music Institute" in 1964).
In addition to the Western characteristics, there were also some features derived from "old" traditional music. Often the piece opened with a free, slow asurum section in which instruments with solo parts played long, interwinded lines attuned to and feeling out one another. The timbre of the orchestra was unmistakably that of "old" music with the use of traditional instruments. The composer employed the traditional Korean modes. The piece ended quietly and slowly with greatly reduced instrumentation, unlike the "triumphant" or "vigorous" finale movements of the Western symphony. Western harmony was avoided through the use of many doublings at the octave and through the contrapuntal treatment of musical lines.

One can infer from the compositions of this period that the composer's intention for new music was not just to imitate Western music but to incorporate the two musical traditions. The composers employed the representative musical forms, such as sonata or fugue, of Western tonal music as the main frame of the new music in correlation with unique Korean traditional elements. As one might expect, the outcome was not successful.

Many factors contributed the difficulties in inventing a new traditional music based on "old" traditional music. First was the lack of guidance or documents of instruction in composing Korean traditional music. The concept of composition was new. "Old" Korean music was "formed" rather than "composed" from the pre-existing pieces by the hands of the performers rather than that of the composers. Secondly, the central elements of Korean traditional music had not yet been defined. After a vacuum of scholarship for half a century, studies on Korean traditional music began about the same time that the new music movement started. Until the Department of Traditional Music was established at Seoul National University in 1959, there were no research programs on Korean traditional music.

Thirdly, even though the concept of composition was introduced, following the impact of Western civilization in the late 19th century, major compositional activities in the first half of the 20th century were primarily Western music written for Western instruments. Even after the liberation, music education was exclusively designed for the teaching of Western music. Therefore, at the time the only qualification that composers of ch'angjak kugak had was a strong desire to write Korean music with only Western music training. Most of the newly-composed traditional music from this period did not actually achieve a state of integration of the two musical traditions. All of them used Korean traditional instruments or a
combination of instruments from both traditions, but the notation and
techniques were basically Western. Musical elements of both Western and
Korean were mixed together in one piece, but they were more interspersed
than integrated. Most pieces written during this phase, with the exception
of a few compositions of historical significance, are no longer performed or
mentioned in the ch'angjak kugak circle.

The new music of the 1950s and 1960s reflected Korean society at the
time. With the Western economic and political system as a frame or
foundation, the Korean government was trying to create a “new”
independent Korea. The external evidence shows only the final result of the
economic, political and social reform of contemporary South Korea.
Koreans’ struggle to create “our own” by infusing both the old and new
ideologies remains only as an idealized principle, yet to be actualized.

New Music of the 1970s: the Emergence of National Music

A great surge of new Korean music that used traditional materials and
national subjects marks this period. Many changes occurred in new music in
a rapidly changing social environment of South Korea.

Socio-political changes in the 1970s

Externally, governmental ruling policy of nationalism from previous
decades seemed to be realized in the 1970s. By the 1970s, the nation had
achieved a remarkable economic growth, known to the outside as the
“miracle of Han River.” On the social side, however, no political freedom
was guaranteed under the totalitarian regime disguised as Korean-style
democratic government. Political dissidents were immediately arrested and
the media was tightly censored. There was no freedom of speech in public.
Ironically, however, under this political oppression, South Koreans enjoyed
an era of economic and political stability that they had never experienced
before. Compared to what Koreans had to endure in the first half of the 20th
century, life in South Korea since the 1970s has been generally prosperous
and peaceful. Therefore, the general public went along with the
government, even though they knew that the nation was not governed by
the democratic policy.

Underneath of this unprecedented peace and prosperity, however, the
political struggles still continued with frequent student demonstrations and
social movements by the intellectuals and academics calling for a true
democratic nation. This unprecedented social movement in the 1970s
revitalized and strengthened a sense of nationalism. While the movements
against the government were severely prohibited, calling for national spirits in arts began to be realized in the 1970s. South Koreans, young generations in particular, rejected Western influences and the search for “our” own began in full force. This “uri-ism” that in the beginning was limited to intellectuals and students was later embraced by the general public in the 1980s and became the stimulus for a profound change in the musicscape of contemporary South Korea.

**Ch’angjak kugak in the 1970s**

There occurred many changes in the status as well as styles of ch’angjak kugak. First, ch’angjak kugak, with its rapidly increasing repertoires in various genres, changed its status to that of an independent category. In contrast to 79 known compositions in the 1960s, there were 304 performed pieces in the 1970s (Yi Sang-kyu 1995: 109-115). The new music in the 1970s gradually became a separate entity from the “old” traditional music, as the first regular performance series based solely on ch’angjak kugak was launched by the National Classical Music Institute in 1974 (Yi Sang-kyu 1995: 112), as well as a performance series organized by the students of the Department of Korean Traditional Music at Seoul National University in 1973. In addition to the large ensembles of the previous decades, an increasing number of ch’angjak kugak composers also wrote music for smaller arrangements such as solo or chamber groups. The general public still associated this music with the “old” traditional music, mainly due to its instrumentation. However, changes in its status have begun due to the diverse style of compositions by a new generation of composers trained in both yangak and kugak.

Second, kugak has become a part of the standard music education even for young children. Many universities also began to establish traditional music departments. Currently more than 20 universities have Korean music programs producing composers and performers of Korean music. Professional orchestras performing Korean music have also emerged. Now there are six professional orchestras and two university orchestras of Korean

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9*Yangak was implemented as the sole music education for half of a century by the Japanese regime in order to eliminate Korean heritage. It is, however, curious to note that even after the liberation in 1945, the government of Korea did not make an effort to rectify the situation. While the government vigorously supported the cultural activities to promote “Koreaness” in people’s heart during that time, the emblem of Korean culture, that is, Korean traditional music, was still the domain of a limited group of musicians. Therefore, including kugak in the realm of public education in the 1970s was a giant step toward establishing a new musicscape in South Korea.*
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traditional music. It was also the beginning of kugak composers' efforts to educate modern-day South Koreans in the necessity of having what they described as "our music" for "our time." One of the ways to increase the awareness of Korean traditional music and educate the general public was by writing pieces that could easily be understood by all people.

Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn, for example, wrote "Young Person's Guide to the Traditional Orchestra" in 1974 to promote the understanding of "our" music. The composer's desire to raise the awareness of traditional music is well reflected in its preface: "This piece is composed to introduce Korean traditional instruments to the first-time listener" (Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn 1974: 2). This piece is a set of variations similar to Benjamin Britten's 1946 piece.

There are very similar in several respects: (1) the use of a well-known song of national origin, (2) two-part form that begins with theme and variations, and (3) a shared goal of introducing instruments in order to educate the audience about them. Just as Britten used a famous tune from a composition by the British composer Henry Purcell, Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn borrowed a well-known children's folk song, "Saeya Saeya" [Birdie, Birdie] as the theme of the piece, which provided instant familiarity. The design of the two-part form is similar also with the identical theme and variation forms of the first part. There are so many similarities that there is no question in my mind that Britten's work inspired Yi Sŏng-ch'ŏn to compose his. However, its difference lies in using a different form representing its own culture for the second part. Yi used sanjo and shinawi10 as opposed to Britten's use of a fugue.

Two aspects are significant in this 1974 composition. First, it was a statement directed toward the entire community of modern South Koreans who had ignored their own music for many decades. The message was "Yes, we do have our own music with our own instruments just as the West has its own, and the only thing we need to do is to learn to appreciate it." Secondly, it also inspired many composers to write new traditional music.

10 Sanjo and shinawi are the solo and ensemble forms of traditional music, especially representing the folk or the common peoples' art form. In these structures, continuity, variety, flexibility, and improvisation are important. In sanjo, the music proceeds with a gradual tempo changes from slow to fast. There is no definite, contrasting theme developing with a definite ending of a planned or delayed resolution as in the sonata form. Shinawi is an improvisatory ensemble. A main idea recurs throughout the piece as each instrument takes its turn with a variation of its main idea. Here, variation is a highly important quality. The piece ends whenever the performers prefer to stop without a pre-arranged plan. In these musics, performers have great freedom to express their musicality. They are indeed very different from the self-contained, closed form, proceeded by a contrasting or definite theme or motive and subject with its emphasis given to unity found in Western musical forms.
with musical materials from the old tradition as their foundation. It was this kind of statement that Yi was making to the public through his music. His intention can be clearly seen in his choice of folk idioms, rather than ones from elite music, as folk music has an association with a proclamation of cultural identity.

Third, while the compositions of the previous decades often bore abstract titles, such as Symphony no. 1 or Duet for kayagüm and sogüm, reflecting the absolute music tradition of the West, the titles of compositions based on themes of shaman rituals or Confucian belief began to reveal their associations. These two belief systems have been the core of Korean spiritual substance for centuries yet have long been ignored in the incept of ch'angjak kugak. One representative composition is Haedongshingok (1979) by Yi Hae-shik (b. 1943). According to the composer, haedong is the archaic name of Korea, and the title means a new composition for Korea. In this piece, he crystalized the essence of "our" selves and "our" living history through the process of shamanistic ritual combined with the elements of folk songs (Yi Hae-shik 1983: 181-2). Its five sections, condensed from the usual 12 scenes of kut [shaman ritual], describes the basic scene of a kut: (1) purification; (2) invitation of a spirit; (3) entertainment; (4) blessing; and (5) farewell. Here the employment of the instruments of shaman rituals, such as two types of bells, pangul and chong, and a ritual implement, a brass bowl [chubal] as an instrument, provides a new possibility of instrumentation for ch'angjak kugak. Until this composition, the instrumentation of the court music formed ch'angjak kugak's foundation.

With the use of folk materials based on indigenous religious backgrounds, it appeared that the composer finally found a solution to the problem of invention of a new traditional music. The special qualities inherent in the folk music tradition and belief systems enabled composers of the 1970s to realize their compositional goal of filling the gap between the past and the future. Their use of musical idoms closely related to Korean culture marked a significant change that would be reflected in many compositions of the 1980s. Their music restored the relationship between traditional music and the people of modern-day South Korea by providing a shared communal history, because, to borrow an expression from Clifford Geertz (1984: 119), "[the music] and the equipment to grasp it are made in the same shop." New music composers began to use the folk music materials and indigenous belief systems to share the "common history" with the people.

\^Here I included only the information pertinent to the purpose of my paper. For the more detailed musical analysis, please refer to the paper by Kim Mi-rim (1993: 23-51).
Fourth, one of the most notable changes was the participation of yangak composers. Composers who belong to the category of yangak, meaning Western music, began to compose new traditional musics. Sharing the same goal of writing music that could be understood and identified with by all Koreans, the long-existent chasm between yangak and kugak composers became narrower than ever before. It might have been partly due to the rebirth of nationalism under the political and economic stability of the time. Yangak composers had to re-examine their compositional activities which had previously been more concerned with the esthetic rewards of writing beautiful music rather than with making references to societal concerns. Such self-examination caused many composers to set a new artistic goal of writing new music with a strong cultural identity. The composers of yangak who led this new movement included Baik Byung-dong, Kang Suk-hee, and Kim Jung-gil, the best-known Western music composers who had been directing the course of music in South Korea. They all had studied under Yun Isang (1917-95) during the early 1970s in Germany. Yun emphasized to them the importance of incorporating Korean materials. His idea was to utilize essential musical elements and integrate them into his compositions rather than merely quoting traditional tunes or using the traditional instruments.

Kim Jung-kil composed a piece called "Ch'uchi5mun" in 1979, advocating modern compositional techniques for newly-composed Korean traditional music. While using the scale, tempo, and smaller instrumentation inspired by Korean music, he suggested the possibility of using the techniques of modern-day Western composition, such as arch form and the idea of aleatory composition. The piece reflects the strong expression of shinawi, instrumental ensemble performed during shaman rituals of indigenous religions of Korea in its texture of improvisatory performance style, yet its mood is calm and meditative as in slow court music. Seven traditional instruments enter gradually one at a time, building up to a thick texture in the middle of a climax with $fff$ and returning to the original $ppp$ through a retrograde process. Here, each instrument with its own free rhythmic duration joins the others at its own will, yet maintains the order of its occurrence. That is the reason why Kim insisted upon using modern techniques of aleatory music in this composition. This piece is considered significant in the development of ch'angjak kugak because it uses smaller instrumentation as in the old traditional music, yet it uses a different approach to its structure. In my opinion, this piece stands out because of its unique sound in comparison to most other newly-composed symphonic works that use an amplified sound to imitate the Western counterparts.
Writing new music based on Korean materials,\textsuperscript{12} composers in the 1970s rejected the contemporary music of the previous generation, which they felt could not be understood by the public. There has been a great surge of compositions incorporating traditional musical idioms by \textit{yangak} composers since then. Works by Yi Kŏn-yŏng (b. 1947), a founder of the "third generation,"\textsuperscript{13} represent a kind of new musical language being developed by \textit{yangak} composers in South Korea today. They no longer insist on using traditional instruments, borrowing folk tunes, and using only traditional themes. This change is significant since the schism between the \textit{yangak} and \textit{kugak} composers were narrowed for the first time due to a new emphasis on the promotion of Korean traditional music and composition of music for Korean people.

There has been much change since then, even to the point of using electronic medium to express "Koreanness." For example, a composition for a dance \textit{To’u} (1996) by one of the third generation composers, Hwang Sung-ho (b. 1955) reveals their consistent effort to create a music that reflects the heritage of Korea in modern interpretation. \textit{To’u} is clay figure found in old tombs. Here, the composer depicts the spirit of \textit{to’u} by combining the traditional method of singing, \textit{ch’ang}, with electronic sound. The occurrence of \textit{ku’um} [literally meaning mouth sound, but similar to a vocalise technique] unique to Korean singing in the beginning and ending of the piece portrays the subtlety of Koreans’ emotion. Additionally, the new breed of \textit{kugak} composers trained both in the \textit{yangak} and \textit{kugak} traditions, and the emergence of \textit{yangak} composers from the 1970s have clearly diversified the musical styles in contemporary South Korea.

\textsuperscript{12}The American-trained musicologist, Lee Kang-sook returned in the late 1970s and campaigned for a Korean cultural identity in contemporary Korean music. He denounced the composed music which had been known as 'Korean music' as being deceptive with its Western scalar system and harmony. While advocating a total liberation from Western musical dominance, he further asserted the social responsibility of composers in contemporary South Korea to write "proper" music in their "musical mother tongue" (Lee Kang-sook 1990: 316-33). His idea became the central ideology for many \textit{yangak} composers, who then began a journey in search of a new cultural identity for Korea.

\textsuperscript{13}20th century South Korean composers are largely divided into three groups. The first is called the generation of \textit{kagok} [art song] composers before the 1950s. The second group is identified as Western musical language oriented composers. They are the composers born largely in the 1930s and participated in the new music movement of the 1960s. Although their compositions are often criticized for their mere imitation of Western music, they are significant in the development of \textit{ch’angjak kugak} as they bridged the gap from "nothing" to "something." In addition, their intention was to create a music for "uri" and "our" time. The third generation of composers are the ones that claim the new approach to \textit{ch’angjak kugak}. This division is made by the third generation of composers.
Finally, the embarkation of a new approach, i.e., incorporating central elements of kugak into the new compositions, was made due to the emergence of the scholarship on Korean music. The first traditional music department established at Seoul National University has helped the studies of Korean music discover the salient features of its traditional music. The scholarship on new music that started in this era was also at first initiated mainly by the composers of the new music. In addition to writing easy-to-understand and educational pieces, composers of the new music also began writing essays to articulate appropriate artistic interpretation of their compositions and their philosophy of music in general. Among the most notable was Hwang Byung-ki, an accomplished kayagum player and composer. It was he who started the scholastic discussion on ch'angjak kugak.

The Role and Meaning of Ch'angjak Kugak in Contemporary South Korea

I described the musical as well as socio-political changes in contemporary South Korea, mainly from the 1950s through 1970s in order to understand the attitudes and motivation of creating ch'angjak kugak. Ch'angjak kugak began with a small group of young composers as an idealistic attempt to create a new musical culture for the nation. It appears that in the beginning of its conception ch'angjak kugak had an immense influence from Western compositions, including the very concept of composition. However, it was the end rather than means of the composers at that time. As discussed above, their aim was to create a new music for the nation.

From the 1970s, composers began to incorporate the elements that were firmly rooted in Korean tradition. Well-known folk tunes and genres were used in order to relate their music to the common people of Korea. Indigenous belief systems and its music also surfaced as an important inspiration. Therefore, ch'angjak kugak has slowly but surely begun to provide an answer to Koreans' yearning for a new music of "our" time and "our" world. It is the result of constant searching for the "correct" way to compose new traditional music which reflects the cultural identity of modern Korea.

Music has played an immensely significant role in Korean society, since it is believed to affect the formation of one's character and also provide harmony to society at large. According to Sejong Shillok [Annals of King Sejong] (1418-50), "the ideal [my emphasis] of music was to elevate human nature to correspond to that of a perfectly ordered cosmos so that the society would become one in peace." This 15th-century concept of "ideal"
music still prevails among composers and motivates them to search for a "correct" musical tradition representing a newly-found national pride and strength of a new Korea.

There still exists a controversy over the role of ch'angjak kugak in Korean society. Many questions are often raised, concerning its future direction, especially its esthetic consideration including scalar system and modification of instruments. These unsolved issues still prevent some musicians and scholars of ch'ontong kugak from accepting the new music for "uri." Regardless of their origins, however, composers are now striving to establish the new music as an important part of the daily life in modern-day South Korea. Their endeavors include the use of popular genres for their compositions, most notably the four percussion instruments and vigorous rhythm of a popular genre, samulnori (invented in 1978 based on Korean farmers' band music), in their new compositions, to which the audience, especially young members, respond with great enthusiasm. Diverse genres of new traditional music with different uses and functions, including movie and theater, also appear in ch'angjak kugak repertoire.

This new traditional music enjoyed a tremendous surge in popularity when 1988 Seoul Olympics featured ch'angjak kugak as the theme music, and then again in 1994, when the "Year of Traditional Music" decreed by the South Korean government promoted frequent performances of new traditional music in various symbolic venues.

In his book, Music as Social Text, John Shepherd (1991) states that music is a social text by which the reality of a society is articulated. Korea, as a country situated on a small peninsula has been subject to continuous political encroachment by many other countries and yet has maintained its independence for most of its nearly five-thousand year history. Such tenaciousness is also reflected in its music. While Korean music has been greatly influenced by the influx of various cultural as well as musical systems that have constantly swept through the nation, it has always found a way to hold on to the elements that are uniquely Korean. The rise of national pride and solidarity in the late 1970s, which called for Korean music with the distinctiveness and superiority of a Korean identity, has provided a paragon of the ideal for the new musical culture.

As a country that could host the Olympics in 1988, it yearns to have a music that it can call "Korean music," a music that can speak for the new Korea. In recent years, ch'angjak kugak has emerged as a realization of an ideal Korean music. As it confidently embraces different musical systems of various sources yet always refers to the past, ch'angjak kugak has become a new musical culture that can represent contemporary South Korea on
international stages. The long-held division between the two musical traditions of elite music and folk music associated with different social strata of Korea has been broken down. The rift between kugak and yangak has diminished as composers of both traditions find their inspiration in ch'ŏntong kugak. By combining its unmistakably Korean ideology with an unfailing feel for the ever so rapidly changing world of the present, ch'angjak kugak has made Korean music truly Korean.

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창작국악: 한국적인 한국음악의 창조

채현경
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1960년대에 만들어지기 시작해서 한국인의 삶에서 그 가치를 점차 확대시켜 온 창작국악(과거의 한국음악 전통에 뿌리를 두고 새로이 작곡된 전통적 음악)은, 현대 한국사회의 변화를 반영하는 한편 역으로 한국사회의 변화를 예고하기도 하는 음악변동의 한 예가 된다.

비서구 문화에서의 음악변동의 문제가 흔히 서구화·현대화라는 견지에서 규정되지만, 그 음악변동의 속구조—사회 정치적 상황, 작곡가의 태도나 목적의식 등—를 살펴보면 우리는 사뭇 다른 조망을 얻게 된다. 이 논문은 한국 현대, 특히 1950년대로부터 1970년대에 이르기까지의 한국에서의 음악변동 가운데 창작국악의 문제를 사회·정치적 변화와 연관시켜서 검토하는데, 이러한 검토를 통해서 우리는 한국의 창작국악이 서구화·현대화를 지향한 결과가 아니라 한국문화의 정체성을 표현하는 '이상적인' 음악을 찾으려는 노력의 결과임을 알게 된다.

사회·정치적 상황

1945년 일본제국주의로부터의 독립을 이룬 후 중대하던 새로운 국가건설의 열망이 그 결실을 다 이루기도 전에 1950년 한국전쟁이 발발하였고, 전쟁은 남북분단으로 귀결되었다. 50년대에서 70년대에 이르는 기간 동안, 한국(남한)은 한편으로는 민주적이고 효율적인 체제를 건설하고자 하는 의지의 분출, 다른 한편으로는
이러한 의지를 다 충족시키지 못하는 현실 체제 간의 혼동과 갈등을 경험하였다. 박정희 정권은 경제개혁을 주요정책으로 삼아 가시척 성과를 이루었으나, 정치적으로는 국민들의 민주화 열망을 억압하고 독재체제를 구축하였다. 박정권은 그들의 정치체제를 '한국적 민주주의'라 고 명명하고 선전하였으며, 그들의 체제를 합리화시키는 통치이념으로서 민주주의를 표방하였다. 박정권이 말하는 민주주의와 전통음악계가 마음에 드는 민족주의의 속뜻은 같지 않았음에도, 민족주의라는 속뜻과 그에 따른 문화정책은 전통음악의 활성화를 어느 정도 가능하게 하였다. 창작국악이 한국의 새로운 음악으로 인식되기 시작한 것은 바로 이 시기의 일이 었다.

1970년대는 정치적으로는 박정권의 압제가 광포해지는 상황이었으나 경제적 번영은 민족적 자존심을 키워 주었다. 한편, 지식인층과 젊은 세대 사이에 '우리의 식'이 자리를 잡기 시작하였는데(이는 박정권이 내건 민족주의라는 이름과는 다른 차원의 것으로서, 오히려 정권에 대한 반대운동에 연관되어 있다). 이러한 '우리 의식'은 80년대에 더욱 광범위하게 확산되었으며 현대 한국 음악문화의 변화에 중요한 동인이 되었다.

창작국악의 역사

19세기에 서양음악이 국내에 도입된 이래 서양음악은 한국음악계에 심대한 영향을 끼쳤다. 현대 한국음악의 역사는, 대체로 말해서, 한국 전통음악(국악)과 서양음악(양악) 사이의 갈등의 역사라고 할 수 있는데, 이는 사회 전반에 걸쳐 있었던 서구의 이데올로기와 한국의 전통적 이념 사이의 갈등을 반영한다. 한국 현대사의 초엽에는 양악이 지배적인 현상을 이루었으며, 반면에 '옛' 국악 즉 전통국악은 제한된 범위에 그리고 상징적인 차원에 유효하고도 같이 존재하였다. '옛' 국악이 아닌 '새로운' 국악으로서 창작국악이 1960년대에 만들어지고 그 입지를 강화하면서, 한국 전통음악과 서양음악 사이의 갈등이 커지고 이는 이후 수십 년간 지속되고 있다.

'옛' 국악 즉 전통국악에는 작곡이라는 개념 혹은 작곡가라는 개념이 없다. 전통국악에서는 작곡가의 역할을 두고 하고, 음악은 기본적으로 연주를 통해 형성되어 가는 것이라고 이해한다. 창작국악은, '창작'이라는 말이 시사하듯이, 개별 작곡가에 의하여 만들어지며, 창작자의 의도를 표현해 내는 연주를 위하여 기보다. 작곡은 작곡(이는 서양으로부터 온 개념임)한다는 생각 자체가 창작국악의 초창기에는 혁명적인 발상이었다. 한국 현대인의 삶에 관련되는 새로운 국악을 만들어낸다는 생각 또한 혁명적인 것이었는데, 역사적 시련의 와중에서 민족적 정체성을 품은 음악의 실제가 혼란해진 상황에 처한 한국은 이제 바야흐로 '우리'를 반영하는 새로운 음악을 만들기를, 현대 한국의 새로운 전통을 만들기를
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강력하게 희망하게 된 것이다.

1950년대와 1960년대의 창작국악

김기수


그가 새로운 국악의 개척자로서 인식되고 있기는 하지만, 창작국악에 대한 그의 기여는 때로 의심받고는 하는데, 이는 그가 서양식의 관현악 작곡을 지나치게 모방하였기 때문이다. 그럼에도 불구하고 그의 독특한 작곡기법 그리고 새로운 음악을 작곡하려는 그의 개척정신은 많은 작곡가들에게 깊은 인상을 주었고 그들로 하여금 그를 따르도록 하였다.

그의 음악의 제목들은 1970년대 말 국악분야에서 강력하게 대두된 민족주의를 20년 가량 앞서 보여주고 있다. 그리고 한국의 전통과 서양의 전통을 결합해 보려는 그의 노력은, 두 전통을 포함하면서도 그들 둘 다와 다른 새로운 유형의 음악을 만들고자 하는 운동의 출발점이 되었다.

서울대학교의 젊은 작곡가들

사설기관뿐 아니라 국립기관—서울대, 국립국악원 등—의 지원을 받으면서 창 작국악은 젊은 작곡가가 자신의 음악을 겪 만한 중요한 음악장르가 되어 갔다. 이성천, 황병기, 강석희, 김정길, 백병동 등이 창작국악의 대표적 작곡가이며, 이들에 대한 항목이 2000년도에 출판된 New Grove Dictionary에 기재될 것이다.

1959년에 서울대학교에 국악과가 설립되었고, 젊은 작곡가들이 전통악기를 위한 새로운 음악을 쓰기 시작하였으며 이 음악을 일컬어 '옛' 음악과 구별하여 신국악이라 하였다. 1960년대의 신국악은 김기수의 선례를 따라 대체로 관현악곡이었다. 여기에는 한국 전통음악의 요소—한국의 전통적 음계, 많은 장식을 가진 전통적 선율, 전통적 악기와 음색을 사용하며, 다스름으로 시작하고 느리고 조용하게 마무리하는 등-와 서양음악적 요소—서양음악의 형식(주로 소나타 형식)과 바로크 시대의 작곡기법(대위법, 푸가, 캐논 기법 등)을 사용하고 서양음악의 기보 방식을 따르는 등—가 함께 들어 있다.

이 시기 신국악 작곡가들의 의도는 서양음악의 전통과 한국음악의 전통을 종합하는 것이었지만 결과가 그리 성공적이지는 못했다. 이들 음악에서 한국음악적 요
소와 서양음악적 요소는 융합되기보다는 흔재해 있는 것에 가까웠다. 그 실패의 이유는, 첫째, 한국 전통음악에 있어서 작곡개념이 새로운 것인 만큼 한국 전통음악의 작곡을 가르치는 안내와 지침이 없었다는 점, 둘째, 일본제국주의의 침략을 겪으면서 반 세계 동안 한국 전통음악에 대한 연구의 공백이 생겨서 한국 전통음악의 중심된 요소가 무엇인지에 대한 확실한 규명이 어려웠다는 점, 셋째, 19세기 개화기 서구문명의 유입 이래 반 세계 동안의 작곡활동이 주로 서양악기를 위한 서양음악 작곡이었던 점 등에서 찾아볼 수 있다.

1950년대, 1960년대의 창작국악의 이러한 상황은 당시의 한국사회 상황을 반영하고 있다. 한국은 서구의 경제·정치 체제를 기본틀로 하면서도 ‘새로운’ 독립 국가를 창출하고자 하였으며, 옛 이념과 새 이념을 혼합하여 ‘우리의 것’ 을 만들 어내기를 희망하였으나, 이는 하나의 이상화된 원리로서 다 구현되지 않은 채 남아 있었던 것이다.

1970년대의 창작국악

이 시기에는 한국 사회가 급격하게 변화하면서 신음악에도 많은 변화가 있었다.
첫째, 창작국악의 양식과 장르가 다양화되고(독주곡, 실내악곡 등도 많은 작곡가들에 의하여 쓰여지게 됨) 양적으로도 레퍼토리를 많이 축적하게 되었다, 창작국악의 위상도 높아져서, 창작국악이 ‘옛’ 전통음악 즉 전통국악과 구분되는 독립된 하나의 범주를 형성하게 되었다.
둘째, 여러 대학들에 한국 전통음악 프로그램이 설치되었다. 그리고 국악관현악단들이 설립되었다. 일반인을 위한 대중적인 국악 교육도 실시되는데, 전통음악에 대한 일반 대중의 이해도 도모하기 위한 시도 중 하나는 모든 이들에게 쉽게 이해되도록 만든 작품을 쓰는 일이었다. 이성천이 작곡한 “청소년을 위한 국악관현악 업무”은 이러한 취지에 걸맞는 작품으로 언급될 만하다.
셋째, 오랫동안 한국인들의 정신세계의 핵심을 이루어 온 사마니즘과 유교 이념이 창작국악에 적극적으로 채택된다. 특히 토속신앙에 기반한 음악과 민속음악이 창작국악 작곡에 활용되면서, 창작국악에 사용되는 악기, 음악적 소재, 제목 등에 중요한 변화가 생겼다. 이러한 작업을 대표하는 것이 이대식의 “해동신곡”이다.
이러한 변화는 80년대의 많은 창작국악곡에 영향을 끼친다.
넷째, 한국(서양음악) 작곡가들이 새로운 전통음악 작곡에 참여하게 된다. 백병동, 강석희, 김정길 등이 그들이며, 이들은 70년대 초에 독일에서 한국적 요소를 중시하는 작곡가인 윌리엄 자도록 받은 바 있다. 이들의 작품 가운데 특히 눈에 띄는 작곡이 김정길의 “추천문”이다. 어떤 작곡가들은 서구식 현대음악의 기법을 사용하기를 거부하고 한국 전통음악 어법을 사용하는 작품을 만들어내고 있다.
“제3세대”의 이은용이 이러한 경향을 대표한다. 한국적 유산을 현대적으로 해석하려는 노력도 있는데, 황성호는 전자매체를 사용하여 “한국성”을 표현하기도 한다.
창작국악: 한국적인 한국음악의 창조

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다. 한국인의 정체성을 담고 있는 음악. 한국인에게 이해받는 음악을 만들고자 하는 목표를 공유하게 되면서. 오래도록 국악과 양악 사이에 있어 왔던 품새가 좁혀지고 있다.

마지막으로. 한국 전통음악에 대한 연구에 힘입어 국악의 기본적 요소를 새로운 작곡에 응합시키는 새로운 접근이 가능해졌다. 창작국악 작곡가들은 작곡활동에 대하여 그들의 작품을 설명하고 그들의 음악관을 설명하는 글들을 쓰기 시작했다.
이 가운데 가장 주목할 만한 이가 황병기이다. 그는 창작국악에 대한 학문적 논의를 출반시키기도 하였다.

현대 한국사회에서 창작국악의 의미와 역할

창작국악은 현대 한국의 새로운 음악문화를 창출해 내려는 이상을 가진 일산의 젊은 작곡가들에 의하여 시작되었다. 창작국악의 초창기에 그것은 (작곡이라는 개념 자체를 포함하여) 서양음악의 영향을 크게 받았다. 하지만 창작국악의 궁극적 목표는 한국을 위한 새로운 음악을 만들어내는 것이었다.

1970년대부터 한국적 전통에 깊이 뿌리박은 요소들이 적극적으로 제택되면서 창작국악은 이 시대 이 곳의 새로운 음악을 기대하는 한국인들의 열망에 대하여 대답을 주고 있다. 이는 현대 한국의 문화적 정체성을 반영하는 음악을 지향하고, 전통에 입각하여 새로운 음악을 만들어내는 "올바른" 방법을 모색하는 지속적 노력의 결과이다.

창작국악을 통하여 엘리트 음악과 민속음악이라는 두 가지 전통 사이의 만남이 이루어졌고. 국악과 양악 사이의 품도 좁혀졌다. 다양한 원천의 음악요소들을 포괄하면서도 한국적 전통에 근거하는 창작곡악은 세계화 시대의 한국을 대표하는 새로운 음악문화를 형성하였다. 한국의 전통적인 이념과 근본적인 세계에 대한 소화능력을 결합하면서. 창작곡악은 한국음악을 진정한 한국적인 것으로 만들어나와다.

아직도 한국사회에서는 창작곡악의 역할에 대한 논쟁이 끝나지 않았다. 해결되지 않은 여러 문제점들은 전통곡악의 음악가와 학자들로 하여금 "새로운" 창작국악을 수립하기를 거부하게 만들기도 한다. 하지만 많은 작곡가들이 한국인의 삶에 중요한 역할을 하는 새로운 음악을 만들어내기 위하여 지금도 여전히 노력하고 있다.

셰퍼드가 말했듯이 음악이 일종의 사회적 텍스트로서 사회적 성격을 각인하고 있다고 한다면. 한국의 창작곡악은 바로 외부로부터의 수많은 비류하고 민족적 정체성을 지켜오고 있는 한국 사회의 문화의 은근과 근지의 범위를 반영하고 있는 하나의 텍스트가 된다. 한국음악은 외부로부터 유입된 문화의 소용돌이에 휩싸이는 와중에서도 한국 고유의 음악전통과 한국인의 정체성을 뚜렷이 하고 드높이려
는 모색을 끊임없이 하였다. 창작국악은 바로 이러한 노력의 산물이다.
세종실록에 나타나는 한국의 전통적 사고에 의하면, “이상적음” 음악은 인성을
고양시켜 세계의 완벽한 조화에 상응하게 하고, 이렇게 해서 사회는 질서와 조화
를 구현하게 된다. 이러한 “이상적음” 음악의 관념은 현대 한국의 작곡가들로 하여
금 지금 이 곳에 합당한 “이상적음” 음악의 전통을 수립하려는 열망을 지울 수 없게
한다. 근대의 창작음악은 “이상적음” 한국음악이라는 아이디어를 구현하는 하나의
실천이다.

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