Some Koreanized Aspects of Chinese Music in the History of Korean Music

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I. Introduction

Historically Korean music was much influenced by Chinese music before the import of western music. From times of antiquity to the early 15th Century, the Chinese influences were important factors in the formation of Korean music. These influences can be found more easily in Korean court music than in folk music. We can find the vestiges of these in some archaeological materials, including old musical anthologies.

Some musical instruments used playing Korean court music were imported from China. Sometimes these imported musical instruments were played only with the imported Chinese music. Some of these were played only in hyangak(郷樂, pure

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1) This paper is revised version of the article which was read at 'The Third International Music Conference & Festival' of the Asian Pacific Society For Ethnomusicology at Mahasarakham University in Thailand, on the 12th of December, 1996.
Korean music), or in hyangak and in the imported Chinese music tangak (唐樂, music of Tang, or T’ang Dynasty)\(^2\). That is to say, some changes took place in the use of these musical instruments after the import from China to Korea. Besides these changes, the structures of some of these imported instruments were also changed and their original structures were lost.

Before the import of Taesŏng aak (大晟雅樂, aak of Ta-ch’eng Institute), some pieces of music called as kyobangak (數坊樂) were imported from the Song (宋, Sung) Dynasty of China to the Koryŏ (高麗) Dynasty (918–1392) of Korea. This imported kyobangak has been called tangak. And tangak has been played continuously from the Koryŏ Dynasty to the present. Koryŏ-sa (高麗史, History of Koryŏ) includes 43 pieces of these tangak. Besides these 43 pieces, some other pieces of tangak were played in Korean court during the Chosŏn (朝鮮) Dynasty. Now, however, only Pohŏja (步虛子, walking in the void) and Nagyangch’un (洛陽春, spring in Luoyang) are played. These 2 pieces also lost their original Chinese musical flavors. On the contrary, we can find some Korean musical flavors in these 2 pieces.

Among the imported music from China to Korea, Taesŏng aak holds one of the most important positions in the history of Korean music. It was imported from the Song Dynasty to the Koryŏ Dynasty in the early 12th Century. Taesŏng aak was played officially in the court rituals of the Koryŏ Dynasty just 4 months after its import. Taesŏng aak became the starting point of Korean aak, but it was changed from its original shapes before long. Taesŏng aak (or simply aak), though altered, continued to play in the court rituals without interruption from the first play to the early Chosŏn Dynasty, but it was in an incomplete form. During the reign of King Sejong (世宗, 1418–1449), this continued tradition of aak was reformed by the will of King Sejong under the leadership of a distinguished

\(^2\) All the Romanized Korean and Chinese characters are based on the MR system.
musicologist, Pak Yŏn (朴垠, 1378-1458). Pak Yŏn and his colleagues reformed or renovated the aak after the old Chinese examples. But now only one, Munmyo cheryeak (文廟祭禮樂, music of Confucius’ shrine), survives. The reformed aak was not rearranged like the old Chinese aak style; it was rearranged differently.

If we can find some changes of the uses and structures in the imported Chinese musical instruments, and also find some changes in the imported tangak and aak, these changes, or Koreanized aspects of these, can be called a kind of musical acculturation. To study these Koreanized, or acculturated musical aspects that happened in the history of Korean music would not be unprofitable work. Accordingly, the aim of this study will be to consider and judge some Koreanized musical aspects, or aspects of musical acculturation that are found in the three elements of imported Chinese music: musical instruments, tangak · aak, and some current results of studies.

II. Koreanized Chinese Musical Instruments

Sometimes we classify Korean musical instruments as hyangakki (향樂器), tangakki (唐樂器), and aakki (雅樂器) on the basis of their use in music. Hyangakki means pure Korean musical instruments for hyangak. Tangakki and aakki are imported Chinese musical instruments. One is for tangak and the other is for aak, respectively.

Theoretically hyangak means pure Korean music, but it was not 100% of Korean music in the history of Korean music. Samguk sagi (三國史記, history of three kingdoms, B.C. 57–A.D. 935) says that after the influx of tangak into Korea all music, including all foreign music like the music of central Asia, that existed in Korea were called as hyangak to differentiate from newly imported tangak. Aak was called as aak, first Taesŏng aak and then just aak, consistently without change after the import from China. It was played in the court rituals like China.
Tangak in Korea meant originally the music of Tang Dynasty before the import of kyobangak from the Song Dynasty of China, but after the import of kyobangak, it meant tangak and kyobangak.

During the reign of King Munjong (1046-1082), many types of music of the Song Dynasty were imported from China to the Koryŏ Dynasty. In the 5th (1110) and the 9th (1114) year of King Yejong (1110-1114) of the Song Dynasty were imported into the Koryŏ Dynasty. Most of these pieces were saak (禮樂, tz'u music) of the Song Dynasty and these pieces were also called tangak in the Koryŏ Dynasty. After the import of saak from the Koryŏ Dynasty to the present, tangak means the saak and kyobangak of Song Dynasty. Though occasionally these tangak pieces were played in the court rituals, these pieces were mostly played in the royal parties and the royal processions, or as the dance music in the court. Fundamentally, tangakki means the musical instruments for tangak. But we Koreans call all musical instruments imported from China to Korea as tangakki, except aaki and western musical instruments, even if those are not primarily of Chinese origin.

Among imported aakis and tangakkis from China, we can find some Koreanized, or acculturated aspects only in tangakki. Because the aakis were always restrictively played in the court rituals after the examples of Chinese aak, there were no changes in the aaki in the history of Korean music. There were no such limits in tangak. So, I think because of this reason, tangaki could be easily changed or Koreanized.

1. Koreanized Chinese Musical Instruments in Chordophones

1) Tang-pip'a (唐琵琶)

There are two kinds of pip'a in Korea. One is hyang-pip'a (僋琵琶) and another

3) Lee Hye-ku, "Umok (音樂, music)", Han'guk-sa, 『韓國史』 (Seoul: National History Committee, 1975), vol. 6, p. 415.
is *tang-pip'a*. *Hyangpip'a* is pure Korean *pip'a* and *tang-pip'a* is imported Chinese *pip'a*. *Tang-pip'a* was just called *pip'a* in China. It has 4 strings and crooked neck. We don’t know exactly when and how this *tang-pip'a* was imported from China to Korea. But some archeological materials of Buddhism say this *tang-pip'a* was imported from China to Korea just after Silla (新羅) unified three Kingdoms, in the second half of the 7th Century. We can find *tang-pip'as* of the Unified Silla (統一新羅, 668-935) on some reliefs of archeological materials of Buddhism, but any music of *tang-pip'a* of that time was not survived. So we cannot know when and how, for what purposes *tang-pip'as* were played after the import. And we cannot know also what pieces were played by *tang-pip'as* in the Unified Silla.

According to *Koryó-sa*, there were some teachers of *tang-pip'a* in the court of the Koryó Dynasty in 1076. This fact verifies that *tang-pip'as* were played frequently in the court of the Koryó Dynasty. Mostly *tang-pip'as* were played in *tangak* during the period of the Koryó Dynasty. But we cannot know the *tang-pip'a* and its music during the period of the Koryó Dynasty.

From the early to the end of the Chosón Dynasty *tang-pip'as* were included in the instrumentation of *koch'wi*, a special orchestral band for royal processions. *Koch'wi* always played *tangak*, but *tang-pip'as* were also included in the *hyangak* orchestra for the court parties in 1434. Before this, in 1430, *tang-pip'as* were already included in *hyangak**s* which were designated by the court of the Chosón Dynasty as test instruments for *hyangak*. I think that the Chinese musical instru-

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5) *Koryó-sa*, vol. 80, 15a8-b3.
6) Chang Sa-hun, *Han'guk akki taekwan*, p. 95.
8) *Sejong sillok*, vol. 47, 28b12-14.
mental characters of tang-pip’a began to change or become lost during this period. During the reign of King Sŏngjong (成宗, 1470–1494) tang-pip’a was one of the most favored musical instruments. All classes, from the court musicians and learned men to the lowbrows, liked to play tang-pip’a very much. When people started to learn music, it was the first musical instrument to be taught. This fact verifies that tang-pip’a was also a beloved musical instrument by people of outside the court. During the Chosŏn Dynasty it was very difficult for common people to listen or appreciate tangak, because tangak was only the music of court during that dynasty. But if it is true that tang-pip’as were also played and beloved by people outside court, it means that hyangak were included in the musical pieces of tang-pip’a too. Moreover, Akhak kwebŏm(樂學軌範, guide book for court music, 1493) says that there were two kinds of tuning system and method of its play, one for hyangak and another for tangak. Kŭm-habja-bo(琴合字譜, anthology for 6-stringed Korean zither kŏmungo music by Ansang, 安瑞, 1572) includes a piece of Mandaeyŏp(懊大葉, lost old Korean classical lyric song in very slow tempo) for tang-pip’a. Mandaeyŏp is real hyangak. It verifies that tang-pip’a played hyangak at that time, and it means also tang-pip’a already had been generalized and Koreanized before the late 15th Century. Also, it means that it usually played hyangak in the late 16th Century.

We can find an aspect of musical acculturation in these changed musical instrumental characters and the use of tang-pip’a as above. But unfortunately, now tang-pip’a is not played by contemporary musicians with hyang-pip’a in Korea.

2) Wŏlgŭm(月琴)

The another name of wŏlkŭm is wanham(阮咸), but it was also called chin-pip’a

10) Akhak kwebŏm, 『樂學軌範』, vol. 7, 4a-7b3.
(秦琵琶) and chin-hanja(秦漢子). We don't know when and how it moved from China to Korea. We only know it is shown on two murals of old tombs in Manchuria, in old Koguryo(高句麗, B.C. 37-668) territory. So it is sure that it flowed from China to Koguryo. Besides these two murals, we cannot find any other archaeological material and old record that mention it until the early Chosŏn Dynasty. Samguk sagi and Koryo-sa also did not mention it. At the end of the 15th Century, however, Akhak kwebôm mentions it. In Akhak kwebôm we can see two pictures of it. But Akhak kwebôm says 'it only plays hyangak(只用鄒樂)' and shows us a tuning system of hyangak.12) So it means that it was already Koreanized before Akhak kwebôm.

3) Ajaeng(牙箏)

We don't know also when and how ajaeng flowed from China to Korea, but there is an opinion that it flowed from the Wŏn(元, YÜan, 1234-1367) Dynasty to the Koryo Dynasty.13) The akji(樂誌, section of music) of Koryo-sa mentions 7-stringed ajaeng.14) To the early Chosŏn Dynasty ajaeng only played tangak and it was also included in the koch'wi with tangpip'a.15) But Akhak kwebôm says it had two kinds of tuning system and methods of its play for hyangak and tangak like tangpip'a.16) It played hyangak and tangak at that time. Today, though tuning system for hyangak was slightly changed from Akhak kwebôm, it also has these two tuning systems.

Besides ajaeng for court music there is another ajaeng for sanjo(散調, improvised instrumental solo piece) and folk music. We call it as sanjo-ajaeng. It was invented in the 20th Century by modeling after the original ajaeng. The size

16) Akhak kwebôm, vol. 7, 10a4-11a.
and timbre of it is smaller and harsher than the original ajaeng. It is only designed to play sanjo and folk music, a real hyangak. So we can call it a real hyangakki. It is a kind of curious variety of the original ajaeng and is a typical example of Koreanized or acculturated tangakki.

4) Haegüm

We don't know when and how haegüm flowed from China to Korea as well, but there is also an opinion that it flowed from the Wòn Dynasty to the Koryó Dynasty during the early 13th Century. It had been played in hyangak from the early stage of influx to the Koryó Dynasty. The akji of Koryó-sa mentions it as a hyangakki and it was also included test instruments for hyangak orchestra(1434) like tang-pip’a. Akhak kweböm says ‘it only plays hyangak (只営樂)’ like wölgüm though it introduces it in the section of tangaki. The tuning system of it in Akhak kweböm is only for hyangak. Haegüm plays an important role in performing hyangak at present. Generally haegüm was also one of the most beloved musical instruments by many musicians outside of the court. It is called kkangkkaeng’i as a pet name by most Koreans. So, we can possibly conclude that it showed some Koreanized or acculturated aspects from the Koryó Dynasty and that it was wholly Koreanized before the Akhak kweböm period.

In the middle of the Chosôn Dynasty, while ajaeng was excluded in the instrumentation of koch’wi, haegüm substituted for ajaeng. And now haegüm plays hyangak and tangak. So, it cannot be said that during the Chosôn Dynasty

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17) Song Bang-song, Han’guk ünak tongsa, "韓國音樂通俗史"(Seoul : Iljo-gak, 潮陽, 1984), p. 160. But I think the haegüm was imported from the Song Dynasty, especially the Southern Song Dynasty, to the Koryó Dynasty during the second half of the 12th Century. I will describe about it in other article.
18) Chang Sa-hun, Han’guk akki taekwan, p. 61.
20) Akhak kweböm, vol. 7, Tb11-8a3.
21) Akhak kweböm, ibid.
22) Sheen Dae-Cheol, ibid.
played only hyangak. But it can be inferred on the basis of the records in Koryŏ-sa and Akhak kwebŏm that haegŭm played more important musical roles in hyangak than in tangak. And this fact means that although haegŭm was originally a foreign musical instrument, it accomplished the roles of hyangakki well in the music history of the Koryŏ and the Chosŏn Dynasty.

2. Koreanized Chinese Musical Instruments in Aerophones

1) Tangiŏk (唐笛)

Tangiŏk is a musical instrument which plays the highest pitch in Korean music, like a piccolo in western music. We don’t know also when and how tangiŏk flowed from China to Korea. Tangiŏk like transverse musical instruments are seen on some reliefs of archaeological materials about the end of the 7th Century. Therefore it can be inferred that tangiŏk already was in Korea about the 7th Century.

There were also some teachers of tangiŏk like teachers of tang-pip’a in the court of the Koryŏ Dynasty in 1075 by Koryŏ-sa.²³ By this record it can be said that tangiŏk was used and played much in the performances of the court music in the Koryŏ Dynasty.

The akjī of Koryŏ-sa and Akhak kwebŏm mention 8-holed tangiŏk.²⁴) Tangiŏk of Akhak kwebŏm has 7-fingered holes and a side hole, called the embouchure-hole. But one of the fingered holes was not used at that time and it is also the same at the present. After Akhak kwebŏm, tangiŏk was improved and the structure of it became similar to taegŭm (大筰, flute) which is hyangakki. It plays tangak and hyangak at the present. Originally it was a musical instrument that only played tangak, but when it became a Koreanized instrument, it played

²³) Koryŏ-sa, vol. 80, 15b2.
hyangak and tangak as a key musical instrument in Korean music ensembles.

2) *Tangp’iri*(唐觱篥)

*Tangp’iri* is a vertical wind instrument with a double reed, like an oboe in western music. There are three kinds of *p’iri*(觱篥): *hyangp’iri*(*郷觱篥*), *sep’iri*(*細觱篥*), and *tangp’iri*(*唐觱篥*). Among these, two of the former are Korean *p’iri*. They are different in the size and use, but other instrumental characteristics like tuning system and method of its play are all the same. *Tangp’iri* is an imported Chinese *p’iri*. *Biyul*(*悲篥*) and *kagwan*(*笳管*) of *Aksŏ*(*樂書*, music book)25) were called *tangp’iri* in Korea, and *tangp’iri* has played only *tangak* since its flow from China into Korea. We don’t know also when and how *tangp’iri* flowed from China to Korea. *Tangp’iri* is shown on some archaeological materials of the 10th Century.26) So, it can be inferred that it was already in the Unified Silla by about the 9th Century.

There were also some teachers of *tangp’iri* like teachers of *tang-pip’a* and *tangjŏk* in the court of the Koryŏ Dynasty in 1075. By this record it can be said that *tangp’iri* was used and played much in the performances of the court music in the Koryŏ Dynasty. After this, 12 *tangp’iris* and other instruments with *Sinak* (*新樂*, new music) were imported from the Song Dynasty to the Koryŏ Dynasty in 1114. During the Chosŏn Dynasty it was included in the instrumentation of *koch’wi*27) and *hyang-tang* *kyoju*(*郷唐交奏*, mixed instrumentation of *hyangakki* and *tangakki*). As a very important musical instrument it is used to play Tang style Korean music at the present.

This *tangp’iri* was introduced in the *akji* of *Koryŏ-sa*28) and *Sejong sllok*(世宗

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25) *Aksŏ* *樂書* (Seoul: Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center, 1982), *Han’guk Ŭmak-hak Charyo Chongsŏ* (*韓國音樂學資料叢書*, 9), vol. 130, 2a1 (p. 263).
27) Sheen Dae-Cheol, ibid.
28) *Koryŏ-sa*, vol. 71, 1a8.
實錄，annals of King Sejong)\(^{29}\) as a 9-holed p’iri. But according to Akhak kweböm, it was improved in the reign of King Sŏngjong(成宗, 1470-1494) as an 8-holed p’iri like hyangp’iri\(^{30}\). Notes f’ and g’ could be played on the same hole of tangp’iri so that the hole for note g’ was removed in Akhak kweböm. Today, tangp’iri has 8 holes like the tangp’iri of Akhak kweböm. We can also ascertain imported tangp’iri was changed or transformed into Koreanized tangp’iri from original structure by these facts. So, I think the tangp’iri of today is an acculturated tangp’iri.

3) Tungso(洞箫)

We don’t know when and how tungso flowed from China to Korea, either. Only Koryŏ-sa mentions 8-holed tungso in the section of tangak. There is no doubt that tungso was a instrument which primarily played tangak. But in the Chosŏn Dynasty it was included sometimes in the t'ungga(登歌, orchestra on terrace) and hŏnga(軒架, orchestra on ground) of Chongmyo cheryeak(宗廟祭禮樂, music of ancestral shrine) and yŏlyeak(宴禮樂, music of the court parties) with hyangakki and aaki. It was also included in the instrumentation of koch’ui in the Chosŏn Dynasty. Some changes took place in the use of it like these in the early Chosŏn Dynasty. Moreover, the holes of tungso had been increased from 8 to 9 in Akhak kweböm.\(^{31}\) Transforming into Koreanized tungso, a chŏnggong(淸孔, hole with membrane of reed to produce special timbre) was added to the original tungso in Akhak kweböm. But by this time tungso was still suitable for playing tangak.

After the Akhak kweböm period, the structure of tungso began to change for playing hyangak suitably, though the exact period of this change is not known. This changed tungso was used as a solo musical instrument in hyangak. There

\(^{29}\) Sejong sillok, 『世宗實錄』, vol. 132, 14b.
\(^{30}\) Chang Sa-hun, Han’guk akki taekwan, p. 41.
\(^{31}\) Akhak kweböm, vol. 7, 12b-13a3; Chang Sa-hun, Han’guk akki taekwan, p. 33-34.
are two kinds of tungso at present. One is 6-holed tungso without chönggong for chöngak (court music, or music of learned men) which is said to keep the original structure. Another is 5-holed tungso with chönggong for folk music. The latter is called tungae as well.\(^{32}\) I think between the Akhak kwebŏm period and the present it was Koreanized or acculturated completely.

4) T'ae'yŏngso (太平箫)

It is inferred that T'ae'yŏngso was flowed into the Koryŏ Dynasty from the Wŏn Dynasty.\(^ {33}\) But Akhak kwebŏm says that 'tuning system and method of play are same as hyangp'iri so that it is not needed to mention it or show a picture of it (律法同鄉嘯 當不圖)\(^ {34}\). So it can be known that it was already a Koreanized, acculturated musical instrument about this time. T'ae'yŏngso is now played in Chŏngdaeŏp (定大業, fix the great business) of Chongmyo cheryeak, Taech'wit'a (大吹打, a kind of military band music) and nongak (農樂, farmers band music). The method of its play at present is very similar to hyangp'iri.

III. Koreanized Chinese Music

There are 4 kinds of music that influenced Korean music much through the history of Korean Music: Central Asian Music, Chinese Music, Japanese Music, and Western Music. The vestige of Central Asian Music can be found in the poem by Ch’oe Chi-wŏn (崔致遠, 857–?), ‘hyangak chabyŏng osu (鄉樂雜詠五首, 5 miscellaneous poems for singing hyangak). But we cannot know the real music of these 5 poems.

The importation of Japanese music as a colonial policy during the first half of the 20th Century influenced Korean popular music much. It is still influencing

\(^{32}\) Chang Sa-hun, Han’guk akki taekwan, pp. 33-34.
\(^{33}\) Chang Sa-hun, Han’guk akki taekwan, pp. 44; Song Bang-song, Han’guk ŏrnak tongsa, p. 166.
\(^{34}\) Akhak kwebŏm, vol. 7, 13a10.
Korean popular music. Since the importation of Christianity, imported western music has influenced all Korean music excessively, and it has nearly supplanted Korean music at last. So, generally music means western music in Korea now, and original Korean music is called *Kugak* (國樂, another name of Korean music) and *Chŏntong umak* (傳統音樂, traditional music) to be differentiated from western music.

Imported western music offered Korean music new concepts of creation. So, various new *kugaks* were composed. Western music also gave and is giving many chances for the formation of new means and media of play by many new orchestras of Korean music and groups of chamber music.

From the early 12th Century in the middle of the Koryŏ Dynasty to the early 15th Century in the early Chosŏn Dynasty, imported Chinese music influenced mainly Korean court music. This music had been played in various court rituals and parties officially, or nonofficially since its import to the late of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Since most of all court ceremonies and rituals were lost, most of all this music were also lost, only a few pieces remain and are played currently. But we cannot find original characters and shapes of Chinese music in these remaining pieces. These pieces were transformed into Korean style music, Koreanized and acculturated as follows.

1. Koreanized *Tangak Pohŏja* and *Nagyangch'un*

   The *akji* of *Koryŏ-sa* lists 43 pieces of *tangak*. But there isn't a sheet of *tangak* in it. Only the texts and uses were introduced in *Koryŏ-sa*. All the pieces of *tangak* in *Koryŏ-sa* are not music of the Tang Dynasty. Those were merely *sak* or *kyobangak* of the Song Dynasty. But *Koryŏ-sa* says those pieces as *tangak* and since *Koryŏ-sa* all of those have been called *tangak* in Korea as well.

   *Koryŏ-sa* lists 43 pieces of *tangak*, but there were about 100 pieces of *tangak* in the early Chosŏn Dynasty, the 12th year (1430) of the reign of King Sejong.
Among these 100 pieces, about 30 pieces could be played by musicians of that time. These 100 pieces dwindled away into 47 pieces by the 16th year (1434) of King Sejong. We can infer by these facts that there were quite a few tangak pieces in the early Chosön Dynasty. But we know little about those pieces at the present.

Since coming to the Koryŏ Dynasty, the saak of the Song Dynasty dispelled current tangak, and they became the leading pieces of saak in the Koryŏ Dynasty. So to the present, tangak has meant thses pieces of saak instead of the real music of the Tang Dynasty. These tangak were songs that were consisted of 5·6·7 Chinese letters in a phrase with orchestral accompaniment. Since importation, these tangak were played in the many parties and rituals of the court in the Koryŏ Dynasty and the Chosön Dynasty. Some of these were also played by koch'wi and used as court dance music. But all of these pieces were lost today except only two pieces, Pohōja and Ngyangch'un.

We don’t have any information about all these pieces of tangak. We can only infer some musical characteristics of these pieces in the early Chosön Dynasty on the basis of a few remaining musical materials:

One phrase of the text in every 8 lines of chōngganbo (井間譜, squared Korean notation), one stroke of pak (拍, wood claper) in every 4 lines of chōngganbo, sylabic, one word in every 16 lines of chōngganbo, scale of 6 tones, in todūri (A·B·C·B) form. The almost same changdan (长短, a kind of regular rhythmic cycle by hour-glass drum changgo, 杖鼓) in Pohōja and Ngyangch'un.

37) Lee Hye-ku, "Umak", Han'guk-sa, vol. 6, p. 419.
38) Lee Hye-ku, "Pohōja-go(步虛子考)", Han'guk umak yŏn'gu, "韓國音樂研究" (Seoul : Kungmin umak yŏn'gu-hoe, 國民音樂研究會, 1957), pp. 94-100; Han'guk umak sŏsŏl, "韓國音樂序説" (Seoul : Seoul-dae, 서울대, press., 1967), p. 69.
But these two pieces were also Koreanized. Especially when Koreanizing, some variations were created from *Pohöja* since the middle of the Chosön Dynasty. This *Pohöja* enriched real Korean music, *hyangak*, as follows.

1) Koreanization of *Pohöja*

*Pohöja* was played as music for court dance *Oyangsôn* (五羊仙, 5 Taoist hermits who riding on sheep) in the Koryŏ Dynasty since its importation from the Song Dynasty. It was played in court rituals and parties. It was also played as court dance music and *koch'wiak*. It was played in the Chosön Dynasty extensively for many occasions of the court. This *Pohöja* was gradually Koreanized after King Sejo (*世祖, 1455-1468*), and lost its original character. Now there are two kinds of *Pohöja*. One is for string instruments and is called *Pohösa* (步虛瑟) or *Hyŏnak Pohöja* (絃樂步虛子, *Pohöja* for string), and *Hwangha-chŏng* (黃河清, the cleanliness of Yellow River). Another is for wind instruments and called *Kwanak Pohöja* (管樂步虛子, *Pohöja* for wind instruments) or simply *Pohöja*.

The latter is a Koreanized piece of *tangak*. Its musical style is Korean, but I will use it only as a basis of comparison with *Hyŏnak Pohöja* to better understand some relations between them with the table in the second half of this paper.

The music of *Pohöja* can be seen in *Taeak hubo* (大樂後譜, an anthology of the music of the period of King Sejo). *Taeak hubo* is the first anthology which mentions *Pohöja* in the history of Korean music. Originally *Pohöja* is *tangak* and it is well-known knowledge. But *Taeak hubo* mentions *Pohöja* in the section of contemporary *hyangak*. This fact means that musicians of that period thought of it as a piece of *hyangak*. But *Pohöja* in *Taeak hubo* still shows the range of *tangak*. And its range, which is a character of *tangak*, is 1½ octaves.

After *Taeak hubo*, *Pohösa* (*Hyŏnak Pohöja*) was introduced as the music of *kŏmungo* in *Kŭm-habja-bo* (*1572*). Enlarging the range to two octaves, *Pohösa* in
Küm-habja-bo shows nonghyön-böp(弄絃法, similar to vibrato in western music) which is typical character of hyangak. The musical form of Pohósa in Küm-habja-bo is A·B·C. That means the latter B of Pohója in Taeak hubo was omitted in Küm-habja-bo. This A·B·C form has been kept in Pohósa of today.

Some texts of Pohósa were left out in Sinjùng gümbo(新證琴譜, 1680, newly verified anthology of komungo music) and the range of it was enlarged more than Küm-habja-bo. The melody of it and the use of nonghyön-böp were more complex than before, so that it became melismatic.

Full texts of Pohósa were lost and Pohósa became an instrumental piece with 7 movements in Han'güm sinbo(韓琴新譜, about 1724, new anthology of Korean komungo music). In Yuyeji(遊藝志, the early 19th Century, book of playing art) the latter part of it became fast and more melismatic, and its melody was enlarged. After Yuyeji in Samjük gümbo(三竹琴譜, anthology of komungo music by Samjuk), Pohósa became the piece like present version. Imported tangak Pohója became hyangak Pohósa, especially a full piece for string instruments, from the end of 15th Century to the present through these historical changes of music.

In addition to the changes of Pohósa, Sinjùng gümbo mentions about a variation from Pohósa, Mittdúiri(repetition in low range). In Han'güm sinbo there were 3 variations of Pohósa in all. Two new pieces of variation of Pohósa, Jandodúiri (repetition in high range) and Ujogarak-dodúiri(repetition by U mode melody) were added to Mittdúiri in Han'güm sinbo. In Samjük gümbo, one new piece of variation of Pohósa, Yangchöng-dodúiri(repetition with two key notes), was added to the upper 3 pieces.39)

In the history of Korean music, original tangak Pohója was Koreanized and the

musical variation Pohosa was varied or created from tangak Pohöja. These 4 pieces of new hyangak enriched the repertoire of Korean music with Pohosa.

These 4 pieces were varied from the B · C part of original Pohöja. The original Pohöja was a piece of 10/4(or 10/2) time music. Extracting some notes from the melody of B · C part of original Pohöja 6/8 time Mittoduri · Jandoduri, 12/8 time Ujogarak-doduri, and 4/4 time Yangchong-doduri were varied. The method of play, time and rhythm of original tangak Pohöja were varied to create these 4 pieces. Among these 4 pieces, Jandoduri was varied from Mittoduri first. The range of Jandoduri is one octave higher than Mittoduri. After Jandoduri Ujogarak-doduri and Yangchong-doduri were varied in order. The tempo of Yangchong-doduri is the fastest among these 4 pieces. The method of its play is very interesting. First play low tone and then high tone with kômungo in succession to about 3/4 point of it.

It is difficult to find any vestige of tangak in these 4 pieces. And it is also difficult to find characteristics of the tangak of the early Chosön Dynasty, that is mentioned above. The process of Koreanization in Pohöja is as follows(table 1).

<Table 1> Koreanized Process of Tangak Pohöja

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Before the first half of the 15th century</td>
<td>A · B · C · B</td>
<td>Original tangak Pohöja, with text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taeak hubo(1455-1468)</td>
<td>A · B · C · B</td>
<td>Koreanized, with text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kûm-habajja-bo(1572)</td>
<td>A · B · C</td>
<td>B of the latter removed, with text, Pohösa varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinjûng gûnbo(1680)</td>
<td>A · B · C</td>
<td>Pohösa, incomplete text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td>A and B of the latter removed, Mittoduri varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>Form</td>
<td>Remarks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Han’güm sinbo</em> (about 1724)</td>
<td>A · B · C</td>
<td><em>Pohŏsa</em>, without text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Mittodiiri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Jandodŭri</em> varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Ujogarak-dŏdŭri</em> varied</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Samjuk gŭmbo</em> (the second half of the 19th century)</td>
<td>A · B · C</td>
<td><em>Pohŏsa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Mittodiiri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Jandodŭri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Ujogarak-dŏdŭri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B · C</td>
<td><em>Yangchŏng-dŏdŭri</em> varied</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2) *Nagyangchun* (洛陽春)

The text of *Nagyangchun* was written by Ku Yang-su (歐陽修, Ou-Yang Hisu, 1000-1072).40) We don’t have any clue on the real music of *Nagyangchun* of the Koryŏ Dynasty and the early Chosŏn Dynasty, because there is no notated music of that time. *Sogak wŏnbo* (俗樂源譜, original anthology of sogak, hyangak, the end

of 19th Century) mentions Nagyangchun without text in the 4th and the 6th volume of it.

Nagyangchun in the 4th volume of Sogak wonbo is regular music, as aforementioned. But Nagyangchun in the 6th volume is irregular music. There is no changdan and pakpoph(pak), and also no usefulness of regular chonggan. Because Nagyangchun in the 4th volume is an older piece than Nagyangchun in the 6th volume, but Nagyangchun in the 6th volume is a piece of that time, the early 19th Century.

As a regular music, Nagyangchun had been played in many court ceremonies since its importation from China until the early 20th Century. And because of it, Nagyangchun was changed from regular music to irregular music. During this process of change, text was omitted to become an instrumental piece. Nagyangchun of the present is not a piece with regular changdan and text as well. This Nagyangchun was also Koreanized through the historical process of Korean music. But the level of Koreanization is less than Pohöja.

Any characteristics of tangak cannot be found easily in Pohossa except six-tone scaled music(E♭, F, A♭, B♭, C, D♭), because Pohossa lost its all original characteristics and shapes of tangak after the end of 15th Century when it was Koreanized. Moreover, all 4 pieces of variation from it are real hyangak. And the original flavor of tangak cannot be found easily in Kwanak Pohöja and Nagyangchun of the present as well, except its use of tangakkis and vestige of pakpop and six-tone scaled music. Though generally speaking, these two pieces are played by tangakkis, in addition to tangakkis some hyangakkis and aakkis are also included in the instrumentation for playing both of them. As I mentioned earlier, some tangakkis, like tangp'iri and ajaeng, are Koreanized tangakkis. These

42) Song Bang-song, Han'guk umak tongsa, p. 386.
are included in the instrumentation for playing both of them. Moreover, the
melody of these two pieces are purely Korean style.

2. Chinese Aak Reformed in Korean Style

The 11th year(1116) of King Yejong(睿宗) is the time when aak was imported from the Song Dynasty to Korea in full-scale. The import of aak, called Taesŏng aak, of that time is said to be one of the most epochal events in the history of Korean Music. After importing Taesŏng aak, this Taesŏng aak was usually called simply aak during the whole history of Korean Music. And it was first played 4 months after the importation at a court ritual, Taemyo(太廟, ancestral shrine) and the play became the starting point of Korean aak. Since its first play, it had been played at many court rituals, including Taemyo.

We cannot know the real music of the imported aak at that time. But it was certain that this aak must take after the example of Chinese aak. This opinion is based on the records of Koryŏ-sa which concern the deviation of Koryŏ aak from the example of China’s. By the records of 1161 and 1188 in Koryŏ-sa, the aak of Koryŏ deviated from the example of China’s in the music itself, the procedure of plays, the customs and other materials for ceremonies of players, munmu(文舞, dance of the pen) and munmu(武舞, dance of the sword). Among these deviations the exclusion of sa and to(繚, the string and the earth), and the use of hyangak instead of aak at ahŏn(亞獻, the second offer of wine) and chonghŏn(終獻, the last offer of wine) in the court rituals were the main concerns of the court musicians and the officials of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Chinese aak must include palŭm(八音, eight kinds of instruments made of eight materials) in the instrumentation for play and Chinese aak must be played in court rituals from the first to

43) Song Bang-song, Han’guk ēmak tongsa, p. 147, 200.
45) Koryŏ-sa, vol. 70, 14b5-15a5.
the last. So, the Koryŏ Dynasty endeavored to correct these deviations\textsuperscript{46}) but could not succeed and this deviated aak was transmitted on to the Chosŏn Dynasty.

Koryŏ-sa regards this deviated aak negatively and it is also same in opinions of the present.\textsuperscript{47}) But I think this deviated aak in the Koryŏ Dynasty is a Koreanized phenomenon of aak. Although musicians of the Koryŏ Dynasty did not transformed this imported Chinese aak into Koryŏ style voluntarily, the deviation resulted in another version of aak which is different from the imported Chinese aak obviously. I think also there was no need to play only the imported Chinese aak consistently at the rituals of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

According to the opinion of the early Chosŏn Dynasty in the Chosŏn sillok(實錄, King's annals), this deviated Koryŏ aak was not welcomed and was targeted for reform and correction. Especially King Sejong(世宗, 1418-1449), who wanted to reform and correct it so much, had distinguished musicologist Pak Yŏn(朴堧, 1378-1458) reform and correct it after the aak of Chinese Chu(周, Chou, B.C. 300-250). The reformation of it began in the 8th year(1426) of King Sejong and was completed about the 14th year(1432) of King Sejong.\textsuperscript{48})

The aim of this reformation of aak during the period of King Sejong was to revive the old Chinese style aak of the period of Chu. Pak Yŏn and his colleagues referred to Ŭirye gyŏngjŏn tonghae siak(儀禮經傳通解詩樂, Hi Ching-chUan Tung-chieh Shih-yUeh, General Survey of Ritual) by Chu Hŭi(朱熹, Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) and Taesŏng Aakpo(大晟雅樂譜, Ta-ch'eng YUeh-p'u, Music of the Ta-ch'eng Institute) by Im U(林宇, Lin YÜ) for this purpose, the former for Choehoe(祭禮, sacrificial rites) and the latter for Cherye(祭禮, sacrificial rites). But in the process of renovation, Pak Yŏn and his colleagues did not follow the steps of

\footnotesize{46) Koryŏ-sa, vol. 70, 14a3-16a3.  
these two books. They corrected tunes in those books according to their interpretation of ancient Chinese music theory, and produced the raw material for aak.\(^{49}\) Pak Yŏn and his colleagues did not choose kakcho (角調, the mode of e' · f#' · g' · a' · b' · c'' · d'') · ujo (羽調, the mode of a · b · c' · d' · e' · f#' · g') · chijo (徵調, the mode of g · a · b · c' · d' · e' · f#') and chose only kungjo (宮調, the mode of c' · d' · e' · f#' · g' · a' · b'). Namely, they applied Korean style theory and interpretation to Chinese aak to renovate aak of those days.\(^{50}\)

These renovated aak of those days were played at ceremonies and rituals of court during the period of King Sejong, but most of these aak weren't played in the court of the Chosŏn Dynasty before long except Cheryeak (祭祀樂, sacrificial music for rituals of court). Among this Cheryeak, Chongmyo cheryeak (宗廟祭禮樂, sacrificial music for ancestral shrine) was substituted. King Sejo substituted Chŏngdaseop and Pot'aep'yŏng (保太平, preservation of peace) for aak of renovated Chongmyo cheryeak in the 10th year of King Sejo (1464). All of these renovated Cherye aak were lost during the period from the early 20th Century due to the Japanese colonial period (1910–1945) except only Munmyo cheryeak (文廟祭禮樂, aak for Confucius' shrine), which is played twice a year on the third of February and August by the lunar calendar at the present time.

IV. Conclusion

Some Koreanized, or acculturated aspects of Chinese Music that were found among the imported musical instruments and music from China through the

\(^{49}\) Lee Hye-ku, "Umak", Han'guksa(1W1), vol. 11, p. 337; Han'guk umak nonijib, 韓國音樂論集 (Seoul : Segwang umak chulpan-sa, 世光音樂出版社, 1985), pp. 205-06.

History of Korean Music were described in this paper. Among these Koreanized aspects found in the imported musical instruments the results can be rearranged as follows: the changes of use and structure in tangakki, and the creation of new musical instrument after modelling tangakki.

The uses of tang-pip’a, ajaejeng, haegûm of chordophones and tangjôk of aerophones were changed to play hyangak with tangak. But wölgûm of chordophones, tungso and t’aep’yôngso of aerophones were changed completely to play only hayangak. The structure of tangjôk of aerophones was changed and became like that of taegûm of hyangakki. Nine-holed tangp’iri and tungso became eight-holed p’iri and tungso with or without chônggong, respectively. Sanjo ajaeng was created from imported ajaeng of tangakki in the 20th Century, and it plays only pure Korean music.

All these Koreanized aspects of tangakki were found in Akhak kwebôm(1493), except sanjo ajaeng. These facts mean that Koreanization of tangakki took place before Akhak kwebôm. Therefore, I think the Koreanization of tangakki in the history of Korean Music began before Akhak kwebôm of the end of 15th Century.

The Koreanization of tangak and aak is a little different from each other. Pohója and Nagyangchun of tangak themselves were Koreanized. So, though the degree of Koreanization in Nagyangchun is less than in Pohója, it can be said that these two pieces were Koreanized nearly perfectly and they can be called pieces of hyangak. Pohója especially enriched the repertoire of hyangak with Pohosa, because from it Mittodûri · Jandodûri · Ujogarak-dodûri · Yangchông-dodûri were varied.

The first Koreanized aspect of aak can be found in the deviated aak of the Koryô Dynasty. But because this was not done by the will of musicians at that time, it could not continue so long. The second Koreanized aspect of aak is the renovation or reformation by Pak Yôn and his colleagues during the reign of King Sejong(1418-1450). This renovated aak was a result of the will and endeavor of
King Sejong and his subjects. But though the aim of renovation is to revive the old Chinese *aak*, they corrected and chose melodies in those books according to their theory and interpretation of ancient Chinese music to recreate *aak*.

The first anthology that recorded Koranized *Pohósā* in the Chosŏn Dynasty is *Taeak hubo*. The pieces of King Sejo's period (1455–1468) were collected in it. This *Pohója* has produced 4 variations since the end of 16th Century. By the way, the fact that Koranized *Pohója* was recorded in *Taeak hubo* means *Pohója* was *Koreanized* sometime before *Taeak hubo*, before the end of 15th Century. The renovation of *aak* was done by Pak Yŏn and his colleagues about 1426 through 1432. According to these two facts it can be said that Koreanized renovation of *aak* and Koreanization of *tangak*, except for *Nagyangchun*, was begun in almost the same period, the first half of the 15th Century. Moreover King Sejo was a son of King Sejong. When he was a prince he helped his father King Sejong to carry out music making. Therefore I think that the time when *tangak* began to be Koreanized and the time Pak Yŏn and his colleagues began to endeavor to renovate *aak* are related with each other.

Also I think that the time when *tangak* began to be Koreanized and the time Pak Yŏn and his colleagues began to endeavor to renovate *aak* are related with the time when *tangakki* began to be Koreanized as well. Because it is certain that Koreanization of *tangakki*, which was confirmed in *Akhaek kwebŏm* at the end of 15th Century, means before *Akhaek kwebŏm* (1493) Koreanization of *tangakki* was already begun and done. Without Koreanization of *tangakki*, successful play of Koreanized *tangak* can be impossible. Therefore I think Koreanization of *tangak* and *tangakki* began nearly at the same time, the first half of the 15th Century. Consequently, according to these facts I think that the time when imported *tangakki* and *tangak*, and *aak* from China were Koreanized or acculturated in the History of Korean Music was the first half of the 15th Century before *Akhaek kwebŏm* (1493).
요 악

역사적으로 한국음악은 중국음악의 영향을 많이 받았다. 특히 이 영향은 궁중음악에서 잘 드러난다. 그러나 중국으로부터 수입된 여러 악기와 음악은 오랜 세월을 흐르면서 한국화가 되었다. 즉 한국음악사의 흐름 속에서 한국식으로의 음악적 문화변용을 하였다.

중국에서 수입된 악기 중 향악기화된 악기에는 당비파・월금・아쟁・해금・당적・당피리・통소・태평소 등이 있다. 이들은 주로 당악기로 분류되는 악기이다. 이중 당비파・당피리・해금과 같은 악기는 세종대(1418~1449) 이전, 혹은 세종대에 이미 향악기로 취급되었다. 이 세과 나머지 악기의 향악기화된 사실은『악학궤범』에 의해서 확인된다. 그리고 이 말은『악학궤범』이전에 이들 악기가 향악기화 되었음을 의미하고, 달리는 이 시기에 한국적으로 문화변용되었음을 의미한다.

당악 보허자가 향악화되면서 보허사・밀도드리・간도드리・우조가락도도리・양청도드리의 파생곡이 탄생된 사실과 낙양춘의 향악화 과정은 이미 기존 연구에 의해서 밝혀진 바이다. 물론 이 두 곡이 향악화된 사실에서도 중국음악이 한국적으로 문화변용된 모습을 확인할 수 있게 된다.

보허자의 향악화 현상은 세조대(1455~1468)의 음악을 담은『대악후보』로부터 출발한다. 그런데『대악후보』는 보허자를 향악으로 소개하고 있다. 이 말은 세조 이전에 보허자의 향악화가 진행되었음을 의미한다.

아악은 고려대에 송나라에서 수입한 이래 중국식에서 일탈된 모습으로 연주되어 한동안 비판의 대상이 되었다. 그러나 이 일탈된 아악은 한국적인 아악으로 파악할 수도 있을 것이다. 이후 조선조 세종대에 이르러 박연 등에 의해 재정비된 아악은 비록 중국 주나라의 아악을 모범으로 하였지만, 대게 세종 8년(1426)에서 14년(1432) 사이에 한국식으로 정리・쇄신되었다. 즉 한국화된, 혹은 문화변용된 아악이 된 것이다.

당악기의 향악기화, 당악의 향악화, 그리고 한국식으로 정리된 아악에는 상관성이 존재한다. 특히 당악기의 향악기화는 당악의 향악화와 밀접한 관련이 있다. 즉 같이 변화되었다는 말이다. 이 중에서도 위 셋이 한국적으로 변화되고 정리된 시점, 즉 위셋이 한국적으로 문화변용이 된 시점의 상관성이 아주 높다. 그리고 그 시점은『악학궤범』출간 이전인 15세기 전반기에 해당한다.