

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

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I. Introduction¹⁾

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*(鄉樂, pure

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 *Taesǒng aak*(大晟雅樂, *aak* of *Ta-ch'eng* Institute), some pieces of music called as *kyobangak*(教坊樂) were imported from the Song(宋, Sung) Dynasty of China to the Koryǒ(高麗) Dynasty(918-1392) of Korea. This imported *kyobangak* has been called *tangak*. And *tangak* has been played continuously from the Koryǒ Dynasty to the present. *Koryǒ-sa*(高麗史, History of Koryǒ) includes 43 pieces of these *tangak*. Besides these 43 pieces, some other pieces of *tangak* were played in Korean court during the Chosǒn(朝鮮) Dynasty. Now, however, only *Pohōja*(步虛子, walking in the void) and *Nagyanch'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, *Taesǒng aak* holds one of the most important positions in the history of Korean music. It was imported from the Song Dynasty to the Koryǒ Dynasty in the early 12th Century. *Taesǒng aak* was played officially in the court rituals of the Koryǒ Dynasty just 4 months after its import. *Taesǒng aak* became the starting point of Korean *aak*, but it was changed from its original shapes before long. *Taesǒng aak*(or simply *aak*), though altered, continued to play in the court rituals without interruption from the first play to the early Chosǒn 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(朴堧, 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*(鄉樂器), *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(文宗, 1046-1082), many types of music of the Song Dynasty were imported from China to the Koryŏ Dynasty³⁾. In the 5th(1110) and the 9th(1114) year of King Yejong(睿宗) *Sinak*(新樂, new music) of the Song Dynasty were imported into the Koryŏ Dynasty. Most of these pieces were *saak*(詞樂, *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 *aakki* and western musical instruments, even if those are not primarily of Chinese origin.

Among imported *aakis* and *tangakki*s 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*(鄉琵琶) and another

3) Lee Hye-ku, "Ŭmak(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 Century⁴⁾. 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 *Koryŏ-sa*, there were some teachers of *tang-pip'a* in the court of the Koryŏ Dynasty in 1076.⁵⁾ This fact verifies that *tang-pip'as* were played frequently in the court of the Koryŏ Dynasty. Mostly *tang-pip'as* were played in *tangak* during the period of the Koryŏ Dynasty.⁶⁾ But we cannot know the *tang-pip'a* and its music during the period of the Koryŏ Dynasty.

From the early to the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty *tang-pip'as* were included in the instrumentation of *koch'wi*,⁷⁾ 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 1434.⁸⁾ Before this, in 1430, *tang-pip'as* were already included in *hyanggakkis* which were designated by the court of the Chosŏn Dynasty as test instruments for *hyangak*.⁹⁾ I think that the Chinese musical instru-

4) Chang Sa-hun, *Han'guk akki taekwan*, 『韓國樂器大觀』(Seoul : Korean Musicological Society, 1969), pp. 94-95; Song Bang-song, *Han'guk kodae ūmak-sa yŏngu*, 『韓國古代音樂史研究』(Seoul : Ilji-sa, 一志社, 1985), pp. 129-30.

5) *Koryŏ-sa*, 『高麗史』(Seoul : Asia Munhwa-sa, 亞細亞文化社, 1983), vol. 80, 15a8-b3.

6) Chang Sa-hun, *Han'guk akki taekwan*, p. 95.

7) Sheen Dae-Cheol, "Chosŏn'joui Koch'wiwa Koch'wiak", "朝鮮朝의 鼓吹와 鼓吹樂,"(Sŏngnam : Unpublished Ph.D. Diss., The Academy of Korean Studies, 1995), p. 143.

8) *Sejong sillok*, 『世宗實錄』(Seoul : National History Committee, 1972), vol. 65, 8b2-6.

9) *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 Söngjong(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 Chosön 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 kwebörm*(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*.¹⁰⁾ *Küm-habja-bo*(琴合字譜, anthology for 6-stringed Korean zither *körmungo* music by Ansang, 安瑞, 1572) includes a piece of *Mandaeyöp*(慢大葉, lost old Korean classical lyric song in very slow tempo) for *tang-pip'a*.¹¹⁾ *Mandaeyöp* 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) *Wölgüm*(月琴)

The another name of *wölküm* is *wanham*(阮咸), but it was also called *chin-pip'a*

10) *Akhak kwebörm*, 『樂學軌範』, vol. 7, 4a-7b3.

11) *Küm-habja-bo*, 『琴合字譜』(Seoul : Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center, 1989), *Han'guk umak-hak charyo chongsö*, 『韓國音樂學資料叢書』(22), pp. 66-68.

(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 Koguryō(高句麗, B.C. 37-668) territory. So it is sure that it flowed from China to Koguryō. 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 *Koryŏ-sa* also did not mention it. At the end of the 15th Century, however, *Akhak kwebŏm* mentions it. In *Akhak kwebŏm* we can see two pictures of it. But *Akhak kwebŏm* says 'it only plays *hyangak*(只用鄉樂)' and shows us a tuning system of *hyangak*.¹²⁾ So it means that it was already Koreanized before *Akhak kwebŏm*.

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 Koryŏ Dynasty.¹³⁾ The *akji*(樂誌, section of music) of *Koryŏ-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 kwebŏm* 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 kwebŏm*, 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

12) *Akhak kwebŏm*, vol. 7, 3a-b4.

13) Lee Hye-ku, "Ümak", *Han'guk-sa*(1975), vol. 6, p. 429.

14) *Koryŏ-sa*, 『高麗史』, vol. 71, 1a8-9.

15) Sheen Dae-Cheol, "Chosŏn'joui Koch'wiwa Koch'wiak", p. 141.

16) *Akhak kwebŏm*, 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) *Haegŭm*(奚琴)

We don't know when and how *haegŭm* flowed from China to Korea as well, but there is also an opinion that it flowed from the Wŏn Dynasty to the Koryŏ Dynasty during the early 13th Century.¹⁷⁾ It had been played in *hyangak*¹⁸⁾ from the early stage of influx to the Koryŏ Dynasty. The *akji* of *Koryŏ-sa* mentions it as a *hyangakki*¹⁹⁾ and it was also included test instruments for *hyangak*(1430) and *hyangak* orchestra(1434) like *tang-pip'a*. *Akhak kwebŏm* says 'it only plays *hyangak* (只奏鄉樂)²⁰⁾ like *wŏlgŭm* though it introduces it in the section of *tangaki*. The tuning system of it in *Akhak kwebŏm* is only for *hyangak*.²¹⁾ *Haegŭm* plays an important role in performing *hyangak* at present. Generally *haegŭm* 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 Koryŏ Dynasty and that it was wholly Koreanized before the *Akhak kwebŏm* period.

In the middle of the Chosŏn Dynasty, while *ajaeng* was excluded in the instrumentation of *koch'wi*, *haegŭm* substituted for *ajaeng*.²²⁾ And now *haegŭm* plays *hyangak* and *tangak*. So, it cannot be said that during the Chosŏn Dynasty

17) Song Bang-song, *Han'guk ūmak tongsa*, 『韓國音樂通史』(Seoul : Iljo-gak, 潮閣, 1984), p. 160. But I think the *haegŭm* was imported from the Song Dynasty, especially the Southern Song Dynasty, to the Koryŏ 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.

19) *Koryŏ-sa*, vol. 71, 31a1.

20) *Akhak kwebŏm*, vol. 7, 7b11-8a3.

21) *Akhak kwebŏm*, ibid.

22) *Sheen Dae-Cheol*, ibid.

haegŭm 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) *Tangjŏk*(唐笛)

Tangjŏk 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 *tangjŏk* flowed from China to Korea. *Tangjŏk* 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 *tangjŏk* already was in Korea about the 7th Century.

There were also some teachers of *tangjŏk* 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 *tangjŏk* was used and played much in the performances of the court music in the Koryŏ Dynasty.

The *akji* of *Koryŏ-sa* and *Akhak kwebŏm* mention 8-holed *tangjŏk*.²⁴⁾ *Tangjŏk* 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*, *tangjŏk* was improved and the structure of it became similar to *taegŭm*(大琴, 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.

24) *Koryŏ-sa*, vol. 71, 1a8; *Akhak kwebŏm*, vol. 7, 11b10.

hyanggak and *tangak* as a key musical instrument in Korean music ensembles.

2) *Tangp'iri*(唐箏)

Tangp'iri is a vertical wind instrument with a double reed, like an oboe in western music. There are three kinds of *p'iri*(箏): *hyangp'iri*(鄉箏), *sep'iri*(細箏), and *tangp'iri*(唐箏). 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*(悲箏) and *kagwan*(箏管) 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*(鄉唐交奏, 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 sllŏk*(世宗

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).

26) Song Bang-song, *Han'guk kodae ūmak-sa yŏn'gu*, p. 132.

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 kwebŏm*, 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 kwebŏm*. Today, *tangp'iri* has 8 holes like the *tangp'iri* of *Akhak kwebŏm*. We can also ascertain imported *tangp'ri* was changed or transformed into Koreanized *tangp'ri* from original structure by these facts. So, I think the *tangp'iri* of today is an acculturated *tangp'iri*.

3) *Tungso*(洞簫)

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 *tŭngga*(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'wi* 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 kwebŏm*.³¹⁾ Transforming into Koreanized *tungso*, a *chŏnggong*(清孔, hole with membrane of reed to produce special timbre) was added to the original *tungso* in *Akhak kwebŏm*. But by this time *tungso* was still suitable for playing *tangak*.

After the *Akhak kwebŏm* 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 kwebŏm*, 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 *chǒnggong* for *chǒngak*(正樂, court music, or music of learned men) which is said to keep the original structure. Another is 5-holed *tungso* with *chǒnggong* for folk music. The latter is called *tungae* as well.³²⁾ I think between the *Akhak kwebǒm* period and the present it was Koreanized or acculturated completely.

4) *T'aep'yǒngso*(太平簫)

It is inferred that *T'aep'yǒngso* was flowed into the Koryŏ Dynasty from the Wŏn Dynasty.³³⁾ But *Akhak kwebǒm* 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(律法同鄉鶯簫 此不圖)³⁴⁾. So it can be known that it was already a Koreanized, acculturated musical instrument about this time. *T'aep'yǒngso* is now played in *Chǒngdaeöp*(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. Krianized 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 chabyǒng 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 ūmak tongsa*, p. 166.

34) *Akhak kwebǒm*, 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 *Chǒntong ūmak*(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 *saak* 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 time³⁵⁾. These 100 pieces dwindled away into 47 pieces by the 16th year(1434) of King Sejong.³⁶⁾ We can infer by these facts that there were quite a few *tangak* pieces in the early Chosŏn 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*,³⁷⁾ and they became the leading pieces of *saak* in the Koryŏ Dynasty. So to the present, *tangak* has meant these 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 Chosŏn 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, *Pohŏja* 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 Chosŏn Dynasty on the basis of a few remaining musical materials:

One phrase of the text in every 8 lines of *chŏngganbo*(井間譜, squared Korean notation), one stroke of *pak*(拍, wood clapper) in every 4 lines of *chŏngganbo*, syllabic, one word in every 16 lines of *chŏngganbo*, scale of 6 tones, in *todŭri* (A·B·C·B) form. The almost same *changdan*(長短, a kind of regular rhythmic cycle by hour-glass drum *changgo*, 杖鼓) in *Pohŏja* and *Ngyangch'un*.³⁸⁾

35) *Sejong sillok*, vol. 47, 18b2-4.

36) *Sejong sillok*, vol. 63, 11a10.

37) Lee Hye-ku, "Ŭmak", *Han'guk-sa*, vol. 6, p. 419.

38) Lee Hye-ku, "*Phohŏja-go*(步虛子考)", *Han'guk ũmak yŏn'gu*, 『韓國音樂研究』(Seoul : Kungmin ũmak yŏn'gu-hoe, 國民音樂研究會, 1957), pp. 94-100; *Han'guk ũmak sŏsŏl*, 『韓國音樂序說』(Seoul : Seoul-dae, 서울大, press., 1967), p. 69.

But these two pieces were also Koreanized. Especially when Koreanizing, some variations were created from *Pohōja* since the middle of the Chosŏn Dynasty. This *Pohōja* enriched real Korean music, *hyangak*, as follows.

1) Koreanization of *Pohōja*

Pohōja was played as music for court dance *Oyangsŏn*(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 Chosŏn Dynasty extensively for many occasions of the court. This *Pohōja* was gradually Koreanized after King Sejo(世祖, 1455-1468), and lost its original character. Now there are two kinds of *Pohōja*. One is for string instruments and is called *Pohōsa*(步虛詞) or *Hyōnak Pohōja*(絃樂步虛子, *Pohōja* for string), and *Hwangha-chŏng*(黃河清, the cleanness of Yellow River). Another is for wind instruments and called *Kwanak Pohōja*(管樂步虛子, *Pohōja* for wind instruments) or simply *Pohōja*.

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 *Hyōnak Pohōja* to better understand some relations between them with the table in the second half of this paper.

The music of *Pohōja* 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 *Pohōja* in the history of Korean music. Originally *Pohōja* is *tangak* and it is well-known knowledge. But *Taeak hubo* mentions *Pohōja* in the section of contemporary *hyangak*. This fact means that musicians of that period thought of it as a piece of *hyangak*. But *Pohōja* in *Taeak hubo* still shows the range of *tangak*. And its range, which is a character of *tangak*, is 1½ octaves.

After *Taeak hubo*, *Pohōsa*(*Hyōnak Pohōja*) was introduced as the music of *kŏmungo* in *Kŭm-habja-bo*(1572). Enlarging the range to two octaves, *Pohōsa* in

Kŭm-habja-bo shows *nonghyŏn-bŏp*(弄絃法, similar to vibrato in western music but the meaning of it is more complex) which is typical character of *hyangak*. The musical form of *Pohŏsa* in *Kŭm-habja-bo* is A · B · C. That means the latter B of *Pohŏja* in *Taeak hubo* was omitted in *Kŭm-habja-bo*. This A · B · C form has been kept in *Pohŏsa* of today.

Some texts of *Pohŏsa* were left out in *Sinjŭng gŭmbo*(新證琴譜, 1680, newly verified anthology of *kŏmungo* music) and the range of it was enlarged more than *Kŭm-habja-bo*. The melody of it and the use of *nonghyŏn-bŏp* were more complex than before, so that it became melismatic.

Full texts of *Pohŏsa* were lost and *Pohŏsa* became an instrumental piece with 7 movements in *Han'gŭm sinbo*(韓琴新譜, about 1724, new anthology of Korean *komungŏ* 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 *Samjuk gŭmbo*(三竹琴譜, anthology of *komungŏ* music by Samjuk), *Pohŏsa* became the piece like present version. Imported *tangak Pohŏja* became *hyangak Pohŏsa*, 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 *Pohŏsa*, *Sinjŭng gŭmbo* mentions about a variation from *Pohŏsa*, *Mittodŭri*(repetition in low range). In *Han'gŭm sinbo* there were 3 variations of *Pohŏsa* in all. Two new pieces of variation of *Pohŏsa*, *Jandodŭri* (repetition in high range) and *Ujogarak-dodŭri*(repetition by U mode melody) were added to *Mittodŭri* in *Han'gŭm sinbo*. In *Samjuk gŭmbo*, one new piece of variation of *Pohŏsa*, *Yangchŏng-dodŭri*(repetition with two key notes), was added to the upper 3 pieces.³⁹⁾

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

39) Chang Sa-hun, *Kugak nongu*, 『國樂論攷』(Seoul : Seoul-dae, 서울大, press., 1966). pp. 3-48; *Han'guk chŏntong ūnakŭi yŏngu*, 『韓國 傳統音樂의 研究』(Seoul : Pojin-jae, 寶晉齋, 1975), pp. 13-63.

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

These 4 pieces were varied from the B · C part of original *Pohōja*. The original *Pohōja* was a piece of 10/4(or 10/2) time music. Extracting some notes from the melody of B · C part of original *Pohōja* 6/8 time *Mittodūri* · *Jandodūri*, 12/8 time *Ujogarak-dodūri*, and 4/4 time *Yangchōng-dodūri* were varied. The method of play, time and rhythm of original *tangak Pohōja* were varied to create these 4 pieces. Among these 4 pieces, *Jandodūri* was varied from *Mittodūri* first. The range of *Jandodūri* is one octave higher than *Mittodūri*. After *Jandodūri* *Ujogarak-dodūri* and *Yangchōng-dodūri* were varied in order. The tempo of *Yangchōng-dodūri* is the fastest among these 4 pieces. The method of its play is very interesting. First play low tone and then high tone with *kōmungo* 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 Chosōn Dynasty, that is mentioned above. The process of Koreanization in *Pohōja* is as follows(table 1).

<Table 1> Koreanized Process of *Tangak Pohōja*

Time	Form	Remarks
Before the first half of the 15th century	A · B · C · B	Original <i>tangak Pohōja</i> , with text
<i>Taeak hubo</i> (1455-1468)	A · B · C · B	Koreanized, with text
<i>Kūm-habja-bo</i> (1572)	A · B · C	B of the latter removed, with text, <i>Pohōsa</i> varied
<i>Sinjūng gūnbo</i> (1680)	A · B · C	<i>Pohōsa</i> , incomplete text
	B · C	A and B of the latter removed, <i>Mittodūri</i> varied

Time	Form	Remarks
<i>Han'gŭm sinbo</i> (about 1724)	A · B · C	<i>Pohōsa</i> , without text
	B · C	<i>Mittodŭri</i>
	B · C	<i>Jandodŭri</i> varied
	B · C	<i>Ujogarak-dodŭri</i> varied
<i>Samjuk gŭmbo</i> (the second half of the 19th century)	A · B · C	<i>Pohōsa</i>
	B · C	<i>Mittodŭri</i>
	B · C	<i>Jandodŭri</i>
	B · C	<i>Ujogarak-dodŭri</i>
	B · C	<i>Yangchŏng-dodŭri</i> varied

<Table 2> The Relationships between *Hyōnak Pohōja* and *Kwanak Pohōja*

<i>Hyōnak Pohōja</i>	<i>Kwanak Pohōja</i>
1st mov. (10 <i>changdans</i>)	1st mov.(the 1st · 2nd · 3rd · 7th · 8th · 9th <i>changdan</i>)
2nd mov. (10 <i>changdans</i>)	
3rd mov. (6 <i>changdans</i>)	2nd mov.(all of 3rd mov.)
4th mov. (18 <i>changdans</i>)	3rd mov.(all of 4th mov. except the 10th <i>changdan</i>)
5th mov. (10 <i>changdans</i>)	
6th mov. (18 <i>changdans</i>)	
7th mov. (16 <i>changdans</i>)	

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

40) Cha Ju-hwan, *Tangak Yŏngu*, 『唐樂研究』(Seoul : Pŏmhak dosŏ, 汎學圖書, 1976), p. 141.

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

Nagyangchun in the 4th volume of *Sogak wŏnbo* is regular music, as aforementioned. But *Nagyangchun* in the 6th volume is irregular music. There is no *changdan* and *pakpöp*(拍法, rule of stroke by *pak*), and also no usefulness of regular *chŏnggan*. 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.⁴¹⁾ During this process of change, text was omitted to become an instrumental piece.⁴²⁾ *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 *Pohŏja*.

Any characteristics of *tangak* cannot be found easily in *Pohŏsa* except six-tone scaled music(E b, F, A b, B b, c, d b), because *Pohŏsa* 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 Pohŏja* 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

41) Chang Sa-hun, *Chŏngbo han'guk ūmak-sa*, 『增補韓國音樂史』(Seoul : *Segwang ūmak chulpan-sa*, 世光音樂出版社, 1986), p. 385.

42) Song Bang-song, *Han'guk ūmak 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 *Taesǒng aak*, of that time is said to be one of the most epochal events in the history of Korean Music.⁴³⁾ After importing *Taesǒng aak*, this *Taesǒng 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)⁴⁴⁾ 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 *Koryǒ-sa* which concern the deviation of Koryǒ *aak* from the example of China's. By the records of 1161 and 1188 in *Koryǒ-sa*, the *aak* of Koryǒ 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 *mumu*(武舞, dance of the sword). Among these deviations the exclusion of *sa* and *to*(絲·土, the string and the earth), and the use of *hyangak* instead of *aak* at *ahǒn*(亞獻, the second offer of wine) and *chonghǒn*(終獻, the last offer of wine) in the court rituals were the main concerns of the court musicians and the officials of the Koryǒ Dynasty.⁴⁵⁾ Chinese *aak* must include *palǔm*(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 ūmak tongsa*, p. 147, 200.

44) *Koryǒ-sa*, vol. 70, 13b9-14a6.

45) *Koryǒ-sa*, vol. 70, 14b5-15a5.

the last. So, the Koryŏ Dynasty endeavored to correct these deviations⁴⁶⁾ 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.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.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 *Ŭrye gyŏngjŏn tonghae siak*(儀禮經傳通解詩樂, *Hi Ching-chŬan T'ung-chieh Shih-yŬeh*, General Survey of Ritual) by Chu Hŭi(朱熹, Chu Hsi, 1130-1200) and *Taesŏng Aakpo*(大晟雅樂譜, *Ta-ch'eng YŬeh-p'u*, Music of the *Ta-ch'eng* Institute) by Im U(林宇, Lin YŬ) for this purpose, the former for *Choehoe*(朝會, royal audiences) 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

46) *Koryŏ-sa*, vol. 70, 14a3-16a3.

47) Lee Hye-ku, "Ŭmak", *Han'guk-sa*, vol. 6, pp. 426-427; Chang Sa-hun, *Chŭngbo han'guk ūmak-sa*, 194-198.

48) Lee Hye-ku, "Ŭmak", *Han'guk-sa*(1977), vol. 11, pp. 327-38; Chang Sa-hun, *Sejong-jo ūmak yŏngu*, 『世宗朝音樂研究』(Seoul : *Seoul-dae*, 서울大, press., 1982), pp. 73-85; *Chŭngbo han'guk ūmak-sa*, pp. 253-66.

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*(祭禮樂, 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 *Chŏngdaeŏp* 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, "Ŭmak", *Han'guksa*(1977), vol. 11, p. 337; *Han'guk ūmak nonjib*, 『韓國音樂論集』(Seoul : *Segwang ūmak chulpan-sa*, 世光音樂出版社, 1985), pp. 205-06.

50) Robert C. Provine, Jr, "THE TREATISE ON CEREMONIAL MUSIC(1430) IN THE ANNALS OF THE KOREAN KING SEJONG", *Ethnomusicology*(Champaign : SEM, 1974), Jan., vol. XVII, p. 12; "Chinese Ritual Music in Korea : the Origin, Codification, and Cultural Role of *Aak*", *Korea Journal*(Seoul : Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1980), Feb., vol. 20, no. 2, pp. 21-24.

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*, *haegŭm* of chordophones and *tangjŏk* of aerophones were changed to play *hyangak* with *tangak*. But *wŏlgŭm* of chordophones, *tungso* and *t'aep'yŏngso* of aerophones were changed completely to play only *hayangak*. The structure of *tangjŏk* of aerophones was changed and became like that of *taegŭm* of *hyangakki*. Nine-holed *tangp'iri* and *tungso* became eight-holed *p'iri* and *tungso* with or without *chŏnggong*, 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 kwebŏm*(1493), except *sanjo ajaeng*. These facts mean that Koreanization of *tangakki* took place before *Akhak kwebŏm*. Therefore, I think the Koreanization of *tangakki* in the history of Korean Music began before *Akhak kwebŏm* of the end of 15th Century.

The Koreanization of *tangak* and *aak* is a little different from each other. *Pohŏja* and *Nagyangchun* of *tangak* themselves were Koreanized. So, though the degree of Koreanization in *Nagyangchun* is less than in *Pohŏja*, it can be said that these two pieces were Koreanized nearly perfectly and they can be called pieces of *hyangak*. *Pohŏja* especially enriched the repertoire of *hyangak* with *Pohŏsa*, because from it *Mittodŭri* · *Jandodŭri* · *Ujogarak-dodŭri* · *Yangchŏng-dodŭri* were varied.

The first Koreanized aspect of *aak* can be found in the deviated *aak* of the Koryŏ 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 Yŏn 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 *Pohōsa* in the Chosŏn Dynasty is *Taeak hubo*. The pieces of King Sejo's period(1455-1468) were collected in it. This *Pohōja* has produced 4 variations since the end of 16th Century. By the way, the fact that Koreanized *Pohōja* was recorded in *Taeak hubo* means *Pohōja* 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 *Akhak kwebŏm* at the end of 15th Century, means before *Akhak 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 *Akhak kwebŏm*(1493).

요 약

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 셋과 나머지 악기의 향악기화된 사실은 『악학궤범』(1493)에 의해서 확인된다. 그리고 이 말은 『악학궤범』 이전에 이들 악기가 향악기화 되었음을 의미하고, 달리는 이 시기에 한국적으로 문화변용되었음을 의미한다.

당악 보허자가 향악화되면서 보허사·밀도드리·잔도드리·우조가락도드리·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 한 동안 비판의 대상이 되었다. 그러나 이 일탈된 아악을 한국적인 아악으로 파악할 수도 있을 것이다. 이후 조선조 세종대에 이르러 박연 등에 의해 재정비된 아악은 비록 중국 주나라의 아악을 모범으로 하였지만, 대개 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 위 셋이 한국적으로 문화변용이 된 시점의 상관성은 아주 높다. 그리고 그 시점은 『악학궤범』 출간 이전인 15세기 전반기에 해당된다.