

ABSTRACT

Title of Document: OUT OF THE SHADOW OF KOREAN
 COLONIAL EXPERIENCE: AN
 INTERPRETATION OF CHONGMYO-
 CHERYEAK, THE ROYAL ANCESTRAL
 SHRINE RITUAL MUSIC

Hye Young Lee, Ph.D., 2006

Directed By: Professor Robert C. Provine,
 The School of Music

This study concerns the significance of performing Chongmyo-cheryeak, the Korean Royal Ancestral Shrine Ritual Music, in Korea, past and present. Based on assumptions and methodology ranging from ethnomusicology and musicology to anthropology and cultural studies, it examines how the meaning and form of indigenous ritual music have changed over the course of Korean history. It especially considers how the significance of the music has been formulated, presented, and argued in a context of nationalism and postcolonialism.

Focusing particularly on the current performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak, this study finds that 1) the ritual music survives for the cultural benefit of contemporary Koreans who participate in or come to witness the performance, 2) the Korean government presents the performance of Chongmyo-cherye, including its music and dance to proclaim a Korean identity constructed as the collectivity of historicity and

unique characteristics that serve to differentiate what is Korean from all else, and 3) the performance of the music is situated in postcolonial irony. The study concludes that the restoration of Chongmyo-cheryeak exemplifies that Koreans are in the process of coming out of the shadow of their colonial experience.

OUT OF THE SHADOW OF KOREAN COLONIAL EXPERIENCE: AN
INTERPRETATION OF CHONGMYO-CHERYEAK, THE ROYAL ANCESTRAL
SHRINE RITUAL MUSIC

By

Hye Young Lee

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
2006

Advisory Committee:
Professor Robert C. Provine, Chair
Dr. Jonathan Dueck
Dr. Boden Sandstrom
Professor Seung-Kyung Kim
Professor Sung Lee

© Copyright by
Hye Young Lee
2006

Preface

While I was visiting Korea in January of 2000, I had the opportunity of conversing with the mother of a friend of mine. When she heard that my dissertation topic would be Chongmyo-cheryeak, she asked if I knew that the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts had presented the whole of Chongmyo-cheryeak last December. It was quite surprising to find someone interested in the music standing next to me. I had not known about the performance but inquired if she had seen it and how she liked it. “Yes, I saw it,” she replied. “It was very good. The rite and the ritual food were prepared and presented according to tradition. It was special that one could now closely watch the ritual procedures taking place on stage. I have pamphlets from the performance. If you would like to have one, I can give it to you.” When she brought me the pamphlet a week later, I was curious about what had made the occasion so meaningful that she kept the pamphlets.

At the beginning of my fieldwork, the more I studied the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak, the more I was perplexed. It took me almost a year to realize that the significance of the music varied, depending whom I was asking. Nevertheless, some themes, although elusive, seemed to recur. This dissertation is a result of my efforts to understand how some Koreans employ these themes to construct the meaning of the rite, its music, and its dance.

I would like to express my gratitude to my advisor and the chair of the dissertation committee, Robert Provine, and the other members of the committee, Jonathan Dueck, Boden Sandstrom, Seung-kyung Kim, and Sung Lee, for their constructive feedback and encouragement. Dr. Provine has especially helped me keep a

balance between generalizing and seeing the unique in interpreting data. I appreciated Dr. Dueck's insightful questions and interest in my topic. I am also grateful to Carolina Robertson, my previous advisor, for asking challenging questions that helped me grow scholarly and personally.

Special thanks are due to the nine Korean experts who were kind enough to share their knowledge and experience about the performance, presentation, study, and staging Chongmyo-cherye and its music and dance: Sŏng Kyŏngnin, Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng, Yi Tonggyu, Kim Yŏngsuk, Kwak T'aegyū, Kim Chŏrho, Yi Kijŏn, Song Hyejin, and Kim Kŏbu. My appreciation to my editor and friend, Teddy Primack, without whose linguistic assistance I could not have achieved the English fluency I sought in my dissertation.

I owe a debt of gratitude to the late Reverend Chŏng Inbo, whose guidance led me to see the limitations and potential of knowledge. I wish to thank the Reverend P'yo Myŏnghŭi, who greatly broadened my understanding of the moral meaning of Korean Confucian sacrificial rites.

I would like to express my thanks to my parents, Yi Tŏkp'yo and Kim Pyŏnggi, and my brother, Yi Ch'unghyŏn, without whose love and caring support the completion of the dissertation would not have been possible.

Finally, I am grateful to God who is closest to me when times are the hardest.

Table of Contents

Preface.....	ii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Tables	v
List of Photos	vii
Chapter I: Introduction.....	1
Chapter II: Confucianism and Chongmyo-cherye	27
Chapter III: Chongmyo-cheryeak in Confucianism.....	44
Chapter IV: Analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak.....	70
Chapter V: Voices of Performers and Others	147
Chapter VI: Findings and Conclusion.....	173
Bibliography	184

List of Tables

Table 1: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 1.....	99
Table 2: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 2.....	99
Table 3: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 3.....	100
Table 4: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 4.....	101
Table 5: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 5.....	102
Table 6: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 6.....	103
Table 7: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 7.....	103
Table 8: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 1.....	104
Table 9: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 2.....	104
Table 10: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 3.....	105
Table 11: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 4.....	105
Table 12: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 5.....	105
Table 13: <i>Sejong</i> Pak Pattern 6.....	106
Table 14: The Relation of Pak Strokes to Textual Phrase in Kaeon.....	107
Table 15: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 1 and Pak Strokes.....	108
Table 16: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 2 and Pak Strokes.....	108
Table 17: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 3 and Pak Strokes.....	109
Table 18: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 4 and Pak Strokes.....	109
Table 19: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 5 and Pak Strokes.....	110
Table 20: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 6 and Pak Strokes.....	111
Table 21: <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 7 and Pak Strokes.....	111
Table 22: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 1.....	118
Table 23: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 2.....	118
Table 24: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 3.....	118
Table 25: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 4.....	119
Table 26: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 5.....	119
Table 27: <i>Sejo</i> Gong Pattern 6.....	119
Table 28: Changgu, Pak, and Gong Strokes in Somu.....	120
Table 29: Rhythm of Somu Melody.....	121
Table 30: Rhythm of Sunŭng Melody.....	121
Table 31: Rhythm of Hŭimun Melody.....	121
Table 32: Rhythm of Hyŏnmi Melody.....	121
Table 33: Rhythm of Taeyu Melody.....	121
Table 34: Changgu Pattern 5 in <i>Taeak</i>	124
Table 35: Gong Pattern 4 in <i>Taeak</i>	125
Table 36: Rhythmic Changes in Tokkyŏng Melody.....	126
Table 37: Original <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 2.....	129
Table 38: Shortened Changgu Pattern 2 in Kimyŏng.....	129
Table 39: Original Changgu Pattern 3 in Kwiin.....	130
Table 40: Changed Changgu Pattern 3 in Kwiin.....	130
Table 41: Changed Changgu Pattern 5 in Sŏnwi.....	131
Table 42: Original <i>Sejong</i> Changgu Pattern 7.....	132
Table 43: Changed Changgu Pattern 7.....	132

Table 44: Original Pak Strokes in Kwiin.....	134
Table 45: Changed Pak Strokes in Kwiin.....	134
Table 46: Original Pak Strokes in Chǒngmyǒng.....	135
Table 47: Changed Pak Strokes in Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng.....	135

List of Photos

Photo 1: A picture of the last emperor of Taehan cheguk.....	74
Photo 2: A picture of the last queen of Taehan cheguk.....	75
Photo 3: The Gate of the Chongmyo Shrine.....	86
Photo 4: The sillo starting from the Gate of the Chongmyo Shrine.....	86
Photo 5: Officiants waiting for the Rite.....	87
Photo 6: Dancers changing Their Clothes.....	88
Photo 7: Musical instruments placed in the ensembles	88
Photo 8: People gathering in front of the South Gate of the Secondary Shrine building.....	89

Chapter I: Introduction

On the first Sunday of every May, *Chongmyo-cheryeak* 宗廟際禮樂,^{1, 2} a ritual repertoire of songs, dances, and instrumental music, is performed in Seoul, Korea, to accompany *Chongmyo-cherye*, the Confucian Royal Ancestral Shrine rite. What this traditional Korean³ music conveys on various levels forms the subject matter of the present thesis.

When contemporary performers present these annual cultural events, they engage in interpreting their traditions. By doing this, they appear to reaffirm the past, while endowing it with new significance. It is the meaning they impart to the performances and how that meaning is constructed that will concern us here. In a work on representation and the media, Stuart Hall explains that the meaning of representation is constitutive (Hall 1997). Thus, a representation's meaning consists in how that representation is collectively constructed, and the articulation of such meaning depends on what people

¹ Literally, *chong* (宗, *zong* in Pinyin orthography) means forefathers or ancestors, and *myo* (廟, *miao*) means temple or shrine. Taken together, *Chongmyo* (宗廟, *zongmiao*) refers to a royal ancestral shrine (DeFrancis 2003: 1323, 616, 1325). When used in this way, *chong* specifically has come to refer to the founder of a clan, and *myo* means appearance (貌). As a single concept, they signify that ancestors exist in the shrine in the form of appearances (Yugyo sajŏn p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 1990: 1420). Literally, *che* (祭, *si*) refers to sacrifice; *rye* (禮, *li*) means ritual or propriety; *ak* (樂, *yue*) means music. Thus, *Cheryeak* (祭禮樂) denotes music that accompanies a sacrificial rite. *Chongmyo-cheryeak*, therefore, is the music that accompanies a sacrificial rite at a royal ancestral shrine.

² The McCune Reischauer system is used throughout this dissertation for romanizing Korean terms and names.

³ When terms such as Korea or Korean are used in this study, their meaning may vary according to the temporal and geopolitical context. At present, two national entities occupy the Korean Peninsula: North Korea (the People's Republic of Korea) and South Korea (the Republic of Korea). Both shared the same historical and cultural background until 1945. Since then, each has gone its own way, so that traditions once held in common now differ politically, economically, and ideologically from one another. In relation to *Chongmyo-cheryeak*, only South Korea has continued the tradition. Nevertheless, North Korea appears to admit the importance of that mutual cultural inheritance. For example, in an encyclopedia published by the North Korean government, the article on "Cheryeak" explains that *Chongmyo-cheryeak* embodies the creativity of the common people in its songs and dances (Paekkwajŏn ch'ulp'ansa 2000: 331).

gradually make of it. We will attempt to analyze how the musical performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak is represented by modern day Koreans in order that we may understand its significance.

Three fundamental questions may be posed at the outset: 1) Is Chongmyo-cheryeak integrally related to the lives of people in Korea today? 2) Does there exist a Korean identity⁴ that this music is able to express? 3) How is Chongmyo-cheryeak perceived from the point of view of national and individual contexts? The intended audience for these questions would be scholars⁵ interested in how the significance of a musical performance is formulated, presented, and argued in a context of nationalism and postcolonialism.

The approach taken in the investigation of these questions derives from the author's fieldwork conducted mainly in Korea in 2004.

In this preliminary chapter, the following overview will be presented: an introduction to the topic; how I became interested in it; assumptions this study is based on; methodology; the limitations of this study; a survey of the literature on traditional Korean music and ritual music studies; this thesis in the context of ethnomusicological studies in its field; a discussion of theoretical concepts used in this study; and an overview of the contents of this thesis.

⁴ An attempt to characterize Korean identity is elusive. However, I would as working definition propose: Koreanness characterized by historical and cultural components that make up the heritage of Korea. This definition is indebted to the concept of national identity proposed by political scientist Anthony D. Smith (2001: 17-8). Later in this chapter, I will introduce his concept of national identity.

⁵ They might either be native Korean music scholars, Western ethnomusicologists, or those pursuing Asian studies.

Koreans have inherited the Chongmyo-cheryeak of the *Chosŏn* 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1897), the last monarchy that existed on the Korean peninsula.⁶ The main repertoire of the present Chongmyo-cheryeak originated from two musical suites, *Pot'aep'yŏng* 保太平, Preserving the Peace, and *Chŏngdaeŏp* 定大業, Founding the Dynasty. They were composed for court banquet ceremonies by King Sejong (ruled 1418–1450), at which time a series of new songs and accompanying dances were produced to glorify the accomplishments of the growing dynasty (Yi Hyegu 1967: 211-2).

However, it was King Sejo (ruled 1455–1468) who transformed these compositions into what became the ritual music of the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Chang Sahun 1985: 370ff). Claiming that he aspired to continue King Sejong's musical tradition (Song Pangsong 1987: 79), Sejo decreed the modification of the original *Pot'aep'yŏng* and *Chŏngdaeŏp* to make them suitable for the royal ancestral worship ritual. The music has been used for that purpose ever since (Chang Sahun 1985: 373).

In 1964, the Korean government acknowledged Chongmyo-cheryeak's "historic, artistic, and academic value" in Article 2 of the Cultural Property Protection Law, designating it as Korea's first Important Intangible Cultural Property. In 1995, the United Nations Education, Social, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) inscribed the Chongmyo Shrine on the World Heritage List. Finally, in 2001, UNESCO proclaimed the

⁶ The Chosŏn dynasty tried to transform itself into an empire at the end of the 19th century. In 1897 the ruling king, Kojong, changed the name of the country from Chosŏn to *Taehan cheguk* 大韓帝國, the Korean Empire, and became its emperor. Other changes were made in order to reflect this transformation. The traditions of the Chosŏn and of *Taehan cheguk* persist in the present ritual music. Curiously, however, both the general public and scholars continue to consider the rite and its music a tradition of the Chosŏn dynasty, as evidenced in the writings of Sŏng Kyŏngnin and Han Manyŏng (1975), Sŏng Kyŏngnin, Yi Hyegu, and Chang Sahun (1964), and Hwang Pyŏnggi (1976a).

royal ancestral rite and its music one of the nineteen masterpieces of the oral and intangible heritage of humanity that needed to be preserved (Yi Changyŏl 2003: 8).

My interest in Chongmyo-cheryeak dates back to a Music and Gender class taught by Dr. Marcia Herndon at the University of Maryland, College Park, in 1996. In that class, I came to realize that gender could be one of the interpretive lenses for understanding musical behaviors and I was curious to find out how it might be applied to the study of traditional Korean music. At the time, my understanding of that music was insufficient for me to know where I should begin. My first step was to read through whatever I could find on the music. Doing so, I encountered some information on Chongmyo-cheryeak and was intrigued to learn that this Confucian ritual music was performed quite regularly. Its continued existence seemed to conflict with *Han'guk ūmak non* 韓國音樂論, the logic of Korean music, one of the viewpoints in Korean musicological debates that traditional music in Korea—especially royal court music and classical music—has lost its original living contexts. As a result, so the theory continues, this music is at best a hallowed tradition, not unlike a museum piece (Yi Kŏnyong 1987: 38-46). However, the annual performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak was a reality, showing it had not lost its connection with contemporary life and still functioned as ritual music. This intrigued me and made me want to learn more.

Assumptions, Methodology, and Reflexivity

Assumptions

One of the assumptions upon which the present thesis rests is the conceptualization of music in culture as proposed by the ethnomusicologist, Alan Merriam. In accordance with a basic idea of anthropological functionalism that views a culture as a system of interrelated parts, Merriam sees music as part of a total cultural system: “Music is simply another element in the complexity of man’s learned behavior” (Merriam 1964: viii). Approaching music in this way leads one to examine its interconnectedness with other elements of a culture and how it functions with regard to them.

A second assumption is a variant on the conceptualization of music as culture described by Marcia Herndon in an article on the Cherokee Ballgame Cycle. Seeking a methodological approach for demonstrating the relation of music to culture, she suggests viewing an “occasion” in which a musical performance is included as a cultural and social unit that should be examined as a whole. For example, analyzing the musical performance of the Cherokee Ballgame Cycle in this way, she demonstrates that it is not only an integral part of social behavior, but also reflects some of the basic values of that society. The notion that a musical performance may be a vessel bearing the cultural values of a society leads to the idea of music as culture (Herndon 1971: 341).

Another assumption of this thesis is Clifford Geertz’s concept of culture as “webs of significance man himself has spun” (Geertz 1973: 5), a view represented by symbolic and interpretive anthropology. It asserts that culture lies in an individual’s interpretation of events and the things surrounding them. Holding that cultural reality is what people

construct and that the meaning of that reality is given according to their construction, this theory postulates that the analysis of culture should be a search for meaning, not law. Symbolic anthropologists pay particular attention to public symbols and actions, which they understand as vehicles for transmitting cultural meaning (McGee and Warms 1996: 430-2).

A final assumption is the recent ethnomusicological view of “change and history as natural and expected process” (Newman 1993: 276). In the historical study of Asian music, continuity of tradition or history is often taken for granted and emphasized over change (Widdess 1992: 221). However, historical processes entail both change and continuity, each of which needs to be considered.

Methodology: collecting data and its interpretation

Methods go hand in hand with assumptions in analyzing an object of study, and may in fact be determined by those assumptions.

Since the present study is based on assumptions that emphasize the relation of music to culture and cultural meaning, ethnography is of importance. In my case, the fieldwork was done as a principal method of collecting data for constructing ethnography.

As a participant-observer I studied *Chongmyo akchang* 宗廟樂章, the ritual songs of Chongmyo-cheryeak, and *Chǒngga* 正歌,⁷ traditional Korean classical songs, with Yi Tonggyu, currently the artistic director of *Chǒngak-tan* 正樂團, the performance group for traditional Korean classical music within the National Center for Korean Traditional

⁷ Chǒngga is the inclusive term referring to three classical vocal genres: *kagok* 歌曲, *kasa* 歌辭, and *sijo* 詩調.

Performing Arts (hereafter NCKTPA). Thanks to my teacher's support and the cooperation of others in the NCKTPA, I was able to interview those involved in sustaining and advancing the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak. In addition, I carried out bibliographical research as new questions arose and as the responses of interviewees led to further inquiries.

Analytical lenses for interpreting the data I gathered have been borrowed from diverse fields, including ethnomusicology, musicology, anthropology, and cultural studies. The major analytical tools for the current study were models of performance analysis proposed by Herndon and McLeod (1979), Seeger (1980), and Titon and Slobin (1996); the concept of historical criticism suggested by Treitler (1989); and Hall's idea of representation as constitutive (1997).

Herndon and McLeod stress the importance of examining various levels of context in which music occurs. That context may be internal "relationships within which the pattern of music is considered apt" (Herndon and McLeod 1990: 25-6), or external ones by which music is produced. Although the two authors leave the ramification of contexts open, they propose analyzing music within settings ranging from the physical to the social, and from the linguistic to the kinesics of body language and performance (Herndon and McLeod 1990: 25-51). The idea of musical performance as context provides a seminal insight that leads to the modeling of performance analysis.

The ethnomusicologist, Anthony Seeger, borrowing from the methodological approach of the contemporary social sciences and folkloric studies, also conceptualizes musical behavior as performance and tries to understand such performances by examining contexts in which it may be acted out. In proposing his own analytical model,

he suggests describing a performance by answering a series of questions similar to a journalist's 5Ws and 1H: Who is involved in it? For whom? What is being performed? Where and when does it take place? Why is it performed? How is it performed? (Seeger 1980: 11-37).

Another model for the analysis of performance is proposed by ethnomusicologists Jeff Titon and Mark Slobin and is based on one's experience of a musical event. These authors investigate such contexts as performance, community, memory, and history surrounding an experience. They present their model as a visualization of four concentric circles with one's experience at the center is one's experience, encircled by performance, community, and memory/history (Titon and Slobin 1996: 2-6). Such a graphic array of levels will be a helpful model in analyzing and organizing contexts related to the subject of the current thesis.

The musicologist, Leo Treitler (1989), on the other hand, holds that the concept of historical criticism should guide one's analysis of music to assure an understanding of the historical contexts and present interests that bear upon such music. He faults Western musicological analysis for seeking to "provide evidence about the nature of the underlying system," rather than elucidating the individual value of each work (Treitler 1989: 32-4). His critique implies that this "Western" approach excludes the possibility of understanding a musical work in its historical context by making all of its significance solely a deduction from the logic of its sound structure (Treitler 1989: 34-6).

To overcome the limitations of such an approach, Treitler suggests employing historical criticism as a complementary analytical tool for the understanding of music, rather than "simply arranging the music for analysis in chronological order." He proposes

that one derive “methodologies as needed from the coordinated study of music, music theory and criticism, reception and transmission, performance practices, aesthetics, and semiotics” (Treitler 1989: 66). This form of musical analysis, he concludes, should be done with due consideration of present interests relative to the subject in the past (Treitler 1989: 174-5).

I have also found it useful to apply Stuart Hall’s idea that the meaning of a representation is formed in a constitutive way. Hall suggests that the meaning of a cultural sign is not fixed, but is open to the constant production of new significance and interpretation. In examining cultural icons created by the mass media, he shows that the meanings of such icons are constructed by a circulating interplay between what producers intend to convey through them and what readers interpret from them (Hall, ed. 1997: 31-3).

Hall defines language inclusively as a set of signs. A sign’s meaning is constructed by systems of representation: one of these is the mental system through which concepts and images of objects, people, and events are formed in our thoughts. The other is shared language, by means of which one can represent or exchange meanings and concepts (Hall, ed. 1997: 17-9).

Following Ferdinand de Saussure’s semiotical thesis that “language sets up an arbitrary relation between signifiers of its own choosing on the one hand, and signifieds of its own choosing on the other” (cited in Hall, ed. 1997: 32), Hall sees meaning as residing neither in an object, person or thing, nor in a word. Instead, he argues that people construct meaning by utilizing systems of representation.

In deriving meaning from a cultural sign, Hall finds two kinds of meaning involved in the process. One is the meaning produced by the person who creates the sign, and the other is the meaning given by the one who interprets it. The complete cycle of that interpretive process forms the meaning of the representation, that is, meaning is not inherent but assigned or established by the parties involved. Thus, he describes the meaning of a representation as constitutive (Hall, ed. 1997: 30-3).

Reflexivity

Ferdinand de Saussure concluded that a linguistic sign acts reflexively, not referentially. For example, the meaning of the word “fortune” is determined not because it carries some inherent sense of fortune, but because it works within a system of words that differentiate it from other words (Ermarth 1998: 587-90).

A group of anthropologists that includes James Clifford and George Marcus tries to view cultural phenomenon and their own scholarly conclusions reflexively. They not only study cultural phenomena in a relational system of culture, but also criticize their own academic works by examining how these may be preconditioned by the system of culture they are situated in (McGee and Warms 1997: 480-3). Clifford explores the way the ethnographic authority that had formed up to the 1950s has been broken up by a new global perspective. It is now acknowledged that diverse scholarly authorities exist that make it possible to interpret each others’ cultures (Clifford 1988: 26-41).

As a student of ethnomusicology, which is by definition an interdisciplinary field bridging the study of music and culture, I try to see the subject of Chongmyo-cheryeak

reflexively, that is, seek to understand its meaning within various contexts. This has led me to interpret the significance of its musical repertoires in the context of Confucianism (see Chapter II).

In considering how the present study may have been preconditioned, I realized the necessity of examining the background that may have influenced my work. Born and educated in Korea, I may be categorized as a “native” student of Korean music. Yet, with regard to the study of Chongmyo-cheryeak, that qualification does not fit. In Korea, I majored in piano performance and musicology. Traditional Korean music was unfamiliar to me at the time. I began to learn *kayagŭm* 伽倻琴 (a traditional Korean stringed instrument) just before I came to the United States. It was a way of preparation before embarking on studies on ethnomusicology.

In addition, the Confucian familial sacrificial rite was never observed in my family. Although I had some knowledge of the practice of venerating one’s deceased ancestors, I had learned of it only in school; it contained no living meaning for me. It took me a fair amount of time to realize that there were Korean people who venerated their dead because of a belief in the continued existence of these spirits in another world. Although I was a Christian whose religion did not deny the living presence of the spiritual world, I failed to see the Confucian practice as an appropriate way of expressing one’s belief in such a world. Just as Johannes Fabian has critiqued the anthropological denial of coevalness with the Other (Fabian 1983: 27-31), I may well have unconsciously denied the possibility that the Confucian practice was valid.

This thesis reflects my academic trajectory. I was introduced to the logic of Korean music by majoring in musicology in Korea. My subsequent study of

ethnomusicology in the U.S. led to an intellectual curiosity in Chongmyo-cheryeak. This pursuit had me incorporate both insider Korean theories and materials, and outsider Western scholarly ones. I have referred to either of them when applicable in order to understand the significance of the music I was studying and its place in Korean society, past and present.

Ethnomusicology has begun to consciously decolonize itself. The ethnomusicologist, Marina Roseman, writes that the study of music has positioned the West in the center and the others at the periphery, thus perpetuating colonial unequal power relations when it comes to investigating music. However, she argues that one can decolonize ethnomusicology by reversing one's own position in discussing the subject. For example, she suggests placing a non-Western tribe's concept of tonality in the center and the Western concept of tonality at the fringe as one way of decolonizing ethnomusicology (Roseman 1996: 167-89). However, my own attempt to decolonize this thesis, although having not intended from the outset, is by blurring the distinction between center and periphery.

*Traditional Korean music studies*⁸

The present thesis modestly aspires to join the end of a long line of literature on traditional Korean music. Its orientation is ethnographic and it only deals with a particular repertoire, although scholars in this field usually tend to focus on such musical

⁸ In the following I will mainly discuss scholarly works that deal with traditional Korean music in South Korea.

genres as shamanistic ritual music, rather than a single repertory (Howard 1985, Killick 2002, Willoughby 2000, Pilzer 2003).

According to Robert Provine (1993: 363), native scholars who stand within a long history of indigenous music scholarship have dominated the study of Korean traditional music. Their Western counterparts have shown limitations in the scope and quantity of the studies they have produced. In modern scholarship, two figures are predominant in the field: Yi Hyegu (1909–) and Chang Sahun (1916–1991).⁹

In surveying the bibliographies of Korean music studies (e.g., Kim Sŏnghye 1998; Song Pangsong, Kim Sŏnghye, Ko Chŏngyun 2000; Song Pangsong 1981), one finds that they can be grouped into categories according to the approach each takes.¹⁰

Most publications follow the historical approach, namely, the evolution of traditional music over time. This requires a meticulous investigation of historical sources, both notated music and writings about music (e.g., Yi Hyegu 1995, Chang Sahun 1986, Song Pangsong 1984). Such studies may attempt to cover the voluminous history of Korean music dating back over 2,000 years, focusing on relatively brief periods, or addressing the history of one musical genre. A common theme in these historically-oriented works is how Korean indigenous music has assimilated music from abroad, and vice-versa.

⁹ Neither was trained as a music scholar, each being basically self-taught. Both produced an enormous body of academic writing. They both taught at Seoul National University, which first instituted a traditional Korean music program in 1959. The younger students they nurtured became the nucleus of the following generation of traditional Korean music scholars (Song Pangsong 2002, Lee Byongwon 2000).

¹⁰ These categories have been suggested by Lee Byongwon's research on the trend of contemporary Korean music studies (2000: 144).

The second category consists of musicological analysis of notated musical sources, past or present. Unlike those studies dealing with the history of traditional music in Korea, academic writings in this category tend to confine themselves to one or two musical compositions. Although they have a historical interest in the music, they concentrate more on the changes of particular musical works (e.g., Condit 1977, O Yöngnok 1995, Yi Hyegu 1990, Provine 1987 and 1996).

A third category combines the historical with the musicological approach and analyzes a specific genre of traditional Korean music, such as religious ritual music or folk songs. Thus, Han Manyöng (1981) has written a study of Korean Buddhist ritual music.

Yet another category is the ethnographic approach (e.g., Howard 1985, Pak Mikyöng 1985, Pihl 1994, and Killick 2002). As Lee Byongwon points out, shamanistic music and traditional folk music are its preferred subjects (2000: 145). Paralleling the ethnographic approach to traditional Korean music, this trend seems to have appeared in recent times (e.g., Ch'ae Hyun-kyung 1996, Killick 1991).

The existing scholarly studies of Chongmyo-cheryeak follow some of the approaches outlined above.¹¹ The many academic works that are historical in nature are concerned with understanding the ancient characteristics of this ritual music by researching archival records and notated music. Such works fall into two sub-groups: one primarily studies the historical and cultural contexts in which the music appears, and the other analyzes the notated sources themselves. The first group includes Yi Hyegu (1967),

¹¹ For scholarly works dealing with Chongmyo-cheryeak, see the bibliographies in Song Pangsöng, Kim Söngnye, and Ko Chöngyun (2000), Song Pangsöng (1981), and Song Hyejin (2003: 25). The first three authors list works produced between 1980 and 1995, while Song Pangsöng (1981) cites publications written prior to 1981. Song Hyejin covers relatively recent works in this area.

Kim Chongsu (1988), Kim Sejung (1999), and Song Pangsong (1987); the second is represented by Kwŏn T'aeuk (1990), Chŏng Wŏnho (2000), and Han Yŏngsuk (1991).

What is characteristic of the works cited above is that each focuses on a very specific subject or limited historical period. For example, in the “historical” sub-group, Yi Hyegu (1967) and Kim Chongsu (1988) study ritual music during the reign of King Sejong, while Song Pangsong (1987) focuses on King Sejo.

Unlike them, Kwŏn Taeuk (1990) is concerned with the musical modes used in Chongmyo-cheryeak during the Sejong period. Chŏng Wŏnho (2000) investigates rhythmic changes in a notated source called *Sogak wŏnbo* 俗樂原譜, The Original Notation of Folk Music. Thus, each scholar is oriented toward exploring a specific feature of the music.

Of those studies of Chongmyo-cheryeak based on musicological analysis, Cho Chaesŏn (1991) explains how a single song from Chongmyo-cheryeak called *Yŏngsin hŭimun* 迎神熙文, Hŭimun for the Greeting of Spirits, evolved into the present *Chŏnp'ye hŭimun* 前幣熙文, Hŭimun for the Offering of Cloths, by examining the sound structures of the two compositions. Several studies follow both the historical and the musicological analytical approaches (e.g., Yu Chŏngyŏn 1997, Chang Sahun 1966). Thus, existing scholarly works on Chongmyo-cheryeak either attempt to understand the distinctive qualities of this music within circumscribed historical periods, or try to scrutinize its contemporary musical characteristics of the music.

However, since Chongmyo-cheryeak was designed to accompany the Confucian royal ancestral ritual, it may be necessary to examine many strata, including ancestral

rites, Confucianism, and Korean history. Seeking in vain a scholarly work that investigates the diverse contexts intertwined in this ritual music leads one to conclude that a real gap exists in the studies of Chongmyo-cheryeak.

In addition, no ethnographic approach to the Confucian royal ancestral ritual music has been undertaken in this field, again pointing up the necessity for an ethnographic study. However, as mentioned earlier, ethnographic works on traditional Korean music tend to prefer folk music, and have to date paid little or no attention to Korean classical music, including Chongmyo-cheryeak. Scholarly writings based on fieldwork might lead to a new understanding of such compositions. The present study begins with these two lacunae in the academic study of Korean ritual music.

Neocolonialism, nationalism, identity, and irony

At the outset, three major questions were raised that this study proposes to address: 1) Is Chongmyo-cheryeak integrally related to the lives of people in Korea today? 2) Does there exist a Korean identity that this music is able to express? 3) How is Chongmyo-cheryeak perceived from the point of view of national and individual contexts?

These questions will be explored in detail, as well as other issues related to them. We will also look at how they have been approached in certain interdisciplinary academic fields, such as postcolonial theory, cultural studies, anthropology, and ethnomusicology. It is hoped that useful insights may be gained by embracing these other perspectives.

In order to understand whether Chongmyo-cheryeak might still be meaningful to the current generation of Koreans, we may begin by examining the concept of the logic of Korean music (*Han'guk ūmak non*). In a movement that first appeared in Korea in the late 1970s, led initially by Yi Kangsuk, but soon taken up by other musicologists and composers, reflective critiques were made of contemporary Korean musical culture.

Yi Kangsuk argues that the present body of Korea's musical works cannot be called *Han'guk-ūmak* 韓國音樂, the music of Korea, because it imitates Western models or echoes the past. He defines *kugak* 國樂, the term used for indigenous music, as a tradition that has been superseded. On the other hand, he considers the true "music of Korea" that which has yet to be created, saying it will be the result of contemporary efforts to realize a music that is uniquely Korean. Comparing *kugak* with *Han'guk ūmak*, he finds the orientation of the former towards the past and the latter towards the future. He holds that there is no genuine Korean music that conveys the cultural identity of present-day Korea (Yi Kangsuk 1985: 12-5). What is needed, he concludes, is *Minjok ūmak* 民族音樂, nationalistic music, something connected with the "here and now" in which modern Koreans live (Yi Kangsuk 1988: 102). Such music would be of value to contemporary people and would result in elevating the Korean musical world from its current position as a dependent cultural colony that views the West as a suzerain state (Yi Kōnyong 1987:102, Yi Kōnyong and No Tongŭn 1993: 27, 12-5). For Yi Kōnyong, "kugak is unable to function as 'nationalistic music'" since it is but a relic of the past. It holds nothing more than materials composers may utilize in creating the music of the future (Yi Kōnyong 1994: 150-7).

In this assessment of present-day Korean music, one may hear echoes not only of nationalism, but of neocolonialism, postcolonialism, and decolonization as well. It is, therefore, necessary to elaborate on each concept and see how it figures in the discussion of the logic of Korean music.

Neocolonialism and Postcolonialism

Neocolonialism is one of the critical responses to a situation where a colonial power's authority and its dominant cultural values persist in being imposed on its ex-colonies, despite their gaining independence after World War II (Young 2001: 44-5). Practiced with greater subtlety and variety than older colonialism, it operates not only in the economic realm, but also in politics, religion, ideology, and culture (Nkrumah 1965: ix).

Postcolonialism has mainly been cultivated by the academic disciplines of literature and cultural studies. Like postmodernism, it denies the possibility that a metadiscourse can be discovered to explain all systems of cultures and societies. As a historical term, postcolonial refers to conditions in the latter part of the twentieth century, when the 85% of the world that had been colonized by European empires by the time of World War I emerged from their colonial experience. For this reason, postcolonial studies examine how European nations interacted with the societies they colonized in the modern period. More generally, postcolonial is used to signify a position against imperialism and Eurocentrism. Therefore, Western ways of knowledge production and dissemination, past and present, become objects of postcolonial studies. In this context, Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978) is regarded as an early work that launched postcolonial discussion

(Visweswaran 1996: 988-9, <http://www.emory.edu/ENGLISH/Bahri/Intro.html>, accessed on March 1, 2006).

Postcolonialism reacts to similar circumstances as neocolonialism, but is more interested in the realities facing nations or peoples who have recently emerged into the global economic system. It is a theoretical and political practice that attacks the state of economic imperialism and “signals an activist engagement with positive political positions and new forms of political identity” (Young 2001: 58). Thus, postcolonialism does combat (or at least take issue) with the forces that would dominate a small country, whereas neocolonialism is submissive.

Issues of neocolonialism and postcolonialism arise when “the logic of Korean music” asserts that the Korean musical world is dominated by the Western musical tradition and goes on to propose the creation of a national music.

Decolonization

The process of decolonization can refer to two things. From the point of view of the former colonizer, it means the historical retreat of a ruling empire from a country it had once subjugated (such as the withdrawal of the Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, French, Belgians, Germans, or British from Asia, Africa, and the Americas). However, for the ex-colonized, decolonization refers to “the process of revealing and dismantling colonial power in all its forms” (Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin 1998: 63).

Frantz Fanon suggests a program of decolonization that will enable a country to restore its former integrity. Defining a national culture as “the collective thought process

of a people to describe, justify, and extol the actions where [*sic*] they have joined forces and remained strong,” he proposes that sustaining such a heritage will counteract colonialism’s attempts to distort or efface the past of the once-subjugated country (Fanon 2004 [1961]: 168).

Nationalism

Nationalism, a modern phenomenon in which the idea of nationhood serves as a unifying force, refers to an ideology that places a nation’s concerns and interests at the center of all its government’s actions. It especially seeks to promote a country’s autonomy, cohesiveness, and identity (Smith 2001: 9). It can be expressed through a nation’s symbols (flag, anthem, motto, emblem), by social and political movements that seek to rediscover its own culture, or by doctrines that promote its identity as distinct from others (Smith 2001: 5-9).

Smith sees national identity as a collective one characterized by “the pattern of values, symbols, memories, myths, and traditions that compose the distinctive heritage of nations.” He explains that the pattern is continuously reproduced and reconstructed. In addition, national identity requires the inhabitants of a country to identify (“at least potentially”) with those components that constitute “the unique cultural genius” of the nation (Smith 2001: 17-8, 27-8).

In the postcolonial world, nationalism can be a positive way of asserting the individuality of a society that finds itself now beyond the sphere of colonial dominance.

Nationalism becomes an anticolonial activity, helping to dismantle former colonial values and powers (Murray 2001: 313-4).

It can be seen that ideas of neocolonialism, postcolonialism, decolonization, and nationalism are interconnected. Each provides theoretical perspectives and offers solutions in the postcolonial world. With regard to the present study, they both find application to the situation of Korea. As a nation emerging from the shadow of colonial occupation, Korea requires its own, distinct identity. Korean musical culture has been criticized by “the logic of Korean music” as being in need of a new nationalistic music, in contrast to kugak, which is here viewed as indigenous music linked only to the past, not the present.

This leads us to the second question: Is Confucian shrine rite music incapable of representing Korean national identity, as asserted in the logic of Korean music? Can kugak never become the musical core of contemporary Korean culture, as the logic of Korean music insists? Cannot tradition also serve to express the uniqueness of a nation’s identity? (Ramnarine 2003: 14-9).

How, then, can tradition embody a nation’s ideals, that is, how can national identity be constructed as an outcome of tradition? To consider this question, we turn to existing scholarly views on how identity is constructed.

Constructionism is an approach that is employed to understand reality. It is applied in various fields, such as biology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, history, cultural studies, and literary criticism. According to Klaus-Peter Müller, the principal insight of constructionism is that “reality is not simply out there waiting for human beings to inspect and thus understand it correctly.” Rejecting such empirical and

positivistic assumptions, constructionism holds that reality is built by attaching values and meaning to things in the external world. Therefore, to describe reality adequately, one needs to analyze both the fact and the value or meaning given to it (Müller 2001: 114-5).

In context of constructionism, identity is understood to be a reality, as well as a construct or idea. It is the result of a dialogue between facts and the meanings assigned to them. Furthermore, the constructionist approach opens up the possibility of creating identity through a conscious awareness of the many influences one is under, and the possibilities before which one stands (Müller 2001: 115). Identity construction may be better conceived by examining the way it has been debated in postcolonial studies.

The postcolonial school sees three ways in which identity may be constructed: the *essentialism* model, the *construction* model, and the *strategic essentialism* model. Essentialism is a viewpoint that assumes there is an inner essence or core of truth in the properties of a complex whole. Groups, categories, or classes of objects thus have one or more exclusive features common to all its members. These aspects tend to be emphasized over other qualities (Adejumobi 2001: 156, Adams 2001: 240). According to Bella Adams, “[The] essentialism model is usually associated with nationalist movements. Nationalism argues for a pre-colonial identity, positively representing a distinct racial essence that is assumed invulnerable to individual, cultural, and historical differences” (Adams 2001: 240).

While the essentialism model holds a strong belief in pre-colonial identity and assumes it is passed down, the construction model sees identity as composed of social, physical, and linguistic structures. It denies the existence of one or more essences that are

invulnerable to change. As social, physical, and linguistic structures alter, identity changes within them. Hence, the essences themselves do change. According to this model, the possibility of a pre-colonial identity persisting over time is improbable (Adams 2001: 240-1).

According to the constructionists, an essentialist model of identity can be faulted for not considering individual, cultural, and historical differences in a group of people. They find that by universalizing and homogenizing postcolonial identities, nationalist essentialist models cannot explain identities properly. On the other hand, the construction model can also be criticized for stressing aspects (social, physical, linguistic) that can change, and so it does not provide an adequate explanation of how original or authentic identity can be still claimed by those who come later in time. The construction model has been further accused of intentionally destroying identity. By contending that identity is determined by various factors, it presupposes a split identity, generated by other combinations of those elements. As Adams writes, “Splitting is sometimes assumed to do away with the concept of identity altogether, endlessly pluralizing/relativizing it in the extreme” (Adams 2001: 240-1).

Considering the limitations of the first two models, the strategic essentialism model has been proposed. Aware of the risk of essentialism, strategic essentialism still utilizes its concepts and categories in the discussion of identity construction. It is called “strategic” because it is focused on political interest (Weaver 2000: 226-7, Adams 2001: 240-2). These theoretical views of identity construction will be appropriated in exploring how Korean identity is constructed in and through the performance of ritual music.

Our third initial question asked how ritual music is perceived in different contexts. How is it perceived by the Korean government? How do Koreans conceptualize it?

In 1962, the Korean government, influenced by similar actions taken by Japan, passed laws to protect its valuable cultural properties. This was indispensable in saving many traditional Korean arts and crafts that were in danger of dying out. The government designated Chongmyo-cheryeak in 1964 as Korea's first Important Intangible Cultural Property. Since that time it has continued to enroll other Korean traditions, tangible and intangible, as cultural properties. This concept, originally borrowed from the German *Kulturgüter* (cultural goods), was defined as anything in the nation's heritage worthy of preservation (O Set'ak 1982: 35). The use of the term, however, appeared to be tied more to the economic value of a cultural property than to any other aspect (Yi Changyöl 2003: 8).

Although viewed by the Korean government as belonging to the past, the Confucian rite for which the shrine music is performed has a meaning that seems to reveal a temporal aspect of the notion of "cultural property." In its Confucian context, the rite provides a temporal and spatial framework into which descendants invite their ancestors and then communicate with them through offerings. At this particular moment in time and within this circumscribed sacred space, those ancestors can affirm their own existence and continuing power by bestowing blessings on their offspring (Kŭm Changt'ae 2000: 216-8). The rite creates a place where past and present coexist. By this means, the past and the world of the dead validate their durative presence among the living. It is thought that the ritual music brings this about by creating harmony between the spirits of the dead and the living (Kŭm Changt'ae 2000: 225).

The way in which Chongmyo-cheryeak has been conceptualized is ironic: defining it as a cultural property assures its continuation, but defining it as such (i.e., rendering it an artifact, rather than a living reality) relegates the music to the past. Nevertheless, the function of the actual performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak serves to affirm the co-existence of the dead (the past) and the living (the present).

Contents

This dissertation is divided into seven chapters: an introduction, five main chapters, and a conclusion. As my understanding of Korean ritual music grew, based on an assumption of “change and history as a natural and expected process, rather than the aberrant interlocution of unnatural forces acting on unsuspecting ahistorical societies” (Neuman 1993: 273), I found it necessary to study the role of music in the Chosŏn dynasty, when this rite was taken up. It seemed essential to comprehend how the Chosŏn modified the music and how its transformation continued until it reached its present form. Consequently, the following two chapters will seek to place the music in the context of that dynasty.

Since the musical performance that is the object of this study is a part of a Confucian rite, it is necessary to situate the ritual itself in an understanding of Confucianism. Chapter II will explore the nature of Confucianism as a philosophy, the coming of the Confucian teachings to Korea, their relation to the native tradition of

worshipping royal ancestors, and the significance of Chongmyo-cherye in comparison to a Confucian sacrificial rite called the familial *chesa* 祭祀.¹²

Chapter III will try to locate the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in a Confucian context. We will examine the Confucian view of music as a moral, social, and political instrument, how Confucian thoughts and practices were successfully interpolated into traditional Korean music culture, and the meaning of Chongmyo-cheryeak in the Chosŏn dynasty.

Chapter IV will concentrate on the analysis of the performance and music of Chongmyo-cheryeak.

Chapter V will discuss the transformation of the functions and meaning of the musical performance. Interviews with people involved in the performance will illustrate how the ritual music figures in the lives of contemporary Koreans.

Chapter VI epitomizes the findings of the previous chapters, as follows: 1) the ritual music has meaning for the Korean people, 2) the rite and its music represent a Korean identity as the collectivity of historicity and national characteristics by which something Korean may be differentiated, and 3) the performance of the music is located in postcolonial irony. The chapter concludes with a discussion that attempts to show Koreans are in the process of coming out of the shadow of their colonial experience.

¹² Chesa is a general term for sacrifice, the most important aspect of Confucian rites (Yao 2000: 193).

Chapter II: Confucianism and Chongmyo-cherye

The Chongmyo-cherye of today and its ritual music have been passed down from the Chosŏn period,¹ when Confucianism was the state religion. One must understand Confucianism as one of the settings in which both the ritual and its music are located. In the present chapter, we will focus on Confucian contexts in order to account for the significance of this rite to the dynasty.²

We will first look at how the Confucian ideas of *ren* 仁 “benevolence,” *li* 禮 “ritual or propriety,” society, and politics were connected with the performance of this rite, and how the spread of an ideology that was Chinese in origin came to Korea and influenced the tradition of Chongmyo-cherye. Then we will examine another Confucian ancestral worship rite, the familial chesa, for its main features. Finally, we will compare all of the foregoing with Chongmyo-cherye.

Confucius, ren, li, and politics

Confucius (551–479 B.C.E.) was a sage who reconstructed ancient Chinese teachings,³ resulting in a new philosophical tradition intended to promote harmonious

¹ See Chapter I, p. 3.

² Chapter III will explore other Confucian contexts that are especially related to ritual music.

³ The title “Confucius” is a respectful form of address. His given name was Kong Qiu [孔子]. Having studied the six skills (ceremonies, music, archery, driving carriages, calligraphy, and calculation) and the six ancient Chinese classics (the Book of Songs, the Book of History, the Records of Rites, the Records of Music, the Book of Changes, and the Spring and Autumn Annals), he became a teacher who also engaged in politics and revised the six classics. He left no treatise systematically explaining and organizing his thoughts. Instead, he articulated them through his educational and political activities (Huang 1997: 535-7).

government. He sought to bring about this ideal through teaching the interrelation of ren and li (Carr and Mahalingam 1997: 491, Cheng 1997: 496, 521-3, Yao 2000: 17).⁴

Born in the Spring and Autumn period of the Zhou dynasty (1100 B.C.E.–249 B.C.E.), when existing law and order could not cope with the economic, demographic, social, and political changes that had been going on since the eighth pre-Christian century, Confucius witnessed great chaos and disorder. He endeavored to offer solutions to these problems, just as other thinkers of his time did. For him, such problems were caused by the misuse and abuse of li and *yue* 樂, music. He called for the proper and correct performance of li and yue, as interpreted and idealized under the Zhou dynasty (Yao 2000: 22-3, Cheng 1997: 521-2).⁵

The Chinese character li 禮 portrays a sacred (示) vessel (豐), and originally meant an arrangement of ritual vessels used to serve the gods while praying for good fortune (Yao 2000: 191). The notion of li had been conceived in conjunction with the practice of sacrificial rites to revere ancestral spirits (Cheng 1997: 493-5). According to Chung-ying Cheng, worshipping their ancestral spirits could provide “feelings of stability and security” to the ancient Chinese. The practice of li in rituals involving ancestral worship can still function to make their participants experience such emotions (Cheng 1997: 493-5).

The establishment of li was also intended to secure order in society because it made visible what was higher and what was lower, who was senior and who was junior.

⁴ In addition, ritual and music were regarded as complementary in building an ideal political system. We will return to this notion in chapter III.

⁵ The li system of the Zhou dynasty was called the *Zhouli*.

Each side executed their respective roles to sustain a society in which individuals were interdependent. In this way, the ancient Chinese consolidated and affirmed their hierarchical society (Cheng 1997: 493-7).

Confucius thought it necessary, above all, to revive the system of li that was established during the early Zhou dynasty. He saw in ren the human quality of loving another without self-interest, the basis of li. As he analyzed the Zhou dynasty, the notion of “political humanism” emerged, acknowledging people’s active role in governing a state and delineating the character of a ruler as “caring for others as well as for the total benefit of society.” Confucius especially found ren to typify a good ruler and suggested it as the foundation of li (Cheng 1997: 509-23).

Believing in the power of ren to morally transform people in their relations with others, Confucius taught that whoever could cultivate the quality of ren would be able to restore li on a social and cultural level. Thus, he saw ren as the pathway towards li (Cheng 1997: 522-3).

If li was grounded in ren, it became not only a ritual or set of rituals, but also “the morally and culturally required norm for harmonization of human relationships in society, as well as the social order embodied in formal institutions” (Cheng 1997: 523). The restoration of proper li implied the possibility of recreating the world of human harmony in which every one had a place of value and showed respect to others (Cheng 1997: 522-3).

When Confucius based social and political harmony on an individual’s cultivation of ren, he was proposing that the harmony of human society begin with one’s moral perfection. As Cheng points out, what was more remarkable was that Confucius was

designing an entire world: society and government functioned as necessary instruments for such cultivation, all of which could lead to achieving harmony in the world. Thus, he recognized the importance of the social and political system for an individual's development. In this way, the moral quality of ren, the practice of li, and the institutionalization of social and political systems were correlated to establish the harmonious government of the people (Cheng 1997: 522-7).

It is in this context that Chongmyo-cherye was celebrated. In Confucian society, performing a rite was of importance because it displayed one's cultivation. At the same time, it could be a way of bringing about a harmonious world.

Keeping these significances in mind, it is not surprising that former Korean dynasties implemented Chongmyo-cherye when they sought to utilize Confucianism for political reasons (Na Hūra 2003, Yi Tongjun 1991: 885-7). In what follows, we will examine how the ancient Confucian tradition was bound up with the practice of Chongmyo-cherye in Korean history.

Confucianism and Chongmyo-cherye in Korean history

Confucianism is generally believed to have entered Korea when the Chinese Han dynasty set up four districts on the northwestern side of the Korean peninsula between 108 B.C.E. and 313 C.E. It was, however, during the Three Kingdom period⁶ that the Korean people began to absorb the teachings of Confucius. His philosophy played an especially influential role in organizing state institutions, making laws, compiling annals,

⁶ The Three Kingdom period refers to a historical epoch from the fourth to the seventh century when three competing dynasties, *Koguryō*, *Paekche*, and *Silla*, ruled different parts of the Korean peninsula.

establishing educational systems, and spreading social morals and good manners (Yi Tongjun 1991: 882-7). The Confucian practice of Chongmyo-cherye also began during the period of the Three Kingdoms. We will look closely at how it was adopted in the *Silla* 新羅 dynasty (B.C. 57-A.D. 935).⁷

The inadequacy of Buddhism as a philosophy of government was realized by the middle of the seventh century. As a result, the Silla rulers actively imported the Confucian political system and ideology from China. This resulted in a Confucian reformation of the laws, system of government, and state sacrificial rites of Korea. By introducing innovations in the rites, these rulers could not only display the unity of the dynasty, but could also establish their cultural authority. Their aim was achieved: people submitted to their dominance, something which could not be attained solely by legislation and forceful rule (Na Hŭira 2003: 171-86).

Chongmyo-cherye, as it involved worshipping the immediate ancestors of a ruler, attracted the Silla authorities. They already had an ancestral worship rite for their founder. However, they replaced it with the systematic Confucian Chongmyo-cherye ancestral worship ritual, commanding that it be made public and national—a change that further strengthened the royal authority of the ruler (Na Hŭira 2003: 171-216).⁸

⁷ The practice of Chongmyo-cherye during the Silla has been studied much more extensively than in other dynasties. The Silla tradition may also provide insights into why the rite was conducted by future Korean dynasties. Na Hŭira argues that the historical experience of the Silla is the formative stage that eventually leads to the Korean ideological world and its historical development (Na Hŭira 2003: 14-5).

⁸ The Silla Chongmyo-cherye began as a rite worshipping four immediate ancestors of a ruler and the founder of the dynasty, but later added two more revered kings as objects of veneration (Na Hŭira 2003: 201-5). We will examine what this transformation implies in Chapter IV.

Confucian philosophy continued to influence the *Koryŏ* 高麗, the succeeding Korean dynasty (918–1392). As in the case of the Silla, Confucian teachings were utilized increasingly in politics, law, education, and ethics by the Koryŏ. The new dynasty employed them in more functional, institutional, and systematic ways than the Silla (Yi Tongjun 1991: 890).

It was during the reign of King Sŏngjong (981–997) that the first Koryŏ Royal Ancestral Shrine was built and its shrine rite began to be practiced (Han Chiman 1998: 159-60). Claiming to restore the spirits of Confucius and the Duke of Zhou,⁹ the king ordered Ch'oe Sŏngno to reform a social system that viewed Confucianism as the basis for governance in this world and Buddhism as a moral training for world to come (Hwang Ŭidong 1995: 36-41). Instead of simply continuing the Silla Chongmyo-cherye, the Koryŏ set up its own Chongmyo-cherye tradition. At first, they worshipped nine generations of ancestors, but later added all of the former kings of Koryŏ (Han Chiman 1998: 159-60).

The Koryŏ were followed by the Chosŏn 朝鮮 dynasty (1392–1897). They differentiated themselves from their predecessors by making Confucianism the state religion. The elite of the late Koryŏ dynasty, who had learned Neo-Confucian teachings, were motivated to end the Koryŏ in order to realize the Neo-Confucian ideal in politics and society as Neo-Confucianism taught (Duncan 2000: 262-3).¹⁰

⁹ The Duke of Zhou was esteemed as an honorable subject who had helped found the Zhou dynasty. He is believed to have written the *Zhouli*.

¹⁰ The case of the Chosŏn dynasty is unique in that Neo-Confucians strongly influenced the formation of a new regime and its institutions (Bary 1985: 36-7).

Thus, heavily influenced by Neo-Confucianism,¹¹ the Chosŏn instituted new political systems, social strata, state rites,¹² and ethics. Confucian ethics and political ideology were preserved from the outset through printed materials. Ordinary people could reach a fairly good understanding of li by the sixteenth century. The Chosŏn rulers also justified a new hierarchical class division of society by adopting a notion of Neo-Confucian *Myŏngbun non* 名分論, a theory of moral justification that stipulated following one's own station in life or position in society as prescribed by Confucian ethical rules. This concept provided the basis of foreign policymaking that regulated the international relationships of the time between the Chinese Ming and the Chosŏn (Yun Sahyŏng 1994: 431-8, Yi Tongjun 1991: 897-911).¹³

The state sacrificial rites, according to Kim Haeyŏng, were considered an indispensable part of establishing a powerful ruling system. Paying attention to Confucian political teachings that a governing power should not be grounded on authoritarian principles, the Chosŏn professed ideologies of reigning over the people by

¹¹ Neo-Confucianism was a new interpretation of Confucian teachings that arose in the late Tang dynasty (618-906). It formulated its own system between the end of the eighth century to the thirteenth century. Blaming the social turbulence of the late Tang on the ideological weakness of Buddhism and Taoism, the first generation of Neo-Confucian scholars rediscovered the teachings of Confucius not only as a philosophical, but as a practical ideology of ethics, morals, and politics. They found this ideology epitomized in the *Zhouli*, and put strong emphasis on the practice of li. In addition, seeking to overcome the metaphysical nature of Buddhism and Taoism, they tried to provide their own explanation of the universe, nature, and the human being (Yun Sahyŏng 1991: 431-8). For example, Zhou Dunyi (1017–1073), one of the Neo-Confucian scholars who lived in the Song dynasty, explained the laws of the universe by linking the Supreme Ultimate 太極, Yin-yang, and the Five Elements theory, which became one of the basic Neo-Confucian views of the world (Yugyo sajŏ p'yŏnchan wiwŏnhoe 1990: 1155-8, Yi Hŭidŏk 1991: 480-2).

¹² The early Chosŏn elite understood “the significance of rites as devices for ordering society . . . and for formulating their social policies” (Deuchler 1992: 25).

¹³ According to Kim Haeyŏng (1994), who examined the state sacrificial rites in the early period of the Chosŏn, these new systems were implemented at the beginning of the dynasty, because the dynasty needed to establish a secure governing system (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 1-2).

de 德, “virtues” and *li*.¹⁴ Moreover, a king was described as a carrier of the virtues of *ren* and *de*. One way of giving expression to the king’s moral character was through the practice of the state sacrificial rites. In this context, the Chosŏn established the system of Chongmyo-cherye, reforming the Koryŏ tradition (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 1-2).

Examining the early Chosŏn’s national sacrificial rituals and their music, Robert Provine writes that with regard to Confucian ritual matters “Korea had the status of a province of China rather than that of an independent nation” (1989: 241).

Provine’s interpretation recalls the *Ch’aekpong ch’eje* 冊封體制, the international order in East Asia at that time, in which a Chinese emperor vested the head of each provincial nation with the title of a king. However, the Chosŏn seemed to resist what that arrangement implied. Examining the reformation of the state sacrificial rites closely, Kim Haeyŏng suggests that the dynasty endeavored to enshrine its national identity as an independent state, not as a province of China (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 6-65). Chongmyo-cherye seemed to provide a central focus for their efforts, as we shall see in the following.

It was under rule of the Chosŏn King T’aejong (ruled 1400–1418) that the active restructuring of the state sacrificial rites took place. In the early part of T’aejong’s reign, he pursued a policy observing *Siwang chedo* 時王制度, literally, the institutions of the contemporary Chinese dynasty. Kim Haeyŏng writes that Koreans paid particular attention to the Chinese Ming’s *li* book called *Hongwu lizhi* 洪武禮制, The Li System of Hongwu, the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). The version of *Hongwu lizhi* that the Chosŏn brought to Korea, however, covered only those provincial rites local

¹⁴ De refers to moral character “governing individual development and self-cultivation” (Cheng 1997: 500-1).

government officials were supposed to conduct for their district on behalf of the Son of Heaven (the emperor).¹⁵ Those early Chosŏn officials, who were Confucian scholars, reformed their state rites by strong reliance on the *Hongwu lizhi* (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 6-42).

As Korean officials practiced the rites, they gradually doubted *Hongwu lizhi*'s credibility. It began with Hŏ Cho, a high ranking official, critiquing certain ritual rules of Chongmyo-cherye. In a discussion with King T'aejong held in 1411 concerning the length of the preparation period for Chongmyo-cherye, Hŏ Cho suggested that they disregard the *Hongwu lizhi* rules.¹⁶ Instead, he proposed that they refer to *koje* 古制, ancient institution.¹⁷ He pointed out that the rites covered by the *Hongwu lizhi* were for the provinces and were to be led by local officials. Such ceremonies were not proper rites for the Son of Heaven, after all, who was an emperor; nor was it appropriate for a feudal lord to conduct them (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 53-5). Kim suggests that Hŏ Cho was neither implying disrespect for Siwang chedo, nor preferring *koje*, but realized that what needed reform were those rites a state was to practice. On this basis, Hŏ Cho found the *Hongwu lizhi*'s regulations inappropriate for Chongmyo-cherye, as the latter was a state rite (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 53-65).

¹⁵ Conceived during the Zhou dynasty, the notion of the Son of Heaven denoted that a sovereign ruled the world on behalf of Heaven. For Koreans during the Chosŏn period, the Son of Heaven meant the reigning emperor of the then current Chinese dynasty.

¹⁶ The imported version of *Hongwu lizhi* does not include Chongmyo-cherye, which local officials were not allowed to conduct. Referring to regulations prescribed in the book for other rites, Koreans set up their own rules. See Kim Haeyŏng (1994) and Chi Tuhwan (1985).

¹⁷ In contrast to Siwang chedo, *koje* meant the institutions of all past Chinese dynasties. However, *koje* often signified only the institutions of three ancient Chinese dynasties: the Xia, Shang, and Zhou (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 60).

Later in the same year, the Korean dynasty asked the Ming dynasty to grant them ritual instructions for conducting four kinds of state sacrificial rites, including Chongmyo-cherye, just as China had established for other provincial nations. To the disappointment of the Korean dynasty, the Ming refused, stating that the Chinese rites may not be performed in provincial nations. Following this, Hŏ Cho was assigned to supervise the reformation of Chongmyo-cherye. He completed this project on the basis of *koje* in 1415 (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 53-85).¹⁸ However, this was an exceptional instance compared to other state rites, where the *Hongwu lizhi* still played an influential role in determining their structure (Chi Tuhwan 1985: 8-10).

Consulting *koje* in order to change the rites, Kim Haeyŏng explains, was not to adapt all *li* institutions of the preceding Chinese dynasties, but to selectively embrace the Chinese examples when they fit with contemporary Korean rites. Thus, these officials discovered in *koje* the basis for reforming their rites in the particular way they wished (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 61-2).

According to Chi Tuhwan, this reform, which reflected a deeper understand of Neo-Confucianism, was principally led by the government scholarly research institute called *Chiphyŏnjŏn*. During this period Koreans imported more and more original Neo-Confucian writings to study. *Koje* also received increased attention because Koreans believed that it epitomized the Neo-Confucian ideal, as shown in the *li* system of the early Zhou dynasty (Chi Tuhwan 1985: 1-2, 35-6).

¹⁸ According to Kim Haeyŏng, in King T'aejong's later years, the state rites continued to be reformed not only by consulting *Hongwu lizhi*, but also by examining *koje*. Reflecting this trend, a series of publications on the newly-reformed state rites were printed in 1415. Some of them were copied into *Orye* 五禮, Five Li, a text of ritual code, and attached to the Sejong Annals (1451). *Orye* became the basis of *Kukcho-oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀 (1474), The Five Li of the Nation, a text of state ritual code that functioned as a constitution. During the reign of King Sejong (who followed T'aejong), officials who wished to reform the rites hardly consulted *Hongwu lizhi*, utilizing *koje* instead (Kim Haeyŏng 1994: 56-85).

In addition, Chi Tuhwan continues, the study of *koje* gave the people a feeling of pride and confidence that they were practicing the sacrificial rites in a way appropriate to what was due the emperor. In 1440, the dynasty again altered the established version of Chongmyo-cherye that had been set up in 1428. This time the rules concerning the number of times one must bow during each ritual procedure were amended by referring to the practice used for the contemporary Ming emperor, a procedure still observed in the current practice of Chongmyo-cherye (Chi Tuhwan 1985: 28-9, 34-5).

Cho Tongil has characterized the medieval literature of East Asia as unified in the sense that it sought to embody a universal culture based on the teachings of Confucius and other classical Chinese authors.¹⁹ However, he adds that this took different forms in various East Asian countries, resulting in the establishment of individual national cultures. It was in the late medieval period (thirteenth to seventeenth century), he suggests, that Koreans began to enshrine their national identity through writings in literary Chinese (Cho Tongil 1999a: 231-53, 1999b: 18-82). The reformation process that Chongmyo-cherye underwent in the early Chosŏn seems to have taken the same path as Korean literature. The rite was a political and cultural expression that could affirm the Chosŏn dynasty's nationality as an independent state within the framework of the medieval universalism.

The significance of performing Chongmyo-cherye seems to have changed again in the late nineteenth century. This coincided with a period when, according to André Schmid, a restructuring of Korean identity was sought by integrating the Chosŏn into a

¹⁹ Cho Tongil's notion of medieval universalism in East Asia is characterized by three elements: 1) literary Chinese formed the common writing system, 2) within the system of the Chaekpong-cheje (see p. 35 above), each country displayed its status as a civilized member of Confucian culture, and 3) the Confucian notion of achieving harmony through *de* was idealized (Cho Tongil 1999a: 5-231).

new world system in which the *Qing* 清, the final dynasty of China (1616–1912), could no longer exercise its power over the Korean peninsula (Schmid 2000: 83-8). After the Treaty of Shimonoseki 下關 (1895), in which the Qing recognized the absolute sovereignty of Korea for the first time, Koreans looked upon the new knowledge of the West, symbolized by Japan, as replacing the old one represented by China. With the importation of Western knowledge, Korean nationalist elites of the early twentieth century shifted their focus away from China in a search for universal criteria of civilization and enlightenment, as well as for a uniquely Korean identity (Schmid 2000: 83-4).

The Chosŏn court dismissed the Qing at the same time it was searching for a Korean identity. In 1897, King Kojong transformed the dynasty into an empire, renaming it *Taehan cheguk* 大韓帝國, the Korean Empire. According to Yi T'aejin, this act was to announce that the old relationship of the Chosŏn to China was being abolished. Becoming an empire meant having equal status with the Qing. Discarding the title of the dynasty, the Chosŏn affirmed the end of *Ch'aekpong ch'eje*, through which the name Chosŏn was granted by the Ming and a Chosŏn king received seals and documents of investiture from the Ming emperors (Yi T'aejin 2000: 38-9).

Already one year before this change, Kojong ordered a city improvement project in which radial roads were constructed with the main palace as its hub. Two years later, in 1899, a streetcar was operating in the renovated capital (Yi T'aejin 2000: 335-8). All these public works were directed at making a new beginning for the dynasty in its quest for a policy of enlightenment (Yi T'aejin 2000: 20-38).

To further reflect its transformation into an empire, the court made a great effort to reform the state sacrificial rituals, including Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music. At this time, *Won'guje* 圓丘祭, the great rite for Heaven, which was supposed to be celebrated only by an emperor, was revived (Kim Chongsu 1995: 33). In accordance with *Taehan yejŏn* 大韓禮典, the Code of Li for Taehan cheguk, which was issued to regulate the state sacrificial rites after 1897, a number of changes were made to restructure Chongmyo-cherye. For example, Taejo and Kojong's direct ancestors were elevated to the status of emperors on the spirit tablets kept in the shrine. Ceremonial clothing and a crown were adopted for the emperor (Yi Hŭngu 1976: 68-70). The number of dancers and musicians were expanded so that sixty-four dancers accompanied the rite,²⁰ along with music ensembles consisting of twenty-four kinds of instruments played by twenty-seven people. These were the largest scheduled assemblages of dancers and musicians since the sixteenth century (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2002: 559-61).

With regard to this pattern of turning away from China and constructing a unique Korean national identity instead, André Schmid suggests that the court's efforts were directed toward modifying external forms, rather than renouncing all ties with China outright (Schmid 2000: 96-7).

²⁰ In Confucian tradition, the number of dancers represented the status of a ritual "holder" (one who held a rite). For example, sixty-four dancers might be employed for rites held by an emperor, while only thirty-six could be used in rites that a duke sponsored. The Chosŏn retained thirty-six dancers for their Chongmyo-cherye until the new empire.

Chongmyo-cherye's characteristic functions in Confucianism

We have considered why the practice of state sacrificial rites was emphasized in the Neo-Confucianism of the Chosŏn dynasty, and how this philosophy affected the Korean practice of Chongmyo-cherye. Another Confucian rite, the familial chesa, can be compared with Chongmyo-cherye. In comparing the two, we may see how functionally different Chongmyo-cherye is from an ordinary family ancestral ceremony.

The familial chesa is performed in honor of one's ancestors on certain established dates. The ancestor's spiritual entity and physical remains are thought to unite through this sacrifice. Offerings such as food and wine are presented to the ancestors who, in return, give their blessings. A master celebrant then partakes of the food. Finally, the ancestors are bidden farewell (Kŭm Changt'ae 2000: 211-8).

Performing this familial chesa is an extended way of expressing filial piety. In Confucianism, ren (benevolence) is first to be learned from an affectionate relationship between parents and children. Filial piety and fraternal love are also taught within the family. Just as one is expected to take care of one's living parents, so the present generation is equally expected to offer sacrifices to their deceased ancestors (Kŭm Changt'ae 2000: 214, Yi Tongjun 1991: 877-914). The sacrificial rite is seen as a way of establishing unity between the departed spirits and their living descendants. According to Kŭm Changt'ae, this oneness is confirmed through the concrete ritual behaviors of the rite. After offerings have been made, celebrants close the door of the room in which the rite was conducted and wait a short time for the ancestral spirits to consume the food and wine, and bless them. The master celebrant conducts the next stage of the ritual, *Ŭmbok* 飲福, drinking fortune or blessing. He partakes of the food and wine, which become

mediums through which the ancestors' blessings are transmitted. Later, all of the other celebrants, family members, and neighbors consume the remaining food and wine offerings. Through such a ritual act, the flesh of the living and the spiritual essence of the dead are nourished by the same food, confirming the unity between them and their ancestors (Kūm Changt'ae 2000: 215-25).

Similar to the familial chesa, in the Chosŏn dynasty, the king²¹ performed Chongmyo-cherye in the role of master celebrant on the prescribed dates for the dead Chosŏn kings and queens,²² with the crown princess, subjects, and descendants participating. The ceremony consisted of ritual stages similar to the familial chesa: the ancestral spirits were summoned, greeted, and asked for their blessings. Offerings were made and the food and wine consumed through ritual behaviors (Yi Ŭnp'yo 1991: 735-6).

In the early Chosŏn, the rite was performed in veneration of the royal ancestral spirits as the gods of the state, rather than as a demonstration of filial piety on the part of the royal family. It was during the late Chosŏn period that Chongmyo-cherye took on a new significance: the rite was considered an expression of filial piety toward the royal ancestors as well (Chi Tuhwan 1983: 119-49).

According to Chi Tuhwan, the early Chosŏn maintained two institutions for worshipping their royal ancestors. One was holding the sacrificial rite at Chongmyo, and another was performing other ritual stages at *Wŏnmyo* 原廟, original shrine.²³ During

²¹ If for some reason the king could not conduct the rite, the crown prince or the prime minister assumed the role of master celebrant on behalf of the king (Yi Ŭnp'yo 1991: 735-6).

²² The Chosŏn not only venerated dead kings and their wives, but also titular kings and queens, most of whom never occupied the throne, but whose son became a king.

²³ Wŏnmyo is an inclusive term for royal familial shrine buildings, each of which had its own name.

Sejong's reign, although the royal ancestral spirits were venerated as gods of the state through Chongmyo-cherye at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, it was at Wŏnmyo that they were memorialized as the royal family's private ancestors. Thus, the royal family could express their filial piety personally at Wŏnmyo (Chi Tuhwan 1983: 119-48).

The institution of Wŏnmyo was abolished during the late Chosŏn. According to Chi Tuhwan, as the understanding of Neo-Confucianism grew, Koreans began to criticize the shrine of Wŏnmyo, holding that when a king honored his dead ancestors, it should be done at Chongmyo only. After the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598), Koreans discontinued worship at Wŏnmyo (Chi Tuhwan 1983: 134-5).

Thus, it came about under the Chosŏn that the practice of Chongmyo-cherye seemed to fulfill a dual function: worshipping royal ancestors as gods of the state, and expressing the royal family's filial piety in venerating those same ancestors as private familial spirits.

However, there is another aspect that makes the practice of Chongmyo-cherye during the Chosŏn dynasty distinctive from the ordinary familial chesa: the unity that the ancestral ceremony sought to express could be affirmed not only through ritual behavior, but also by the use of musical accompaniment. Music was believed to evoke harmony between spirits and human beings (Kŭm Changt'ae 2000: 225).

Korean dynasties (the Silla, the Koryŏ, the Chosŏn, and Taehan cheguk) implemented Chongmyo-cherye when they sought to utilize Confucianism for political reasons, as it taught the correlation of the moral quality of ren, the practice of li, and the institutionalization of the social and political system to establish a harmonious government. Above all, the dynasties practiced the Confucian royal ancestral sacrificial

rite to strengthen the royal authority of the ruler. Under the Chosŏn, this practice seemed to fulfill a dual function: worshipping royal ancestors as gods of the state, and expressing the royal family's filial piety toward these ancestors as private familial spirits. In addition, the practice of the rite under the Chosŏn was a political and cultural expression that could affirm the dynasty as heading an independent state within the framework of medieval universalism.

In the late nineteenth century, when Korea turned away from China and searched for its own uniquely Korean national identity, the practice of Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music, and dance were reconstructed to reflect the Chosŏn's transformation into Taehan cheguk, the Korean Empire.

Chapter III: Chongmyo-cheryeak in Confucianism

We begin by posing two direct questions: Why should a Confucian state employ music in its state sacrificial rites? What is the relationship of Chongmyo-cheryeak to Confucianism?

In attempting to account for the place of a musical repertoire in the Confucian philosophical tradition, we must first consider the Confucian aesthetics of music, as discussed within the *Yueji* 樂記, the Records of Music.¹ Then we will explore the way these aesthetics were embodied in the history of Korean music. We will especially concentrate on the period when the original Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp were composed during the reign of King Sejong (ruled 1418–1450). Finally, we will investigate the influence of Confucian principles on the sound structure of the traditional Korean music *kyemyŏnjo* 界面調, the mode of *kyemyŏn*, one of the native Korean musical modes.

Confucian aesthetics of music

The contents of the *Yueji* can be divided into four main subjects: the relation of music to the mind, the content of music, the function of music, and the metaphysical nature of music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 72-97). The Chosŏn dynasty's Confucian scholars

¹ The Records of Music refers to the first treatise of the *Liji* 禮記, the Records of Rituals, which is one of the five canonical Confucian works. Generally agreed to have been written during the late Qin period (221–207 B.C.E), it is believed to be the work of various authors who incorporated Confucian and other Chinese philosophical influences, such as Taoism, Five Elements, and Yin-yang theory. The Records of Music is considered the foremost work systemizing Confucian views on music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 69-71).

were aware of this canonical text, which informed their practice of Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music. We will examine these four themes in detail.

The *Yueji* authors viewed music as originating from the human mind. External objects that touch the mind can move it. The mind responds by creating sounds in order to express the emotion felt. If those sounds are patterned according to certain rules, they become pitches. These pitches, organized and accompanied by musical instruments, constitute a musical work. Finally, when performers dance to a musical work, holding shields, axes, and feathers to convey particular emotions that move them, the result is *yue* 樂, music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 72-3).

The same writers suggested that an emotion filling the mind would be reflected in a specific kind of sound. If the mind felt delighted, the sound coming from it would resound with strength. If enraged, the mind would produce a sound that was rough and violent (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 73).

Pak Nakkyu points out that in relating music to the human mind, the *Yueji* made the converse assumption: people will feel certain emotions if they listened to the relevant sounds because such sounds were themselves external objects that touched the mind. Accordingly, these Confucian writers explored the way sounds of different kinds changed the human mind. For example, they said that if delicate and tender musical sounds were played, people would feel sad (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 74).

The *Yueji* also considered the content of music. Its authors stated that music symbolized the *de* 德, virtue, of a person.² Virtue, they wrote, characterized the beginning

² See Chapter II, footnote 14.

of the human mind's genuine state, and music was the flowering of such a condition (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 79, Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 112). They especially claimed that music was the flowering forth of a ruler's virtue.

Building on the foregoing, the *Yueji* writers developed a notion of musical appreciation that held only a *junzi* 君子, a virtuous person, could understand music. They conceived a hierarchical structure of appreciating music in accordance with differentiations of three entities: sound, pitch, and music. Whereas they described pitches as produced by the human mind, they saw music as something interacting with ethics. Thus, those who could hear sounds but not discriminate between pitches they called animals; and those who understood pitches but not music they considered common people. Only those with virtue, they believed, could appreciate music. A person who knew music was close to *li* (ritual/propriety)³ (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 97, Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 34-5).

The culmination of this hierarchy was the correlation between music and *li*. Not only could music represent a person's virtue, but a person could achieve his/her virtue through music. Performing music and practicing *li*, taken together, were considered a way of embodying ethics and social order (Paek Kisu 1981: 274-5).⁴

What had led these writers to make such a claim? According to Paek Kisu, they saw music and *li* as elements essential to one's cultivation. Music had to do with the

³ The Zhou dynasty considered it the command of heaven that a ruler have a high moral character to protect his people from impulsive or arbitrary rule.

⁴ Discussing music in relation to *li* began with Confucius, who ranked them together, in contrast to previous Chinese thinkers. Each entity was assumed to bear its own characteristic function. Nevertheless, Confucius reiterated the holistic notion of *liyue* 禮樂, ritual/propriety and music, by recognizing that the two were related to each other (Yi Sangŭn 1984: 103-4).

nature of harmony, and li with that of order. They wrote that music imitated the cosmic harmony of heaven and earth, and li the order of the human world. All things grounded in harmony could be in accord, just as all things founded in order could have their distinct place (Paek Kisu 1981: 275).

The *Yueji* writers saw music as emanating from within (the human mind), while li came from the outside (human behavior). Music operated internally, li externally. If one's inside state was in harmony and one's outside circumstances were in order, people could gaze into each other's faces without antagonism or disrespect (Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 176, Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 84-5).

Paek Kisu interprets this to mean that music, due to its source in the innermost core of the human heart or mind, was viewed as an expression of human emotions. The fact that music was harmonic⁵ implied that it could bring about a harmony of the human emotions: the essence of music was its harmony. On the other hand, since li came from the outside, it was constituted by exterior human behaviors. Just as li was orderly, so human behavior must be orderly to practice it. Li became the order by which human behavior was regulated. Paek Kisu points out that behaviors and emotions are two constituents of the human personality. Therefore, harmony and order (i.e., the principle of music and that of li) are the essential elements in the cultivation of the personality (Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 176, Paek Kisu 1981: 274-5).

A second function of music, according to the *Yueji*, was to build a harmonious society. Here music and li differed as to their nature and their effects. Music was capable

⁵ When terms such as harmony or harmonic are used in discussing the *Yueji*, the meanings of those terms have nothing to do with the Western musicological sense of harmony or harmonic.

of uniting, while li brought out distinctions. To the extent people could see they were alike, there would be sympathy and attachment. If they noticed the unique differences between themselves, there would be honor and respect. For Paek Kisu, the *Yueji* authors saw li producing *jing* 敬, reverence⁶ in each person's mind, whereas music evokes *ai* 愛, love. He concludes that reverence and love are the fundamentals for establishing a peaceful human society. Thus, Confucian scholars saw the practice of music and li not only useful for cultivating the individual, but also for building an ideal society in which people live in harmony and order (Paek Kisu 1981: 275-6, Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 49, 94-5).

Pak Nakkyu similarly suggests that the *Yueji* authors' goal was to create a musical ideology in which music governs the world. In the end, they viewed music as a political tool (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 71, 80-1, 87-88).

The *Yueji* authors also drew a distinction between what they considered "right" and "wrong" music. Right music (*zhengsheng* 正聲, right sound, or *yasheng* 雅聲, elegant sound) is music that is appropriate and graceful, and therefore inclines people towards the correct path. On the other hand, wrong music (*zhengsheng* 鄭聲, the music of the ancient state called *Zheng* 鄭, which was reputed to have lewd music) is unseemly and leads them astray (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 81).⁷

By correlating the assumption that music comes from the human mind and the distinction between right and wrong music, Pak Nakkyu sees the *Yueji* drawing a

⁶ Jing can be understood in relation to li: as li was an expression of reverence for ancestral spirits, jing was its inner dimension. The notion of jing was reformulated to express a "reverence for existence in the passage of time" (Cheng 1997: 496-8).

⁷ The distinction between the right and wrong music is embedded in ancient Chinese culture. Confucius is said to have bemoaned wrong music's negative impact on right music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 81).

trajectory between music and politics. The organized pitches of a peaceful world sound pleasant, its authors declare, because the political state of the world is in harmony. However, the tones that resound during turbulent times are hostile and angry because they are the product of conflict (Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 27-8, Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 81-2).

The political function of music is discussed in the *Yueji* in relation to other controlling forces, such as li, government, and punishment. The *Yueji* authors concluded that “for this reason, that *Xianwang* 先王, the ancient virtuous legendary emperors, paid careful attention to things that can move people’s minds. Therefore, they guided [their] will by li, harmonized sounds [emanating from their minds] by music, made [their] behaviors uniform through government orders, and prevented people from going astray by using punishment” (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 82, Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 25).

Music could exert its influence on social groups at the family, village, or state level. When music was performed at the royal ancestral shrine and the king and his subjects listened to it together, no one was disrespectful or out of harmony with one another (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 83-4). Thus, for the Confucian authors of the *Yueji*, music had three indispensable functions: the cultivation of one’s own self, the building of a harmonious society, and the governance of the world.

How could music be an effective tool for ruling people? To answer this, Pak Nakkyu examines the way the *Yueji* defined the nature of the human being. He suggests that its Taoist heritage brought it to view people as neither good nor evil, but as simply responsive to external stimuli (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 75, 80-1). We all experience a state of

tranquility after our birth. If an external object touches us and our tranquility is disturbed, our intelligence perceives it, causing human emotions such as love and hatred to spring forth. But if intelligence can be so affected by external objects, human beings could become alienated from their original nature. If the pleasures that people enjoy are not regulated, disorder must follow (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 75-6, Cho Namgwŏn and Kim Chongsu trans. 2000: 41-5, 181).

It was thought that only the Xianwang emperors could bring about the kind of music that prevented people from going astray.⁸ As identified with the Son of Heaven, it implied that music capable of guiding the people could come from the emperor. Thus, from a political point of view, music became a state means of guiding or controlling the public (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 83).

In this context, the *Yueji* authors ask that the emperor bestow the gift of music upon his faithful lords, not only to control them, but also as a means of praise. In this way he could display his authority over them while confirming his legitimacy as their benefactor. Such music then became a medium symbolizing the emperor's authority and power (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 77, 1992b: 4-5).

Given the assumption that music was a symbol of virtue (a ruler's virtue in particular), that character can be cultivated through music, and that emotions conveyed by music bring forth the same emotions in people, Pak Nakkyu argues that the authors of the *Yueji* saw music as an indirect way for the emperor to control his people through imperatives embedded in the music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 79-82).

⁸ Pak explains that the Xianwang were not thought to have written or played music themselves. Instead, in the same way they ordered their subjects to practice li, they also commanded them to create and perform music (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 83).

The *Yueji* also describes the metaphysical significance of music as representing cosmic harmony, just as li embodied the order of the universe. Harmony brings all creatures into a tranquil relationship with each other. Grounded in the principle of order, all creatures can then be differentiated. Music was created through the *yang* of heaven; li was made through the *yin* of the earth.⁹ Only one who is conscious of the principles of heaven and earth could cause music and li to flourish. A sage composes music in answer to heaven and establishes li in response to the earth (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 84-5).

By relating music and li to the harmony and order of the universe, Park Nakkyu suggests that the *Yueji* writers could firmly justify the significance of music. They brought the core of *Yueji* teaching to its completion: a sage follows the laws of the universe, producing music and li. Since music and li embody the principles of the universe, they convey the harmony and order of the universe to the human world (Pak Nakkyu 1992a: 85-6).

*The reformation of the Chosŏn aak*¹⁰

The Confucian aesthetic strongly influenced the Chosŏn's musical culture, especially its court music. Reading through treatises from that dynasty, we frequently

⁹ In ancient China, the theory of *yin* 陰, “shadow”, and *yang* 陽 “light” was developed to explain how the universe was constituted out of two elements, contrasting while at the same time depending on one another (Yi Huidŏk 1991: 480-2).

¹⁰ Aak refers to “elegant music,” an idealization of Confucian musical aesthetics. However, the Chosŏn used this term specifically to denote ceremonial music accompanying the state sacrificial rites. According to Song Hyejin, the word continued to be used in this way throughout the Chosŏn dynasty. Aak repertoires were played on aak instruments, such as *p'yŏngyŏng* 編磬, *p'yŏnjong* 編鍾, *sŭl* 瑟, a kind of stringed instrument, *ch'uk* 祝, a kind of percussion instrument, and *ŏ* 敵, also a kind of percussion instrument (Song Hyejin 2000: 13).

encounter Confucian ideas. In the introduction to one of these, *Aakpo*¹¹ 雅樂譜, Notations of Ritual Music (1430), it states: “Music is a thing by which the sages nurture proper temperament, bring spirits and humans into accord, follow heaven and earth, and harmonize yin and yang.” (Yi Hyegu 1973: 11). Another work, the *Akhak kwebŏm*¹² 樂學軌範, the Standard of Music (1493), declares: “As feeling is not the same, sound is not the same. If one feels joyful in one’s mind, the sound [from the mind] will sprout and disperse. If one’s mind is in an angry state, the sound [from the mind] will be rough It requires a king’s guidance to make the different sounds unite.” (Yi Hyegu trans. 1979: 17).

From the beginning of the Chosŏn, new lyrics praising the accomplishments of kings were written (Song Pangsong 1984: 247). King Sejong was referred to as the composer of original musical pieces. When a court banquet was held, he would proclaim, “I now bestow the gift of music on you, and you shall feel joyful!” (Chang Sahun 1982: 330, *Sejong Annals* 126: 8b, 9a).

Musical works that had been passed down from the Koryŏ dynasty were reformed in order to establish the new state’s order and authority (Kim Hyŏngdong 1990: 106). During the reign of King Sejong, musical innovation took place most actively pursued as repertoires to accompany the state sacrificial rites were reconstructed (Yi Hyegu 1985: 197-9). To celebrate the royal ancestors’ virtue and commemorate their work in creating the dynasty, new songs were composed, including the original Pot’aep’yŏng and

¹¹ The *Aakpo* comprises chapters 136 and 137 of the *Sejong Annals*. Following an introduction, it presents notations of aak, and explains why and how the Chosŏn scholars strove to reconstruct it.

¹² *Akhak kwebŏm* is a musical treatise that consists of nine chapters and deals with music theory, court dances, musical instruments, dance costumes, and stage properties.

Chŏngdaeŏp (Song Hyejin 2000: 196-201). A musical notation system was also invented to record some of these compositions (Yi Hyegu 1985: 211-3).

Today's Chongmyo-cheryeak is indebted to the musical tradition founded during Sejong's reign. According to Chang Sahun, ritual music has retained its authentic form since the time of Sejo's revision. The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts continues this tradition (Chang Sahun 1966: 140). Of especial importance is the Center's claim to have inherited *huang zhong* 黃鐘 (Korean *hwangjong*, 黃鍾), the fundamental pitch that is at that is the cornerstone of traditional Korean classical music.¹³ In order to understand the historical significance of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, we now turn to a consideration of this "basic pitch" and how it was established under Sejong's rule.

Pitch and Pitch pipe

The setting of the fundamental tone by a pitch pipe was done after a series of experiments (Song Pangsong 1984: 249-73, Song Hyejin 2000: 187-96). In the Confucian tradition, this basic pitch had a special significance. "A thorough cleansing" of the previous dynasty's ritual music was required, whereby "the accurate determination of an absolute basic pitch was a fundamental part of the revision procedure" (Provine 1988: 142). The length of the pitch pipe also formed the basis of standard units of weight and measure (Pak Hŭngsu 1966: 465). The establishment of pitch, weights, and measures was

¹³ Dr. Song Hyejin explained to me that the pitch of the fundamental tone was set in the reign of Sejong and regarded as the ideal ever since. In recent years, the Center has provided this fundamental tone's pitch to an instrument manufacturer whom the Center has ordered to produce *p'yŏnjong* bells (Interview with Dr. Song Hyejin, November 24, 2004).

considered a task only the Son of Heaven was empowered to do. However, in this world the Son of Heaven was equated with the contemporary emperor sitting on the throne of China, a ruler to whom the Koreans were thus culturally subservient (Kim Sejung 1999: 166).

Ancient Chinese sources describe the construction of the basic pitch pipe using grains of a certain type of millet as a unit of measurement. The pipe extended the length of 90 millet grains and was to be filled with 1200 grains (Provine 1980: 19). Complying with these instructions, Pak Yŏn, a minister, attempted to construct the first pipe between 1425 and 1427 (Song Pangsong 1984: 250).

Pak Yŏn soon found the pitch pipe he had fashioned to be higher than the basic pitch obtained from the p'yŏn'gyŏng chimes that had come down from the Chinese court (Yi Hyegu 1985: 202, Kim Sejung 1999: 164). The newly-created pitch could not be used since it violated the basic pitch established by the Chinese emperor (Kim Sejung 1999: 164).

In his second attempt, Pak Yŏn tried to derive the length of a pipe that would produce the basic pitch set down by the Ming without recourse to millet. Once this was done, he could arrive at the eleven other pitches by the circle of fifths method. In 1427, he offered a set of chimes reflecting the newly-determined pitches to King Sejong (Yi Hyegu 1985: 202, Song Pangsong 1984: 250-1).

Shortly thereafter, however, the king found fault with Pak Yŏn's not having used the millet system on his second attempt. Pak Yŏn asked the king to let him try his hand at the millet again in 1430, reasoning that his very first attempt had failed because of the dry weather in the region where the millet was grown (Yi Hyegu 1985: 202-3). This time he

planned to experiment with large, medium, and small millet grown entirely in the southern part of Korea in his search for an authentic pipe that produced the Chinese basic pitch (Song Pangsong 1984: 250-1, Provine 1980: 21).¹⁴

However, Pak Yŏn's proposal was criticized by Ch'am Wŏl, one of the king's subjects, for the following reason: the establishment of pitches, weights, and measures must be done by the Son of the Heaven, not in the court of a feudal state. In any case, some months later the king ordered Pak Yŏn to stop working on the pitch pipe (Kim Sejung 1999: 168-9).

A series of lectures on the content of *Lulu xinshu* 律呂新書¹⁵, “New Treatise on the System of Pitches,” was given to King Sejong shortly after his two subjects had debated the issue of the pitch pipe. Inspired by these lectures, Sejong realized that, due to differing weather conditions in Korea and China, a bamboo pipe grown in China should be used in order to produce the fundamental tone. Nevertheless, a bronze pipe tuned to the Chinese basic pitch was decided upon. When the pitch pipe was completed, it turned out to be too long, having a capacity of more than 1200 grains of millet. The king then commanded the Zhou “foot” measuring stick¹⁶ to be ascertained once again. When, to his consternation, it was found that the Zhou measurement had varied throughout the history of China, King Sejong ordered that attempts to construct the basic pitch pipe be

¹⁴ While Song Pangsong suggests that the Chinese basic pitch is likely the basic pitch of the Ming dynasty, Provine views it to be that of the Song dynasty.

¹⁵ *Lulu xinshu* is a two volume music theory treatise compiled by Cai Yuanding (1135-1198), a Chinese Neo-Confucian scholar of the Song dynasty. This treatise influenced the reformation and reconstruction of aak and the study of music during Sejong's reign (Song Hyejin 2000: 176-7).

¹⁶ Conversation with Dr. Robert Provine (December 4, 2005).

discontinued. The failure made those concerned realize that *Lulu xinshu* was only theoretical and of no use in constructing a basic pitch pipe (Yi Hyegu 1985: 203).

Despite all this, Pak Yŏn tried once again: he made artificial beeswax “grains” to replace the millet, calculating that 1200 of these would fill the basic pitch pipe to the level that would produce the same pitch as the Chinese pipe after taking the grains out again. Later, he even located the correct size natural millet he had been seeking (Kim Sejung 1999: 164). In doing so, “Pak was successful on two important counts: he made a pitch pipe according to the ancient method and at the same time maintained proper Confucian filiality towards the Chinese emperor” (Provine 1980: 21).

The reformation of aak melodies

Early Chosŏn officials, evaluating the existing aak as incomplete, compiled aak repertoires, although some complained that genuine ancient music no longer existed (*Sejong Annals* 136, *Aakposŏ* 雅樂譜序, Preface to Treatise on Ceremonial Music). To compose new aak pieces, melodies were selected from two Chinese sources, Zhu Xi’s *Yili jingjuan tongjie* 儀禮經傳通解, Complete Explanation of the Classic of Etiquette and its Commentaries (ca. 1220) and Lin Yu’s *Dasheng yuepu* 大晟樂譜, Collection of Dasheng Music. These melodies were revised according to rules reflecting the hierarchical nature of Chinese Confucian music theory (Provine 1980: 21). One rule, which was especially adhered to, regulated the selection of appropriate melodies from the collections. Influenced by the five elements theory associating five notes with the five materials (wood, fire, earth, metal, water), and observing the hierarchical classification of

tones as ruler, minister, people, affairs, and objects, Koreans scholars chose only melodies cadencing on a ruler tone, and discarded all others. In this way, melodies that were deemed proper were selected from each collection (Provine 1974: 7, 1980: 22, 1988: 156-7).

These melodies then underwent revision. In accordance with Zhu Xi's 朱喜, a Chinese Neo-Confucianist, theoretical explanation that only seven pitches within an octave (a basic pitch and six others derived from the circle of fifths) were to be used in a melody, any notes in a higher octave were lowered (Provine 1988: 158, Yi Hyegu 1973: 12-3).

The same scholars transposed the melodies to the other eleven pitch classes. Another rule was applied in order not to violate the hierarchical relationship of five notes (Provine 1988: 159-60). When transposing some melodies to other pitches, the Koreans faced a problem of range. The existing bells and chimes had 12 notes ranging over an octave and four notes (equated with C to D'#). If transposed melodies had pitches beyond this range, such pitches were lowered (Provine 1988: 159-60).

Koreans had sets of chimes and bells that embraced sixteen notes. The question of how many pitches (twelve or sixteen) a set of chimes and bells should have was a theoretical concern in Chinese writings. By employing sixteen notes in their sets of bells and chimes, as Provine explains, the Koreans could avoid an ideological problem that some of the transposed melodies would have caused since, according to the *Lulu xinshu*, a "minister tone" and a "people tone" were not permitted to be lower than a "ruler tone." If the Koreans had only twelve note bells and chimes available, in some transposed melodies a minister tone and a people tone would have had to be lowered, violating the

hierarchical relationship of the five notes (Provine 1988: 158-60). In this way, Korean musical scholars of the 15th century reconstructed their aak melodies by applying their interpretation of the Confucian five elements theory (Provine 1988: 141-71).

We may ask why the realization of the five elements theory through music was so critical that Korean scholars questioned the authority of their Chinese sources. Kim Hyöngdong, who studies the social and cultural background of Sejong's reign, explains that melodies were composed in order to promote the spread of Neo-Confucian ethics (Kim Hyöngdong 1990: 102-5). The Chosön officials constructed their music according to the Confucian idea of the hierarchical stratification of the world. To understand this, we should consider the five elements theory in Confucianism.

The notion that wood, fire, earth, metal, and water were the five constituents of the natural world was an attempt to explain the whole of creation and all change in the universe as the result of interactive relations among basic elements. When combined at a later time with the yin and yang theory, the teaching of the five elements emphasized harmony and unity (Yi Hüdök 1991: 480-2). Over the course of Chinese history, this was applied to many fields such as religion, politics, literature, and music (Yugyo sajön p'yöñch'an wiwöñhoe 1990: 1155-8).

Neo-Confucian scholars utilized the above theories in order to construct their world view of ethics and the universe. The observation of ethical rules is an absolute requirement since the universe itself abides by them (Yi Hüdök 1991: 480-2, Yun Sahyöng 1994: 431-8). In this context, the theory that the Koreans utilized when reconstructing aak melodies was an attempt to put the Confucian worldview into practice through the music. These melodies came to substitute for the existing musical repertoires

in three court music genres: Koryŏ aak, *tangak* 唐樂,¹⁷ and *hyangak* 鄉樂.¹⁸ The melodies were played at the state sacrificial rites, the royal audience session ceremony, and royal court banquet ceremonies (Song Pangsong 1984: 261-76, Chang Sahun 1982: 53).

Curiously, it seems that King Sejong did not always share his subjects' views on the use of aak melodies. The king preferred native Korean *hyangak* music for royal ceremonies, although many of his subjects urged that reconstructed aak melodies be used (Chang Sahun 1982: 112-5).

We may wonder why the king favored *hyangak* and what that implies. In addition, why there were such conflicts between King Sejong and his subjects? Finally, what process did the king use in composing new musical pieces were composed by the king?

Making new hyangak music

The creation of *hyangak* pieces was motivated by the compilation known as *Yongbiŏch'ŏn'ga* 龍飛御天歌,¹⁹ which was offered to King Sejong in 1445 (Chang

¹⁷ *Tangak* means the music of the Chinese Tang dynasty. However, this term was used to refer to any Koreanized music of Chinese origin (Chang Sahun 1986: 139). It was mainly played by *tangak* instruments, such as *tangbipa* (a kind of stringed instrument), *ajaeng* (another stringed instrument), and the *tangp'iri* (a kind of wind instrument) (Song Pangsong 1984: 327-8).

¹⁸ *Hynagak* is native music. In the early Chosŏn, *hyangak* had its own musical repertoire that was usually performed on *hyangak* instruments such as the *kŏmun'go* (a kind of stringed instrument), *kayagŭm* (another stringed instrument), and the *hyangp'iri* (a kind of wind instrument) (Song Pangsong 1984: 284-7).

¹⁹ *Yongbiŏch'ŏn'ga*, "Songs of dragons flying to heaven," is an epic of 125 chapters celebrating in song the foundation of the dynasty, the heroic achievement of its royal ancestors, and the noble lessons for coming generations. It is the first work of native literature in the newly-invented Korean writing system. Each chapter consists of a poem in Korean letters, the same poem translated into Chinese, and an explanation of the poem's content.

Sahun 1982: 116). After several unsuccessful attempts to fit the lyrics of Yongbiöch'ön'ga to existing melodies,²⁰ King Sejong composed new hyangak pieces (Song Hyejin 2000: 196-8).

It is significant to note is that the invention of the Korean writing system during King Sejong's reign was followed by the creation of musical compositions with native Korean musical lyrics. These cultural events almost coincided. Many such projects were undertaken by King Sejong with the support of a handful of young officials in order to strengthen his sovereignty (Han Yöngu 1983: 72). As Sejong's reign drew to a close, the Chiphyönjön, a government research office, originally devoted to the study of koje ("ancient institutions"), Confucian ideology, and Chinese culture, began to challenge royal authority. The elderly officials of the office especially were a burden on Sejong.²¹

It was during this period, as part of the ailing king's attempt to consolidate royal authority, that the new twenty-eight-letter Korean alphabet was created (Han Yöngu 1983: 72-3). The system was drawn up in 1443. Within a period of only three years, the dynasty had promulgated it, although most officials opposed it vehemently (Yi Hanu 2003: 342, 364-74). Nevertheless, the crown prince was assigned the task of spreading the Korean alphabet to the royal court. In 1447, the *Yongbiöch'ön'ga* epic, which had been compiled in the new script two years earlier, was circulated in 550 copies in 1447 (*Sejong Annals* 118.2b). Han Yöngu suggests that correlating the debut of the script at Sejong's court with the publication of the epic in praise of the royal ancestors confirmed

²⁰ According to Yi Hyegu, this was a typical way of creating new musical compositions at the time: First, a new text was written, and then existing melodies were used for the text. Depending on the text's length, melodies were expanded or shortened (Yi Hyegu 1985: 207).

²¹ After 1442, due to Sejong's health, the crown prince ran the government on behalf of his father, with the officials of Chiphyönjön assisting the prince. As royal authority weakened, the power of the officials increased, often leading to conflicts (Han Yöngu 1983: 77-8).

Sejong's authority and simultaneously boosted national consciousness (Han Yǒngu 1983: 73-8).

The creation of new *hyangak* compositions by Sejong seems to have been done with the same intention: after the *Yongbiǒch'ǒn'ga* was made available, Sejong tried to set music and dance to the epic himself, resulting in a suite called *Pongnaeüi* 鳳來儀, The Appearance of a Coming Phoenix. The suite contained three compositions using the poems of the *Yongbiǒch'ǒn'ga* (Song Pangsong 1984: 291-5).²² Chang Töksun suggests that Sejong's aim was to have the epic sung (Chang Töksun 1973: 146-9). Recollecting the Confucian aesthetics of music, this may be interpreted as Sejong's attempt to codify through music a message that justified the founding of the dynasty and once again affirmed royal authority.

Some musical experiments were made. Writing new melodies for the suite was inevitable because the rhythms of the existing *aak* melodies, although compatible with Chinese poetry, did not fit the Korean lyrics to the epic. Sejong led the project and his son, Prince Suyang, who later ruled as King Sejo, assisted (Yi Hyegu 1985: 211-2, Song Hyejin 2000: 196-7). Sejong's *Annals* explain that the king composed the music based on *hyangak* and *koch'wiak* 鼓吹樂, "the music of hitting and blowing."²³

Sejong also created other musical and dance suites, such as *Pot'aep'yǒng*, *Chǒngdaeǒp*, and *Palsang* 發祥, Origin. However, unlike his *Pongnaeüi*, lyrics of these

²² The titles of these compositions are *Yǒmillak* 與民樂, Taking Pleasure with People, *Ch'wihwap'yǒng* 致和平, Reaching Harmony and Peace, and *Ch'wip'unghyǒng* 醉豐亨, Drunken, Enriching, and Going Well. The latter two have *Yongbiǒch'ǒn'ga* poems written in Korean; the first has the poems in Chinese.

²³ *Koch'wiak* refers to a body of music played by a musical ensemble of percussion and wind instruments. They were especially employed for outdoor court events, such as royal processions and military parades (Song Pangsong 1984: 212-3).

suites were all written in literary Chinese and sung in Sino-Korean. Generally tending to praise the virtues of the royal ancestors and celebrate the founding of the dynasty,²⁴ and they were based on *hyangak* and *koch'wiak*. All four suites were written out in a newly-invented musical notation, and scores were made of the suites (Song Hyejin 2000: 198-200).

Creating lyrics to glorify dynastic rulers was not new. For centuries, setting such lyrics to existing melodies had been common in Korea (Song Pangsong 1984: 247-9, Chang Sahun 1982: 1-45). Even in the early years of Sejong's reign, new poems were constantly written in literary Chinese. After the reconstruction of the *aak* melodies, these poems were set to them and sung at the royal court banquet (Song Hyejin 2000: 186).

Sejong may have wanted to produce new *hyangak* compositions for two reasons, according to Song Hyejin. First, the existing songs of praise, each celebrating only one accomplishment of a ruler, were short of expressing the stature of the royal ancestors and their struggles at the time of the founding of the dynasty. Second, when lyrics in the Korean language were put to *aak* melodies, the results were unsatisfactory. As the *Sejong Annals* observe, combining Korean lyrics to *aak* melodies would be "laughed at by coming generations." (Song Hyejin 2000: 186-7).

Once the musical suites were completed, attention turned to how they should be utilized (Song Hyejin 2000: 200-2). In 1447, the dynasty's highest government office

²⁴ *Pot'aep'yŏng*, consisting of 11 songs extolled the civil virtue of the dynasty's royal ancestors, while *Chŏngdaeŏp*, consisting of 15 songs represented the militant powers of the royal ancestors. Most of them commemorated one particular ancestor's accomplishments, some of whom had contributed to the foundation of the Chosŏn. (Song Pangsong 1984: 297-8). King Sejong's ancestors (the first four ancestors of T'aejo, who founded the Chosŏn dynasty, T'aejo himself, and T'aejong, and the Queen Wŏn'gyŏng) were praised in the suites.

proposed that the three compositions from Pongnaeüi be used for Chongmyo-cherye, as well as for public and private royal banquets (*Sejong Annals* 116 22a2-25b5).

Unfortunately, the *Sejong Annals* do not record how Sejong suggested these repertoires be used. The *Tanjong*²⁵ *Annals* relate that Sejong intended to use Chǒngdaeǒp for Chongmyo-cherye and the royal meeting session ceremonies, but he died before he was able to put this into practice (*Tanjong Annals* 7.4b-5a12, Song Hyejin 2000: 201-2). Sejong seems to have preferred Chǒngdaeǒp to the three pieces from Pongnaeüi.

In practice, the hyangak suites did come to be used as royal banquet music, replacing compositions that were based on revised aak melodies (Chang Sahun 1986: 267-72, Song Hyejin 2000: 196-202). Nevertheless, it appears that Sejong and his courtiers considered the possibility of using new hyangak compositions for Chongmyo-cherye, although they disagreed on which pieces to choose.

The revision of the original Pot'aep'yǒng and Chǒngdaeǒp

The Koryǒ dynasty's tradition of music for the sacrificial rites continued until the reformation of the Chosǒn aak during the reign of King Sejong (Kim Hyǒngdong 1990: 126). As a result of this aak reformation, fifteen out of 144 melodies were composed after revising and transposing selected melodies from Lin Yu's *Dasheng yuepu*. The fifteen melodies were for the use of the state sacrificial rites (Yi Hyegu 1979: 112-4). New lyrics were written, including lyrics for Chongmyo-cherye (Kim Hyǒngdong 1990: 126). The instrumentation of the ensembles that played Chongmyo-cheryeak now consisted only of

²⁵ Tanjong, a grandson of Sejong, became the fifth king of the Chosǒn dynasty.

aak instruments, whereas they are thought to have also formerly included aak and hyangak instruments (Song Pangsong 1984: 274, *Sejong Annals* 128.23ab). The newly-constituted ensembles were used until 1464, when the revised Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp replaced the existing Chongmyo-cheryeak that had been based on aak melodies in 1464 (Yi Chaesuk and others 1998: 30).

Like Sejong, Sejo initiated a series of projects in order to strengthen his royal authority and boost national consciousness. When Sejo took the throne in 1455, he reformed the dynasty's system of government. The king closed *Ŭijŏngbu*, the highest governmental office, and restored *Yukcho*, the six departments that directly carried out his orders. He also appointed a new group of officials to assist him. In addition, Sejo commanded the compilation of a code of laws that eventually became the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典, National Code. His projects sought to institutionalize the rules of government and the state's abiding royal authority (Han Yŏngu 1983: 84-6, 99).

At the same time, Sejo oversaw a cultural reformation occurring at the peak of the national consciousness that had been rising since the Koryŏ dynasty. Tan'gun, a legendary figure, who was thought to have established the ancient Chosŏn around 3000 B.C.E., was reaffirmed as the originator of the Chosŏn. Han Yŏngu suggests that just as the Confucian dynasty named itself after the ancient Chosŏn in order to emphasize its authority and authenticity, so they extolled Tan'gun for the same purpose. Sejo then ordered the compilation of the *Tongguk t'onggam* 東國通鑑, the "Complete Chronicle of the Eastern Nation," a 1484 account of history from the ancient Chosŏn up to the end of the Koryŏ dynasty. He also seemed more willing than previous kings to accommodate

native customs and religious practices at his court, perhaps because by so doing he hoped to deepen national pride and solidarity (Han Yöngu 1983: 95-8).

The transformation of the original Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöp into ritual music appears to have had the same motivation as Sejo's political and cultural reformations. The *Annals* claim that Sejo changed Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöp in 1463 because their original lyrics were too long to be sung in their entirety at a sacrificial rite. The revision was to be performed as part of Chongmyo-cherye and *Wön'guje* 圓丘際, the Great Rite for Heaven and the *Annals* list two sets of revised lyrics for the rites (http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kga_10912011_002, http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kga_11001014_002, http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kga_11001015_001, accessed on March 5, 2006).

Some of the original eleven Pot'aep'yöng songs and fifteen Chöngdaeöp songs were shortened in the revised versions. The melody of *Kimyöng*, the second song of the revised Pot'aep'yöng, had its mode changed, becoming the melody of *Tokkyöng*—the second piece of the revised Chöngdaeöp (Yi Hyegu 1973: 72-200). The same modes of Sejong's musical suites, *p'yöngjo* and *kyemyönjo*, each of which consisted of a pentatonic scale, found their way into the reformed Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöp. However, these authentic modes were transposed: for Chongmyo-cherye, the new compositions begin either on hwangjong (C) or on the hwangjong an octave higher (Chang Sahun 1985: 372-4). For *Wön'guje*, all new songs started on hyöpchong (E flat) (Kim Chongsu 1995: 140).

Sejo's subjects asked the king for additional musical compositions to accompany the three ritual stages (the food offering, the removal of ritual vessels, and the ushering out of the spirits). Accordingly, the *Annals* relate that Sejo composed a new melody that was incorporated in the additional pieces. He also instructed a subject named Ch'oe Hang to write lyrics for them (http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kga_10912011_002).

Soon thereafter, at the beginning of 1464, the revised music was performed for Chongmyo-cherye, and on the following day selected pieces from the revised music were played for Wŏn'guje with different lyrics (http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kga_11001015_001, Kim Chongsu 1995: 138-40).

Considering the effort Sejo put into fortifying his royal power, the transformation of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp into a ritual music repertoire during the same period may have been calculated. The king may have sought to utilize every possible means to consolidate his authority at a time it was being challenged. As Han Yŏngu points out, in about the tenth year of Sejo's reign, a resistance movement, led mainly by provincial elites, began to expand throughout the country (Han Yŏngu 1983: 99-100). Sejo's revision Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp coincided with the rise of this movement.

As the revised Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp were used for Chongmyo-cherye, there were some changes were now made in the selection of instruments in the *tŭngga* 登歌 and *hŏn'ga* 軒架 ensembles.²⁶ Unlike the earlier ensembles that had included just

²⁶ The *tŭngga* ensemble was situated on the elevated terrace at the front of the shrine building, while the *hŏn'ga* ensemble was positioned in the courtyard of the shrine.

aak instruments, now hyangak, tangak, and aak were used. Yi Chŏnghŭi refers to these newly-constituted ensembles as “Koreanized” (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2001: 48-58).

Vocalists were incorporated into the tŭngga and the hŏn’ga, whereas in aak ensembles, they had only been part of the tŭngga, in accordance with the precepts of koje. The Chosŏn dynasty had begun to add singers to the hŏn’ga ever since the days of King Sejong. Yi Chŏnghŭi explains this as an attempt to deliver the content of songs more effectively (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2001: 59-62).

Other changes were made in the performance of the ritual songs. At the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty, four ancestors of its founder (later five) were celebrated through ritual songs, with each song being devoted to a particular ancestor. Upon the death of a king, a new text was written (Yi Chaesuk and others 1998: 34). Each song was played when the cloth or first wine offering was given to an ancestor, or when ritual vessels were removed. As a celebrant made an offering to the next ancestor, another song was performed, resulting in pauses between songs. The set of revised songs was to be performed without stopping, although the content of each song did not correspond to each ancestor. A later justification for this change held that since the songs were “composed as one suite, Pot’aep’yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp were to celebrate the virtues of the royal ancestors in song and were to be used universally” (Yi Chaesuk and others 1998: 34-6).

The compositions praised the contributions of each ancestor in establishing the dynasty or in continuing the royal line. In this way, the Chosŏn rulers seem to have found a method of praising more royal ancestors than ever before. At the same time, it was a way of singing the ancestors’ virtues with hyangak (Provine 1996: 54-75).

We may ask why Sejo chose the original Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp for Chongmyo-cherye, rather than other musical compositions by Sejong. Although there are no historical records to provide an answer, Yi Hyegu's insights regarding the content of their lyrics may be instructive. According to him, unlike other musical repertoires, these two suites not only praised civil and militant virtues, but also sang of the historical deeds of the royal ancestors (Yi Hyegu 1985: 211).

Thus, by performing the revised Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp for Chongmyo-cherye, Sejo seems to have achieved three things: 1) more royal ancestors could be praised at the Chongmyo, 2) their accomplishments were reiterated in song, and 3) native Korean melodies and the incorporation of hyangak and tangak instruments would now be the "language" of the ritual. All seem to point to Sejo's intention of strengthening royal authority and nationalistic consciousness.

A realization of Confucian "elegant" music in traditional Korean music

In the Chosŏn dynasty, the Confucian concept of elegant music was not an abstract notion disconnected from actual musical performance. Rather, native Korean music appears to have been changed to fit the Confucian ideal of correct music (Hwang Chunyŏn 1998).

Appreciating music was considered as critical by the Chosŏn's literati, not only as a means of cultivating oneself and comprehending the virtues of others (as symbolized in the music), but also as a way of socializing with other Confucian scholars. In practice, many of these individuals enjoyed playing *kŏmun'go* 거문고, a native Korean stringed

instrument (Hwang Chunyŏn 1998: 101-2). By the eighteenth century, musical compositions particularly favored by these kŏmungo players were instrumental pieces such as *Yŏngsan hoesang* 靈山會相 and new classical vocal genres such as kagok. *Yŏngsan hoesang* was based on kyemyŏnjo, a native Korean musical mode; half of the kagok pieces were based on the same mode (Han Manyŏng 1990: 2-9).

According to Hwang Chunyŏn, it must have troubled Confucian scholars that certain compositions were based on kyemyŏnjo because that mode was thought to express profound sadness. The explanation of this mode appears in the *Sejo Annals*, and similar evaluations continued up to the early 19th century. One record defined the mode as a vehicle for expressing bitter feelings sadly but fervently (Hwang Chunyŏn 1998: 107).

According to Hwang Chunyŏn's analysis, the characteristics of kyemyŏnjo depended on the minor third interval that existed between the first and second notes of the kyemyŏnjo mode. This minor third, he concludes, must have been the crucial embodiment for expressing sadness (Hwang Chunyŏn 1998: 107). Comparing various musical scores of *Yŏngsan hoesang* and kagok that have come down to us over the centuries, he does not find the minor third in these pieces by the early nineteenth century. In addition, interpretations of the kyemyŏnjo mode as "sad" no longer appeared and the music sounded more peaceful and serene (Hwang Chunyŏn 1998: 107). However, despite the disappearance of the minor third in the music favored by the Confucian tradition, the interval has continued in Korean folk music genres that also are based on kyemyŏnjo (Hwang Chunyŏn 1992: 183-5).

Chapter IV: Analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak

One of the ethnomusicological analytical assumptions inherited from musicology is that the meaning of music may be found in the beauty of the harmony revealed in combinations of musical sounds themselves. The focus of musical analysis is consequently given to understanding the structural features of those sounds: discovering the rules that govern the ways of weaving them. The transcription of musical sound is considered the principal method of illuminating the meaning of music.

Another ethnomusicological assumption is that the meaning of music may not only depend on the analysis of the inner laws of musical sounds, but also on the analysis of the performance in which a musical event takes place. Such a view leads to the cultural analysis of music, in which transcription or musical notation is seen as one of the analytical methods of understanding music. Thus, McLeod and Marcia Herndon (1980) suggest the ethnography of performance as an analytical approach to music.

We find both of the above assumptions useful in understanding the meaning of Chongmyo-cheryeak. The analysis of musical sound is required because, as Blacking defines it, music is “humanly organized sound, intended [for] other human ears, [and] thus concerned with communication and relationship between people” (Blacking 1974: 11). The cultural analysis of music will also be necessary: music is a part of culture and shares the nature of the culture in which it is situated. As Merriam points out, “music is simply another element in the complexity of man’s learned behavior” (Merriam 1964: viii). Therefore, our goal will be to try and understand Chongmyo-cheryeak through the analysis of its musical sound, as well as that of its performance.

The performance of Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music

To analyze the performance of Chongmyo-cherye along with its ritual and dance, I will examine its features and characteristics by utilizing Anthony Seeger's model for the context analysis of a performance. Seeger sees a cultural performance as having a structure and proposes investigating it by asking questions like a journalist's "five Ws and an H." Seeger's model reframes the questions as required, yielding a detailed description of a performance. For example, in analyzing the *Suya Akia*, Seeger asks not only who sings it, but to whom it is sung as well (Seeger 1980: 7-43). Before undertaking the ethnographic analysis, we may review the basic information that is generated by posing the six questions.

Who and for whom?

A group called *Chǒnju Yissi taedong chongyak wǒn* 全州李氏大同宗約院, the organization of the Chǒnju Yissi, is responsible for Chongmyo-cherye at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Since one of the ways Koreans identify themselves is to indicate the origin of their family name, Chǒnju Yissi denotes the Yi family clan, whose founder came from *Chǒnju*, a southern province of Korea. The founder of the Chosǒn dynasty came from this Yi family clan. Historically, the Chosǒn dynasty had the government office for the royal family, from whose ranks a new king might be selected, when needed. In 1907, the office called *Chongch'inbu* 宗親府, the office for the royal family, then

closed, but reopened under Japanese occupation in 1910.¹ In 1957, it was registered as a private organization of the Chŏnju Yissi family under its current name. It defines itself as an association that “manages” all the members of the Chŏnju Yissi. According to Yi Kijŏn, its Director of Ritual Practice, its primary purpose is to hold sacrificial rites “on behalf of the Korean government.” This is done in various places, ranging from Chongmyo, the Royal Ancestral Shrine in Seoul, to the tombs of the Chosŏn kings in Seoul, or at other locations in Korea (interview, December 16, 2004).

Until the end of the 1980s, only members of the organization were permitted to officiate at performances of Chongmyo-cherye. Since then, individuals from other clans that queens and loyal subjects of the Chosŏn dynasty could be chosen. When the ceremony of Chongmyo-cherye is held at Chŏngjŏn, the Primary Shrine building, in May of each year, Yi Ku, the child of the last royal heir of Taehan cheguk, the Korean Empire, is the master celebrant (interview, December 16, 2004).

During the Chosŏn dynasty, only kings, crown princes, and selected subjects were permitted to conduct Chongmyo-cherye. They were assigned their roles according to hierarchal status. For example, a king would be the master celebrant and make the first wine, a crown prince presided over the second wine offering, and the highest minister made the final offering. All of this changed after the colonization of Korea. Heirs of the royal line no longer participated in the practice of Chongmyo-cherye and an office set up to manage the Yi royal family’s ceremonies now conducted the rite (Munhwa kongbobu munhwajae kwalliguk 1985: 271-5).

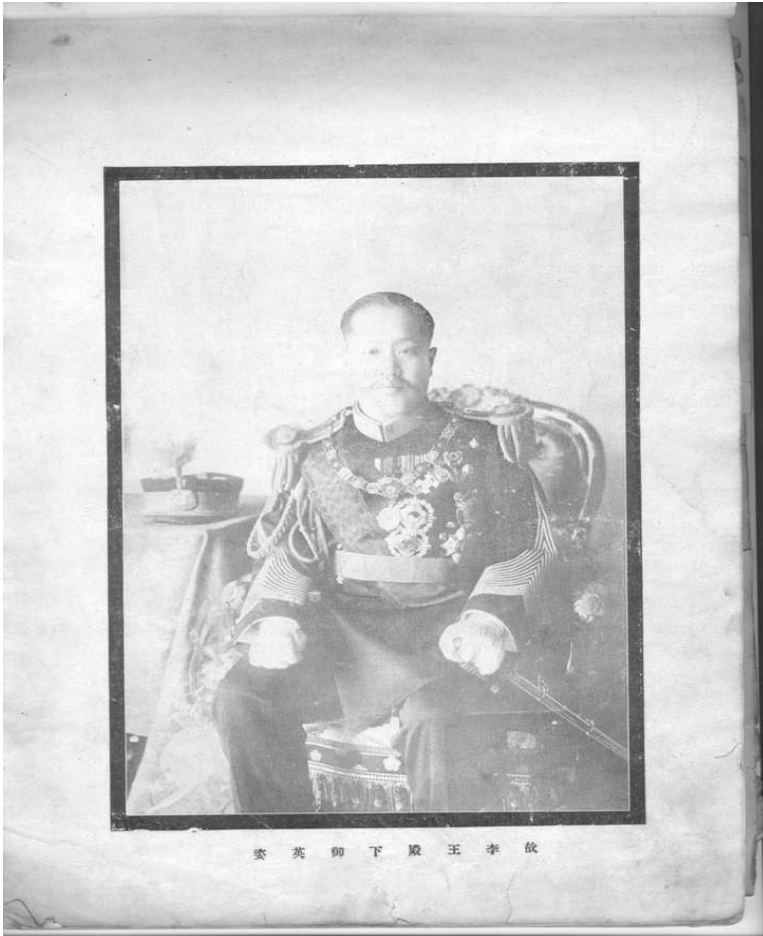
¹ During the Japanese colonization of Korea (1910-1945), this office was called *Chŏnju Yissi chongyakso* 全州李氏宗約所, the house of the Chŏnju Yissi royal family. It is said that the second son of King Kojong founded this office (<http://www.rfo.co.kr/board1/view.php3?mode=view&id=599&page=1&num>, accessed May 10, 2004).

Since 1969, the ancestral rite has again been accompanied by ritual music and dance. While the Chŏnju Yissi organization teaches and directs the officiants, musicians and dancers are brought in from Kungnip kugak wŏn 國立國樂院, the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA).² Until 1945, only male musicians and dancers from the Royal Music Institute could participate. At present, male and female musicians perform, along with female students majoring in Korean traditional dance at *Kungnip kugak kodŭng hakkyo* 國立國樂高等學敎, the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts High School. According to Kim Yŏngsuk, the designated assistant (*Chŏnsu chogyo*) entrusted by the Korean government with continuing the ritual music, female students have far outnumbered male students at the high school since the mid-1970s. She cites this as the reason female dancers now perform in a ritual dance once the exclusive domain of males (interview, December 24, 2004).

The ceremony is held in honor of the thirty-four former kings and queens of Korea, as well as the last crown prince and princess of Taehan cheguk. Only twenty-five of those so honored were actual kings of the Chosŏn dynasty. The others were posthumously named kings because their sons, for various reasons, had occupied the throne (Han Chiman 1998: 91-105).

² According to Yi Kijŏn, the organization pays the NCKTPA for its performances (interview, December, 16, 2004). Since 2003, musicians of the *Chongmyo cheryeak pojonhoe* 宗廟際禮樂 保存會, the organization for the preservation of Chongmyo-cheryeak, have performed the ritual music whenever the rite is conducted at the royal ancestral shrine. Nevertheless, the NCKTPA still supports the performance and employs most of the musicians in the Chongmyo cheryeak pojonhoe (Interview with Ch'oe Ch'ungung, January 17, 2004).

Photo 1: A picture of the last emperor of Taehan cheguk³



³ A photo taken between 1906 and 1926. Courtesy of a private collector.

Photo 2: A picture of the last queen of Taehan cheguk⁴ [Photo taken between 1906 and 1926. Courtesy of a private collector]



According to the *Liji* 禮記, the Records of Rituals, one of the canonical Confucian classics, a feudal state was only allowed to worship five specific generations of royal ancestors at its shrine: the founder of the dynasty, and his queen(s), and the four prior generations of the current king's ancestors. To comply with these restrictions, the Royal Ancestral Shrine included five sub-shrine buildings that held inscribed wooden mortuary tablets of the ancestors. Although the founder's tablet rested in a permanent place, those of the prior generations of the king's ancestors were removed from their

⁴ Photo taken between 1906 and 1926. Courtesy of a private collector.

buildings as the shrine filled to capacity, and stored in the founder's shrine. In this way, the number of royal ancestral spirits worshipped at a given time followed the principles of the *Liji* (Han Chiman 1998: 86-94). Thus, although at its founding the Chosŏn dynasty affirmed that it would observe Confucian principles, it circumvented the rule in the *Liji* stipulating the number of ancestors to be worshipped (Han Chiman 1998: 92-95).

When?

The rite along with its ritual music and dance has been celebrated at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in Seoul, Korea, on the first Sunday in May (by the Western calendar).⁵ Previously, after the Japanese colonization of Korea ended at the close of World War II, sacrifices to the royal ancestors were discontinued for fourteen years. Kim Munsik and Song Chiwŏn explain that the rite ceased because of “disrespect resulting from the colonial view of Korean history regarding the Chosŏn heritage.” The general feeling was that the royal family was to be blamed for the colonization of Korea, and that there were far more urgent problems facing the Korean people, such as the establishment of a new government (Kim Munsik and Song Chiwŏn 2001: 705).

Chongmyo-cheryeak was designated Korea's First Important Intangible Cultural Property in 1964. The official report recommended the Korean government do so or the

⁵ During the Chosŏn dynasty, Chongmyo-cherye was performed five times a year at the Primary Shrine building and twice at the Secondary building, while irregular performances were held as necessary (Provine 1989: 247-8). From time to time, the rite is practiced on special occasions. For example, in 1988 it was performed as one of the cultural programs celebrating the Olympic Games in Korea. In 2002, the rite was also held in June in celebration of the opening of the World Cup that Japan and Korea co-sponsored. In 2003, the rite was performed on the last Sunday in May as one of the cultural programs given during *Hi Seoul Festival* that the Seoul metropolitan government sponsors (<http://www/rfo.co.kr/html/history.html>, accessed on May 10, 2004).

music would die out, since it was no longer being performed as part of the discontinued Chongmyo-cherye rite. Such a designation was also needed to “preserve it perfectly” because, compared to the historical notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak music, the current performance was “deficient.” Finally, the report stated that “having been passed down for four hundred years since the time of King Sejo,” the music was “an important cultural property that was based on hyangak and koch’wiak” (Sǒng Kyǒngnin, Yi Hyegu, & Chang Sahun 1964: 5-6).

The Chǒnju Yissi organization began reviving the rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in 1969.⁶ In that year, the ritual music and dance of Chongmyo-cheryeak, as performed by members of the NCKTPA, first accompanied the rite (Yi Ŭnp’yo 1991: 735-6, Kungnip kugak wǒn 2001: 200).

In 1975, the Chǒnju Yissi organization formed a committee called *Chongmyo cherye ponghyang hoe* 宗廟祭禮奉香會, the Committee for Conducting Chongmyo-cherye, to take over responsibility for performing the rite. Its report urging official recognition of Chongmyo-cherye explains why the rite is significant. “It is an embodiment of the notion of loyal and filial piety that was the Chosǒn dynasty’s political ideology, as well as the common people’s life philosophy.” It goes on to state that “as the original matrix in which Chongmyo-cheryeak was situated. . . the rite is also a wonderful cultural property.” Acknowledging the report, the Korean government designated Chongmyo-cherye as Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 56 in the same year and began to support its performance (Sǒng Kyǒngnin and Han Manyǒng 1975: 239, Yi Ŭnp’yo 1991: 735-6).

⁶ According to Yi Kijǒn, the organization made wine offerings to the royal ancestors prior to 1969 once a year (Interview with Yi Kijǒn, December 16, 2004).

Yi Kijŏn explains that the organization decided to practice the rite in May as that month approximately corresponded to the first month of summer on the lunar calendar, the time of year when historically one of five regular Chongmyo-cherye ceremonies had been performed. Sunday was selected for the convenience of the officiants because they came from various provinces of Korea. The organization conducts the same ritual at *Yŏngnyŏngjŏn* 永寧殿, the Secondary Shrine building in the morning and Chŏngjŏn 正殿, the Primary Shrine building, in the afternoon (Yi Kijŏn December 16, 2004).

Where?

The Chosŏn dynasty built its original Royal Ancestral Shrine in the center of Seoul in 1392, locating it on the left side⁷ of the dynasty's main palace in order to follow a Confucian rule that a shrine should be so situated. It consisted of several buildings. The Primary Shrine building held the inscribed mortuary wooden tablets of the royal ancestors. Instead of constructing five separate buildings to accommodate five generations of ancestors, the Chosŏn adapted their primary shrine building for that purpose by using a Chinese model from the late Han dynasty. According to Han Chimán, the original Chŏngjŏn consisted of five main rooms as well as two auxiliary rooms. The mortuary tablets of the four immediate ancestors of T'aejo, the Chosŏn's founder, were placed in the building (Han Chimán 1998: 86-93).

As tablets of the royal ancestors overflowed the Chŏngjŏn, the Chosŏn dynasty constructed another building called Yŏngnyŏngjŏn for the worship of royal ancestors whose mortuary tablets had been removed from the Chŏngjŏn. According to Confucian

⁷ The Shrine is located in the eastern side of the main palace.

principles, constructing such an additional building was not permitted to a feudal state. Nevertheless, the Yǒngnyǒngjǒn, consisting of four rooms, was built in 1420. The mortuary tablets moved there were not counted for purpose of calculating the proper number of ancestors to be worshipped (Han Chiman 1998: 90-7).

As the two shrine buildings filled to capacity, the Chosŏn continually expanded them: Chǒngjǒn was reconstructed four times and Yǒngnyǒngjǒn twice.⁸ As a result, the length of each building increased greatly. For example, the present Chǒngjǒn, completed in 1836, has a length of 110 meters. Since more rooms were gradually added to the buildings over time, the architectural style of the shrine is unique and not found at any other Korean or Chinese royal shrine. Two auxiliary buildings, Tongwǒllang 東月廊 and Sǒwǒllang 西月廊, were attached to the eastern and Western sides of the Primary Shrine building in 1409 in order for officiants to avoid exposure in case of rain or snow. Han Chiman explains that the addition of the new buildings was the Chosŏn's own invention: no mention of such auxiliary structures at a shrine occurs in Chinese sources (Han Chiman 1998: 155-6, 182-4).

Had they observed the *Liji*'s rule that a feudal state was only allowed to worship five generations of ancestors, the Chosŏn dynasty would have kept only those five ancestors' mortuary tablets in its Chǒngjǒn shrine. However, as the dynasty kept adding mortuary tablets, it justified its breach of the rule by invoking another Confucian principle called *pulch'ŏnwi* 不遷位, "not to be moved." According to the *Liji*, the mortuary tablet of a royal ancestor who showed exceeding virtues and achievements

⁸ Chǒngjǒn was reconstructed two times before the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592-1598) and Yǒngnyǒngjǒn once. Having been destroyed during the invasion, the buildings were rebuilt in 1608. Since then, Chǒngjǒn was reconstructed twice more and Yǒngnyǒngjǒg once (Han Chiman 1998: 109).

could be designated pulch'ōnwi and would be accorded a permanent resting place. Moreover, such an individual would not be counted toward the number of ancestors to be worshipped. The regulation, however, was not meant for a feudal state, but for the Chinese emperor only. Thus, the Chosŏn selectively applied Confucian principles in order to worship all of their royal ancestors—a desire that resulted in the characteristic architectural features of the shrine buildings (Han Chimam 1998: 86-93).

The current Chongmyo shrine consists of several buildings, in three of which (Chōngjŏn, Yōngnyōngjŏn, and *Kongsindang*) the mortuary tablets of Chosŏn's nineteen loyal subjects are kept. The shrine complex also includes other auxiliary buildings for officiants, musicians, and dancers. It is in the three buildings named above that ritual activities are conducted. At present, the Primary building holds the mortuary tablets of the nineteen kings and queens of the Chosŏn dynasty, as well as the tablets of the Taehan cheguk as follows: the founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, thirteen kings whose tablets were designated pulch'ōnwi, the four prior ancestors of the last emperor of the Taehan cheguk, and the last emperor himself. The mortuary tablets of the other fifteen kings and queens of the Chosŏn dynasty, and the last crown prince and his princess of the Taehan cheguk, are kept in the secondary shrine building.

What and how?

The ritual officiants celebrate the rite with music and dance according to established procedures. Two musical ensembles, tŭngga and hŏn'ga, take turns playing the Chongmyo-cheryeak pieces. There are sixty-four dancers, arrayed in eight rows of eight apiece and located between the ensembles. They all face the west side of the shrine.

These three entities, *tŭngga*, *hŏn'ga*, and the ritual dancers, reflect a Confucian view of the universe consisting of heaven, earth, and the human sphere (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2001: 1).

Although the rite was revived in 1969, it was not until 1976 that Chongmyo-cherye was reconstructed in the traditional way that existed up to 1945. The prescribed 110 ritual procedures were set up again (Yi Kijŏn December 16, 2004),⁹ ceremonial clothing was reconstructed in accordance with *Taehan yejŏn* 大韓禮典 (the Korean Empire's li book), and offerings of food and wine were prepared. A royal crown and clothing designed for the emperor of Taehan cheguk was worn by the master celebrant, who began by making the first wine offering in the ceremony of Chongmyo-cherye at the primary shrine (Yi Ŭnp'yo 1991: 735). Until 1988, no one was allowed to wear the master celebrant's clothing and crown but Yi Ku, the actual heir of the Korean Empire. The authentic set of utensils filled with offerings was displayed on a table in the room dedicated to the founder of the Chosŏn (Yi Kijŏn December 16, 2004).

During the Chosŏn dynasty, nineteen officiants, categorized into three groups, were employed to conduct the ceremony of Chongmyo-cherye. Three officiants offered wines to the ancestors; those who were responsible for ritual procedures in the *sinsil* 神室, the room of a spirit; and those who helped conduct the ritual stages outside the *sinsil*. The three officiants moved along, each visiting every *sinsil*. Today, however, more than 300 officiants participate in the ceremonies, so that instead of moving along one by one, groups of officiants are now assigned to each room and conduct ritual procedures

⁹ According to Yi Kijŏn, these procedures are the same ones as prescribed in *Kukcho oreyŭi* 國朝五禮儀, "Five Rites of the Nation," compiled in 1474, that provided guidelines for conducting major state ceremonies (Interview, December 16, 2004).

simultaneously, thereby shortening the time to complete the ritual (Munhwa kongbobu munhwajae kwalliguk 1985: 261-276, interview with Yi Kijön, December 16, 2004).

The tŭngga ensemble consists of thirteen instruments¹⁰ and two singers. The hön'ga ensemble also consists of thirteen,¹¹ and two singers.

The selection of musical instruments and their arrangement in ensembles represent the Confucian view of nature. The ensembles are required to include instruments belonging to the *ba-yin* 八音, “eight sounds” classification, a system in which each instrument was made of a different material: metal, stone, string, bamboo, gourd, earth, leather, and wood, distributed between the two ensembles. The musical sounds produced thereby were thought to convey a harmonious and peaceful mood (Yi Chönghui 2001: 30-1).

However, the components of the ensembles changed constantly during the Chosön dynasty (Yi Chönghui 2001, 2002). In the *Sejong Annals*, the instruments and singers were selected and arranged according to principles in *koje*.¹² The instruments of each ensemble were chosen to fulfill the *ba-yin* classification if the two ensembles were taken together. In addition, the tŭngga had singers, but the hön'ga did not include (Yi Chönghui 2001: 30-1). With the transformation of Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöpp into Chongmyo-cheryeak, the instruments of each ensemble came to fulfill the *ba-yin* criteria

¹⁰ Three kinds of pitched percussion (p'yönjong, p'yön'gyöng, and *panghyang*), five kinds of percussion (ch'uk, ö, chölgo, changgu, and pak), two kinds of wind instruments (taegüm and tangp'iri), two kinds of stringed instruments (*haegüm* and *ajaeng*), and *hwi* (a flag signaling the players to begin).

¹¹ Three kinds of pitched percussion (p'yönjong, p'yön'gyöng, and *panghyang*), six kinds of percussion (ch'uk, ö, chin'go, changgu, pak, and *ching*), three kinds of wind instruments (taegüm, tangp'iri, and *t'aep'yöngso*), and a stringed instrument (*haegüm*).

¹² See Chapter II, footnote 17.

independently (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2001: 30-1, 45-60). However, in the current ensembles, instruments related to two materials (gourd and earth) are absent.

According to Chang Sahun, during the Japanese occupation of Korea the number of instruments in each ensemble decreased. Only eleven instruments remained in the *tŭngga*, and twelve in the *hŏn'ga* (Chang Sahun 1985: 392-4).¹³ The *tŭngga* and the *hŏn'ga* ensembles of today have added *ŏ* and *haegŭm* to the terrace ensemble, but gourd and earth instruments are still missing.

The sixty-four dancers currently perform two dance repertoires: *Pot'aep'yŏng chimu* 保太平之舞, the dance of *Pot'aep'yŏng*, accompanied by *Pot'aep'yŏng*; and *Chŏngdaeŏp chimu* 定大業之舞, the dance of *Chŏngdaeŏp*, accompanied by *Chŏngdaeŏp*. Feet motionless, the dancers generally use upper body movements, all of them performing in unison.

The dance component of Chongmyo-cherye also changed during the Chosŏn dynasty. Before 1464, forty-eight dancers performed. Two groups of thirty-six dancers each began to take part in the ritual dance in 1464 (Yi Chongsuk 2002: 40-2, 66-7). *Pot'aep'yŏng chimu* performers were then located on the north side of the courtyard ensemble, and *Chŏngdaeŏp chimu* dancers took their place. As *Pot'aep'yŏng chimu* performers withdrew at the conclusion of the first wine offering, *Chŏngdaeŏp chimu* dancers proceeded to stay where the *Pot'aep'yŏng* dancers played

(http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/insp_king.jsp?id=kg_a_11001014_002, accessed on

¹³ According to Yi Chŏnghŭi, twenty-three instruments were illustrated for the *tŭngga* ensemble in *Taehan yejŏn*, as follows: *panghyang*, *p'yŏnjong*, *p'yŏn'gyŏng*, *t'ŭkchong*, *t'ukkyŏng*, *kŏmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *wŏlgŭm*, *tangbip'a*, *hyangbip'a*, *ajaeng*, *taejaeng*, *taegŭm*, *tangjŏk*, *p'iri*, *t'ungso*, *saeng*, *hwa*, *hun*, *chŏlgo*, *changgu*, *ch'uk* and *ŏ*. Twenty-four instruments for the *hŏn'ga*: *panghyang*, *p'yŏnjong*, *p'yŏn'gyŏng*, *taegŭm*, *sogŭm*, *haegŭm*, *hyangbip'a*, *taegŭm*, *chunggŭm*, *sogŭm*, *t'aep'yŏngso*, *tangjŏk*, *p'iri*, *kwan*, *chi*, *saeng*, *u*, *hun*, *chin'go*, *changgu*, *nogo*, *nodo*, *ch'uk*, and *ŏ* (Yi Chŏnghŭi 2002:560-563).

March 5, 2006). Although the precise dance movements are not known today, the Chōngdaeöp chimu dance included five different formations. It retained this form until 1502, when dancers, as they do today, began to perform with their feet motionless as similar to today's ritual dance (Yi Sukhŭi 2003a: 35-8).

Under the Japanese, the ritual dancing in Chongmyo-cherye underwent a radical change. Kim Ch'ōnhŭng relates that, due to a shortage of dancers, the ritual could not be performed properly.¹⁴ As a result, the general public was paid to participate. They were instructed to simply bow toward each of the four directions (Yi Sukhŭi 2003a: 40). In 1930s, Kim Yōngje, the fourth director of *Yiwangjik aakpu* 李王職雅樂部, the music institute of the Yi royal family, reconstructed the ritual dance of Chongmyo-cherye on the basis of *Siyong mubo* 時用舞譜, the notation of dance currently used, the only existing historic notation of the dance's choreography. The resulting version was taught to new students at the music institute. However, it was only performed on stage, not as part of the shrine ritual, and has remained so to this day (Yi Sukhŭi 2003a: 39-41). It has come down to the present in this way.

Why?

The primary reason Chongmyo-cherye is practiced is order that the descendants of the Chosŏn dynasty may venerate their royal ancestors. As individuals, descendants participate in the rite of worship because the royal ancestors are their actual “grandfathers.” A descendant may feel “nostalgic admiration” because formerly only

¹⁴ According to Yi Sukhŭi, the number of musicians and dancers performing at court ceremonies had decreased from 772 to 57 between 1897 and 1915 (Yi Sukhŭi 2003a: 40). Ham Hwajin (1999: 92) has tabulated the number of court musicians and dancers during the Taehan cheguk.

high-ranking officials were permitted to be officiants of the dynasty (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Since Chongmyo-cheryeak and Chongmyo-cherye have been independently designated Important Intangible Cultural Properties, they must be performed publicly at least once a year, according to law (Yi Changyŏl 2003: 23). Performances are also given at international events and similar occasions to demonstrate traditional Korean culture.

Description of the performance of Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music and dance¹⁵

In May of 2000 I had the opportunity of being present at an all-day program known as *Chongmyo taeje* 宗廟大祭, the Great Chongmyo-cherye. It was organized by the Chŏnju Yissi taedong chongyak wŏn, and took place in three parts: the rite at the Secondary Shrine building (Yŏngnyŏngjŏn), the royal procession, and the rite at the Primary Shrine building (Chŏngjŏn).¹⁶ Although different officiants celebrated the rites, the same ritual stages took place in each shrine building. The following is an ethnographic description of the rite conducted at the Secondary Shrine building.

Before the rite began at 9: 30 a.m., preparations were already underway in many parts of the shrine. Program brochures were handed out in front of the entrance gate. To mark the path reserved for the spirits, flags reading “Do not enter *sillo* 신로, “the way of spirits,” were placed along the stone path leading from the gate to the Primary and Secondary shrines. The path itself was divided into three lanes. The center lane (*sillo*)

¹⁵ The following ethnographic description is based on my observations of a performance of Chongmyo-cherye on May 7, 2000. However, there were certain ritual procedures I could not observe closely due to distance. For a description of those procedures, I consulted sources cited in the reference list.

¹⁶ Program brochure for Chongmyo-cherye, May 7, 2000.

was reserved for the spirits. The right lane is called *ōro*, 御路, the road for the king, and the left is called *sejaro*, 世子路, the road for the crown prince (Chongmyo cherye pojonhoe 2004: 14).

Photo 3: the Gate of the Chongmyo Shrine¹⁷



Photo 4: The sillo upon entering the Chongmyo Shrine



¹⁷ Photos 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 are taken by the author of this thesis.

In a nearby building, formerly used for the preparation of ritual food and vessels, officiants were putting on their ceremonial clothing, as the families of these officiants waited outside. Musicians and dancers were also changing in a place traditionally reserved for them. Doors to the rooms of the Secondary Shrine building had been opened to the courtyard where onlookers would soon take their places, and ritual food was already set up on a table in each room. Musical instruments were in readiness, both on the elevated terrace and in the courtyard. Four loudspeakers were located on each side of the building and microphones were positioned in several places, including among the musical instruments.

Photo 5: Officiants waiting for the rite to begin



Photo 6: Dancers changing into their costumes before the performance



Photo 7: Musical instruments in place for the ensembles



Shortly after 9:00 a.m., while these preparations were still going on, people began to gather near the Second Shrine building. They ranged in from kindergarten age to elderly men and women. Some came to watch relatives officiate, others were middle school students, completing a homework assignment. College students interested in “our

culture” were also present, and idlers who found observing the events “refreshing” on such a nice spring weekend. Occasionally, foreigners stood out in the crowd. By 9:15, people were allowed to enter the shrine, but were cautioned against trodding upon “the way of spirits,” nor passing through the central part of the South Gate, historically reserved for the spirits.

Photo 8: People gathering in front of the South Gate of the Secondary Shrine building



As officiants passed through the Eastern Gate and assembled on the left, the musicians entered through the Western Gate and took their places. The ceremony began when some of the assisting officiants entered their designated spirit rooms.

The rite itself consisted of the following stages: the welcoming of the spirits, offering *Cho* 俎, cooked meat, three wine offerings, partaking of ritual food and drink, ushering out the spirits, and burning the written prayer. The officiants, musicians, and dancers all played their parts in the ritual under the direction of the *Chimrye* 執禮, literally, performing a rite, the specialist in executing rites, who recited each procedure

aloud, reading the Chinese characters in Korean pronunciation. Whenever the ritual stages represented the interaction between the ancestors and the officiants, music was played and a narrator explained the ceremony to those in the courtyard. Such a person has been interpreting the ritual procedures to general public since 1988 (interview with Yi Kijŏn December 16, 2004).

The portion of the rite devoted to greeting the spirits consisted of three parts: inviting the spirits, uniting the spiritual entity with the physical remains of the ancestors,¹⁸ and presenting lengths of cloth as gifts. Officiants in each room first removed the ancestral mortuary tablets from their containers in order to invite the ancestors to participate in the ceremony. Once the mortuary tablets were displayed, the courtyard ensemble and dancers were asked by the Chimrye to begin the music of Pot'aep'yŏng and the accompanied dance. They performed a piece called *Yŏngsin-hŭimun* 迎神熙文, set to the same melody as *Hŭimun* 熙文, the first song of Pot'aep'yong, but with a different text. During the Chosŏn dynasty, this music was supposed to be played nine times in order to welcome the spirits.¹⁹ However, the current performance repeated it once, concluding when all the officiants and the public finished their bowing.

Next, incense was burned to evoke the ancestor's spiritual entity, and wine poured upon the ground to bring forth her or his physical remains. In this way, both would be

¹⁸ In the Confucian world view, it is believed that when a person dies that the person's spiritual entity is dispersed in heaven, while his/her physical remains are left behind on earth. Therefore, it is necessary to unite a deceased person's spiritual entity with their physical remains when inviting an ancestor.

¹⁹ According to Kim Chongsu, this musical practice originated because Pak Yŏn's interpretation of ancient Chinese writings such as the *Zhouli* said that if four different musical modes were played nine times, ancestral spirits would present themselves for the sacrificial rite. However, in Pak Yŏn's view, playing *hwangjong wi kung* 黃鐘爲宮, one of the four modes, nine times would suffice to bring the spirits forth (Kim Chongsu 1988: 138-142).

united. These ritual activities were done by a group of officiants who would later perform the first wine offering in each spirit's room. Again, the terrace ensemble and dancers were given a signal to perform the music and dance of Pot'aep'yŏng. They played and danced to *Chŏnp'ye-hŭimun* 奠幣熙文, Hŭimun piece for offering cloths, while the same officiants presented lengths of cloth as gifts to the ancestors in each room. The music and dancing was repeated until all the officiants returned to their original places.

Hŭimun, Yŏngsin-hŭimun and Chŏnp'ye-hŭimun had once shared the same melody, although they had different lyrics.²⁰ In the present instance, a version of Chŏnp'ye-hŭimun based on a melody that differed from Yŏngsin-hŭimun and Hŭimun was performed.²¹

The public could not see the detailed ritual behaviors that took place in each spirit's room, although they could witness the procession of the officiants, listen to the ritual music, and observe the dance performances. As before, the narrator explained to the audience what was taking place in each room.

Next came the food offering. On a table in each room, a variety of raw and cooked foods had been placed in ritual vessels. During the Chosŏn dynasty, new ritual vessels were made upon the death of a member of the royal family, and these were to be used solely for that person. However, since many of these vessels disappeared during the Japanese occupation, the knowledge of what vessels corresponded to which ancestor was

²⁰ The same melody was notated for the three pieces in the *Sejo Annals*.

²¹ *Kugak che ku chip Chongmyo-cheryeak* 國樂第九集(宗廟祭禮樂) The Royal Ancestral Shrine Music. SKCD-K-0059. 1987. Seoul: Yejŏn media 예전미디어.

lost, even although many of the original vessels are still in use (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Each ritual food was categorized according to yin-yang principles and five elements theory, its container chosen accordingly, and its placement on the table also regulated by this ancient system. Three ritual activities were then carried out to solemnize the food offering: burning a bit of animal liver, presenting three kinds of cooked meat, and igniting some grain. Although these activities were done only in the first room of the Secondary Shrine building, hence not in close proximity to the spirit tablets, according to Confucian teaching spirits are thought to consume an offering through partaking of the smoke of a burning sacrifice. Since cooked meat may be used instead, instead of officiants in the other rooms actually burning liver, they simply removed sheets that had covered the respective vessels (Chongmyo-cherye-pojonhoe 2004: 87-9, Han Chiman 1998: 13).

After the burning of the liver by the chief officiant, the courtyard ensemble was signaled to play a piece called *P'unganjiak* 豐安之樂. To this musical accompaniment, three kinds of cooked meat were presented in a box-shaped vessel and grain was burned. The music was repeated until the burning was completed, and as the smoke drifted outdoors, the commentator explained that this act enabled the ancestors to receive the food offering. No dancing accompanied this stage of the ceremony.

Then the first offering of wine began, accompanied by the intonement of a written prayer. When the officiants were ready to offer the first wine in each room, the terrace ensemble played and the dancers performed Pot'aep'yŏng. The commentator explained Pot'aep'yŏng to the public as the first wine offering proceeded in each room. At the

conclusion, the officiants prostrated themselves before the mortuary tablets of the ancestors. The music and dancing stopped in the middle of *Kwiin*, the third piece of *Pot'aep'yǒng*. Then, the *Tokch'uk* 讀祝, the reciter of prayer announced to the ancestors that the rite was being held on that day and invited them to participate and enjoy it. As reciters in each room intoned the same lines, the *Tokchuk's* prayer was broadcast to the crowd through loudspeakers.

At the conclusion of the prayer, the music and dance resumed with *Kimyǒng* 基命, the second piece of *Pot'aep'yǒng*. When the officiants who had offered the first wine withdrew from each room, the musicians and dancers ended with *Kwiin* 歸人, the third piece of *Pot'aep'yǒng*. In the past, only a single officiant would offer the first wine to all the ancestors, making the rounds from room to room while the music and dance of *Pot'aep'yǒng* was played in its entirety to accompany his activities. At present, since there are officiants in each room to expedite offering the first wine, there is insufficient time to play all the pieces of *Pot'aep'yǒng*. The musicians have adjusted their performance accordingly, so that it corresponds exactly to the length of the first wine offering.

The offering of the second wine followed, but unlike the first wine offering, no ritual prayer was recited.²² Unlike the first wine offering, no ritual prayer was recited. When the officiants were ready in each room, the courtyard ensemble and dancers began the music and dance of *Chǒngdaeǒp*. As *Somu*, the first piece of *Chǒngdaeǒp*, got underway, the commentator explained its significance to the public. Meanwhile,

²² In *Kongsindang*, when the second wine offering is made to the royal ancestors at the Primary Shrine building, officiants simultaneously conduct the wine offering to loyal subjects.

officiants made the second wine offering. Once again, when they withdrew, the music and dancing stopped. In sum, the first three pieces of Chǒngdaeǒp (*Somu* 昭武, *Tokkyǒng* 篤慶, and *T'akchǒng* 濯征) and the eleventh piece (*Yǒnggwan* 永觀) were played without pause during the second wine offering. Originally, all of Chǒngdaeǒp was performed to accompany this stage, but as with the first wine offering, the ritual performance of the second was also abridged, leaving insufficient time to play all the pieces. Again, the musicians seemed to have adjusted, playing *Somu* and *Tokkyǒng*, then a part of *T'akchǒng*, and concluding with *Yǒnggwan*. Once more, their performance time coincided with the end of the second wine offering. Except that a new group of officiants conducted it, the third wine offering was identical with the second.

The next to last stage was the partaking of ritual food and wine by the living. Only the master officiant actually consumed this offering, with no music or dance accompaniment. The ancestral spirits were then ushered out in a ceremony consisting of two parts: removing the ritual food, and returning the ancestors' mortuary tablets to their original containers. Instead of actually taking up the ritual vessels, each officiant touched a few of them symbolically, accompanied by the terrace ensemble playing *Onganjiak* 雍安之樂, the piece for the removal of tribute. Shortly thereafter the music stopped and the courtyard ensemble was instructed to play *Hǔnganjiak* 興安之樂, the piece for the ushering out of the spirits. After the officiants and the public bowed four times, the mortuary tablets were replaced in their original containers and the music ceased. No dance had accompanied this part of the ceremony.

Finally, the conclusion of the rite was marked by burning the ritual prayer and the cloth that had been offered. Once these were consumed by fire, the officiants were

informed by the Chimrye that the ceremony had come to an end, and they, the musicians, and the dancers exited in a procession.

The performance of Chongmyo-cherye along with its ritual music and dance was reported on SBS 8 News, a TV news program, starting at 8 p.m.²³

Chongmyo-cherye, as it is performed today, is a newly-constructed rite. Its officiants include members of the Chŏnju Yissi and clans descended from Korean queens or loyal subjects. The revival of ceremonial clothing and the restoration of sixty-four dancers follow the tradition of the Korean Empire. Rituals have been faithfully modeled on the fifteenth century Chosŏn dynasty. A public narrator has been added to explain the rite to the public, while the recitation of the Chimrye guides the officiants. Musical ensembles remain an integral part of Chongmyo-cherye but, as the ceremony has been shortened, musicians only perform selected pieces.

The structure of Chongmyo-cheryeak's musical sound

In analyzing Chongmyo-cheryeak, we now turn to an examination of how its musical features have persisted or undergone change throughout its history. Five historical scores notating the music of two musical suites, Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, will be our principal sources. Beginning with 1454, they appear in the *Sejong Annals*, Chapter 138, (hereafter *Sejong*), the *Sejo Annals* of 1470, Chapter 48-49 (hereafter *Sejo*), *Taeak hubo* 大樂後譜 of 1759(hereafter *Taeak*), *Sogak wŏnbo* of 1892, Chapter 1

²³ A similar performance was televised during the Olympic Games in Seoul in 1988.

(hereafter *Sogak 1*), and *Sogak wŏnbo*, chapter 6 (1892; hereafter *Sogak 6*). For the contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak, two scores, published in 1980 and 1991, will be used.

Most existing studies that deal with the history of Chongmyo-cheryeak music came to the following conclusions: The musical features of Chongmyo-cheryeak remained unchanged from *Sejo* (1470) to *Taeak* (1759) (Chang Sahun 1966: 138-9). The music then began to change, as shown by the notation in *Sogak 1* (Yu Chŏngyŏn 1997, Han Yŏngsuk 1991). The music underwent a transformation, again as indicated in the version notated in *Sogak 6* (1892). The music as it appears in *Sogak 6* closely resembles the contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak. Thus, it is assumed that the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak preserved in *Sogak 1* evolved into the Chogmyo-cheryeak notated in *Sogak 6* (Yi Hyegu 1990: 418-55). The authors of the accounts summarized above view musical change as occurring naturally.

Nam Sangsuk, however, gives a different explanation of the musical changes that appeared in *Sogak 1* and *Sogak 6*. With regard to the music of Pot'aep'yŏng suite, she finds that the original rhythmic features of the music were “collapsed” in *Sogak 6*. Pitches in *Sogak 6* were grouped differently than in the earlier notation. She finds that these changes first appeared in the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak²⁴ that was utilized during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Considering that the music of *Sogak 6* was kept intact for almost three hundred years before suddenly undergoing change, she calls such changes “unnatural” and suggests they appear to have been made randomly to “distort” the music (Nam Sangsuk 2003: 36-45).

²⁴ Nam Sangsuk particularly examines the notation for pak parts as well as songs (Nam Sangsuk 2003: 43). I have relied in my analysis on the notation of Nam Sangsuk due to the inaccessibility of the notation.

Despite her conclusions, if one closely examines the musical notation of the music in *Taeak*, one discovers the appearance of rhythmic changes, especially in the melodies. In addition, in attempting to establish the duration of each tone notated in *Sogak 6*, Yi Hyegu assumes that this notation can be read in the same way as the contemporary notation in 1980. However, new research on the rhythmic duration of tones in *Sogak 6* has been undertaken (Kim Chaeyöng 1999). Rather, rhythmic changes in *Sogak 1* seem not to have been made randomly, but according to certain rules.

Analysis of Chöngdaeöp and Pot'aep'yöng in *Sejong*

In the *Sejong Annals*, the music of the original Pot'aep'yöng (11 songs, *Hüimun* 熙文, *Kyeu* 啓宇, *Üin* 依人, *Hyönggwang* 亨光, *Poye* 保父, *Yunghwa* 隆化, *Sünggang* 承康, *Ch'anghwi* 昌徽, *Chöngmyöng* 貞明, *Taedong* 大同, and *Yöksöng* 釋成); and that of the Chöngdaeöp (15 songs, *Somu* 昭武, *Tokkyöng* 篤慶, *Sönwi* 宣威, *T'angnyöng* 濯靈, *Hyökchöng* 赫整, *Sinjöng* 神定, *Kaeon* 凱安, *Chidök* 至德, *Hyumyöng* 休命, *Sunüng* 順應, *Chögse* 靖世, *Hwat'ae* 和泰, *Chinyo* 震耀, *Sukche* 肅制, and *Yönggwan* 永觀) are written in the characteristic notational system named Chöngganbo in the early twentieth century. To represent tonal duration, the notation uses columns of squares. Each column is divided into 32 squares, read from top to bottom, and right to left.²⁵

Every four or five columns is marked by a thick line, indicating them as one group. In the first column of each group, pitch names are filled in. Where there are four

²⁵ Either each square or a certain number of squares may be interpreted as a unit of duration. Different interpretations are given by Yi Hyegu (1987), Jonathan Condit (1979), and Hong Chöngsu (1993).

column groupings, the strokes of changgu, a kind of hourglass-shaped drum, are recorded in the second column.²⁶ Four Chinese characters are used to represent different types of strokes: 鼓 *ko* (striking the left drumhead of changgu), 鞭 *p'yŏn* (striking the right head), 雙 *ssang* (striking both heads), and 搖 *yo* (rolling a stick on the right head). The third column notates a stroke by pak, a sort of wooden clapper. The Chinese character 拍 *pak* “clap” is placed in the appropriate square to represent the stroke. The syllables of the lyrics are written in the fourth column.

In examining the compositions in *Sejong*, we find that rhythmic regularity is prominent. In each piece, a group of changgu strokes creates a pattern that generally repeats. The pak clapper is also struck at regular intervals. In most songs, a pak stroke coincides with the end of a phrase in the text.

Analysis of the changgu drum part

According to Yi Hyegu, changgu strokes in each piece do not merely occur at random, but produce a rhythmic pattern. They are seven variants of this pattern and each piece employs one of them. Six are used in Chŏngdaeŏp and four in Pot'aep'yŏng (Yi Hyegu 1973: 75-201).²⁷ These patterns will be illustrated in columns, as notated in *Sejong*. The initials of the stroke names will be filled in as follows: k for ko, p for p'yŏn, s for ssang, and y for yo. As mentioned above, the original notation had vertical columns meant to be read simultaneously (in groups of four or five) from the top downward. A

²⁶ In cases of five columns groupings, pitch names appear again in the second column.

²⁷ Yi Hyegu finds five patterns used in Chŏngdaeŏp, considering the sixth as belonging to the first (Yi Hyegu 1973: 146).

new set of columns would then begin on the left. Consequently, the music notated here also proceeds from top to bottom and left to right. For convenience, each part (i.e., the changgu drum) will be treated individually.

Table 1: *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 1

y			p							k						s					y			p					
			s							k						k							k						
y			p							s						k							s						
y			p							k						k							k						

Pattern 1 consists of 20 notated strokes distributed over rows of 32 squares each. Thus, the duration of this pattern lasts for four “lines” in Western terms. The pattern appears in four pieces: Somu in Chŏngdaeŏp; and in Hŭimun, Sŭnggang, and Taedong in Pot’aep’yŏng. It repeats five or six times.

Table 2: *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 2

k						y						p									k								
s						p						k																	
p						k						s										p							
k						y						p																	
s						p						k										y							
p						k						s																	
k						y						p										p							
k				p		s						k																	

Pattern 2, consisting of 29 strokes in eight rows, is employed in two pieces:

Tokkyōng in Chōngdaeōp and Kyeu in Pot'aep'yōng. In these songs, the pattern repeats three times.

Table 3: *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 3

k				k		p				s			k		p	k		p				s		
k				s	k	p				s			k			p		p			k	s		

This is the most frequently used pattern, appearing in 11 pieces. Kaeon,

Hyumyōng, Sunūng,²⁸ Hwat'ae,²⁹ and Yōnggwān in Chōngdaeōp; and Ŭin, Hyōnggwang, Poye,³⁰ Yunghwa,³¹ Ch'anghwi,³² and Yōksōng in Pot'aep'yōng.

²⁸ The first stroke, ko, of this pattern, and the following two empty squares, are omitted in the first cycle of the pattern in Sunūng. In this piece, ko stroke and the two empty squares are added at the end of the last cycle of the pattern.

²⁹ In Hwat'ae's first cycle of the pattern, the original fourth stroke, ssang, is replaced by ko.

³⁰ In the *Sejong Annals*, each column consists of 31 squares, instead of the 32 in the notation of Poye. The ninth stroke of the pattern, ssang, as well as the 19th stroke, ssang, are placed in the 29th square of a column, instead in the 30th. However, in the *Sejo Annals*, *Chūpnyōng* 輯寧, the piece revised by Poye, keeps the pattern as it is.

³¹ In the *Sejong Annals*, each column consists of 28 squares, instead of 32 in the notation of Yunghwa. In Yunghwa, the fifth to the ninth strokes of this pattern as well as the 15th to the 19th are placed in different squares than the original. For example, the fifth stroke, ko, of the pattern, is in the 16th square of a column, instead of the 17th. However, in the *Sejo Annals*, Yunghwa, the revised song from this piece, follows the original *Sejong* changgu pattern 3.

³² As in Sunūng, the first stroke of this pattern, ko, and the following two empty squares are omitted in the first cycle of the pattern in Ch'anghwi. In this piece, the ko stroke and the two empty squares are added at the end of the last cycle of the pattern.

Table 4: *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 4

		k						p						s				k			p			
		k						s				s		p							s			
		s				p		p						k							p			
		s						k						p							k			
s		p						s						k				p			s			
		p				k		k				p		s							k			
		k						s						k				s			p			
		k						p				s		k							s			
		s				p		k						s							p			
		s						p						s							k			
k		p						k						p				k			s			
		p				p		s						p							k			

Being a fairly long sequence that entails twelve rows, pattern 4 appears in only four Chōngdaeōp pieces: T’angnyōng,³³ Chōngse,³⁴ Sukche, and Sinjōng. In Sinjōng, the pattern repeats twice, but only once in the others.

³³ In the *Sejong Annals*, the first two columns of T’angnyōng notation consist of 31 squares. The third to the fifth strokes of the pattern, as well as the 8th to the 10th, are placed in different squares than the originals. For example, the original third stroke, ssang, is in the 19th square of a column than in the 20th.

³⁴ The 19th stroke, ko, is replaced by ssang in Chōngse.

Table 5: *Sejong Changgu* Pattern 5

k																			p					s								
s						k													p						s							
k				p		k													s						p							
p																									p							
s				p		k				s														p								
k						s				k														p								
s				p																				k								p
p				s																				k								
p				k		k																		s							p	
k						p																		s								
p																								k				p			s	
s						p																		k					s			
k																								s			k		p			s
k						s				p														p								
k				p		s																		p			k				p	
k																								s								
s																								k			s		p			k
s				k																				p								
s																								p			s		k			p
s						p																		k					s			
p				s																				k				p				
p				k																				s				p				
p																								s			p		k			
p						s																		k								

Pattern 5 is the longest of all, consisting of 24 rows. It appears in three pieces:

Sōnwi, Chinyo, and Hyōkchōng, all of which are part of Chōngdaeōp. In Hyōkchōng, the pattern repeats twice, but only once in the others.

the stroke may coincide with the last Chinese character of a phrase, or it may resound after the last phrase. For example, in the song *Kaeon*, which is based on pak pattern 4, a textual phrase and a pak stroke are played as in the following example (L represents lyrics and b the pak clapper stroke).

Table 14: The relation of pak strokes to textual phrases in *Sejong's Kaeon*

L					L					L					L/b				
---	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--	---	--	--	--	--	-----	--	--	--	--

However, a pak stroke does not always differentiate one textual phrase from another. There are two pieces, *Sunŭng* in *Chŏngdaeŏp* and *Ch'anghwi* in *Pot'aep'yŏng*, in which pak strokes do not rhythmically mark the end of each phrase of the text. In *Sunŭng*, the text consists of twelve phrases, each including four Chinese characters. If one observes the poetic structure of the text, a pak stroke should be sounded when a phrase of four characters concludes. However, the stroke is played at different groupings of characters in the text: 4/4/5/3/4/4/5/3/4/4/5/3. In *Ch'anghwi*, the text consists of ten phrases, each including four Chinese characters. Once more, instead of being played at every group of four characters, the pak strokes are sounded at the various groupings of characters as follow: 4/4/5/3/4/5/4/3/5/3. Correlating these pieces and their changgu patterns, it may be seen that changgu pattern 3 is used in both.

Each piece has a changgu part, as well as a pak. Correlating pak strokes and changgu ones, we may that a changgu pattern is evenly divided by pak strokes in all but one piece, *Chidŏk*, where the pak pattern is divided by a changgu stroke. The following shows how changgu patterns correlate to each piece's pak strokes.

Table 15: *Sejong's* Changgu Pattern 1 and pak strokes

y		p						k						s				y		p					
		s						k						k						k/b					
y		p						s						k						s					
y		p						k						s						k/b					

Table 16: *Sejong's* Changgu Pattern 2 and pak strokes

k								y						p						k					
s								p						k/b											
p								k						s						p					
k								y						p/b											
s								p						k						y					
p								k						s/b											
k								y						p						p					
k			p					s						k/b											

Table 17: *Sejong's* Changgu Pattern 3 and pak strokes

k				k			p				s/b			k			p								s/b				
k				s		k	p				s/b			k				p							k		s/b		

Table 18: *Sejong's* Changgu Pattern 4 and pak strokes

			k							p							s								k			p/b			
			k							s				s			p											s/b			
			s				p			p							k											p/b			
			s							k							p											k/b			
s			p							s							k								p			s/b			
			p				k			k				p			s											k/b			
			k							s							k							s				p/b			
			k							p				s			k											s/b			
			s				p			k							s											p/b			
			s							p							s											k/b			
k			p							k							p								k			s/b			
			p				p			s							p											k/b			

Table 19: *Sejong's* Changgu Pattern 5 and pak strokes

k																p				s												
s						k										p/b						s										
k				p			k									s																
p																s/b					p											
s				p			k				s					p																
k							s				k					p/b																
s				p												k																
p				s												k/b																
p				k			k									s															p	
k							p				k					s/b																
p																k					p										s	
s							p									k/b															s	
k																s					k								p		s	
k							s				p					p/b																
k				p			s									p															k	
k																s/b																
s																k					s									p		k
s				k												p/b																
s																p					s									k		p
s							p									k/b															s	
p				s												k					p											
p				k												s/b															p	
p																s					p									k		
p							s									k/b																

subdivision of a changgu pattern. In Somu, for example, each phrase in the text consists of five characters. After each phrase is sung, a pak stroke appears. Correlating its changgu pattern and pak strokes, changgu pattern 1 used in Somu is divided by two pak strokes.

Analysis of Melody

All pieces in Chŏngdaeŏp are based on the kyemyŏnjo, consisting of five tones. The relations of musical degree among notes in this mode are approximately as follows: minor third, minor second, major second, and minor third. Each piece starts on either a note named *namnyŏ* 南呂, equated with A, or the same note an octave lower. They all cadence on A (Chang Sahun 1985: 76-79, 372).

Most pieces in Pot'aep'yŏng are based on p'yŏngjo, also consisting of five pitches. The musical degrees in this mode are: major second, minor third, major second, and major second. The pieces grounded on the mode all start on either *imjong* 林鍾, equated with G, or G an octave lower. All pieces end on G (Chang Sahun 1985: 76-79, 372). The p'yŏngjo mode is as follows: G-A-C'-D'-E'. However, there is one piece that is not based on p'yŏngjo. The musical mode used in the second piece of Pot'aep'yŏng consists of six notes, as follows: G-A-Bb-C'-D'-E'.

Analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sejo Annals*

The *Sejong Annals* include the musical notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak, which is categorized under the heading of Chongmyo. The notation contains the eleven new

Pot'aep'yŏng and the eleven new Chŏngdaeŏp compositions, most of which are shortened versions of the original Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp. The titles of the Pot'aep'yŏng songs are as follows: *Hŭimun* 熙文, *Kimyŏng* 基命, *Kwiin* 歸仁, *Hyŏngga* 亨嘉, *Chŭmnyŏng* 輯寧, *Yunghwa* 隆化, *Hyŏnmi* 顯美, *Yonggwang* 龍光, *Chŏngmyŏng* 貞明, *Taeyu* 大猶, and *Yŏksŏng* 釋成. Those of Chŏngdaeŏp are: *Somu* 昭武, *Tokkyŏng* 篤慶, *T'akchŏng* 擢征, *Sinjŏng* 神定, *Chŏngse* 靖世, *Sŏnwi* 宣威, *Punung* 奮雄, *Sunŭng* 順應, *Ch'ongyu* 寵綏, *Hyŏkchŏng* 혁정, and *Yŏnggwan* 영관.

The *Sejo* notes that the revised Pot'aep'yŏng was to be performed for the first offering of wine, and the revised Chŏngdaeŏp for the second and final offering of wine. In addition, five more pieces were added to accompany other ritual stages: the greeting of spirits, the offering of cloths, the offering of food, the removal of ritual vessels, and the ushering out of the ancestral spirits. In the pieces to accompany the greeting of spirits and the offering of cloths, the melody of *Hŭimun* (the first piece of the revised Pot'aep'yŏng) was used with different lyrics. For the offering of food, the removal of ritual vessels, and the ushering out of spirits, a new melody with separate words was used. The titles of these three pieces are as follows: *P'unganjiak* 豐安之樂, *Onganjiak* 雍安之樂, and *Hŭnganjiak* 興安之樂.

The *Sejo* notation shows a slightly different structure from *Sejong*. Unlike *Sejong*, its columns contain 16 squares. Just as a group of 4, 5, 6, or 7 columns is marked by a thick vertical line, a group of 2 or 3 squares is distinguished by a thick horizontal line. Because of the horizontal line, the squares are visually divided into six groups of 3-2-3-3-2-3 squares. Each group is called *Taegang* 大綱, literally “a big net.” In the notation, a

piece may start from the initial square of the first, second, or third taegang. According to Kim Sejung, the groupings of squares and the different starting points in each piece are actually implied in *Sejong Annals* (Kim Sejung 2005: 26-29). In other words, although *Sejong* and *Sejo* look different, both can be read in the same way.

In *Sejo*, instruments not represented in the *Sejong Annals* appear for the first time: *taegŭm* 大金, a large gong, *sogŭm* 小金, a small gong, and *taego* 大鼓, a large drum, are added to the notation of the revised Chŏngdaeŏp. In addition, according to explanations inserted in the headings of the notation, a large drum is supposed to beat ten times to signal the start of Chŏngdaeŏp, while a large gong does the same to signal the end.⁴⁰ However, in the following analysis, we find that the same changgu patterns and the same pak patterns shown in *Sejong* appear in *Sejo*.

Analysis of changgu drum parts

The same seven changgu patterns used in the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sejo* are found in the *Sejong Annals*, although the changgu strokes in *Sejo* are distributed in columns of 16 squares. If the changgu parts in *Sejo* are doubled, they will be the same as those in *Sejong*. Therefore, instead of presenting each pattern a second time, we will indicate the pieces to which each pattern applies.

⁴⁰ Comparing the *Sejo* notation and the drawing of the ensembles in the *Sejo Annals*, one sees that *chŏlgo* 節鼓, another kind of drum, is not included in the notation, but is shown in the picture of the terrace ensemble. Since the chŏlgo drum parts and indications where to begin and end Chŏngdaeŏp have not been notated until the twentieth century, but are included in the contemporary performances of Chongmyo-cheryeak, it seems as though these have been passed down by oral transmission.

Changgu Pattern 1

In Chǒngdaeǒp, this pattern repeats in Somu. In Pot'aep'yǒng, its repetition occurs in Hūimun, Hyǒnmi, and Taeyu.

Changgu Pattern 2

In Chǒngdaeǒp, Tokkyǒng has this pattern. In Pot'aep'yǒng, Kimyǒng includes it. In these pieces, the pattern is played once. It also appears in the newly added three pieces (P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak).

Changgu Pattern 3

In Chǒngdaeǒp, four pieces (Punung, Ch'ongyu, Hyǒkchǒng, and Yǒnggwan) have this pattern. In Pot'aep'yǒng, six pieces (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chūmnyǒng, Yunghwa, Yonggwang, and Yǒksǒng) have it. In most of these pieces, the pattern repeats.

Changgu Pattern 4

In Chǒngdaeǒp, three pieces (Sinjǒng, T'akchǒng, and Chǒngse) contain this pattern. While the whole pattern plays once in Sinjǒng, T'akchǒng only has the first half of the pattern. In addition, the second half of the pattern appears in Chǒngse.

Changgu Pattern 5

Only one piece, Sǒnwi in Chǒngdaeǒp, shows this pattern. The pattern plays once.⁴¹

Chaggu Pattern 6

Sunūng in Chǒngdaeǒp has this pattern.

⁴¹ A ssang stroke that appears in the 25th square of the 12th row in *Sejong* is missing in *Sejo*.

Changgu Pattern 7

Chǒngmyǒng in Pot'aep'yǒng is the only piece that has this pattern.

In summary, as in *Sejong*, the changgu part in *Sejo* takes one of seven patterns.

Analysis of pak part

As in *Sejong*, the same six patterns are employed in the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak notated in the *Sejo Annals*.

Pak Pattern 1

This appears in Somu, which is from Chǒngdaeǒp. In Pot'aep'yǒng, the pieces that use it are Hūimun, Hyǒnmi, and Taeyu.

Pak Pattern 2

Tokkyǒng and Sǒnwi in Chǒngdaeǒp have this pattern. In Pot'aep'yǒng, Kimyǒng employs it. In addition, P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak use it as well.

Pak Pattern 3

Three Chǒngdaeǒp pieces, T'akchǒng, Sinjǒng, and Chǒngse, have this pattern. None of the pieces in Pot'aep'yǒng include it.

Pak Pattern 4

In Chǒngdaeǒp, Punung, Ch'ongyu, Hyǒkchǒng, and Yǒngkwan employ this pattern, and it is also found six pieces (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chūmnyǒng, Yunghwa, Yonggwang, and Yǒksǒng) in Pot'aep'yǒng.

Pak Pattern 5

This pattern appears only in Chǒngmyǒng, a composition in Pot'aep'yǒng.

Pak Pattern 6

This appears only in Sunǔng, which is in Chǒngdaeǒp.

A stroke of pak generally marks the end of phrases in the text in the same way as in the *Sejong Annals*, but not always. In two pieces, Hyǒkchǒng in Chǒngdaeǒp and Yonggwang in Pot'aep'yǒng, pak strokes do not sound the end of textual phrases as they do in *Sejong's* Sunǔng and Ch'anghwi.

Thus, we see by a consideration of the changgu and pak parts that the same rhythmic structures coded in the *Sejong* have been appropriated as the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sejo*.

Analysis of the parts for taegŭm, sogŭm, and taego drum parts

In *Sejo*, taegŭm, sogŭm (a large and small gong) and taego (a large drum) appear in Chǒngdaeǒp pieces. While gong parts are included in each piece in Chǒngdaeǒp, the large drum is only present in one piece, Punung. Like the changgu and pak parts, the gongs and the large drum are struck regularly. The gong parts have six patterns. Following the *Sejo* notation, these patterns will be shown in columns of 16 squares, with LG representing the stroke of the large gong, and sg representing the small gong. LD shows the stroke of the large drum.

Table 22: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 1

			LG/sg																

In *Somu* and *Sunŭng*, the large and small gongs are struck according to this pattern.

Table 23: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 2

LG/sg																			

This pattern appears regularly in *Tokkyŏng* and *Sŏnwi*.

Table 24: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 3

			LG/sg																

This pattern is seen in T'akchǒng, Sinjǒng, and Chǒngse.

Table 25: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 4

LG/LD					sg					sg					sg				
-------	--	--	--	--	----	--	--	--	--	----	--	--	--	--	----	--	--	--	--

This pattern is used in Punung, the only piece in which the large drum is regularly struck.

Table 26: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 5

LG/sg																			
-------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

This appears in Ch'ongyu and Yǒnggwan.

Table 27: *Sejo* Gong Pattern 6

					LG/sg														
--	--	--	--	--	-------	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

This pattern appears in Hyǒkchǒng.

By correlating changgu and gong strokes, we find a changgu pattern evenly divided by gong strokes in the Chǒngdaeǒp pieces. If gong and pak strokes are compared, one sees that each gong stroke dissects a changgu pattern at a rhythmic location unlike other patterns in which a changgu pattern is marked by a pak. The following shows how changgu, pak, and gong strokes are interconnected in Somu, a piece in which changgu pattern 1 is used.

Table 28: Changgu, pak, and gong strokes in Somu

y/LG/sg		p							k						s				y		p				
		s							k						k						k/b				
y/LG/sg		p							s						k						s				
y		p							k						s						k/b				

The gong part thus provides another rhythmic regularity for the pieces in Chōngdaeōp.

Analysis of melody

From the original Pot'aep'yōng and Chōngdaeōp, 19 melodies were selected as the basis of the melodies of the revised versions. Most of the melodies were shortened. Three of them remained the same as in the *Sejo Annals*. As we have seen, all Chōngdaeōp pieces are based on kyemyōnjo, whereas Pot'aep'yōng pieces are based on p'yōngjo. However, the key of each mode changed in the *Sejo Annals* from imjong (G) to hwangjong (C). Thus, every piece starts on either C or C an octave higher, and cadences on C. Unlike the revised Pot'aep'yōng and Chōngdaeōp, the newly-added pieces for the three ritual stages are based on the heptatonic scale, which consists of C-D-E-F-G-A-B (Chang Sahun 1985: 372-377).

There are rhythmic similarities in some of the revised melodies. Somu and Sunūng in Chōngdaeōp as well as Hūimun, Hyōnmi, and Taeyu in Pot'aep'yōng are very

alike in their rhythms. Moreover, the rhythm of Tokkyōng’s melody is identical with that of Kimyōng. The following illustrates the rhythmic patterns of the first two columns of the melody in the five pieces just mentioned (X representing the appearance of pitches).

Table 29: Rhythm of Somu melody

X			X			X			X				X		X		X		X	X				
---	--	--	---	--	--	---	--	--	---	--	--	--	---	--	---	--	---	--	---	---	--	--	--	--

Table 30: Rhythm of Sunŭng melody

X			X				X		X			X	X		X		X			X				
---	--	--	---	--	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	---	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	--	--	--

Table 31: Rhythm of Hūimun melody

X		X	X				X		X			X		X			X		X				
---	--	---	---	--	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	--	--

Table 32: Rhythm of Hyōnmi melody

X		X	X				X		X			X		X			X		X			X	
---	--	---	---	--	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--

Table 33: Rhythm of Taeyu melody

X		X	X			X		X			X		X			X		X				
---	--	---	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	---	--	---	--	--	--	--

Analysis of the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Taeak*

Compiled in 1579, *Taeak* includes the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak. A new piece called *Chunggwang* was added to the Pot'aep'yŏng. It was written to commemorate the achievement of King Sŏnjo, who worked to restore the dynasty after the Japanese invasion of Korea (1592 to 1598). The piece has the same melody as Yŏksŏng. Two separate pieces, *Yonggwang* and *Chŏngmyŏng*, are found joined together to make a single piece called *Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng* (Chang Sahun 1985: 379, Hwang Hyŏnju 1996: 59).

Comparing the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Taeak* with that in *Sejo*, we note that the rhythmic regularities of the changgu, pak, and gong parts in *Sejo* are mostly retained in *Taeak*. However, in some pieces the rhythm of the melodies tends to change.

Analysis of changgu part

Changgu Patten 1

Changgu pattern 1 is used in the same six pieces as in *Sejo*.⁴²

Changgu Pattern 2

This pattern remains unchanged in the same pieces in which it appeared in *Sejo*.

Changgu Pattern 3

This pattern is repeated in the same pieces as in *Sejo*.^{43, 44}

⁴² Somu has one changgu stroke changed. The first stroke, yo, which was located in the first square of the first row, now appears in the third square of the first row.

Changgu Pattern 4

This pattern is used in the same pieces as in *Sejo*.

Changgu Pattern 5

As in *Sejo*, only *Sŏnwi* has this pattern. However, there are several differences when one compares it with *Sejo*. The locations of six strokes have changed in *Taeak*. The ssang stroke that was indicated in the 25th square of the 12th row in *Sejong*, but was absent in *Sejo*, once again appears in its original position. Conversely, another ssang stroke, which appeared in the 6th square of the 21st row in *Sejo*, is omitted in *Taeak*. The following illustrates the changgu strokes as they appear in *Sinjŏng*. (A stroke accompanied by * represents that the stroke's original location has been changed. A solitary * represents the omission of an original stroke.)

⁴³ Changgu pattern 3 appears in the first half of *Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng*, a piece made up two joined pieces after which it is named.

⁴⁴ *Punung* has one changgu stroke with its location changed. The second changgu stroke of the second row originally appeared in the third square of the second row in *Sejo*. In *Taeak*, it appears in the fourth square of the second row.

Table 34: *Taeak's* Changgu Pattern 5

k													p		s*																	
s					k								p								s											
k				p	k								s								p											
p													s		p*																	
s				p	k				s				p									s										
k					s				k				p																			
s			p*										k									p										
p			s*										k																			
p				k	k								s									p										
k					p				k				s																			
p													k				p					s										
s					p								k									s										
k													s				k					p										s
k					s				p				p																			
k				p	s								p									k										p
k													s																			
s													k				s					p										k
s			k*										p																			
s													p				s					k										p
s					p								k									s										
p					*								k			p*																
p			k*										s									p										
p													s				p					k										
p					s								k																			

Chaggu Pattern 6

The same pattern as in the *Sejo Annals* is used for Sunŭng in *Taeak*.

Changgu Pattern 7

This pattern appears in the second part of the new piece, Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng.

In summation, the same changgu patterns as are found in the *Sejo Annals* remain in *Taeak*. However, changgu pattern 5 has several strokes relocated or omitted in *Taeak*.

Analysis of the pak part

Taeak employs the same pak patterns as are used in pieces in the *Sejo Annals*. The same relation of pak strokes to the groupings of words in each piece remains as in *Sejo*.

Analysis of the gong part

With the exception of pattern 4, the same gong patterns are used in the same pieces as in *Sejo*. In *Taeak*, pattern 4 changes as follows:

Table 35: *Taeak*'s gong pattern 4

LG/sg					sg			LS/sg					sg		
-------	--	--	--	--	----	--	--	-------	--	--	--	--	----	--	--

This changed pattern appears in Punung, which included a large drum part in the *Sejo Annals*. However, in *Taeak*, this drum part is not found.

In conclusion, while most gong patterns remain unchanged, gong pattern 4 has undergone change in *Taeak*.

Analysis of melody

The melodies in *Sejo* have been passed down to *Taeak*. However, *Taeak* shows rhythmic changes in many pieces, namely, in seven pieces (Tokkyōng, T’akchōng, Sōnwi, Punung, Ch’ongyu, Hyōkchōng, and Yōnggwang) in Chōngdaeōp, nine pieces (Hūimun, Kimyōng, Kwiin, Hyōngga, Chūmnyōng, Yunghwa, Yōnggwan, Yonggwang chōgmyōng, and Yōksōng) in Pot’aep’yōng, and in other three pieces (P’unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak).

Examining the Chōngdaeōp pieces, we find that in Tokkyōng the rhythm of its melody changes in two columns: one change in the 11th column, the other in 15th column. In T’akchōng, the melodic rhythm changes in the 12th column. In Sōnwi, changes appear in six columns: the 2nd, 8th, 12th, 13th, 15th, 43rd, and 44th columns. In Punung, the rhythm changes in the 5th column (with two changed parts), and in the 6th, 8th, 9th, and 10th columns. In Ch’ongyu, such changes appear in two columns: the 3rd and the 8th. In Hyōkchōng, changes have been made in the 1st, 7th, and 12th columns. Yōnggwan has changes in the 4th, 6th, and 7th columns (Yu Chōngyōn 1997: 24-30). The change in the 11th column of Tokkyōng, for example, is illustrated in the following (where X in the first row represents a melodic progression in the *Sejo Annals* and X in the second row shows the same melody in *Taeak*).

Table 36: Rhythmic change in Tokkyōng melody

X							X		X	X	X
X							X	X	X	X	

Of the eight Pot'aep'yŏng pieces, Hŭimun has one rhythmic change in its melody appearing in the 14th column. Kimyŏng's melody has rhythmic changes in two columns: the 11th and 15th. In Kwiin, such changes occur in three columns; the 5th, 9th (including two changes), and 12th. In Hyŏngga, there are rhythmic changes in the 1st, 4th (including two changes), and 6th columns. Chŭmnyŏng has rhythmic changes in its 1st, 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 8th columns. In Yunghwa, changes appear in the 2nd, 7th, 9th, and 12th columns, with two changes in the 12th. In Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng's melody, rhythmic changes appear in four columns: the 3rd, 4th, 14th, and 18th. Yŏksŏng has only one rhythmic change in its 3rd column. In the other three pieces, rhythmic changes appear in the 13th and 16th columns.

Characterizing each of the pieces showing rhythmic changes in their melodies according to their changgu patterns, we see a correlation of the changes with those patterns. Changes seem to have been made more frequently in pieces that follow changgu patterns 3 and 5.

Analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sogak 1*

Sogak wŏnbo, which was “restored” in 1982, consists of seven books bounded in five volumes. The notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak is included in chapters 1 and 6. The layout of the notation in chapter 1 is identical to that of *Taeak*.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *Sogak wŏnbo* refers to the collection of the Chosŏn dynasty's musical works ranging from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. Each volume has a note at the stating that it has been “restored” chungsu 重修, in 1892. What the restorations involved is not known (Condit 1984: 53). However, the notes suggest that what we have is the later version of the original. Since the term restoration that is used generally signifies an architectural reconstruction or the repair of an object, Hong Chŏngsu suggests that some of the revisions in the *Sogak wŏnbo* of 1892 may have been based on the original (Hong Chŏngsu 1993: 20). It is not known

Comparing the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sogak I* with that in *Taeak*, we find that the original rhythmic regularities in the changgu and pak parts are no longer retained in five of the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces: Kwiin, Hyŏngga, Chŭmnyŏng, Yunghwa, and Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng. The rhythms of each melody in these pieces also become considerably different from those in *Taeak*. Two other Pot'aep'yŏng pieces, Chunggwang and Yŏksŏng, use pak pattern 4, but the duration of the pattern is doubled.⁴⁶ On the other hand, when compared to the *Taeak* notation, Chŏngdaeŏp pieces in *Sogak I* still show little change in their changgu, pak, and gong parts.

Analysis of changgu part

Changgu Pattern 1

As in *Taeak*, this pattern is seen in Somu, Hŭimun, Hyŏnmi, and Taeyu. In these pieces, the pattern repeats, keeping its original rhythmic structure. However, in Taeyu, eight strokes that were distributed in columns 9 to 11 are missing.

Changgu Pattern 2

This pattern appears in Tokkyŏng in Chŏngdaeŏp, Kimyŏng in Pot'aep'yŏng, and the three additional pieces, P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hŭnganjiak, as in *Taeak*. In

Tokkyŏng and the three pieces the pattern remains unchanged, but in Kimyŏng the

exactly when the original first appeared. By cross-referencing historical chronicles discussing musical works included in the restored *Sogak wŏnbo*, chapter 3, Kim Chongsu concludes that the original must have been published after 1809 (Kim Chongsu 1996: 14).

⁴⁶ According to Hong Chŏngsu, a musical experiment to change the original relation of pak strokes to phrases in texts was tried at the court in the late eighteenth century. A new rule was set up: a pak stroke was sounded at every other phrase in the text. Observing this rule, several trials were made to combine two separate pieces in Pot'aep'yŏng and make them one piece (Hong Chŏngsu 1993: 36-37). Correlating this experiment to the duration of pak patterns, the duration of original pak patterns would have changed, irregularly or doubled.

pattern's last repetition is shortened: Following the last stroke (ko), 15 squares remain empty in *Taeak*, as seen in the following.

Table 37: Original *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 2

k																				
---	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

However, in *Sogak I*, only two squares remain empty, as shown in the example below.

Table 38: Shortened Changgu Pattern 2 in *Kimyǒng*

k		
---	--	--

Changgu Pattern 3

This pattern appears in the same six pieces as in *Taeak* (Punung, Ch'ongyu, Hyǒkchǒng, Yǒngwan in Chǒngdaeǒp, and Chunggwang, Yǒksǒng in Pot'aep'yǒng). However, the original rhythm of the pattern does not appear in the other five Pot'aep'yǒng pieces that once had it (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chŭmnyǒng, Yunghwa, and Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng). In these, the locations of most changgu strokes have changed, when compared to *Taeak*, although the changgu strokes in that pattern still remain. Consequently, the rhythmic regularity provided by the changgu part does not exist in these pieces. Using the Kwiin changgu part in *Taeak* as an example, the following shows how the first cycle of the pattern changed in *Sogak I*.

The first cycle of original changgu pattern 3, as used in Kwiin in *Taeak*:

Table 39: Original *Sejong* Changgu Pattern 3

k				k			p				s			k			p		k			p				s		
k				s		k	p				s			k			p		p						k		s	

The first cycle of pattern 3 in Kwiin in *Sogak 1*, in which ® marks the start of the second cycle of the pattern, follows:

Table 40: Changed Changgu Pattern 3 in Kwiin

k				k			p				s			k			p		k			p				s	
k				s		k					p			s			k		p						s		k
s				k®		k																					

Changgu Pattern 4

The original pattern 4 remains unchanged in three Chŏngdaeŏp pieces, T’akchŏng, Sinjŏng, and Chŏngse, as in *Taeak*.

Changgu Pattern 5

In *Sogak 1*, as in *Taeak*, this pattern appears only in Sŏnwi. Recalling the notation of Sŏnwi in *Taeak*, we remember that in *Taeak* the piece began to differ from the original changgu pattern 5. The Sŏnwi piece in *Sogak 1* inherits these differences. However, five strokes in the 17th row are missing. The following illustrates the changgu strokes of Sŏnwi as shown in *Sogak 1*. (** represents the strokes missing in *Sogak 1*.)

Changgu Pattern 7

This pattern appears in the second half of Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng. While it retains the same changgu strokes, the locations of some strokes have changed in *Sogak 1*, making the original rhythmic structure of the pattern lost. The following shows how the first cycle of the original changgu pattern used in Chŏngmyŏng in *Taeak* has changed in *Sogak 1*.

The first cycle of the changgu pattern 7 in Chŏngmyŏng in *Taeak* is as follows:

Table 42: Original *Sejong*'s Changgu Pattern 7

k						k						p						s				
k			p		k						p							s				
k					s			k		p								s				
k					p					p			k					s				

The first cycle of the pattern in the second half of Yonggwang chŏngmyŏng in *Sogak 1* (® marks the start of the second set of the pattern):

Table 43: Changed Changgu Pattern 7

k			k		p			s		k		p	k		p			s				
k			s		k			p		s					k							
p								p	k	s			k®									

Thus, we see that the rhythmic regularity in the changgu patterns was kept in all of the Chǒngdaeǒp pieces, the six Pot'aep'yǒng pieces, and the three additional pieces. In the rest of the Pot'aep'yǒng pieces, the rhythmic structure of their original changgu patterns has changed in *Sogak 1*. We find that these pieces originally included changgu pattern 3 with one exception whose second changgu pattern that had pattern 7.

Analysis of pak part

Pak Pattern 1

As in *Taeak*, this pattern appears unchanged in Somu in Chǒngdaeǒp; Hūimun, Hyǒnmi, and Taeyu in Pot'aep'yǒng.

Pak Pattern 2

Tokkyǒng and Sǒnwi in Chǒngdaeǒp have this pattern. In Pot'aep'yǒng, Kimyǒng uses it. The additional three pieces (P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak) also employ it.

Pak Pattern 3

In three Chǒngdaeǒp pieces (T'akchǒng, Sinjǒng, and Chǒngse), this pattern remains unchanged. No piece in Pot'aep'yǒng includes this pak pattern.

Pak Pattern 4

This pattern is employed in its original in four Chǒngdaeǒp pieces (Punung, Ch'ongyu, Hyǒkchǒng, and Yǒnggwān). In Pot'aep'yǒng, there are seven pieces with this pattern (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chūmnyǒng, Yunghwa, Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng's first

Table 46: First two (original) pak strokes of Chǒngmyǒng in *Taeak*

							b							
							b							

Table 47: First two (changed) pak strokes in second half of Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng in *Sokgak 1*

							b							
							b							

Pak Pattern 6

This pattern is only used in Sunǔng, where it remains unchanged.

The original relationship of pak strokes to groupings of words continues through most pieces, but changes where the rhythmic regularity of pak strokes is broken. In such cases, a pak stroke no longer marks a textual phrase: instead, it is played irregularly. Five Pot’aep’yǒng pieces (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chǔmnyǒng, Yunghwa, and the two halves of Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng) show this change. For example, in Kwiin, pak is struck four times at the end of each grouping of 11, 17, 9, and 11 characters.

To summarize, the Chǒngdaeǒp pieces kept their original pak patterns. While four of the Pot'aep'yǒng pieces did so as well, the remainder had no the original rhythmic regularity in the pak part. Instead, their pak patterns are either doubled or irregular. Correlating the pak and changgu parts in Pot'aep'yǒng pieces, we find the pieces that originally included changgu pattern 1 or 2 have their changgu and pak patterns unchanged.

Analysis of gong part

The same gong patterns that appear in *Taeak* are used in *Sogak 1*.

Analysis of melody

The melodies of the Chǒngdaeǒp pieces as notated in *Taeak* have been passed down to *Sogak 1*. The three additional pieces (P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak) also keep the same melodies as in *Taeak*. Six Pot'aep'yǒng pieces (Hūimun, Kimyǒng, Hyǒnmi, Taeyu, Chunggwang, and Yǒksǒng) have the same, unchanged melodies as in *Taeak*.

However, the melodies of the other five Pot'aep'yǒng compositions (Kwiin, Hyǒngga, Chūmnyǒng, Yunghwa, and Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng) have their rhythm considerably changed in *Sogak 1*. For example, the first half of Yonggwang chǒngmyǒng lasted for 12 columns in *Taeak*. It becomes shortened to 9 columns in *Sogak 1*. The second half of the piece originally extended to 9 columns. In *Sogak 1*, that part is enlarged to 12 columns. Categorizing each of the five pieces into their changgu patterns,

we see they belong to either changgu patterns 3 or 7. Thus, pieces that have these changgu patterns tend to have rhythmic changes in their melodies.

If, on the other hand, we correlate the rhythmic changes of the melodies to changgu strokes, we find that they follow the changes in the changgu strokes. When a pitch appears, it usually accompanied by a changgu strokes. In *Sogak 1*, as the duration of pitches varies, the duration of changgu strokes also changes.

Analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sogak wŏnbo 6*

Sogak wŏnbo, chapter 6, also includes the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak. The notation of *Sogak 6* indicates didactic symbols for three three stringed instruments: the kŏmun'go, the kayagŭm, and the pip'a 琵琶. There are no changgu, pak, gong, or text parts, only pitches and symbols for the instruments. Pitch names and symbols appear in almost every square, unlike previous notations we have examined (Yu Chŏngyŏn 1997: 9).⁴⁷

The notation in *Sogak 6* looks the same as that in *Sejo*, *Taeak*, or *Sogak 1*, using the columns of squares that are divided groups of two or three squares. According to Kim Sejung, however, squares and square groupings do not function as units of duration in *Sogak 6*. Rather, the mode of representation was borrowed to indicate the pitch names in an orderly fashion in squares (Kim Sejung 2005: 34). Consequently, it seems impossible to decipher the rhythmic element of the melodies in *Sogak 6*.

⁴⁷ In the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sogak 6*, every four columns are grouped as one, reading simultaneously from top to bottom, right to left. Pitches are written in the first column, didactic symbols for kŏmungo in the second, symbols for kayagŭm in the third, and symbols for pipa in the fourth (Yu Chŏngyŏn 1997: 9).

Nevertheless, we may find it useful to analyze the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak in *Sogak 6*. Noting that empty squares are hardly seen in *Sogak 6*, Chŏng Wŏnho has attempted to decipher the musical meaning of those empty squares. According to him, each of the squares signifies the end of a melodic phrase (Chŏng Wŏnho 2000). Comparing the locations of empty squares in *Sogak 6* to the rests in the p'yŏnjong part of the present Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, we observe that the empty squares do appear to correspond mostly with musical rests. Thus, the melodic phrases of each piece, as divided in *Sogak 6*, has been retained in the current p'yŏnjong melodies.

Analysis of the present Chongmyo-cheryeak

There are two musical notations of contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak: one in modern Chŏngganbo style⁴⁸ (Kungnip kugak wŏn 2004),⁴⁹ and the other on a Western five-line staff (Kungnip kugak won 1991). Both have been consulted for the following analysis.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Like the historical Chŏngganbo notations, this notation consists of columns of squares. In the modern versions, each square is regarded as a unit of duration.

⁴⁹ Except for some lyrics that had changed during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945) and restored in accordance with their original, this notation is identical with the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak published in 1980 by Kungnip kugak wŏn.

⁵⁰ According to Sŏng Kyŏngnin and Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng, who learned the Taehan cheguk court music pieces during the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1920s, their teachers taught students Chongmyo-cheryeak through oral transmission. To help their memorization, however, these disciples made a new form of notation in which the pitch names of Chongmyo-cheryeak p'yŏnjong melodies were written down with various symbols that denoted different ways of embellishing notes. Later, they updated the notation using Chŏngganbo style: the pitch names and symbols were now put into the squares of columns (Interview with Sŏng Kyŏngnin and Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng December 1, 2004). Kim Kisu's score of Chongmyo-cheryeak in Chŏngganbo style follows the tradition of the notation.

Analysis of changgu part

The strokes of each changgu pattern appear in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak pieces. However, the original rhythmic regularity of each pattern is no longer seen in any piece.

Historically, the changgu part was not properly performed during the Japanese occupation of Korea: the changgu player only pretended to strike the instrument. It was not until 1980, when Kim Kisu published a reconstruction of the changgu strokes in the *Sejo Annals*, that the actual playing of this part was again introduced into the modern Chongmyo-cheryeak.⁵¹ However, some new changgu strokes have also been inserted in the music (Yu Chöngyön 1997: 69-73).

Analysis of pak part

Rhythmic regularity in pak strokes is not found in any of today's Chongmyo-cheryeak pieces. With regard to the text, pak strokes in most pieces no longer distinguish textual phrases or musically support the lyrics. Pak is generally played four times. In five pieces (Kwiin, Hyöngga, Yonggwang chöngmyöng, Chunggwang, and Yöksöng), pak strokes divide the words of the text in the same way as in *Sogak 6*. Some pieces, however, still retain the original relationship that existed between pak strokes and words: three Chöngdaeöp pieces (Somu, Tokkyöng, and Sunöng), four Pot'aep'yöng pieces (Hüimun, Kimyöng, Hyönmi, and Taeyu), and the three additional pieces (P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hünjanjiak).

⁵¹ However, the notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak published by Kungnip kugak wön (1973) also includes the reconstruction of the changgu strokes in *Sejo Annals*.

Analysis of gong part

Unlike the notation of previous versions, there is one gong part in the present Chongmyo-cheryeak. The gong patterns that were included until *Sogak I* are no longer seen. There is no rhythmic regularity in the gong part. However, there is a rule that governs the gong: it is always struck twice within each pak stroke.

Analysis of other drum parts

Drum parts that have not been notated in the past appear in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak: a *chōlgo* 節鼓, a kind of drum, in Pot'aep'yōng, and a *chin'go* 晋鼓, also a kind of drum, in Chōngdaeōp. We do not find any pattern or rhythmic regularity in these drum parts.

In Hūimun, Hyōnmi, Taeyu, Somu, and Sunūng, the drum beat is played six times within a pak stroke. In Yonggwang chōngmyōng, the drum is hit five times within a pak stroke. In Chunggwang, Yōksōng, and the three additional pieces (P'unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak) the drum sounds three times within a pak stroke. In other pieces, the drum is struck at irregular intervals between pak strokes. Two pieces, Kimyōng and Tokkyōng, have the same correlation between their drum and pak parts: pak strokes appear after the following groups of drumbeats: 4/3/3/4 strokes.

Thus we see that what once appear to have been the rhythmic regularities in the changgu, pak, and gong parts do not appear in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak. All that has come down to us from the previous notation is the original grouping of words by pak strokes in two Chōngdaeōp pieces (Somu and Sunūng), four Pot'aep'yōng pieces

(Hūimun, Hyōnmi, and Taeyu) and the three additional pieces (P’unganjiak, Onganjiak, and Hūnganjiak). With the exception of Sunūng, we find that the pieces which had included changgu patterns 1 or 2 have not changed.

Analysis of melody

Three melodic lines—one for voices, another for wind and stringed instruments, and a third for sets of bells and chimes—are written in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak notation, as opposed to the two identical melodic lines that were recorded in the notation of the previous versions from the *Sejo Annals* to *Sogak 1*.

The modern melodic pitches for the bells and chimes, p’yōnjong and p’yōn’gyōng, are almost the same as those in *Sogak wōnbo*, chapter 1. However, it seems that some notational modification has been made in the modern version, especially in a number of songs, where the third pitch an octave higher or the fourth pitch of a mode appeared in the earlier scores. Kim Kisu notates the octave higher pitches as the regular third and fourth pitches in p’yōnjong.

The melodic pitches of wind instruments in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak differ from those in *Sogak 1*, although the pitches of the bells and chimes still provide skeleton melodic lines. According to Chang Sahun, when the same note is played repeatedly in *Sogak 1*, the wind instruments in Kim Kisu’s scores tend to add one or two other pitches between the repeated tones, reflecting gradual changes that had been made throughout history. Chang Sahun also points out another change: in each piece of Chōngdaeōp, the wind instruments tend to lower hwangjong (C) to *myōk* (Bb below C),

and imjong (G) to *chungnyŏ* (F) (Chang Sahun 1966: 140-2). This change appears so often that all Chŏngdaeŏp pieces with the exception of Sunŭng have it. In Sunŭng, only the last note, hwang chong, is lowered. According to Kwak T'aegyŭ who is a p'iri player of NCKTPA, these lowered notes are not the same as genuine muyŏk and chungnyŏ sounds in tone quality because, although produced at the position of hwangjong, they are made by blowing softly (interview with Kwak T'aegyŭ, December 28, 2004). In Kim Kisu's Chŏngganbo notation, the lowered notes in question are marked by a symbol that looks like a "3" and indicates soft blowing.

The melodic pitches of contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak songs also show a change from those in *Sogak wŏnbo*, chapter 1, although the basic pitch lines of the songs are similar. According to Yi Sukhŭi, a manuscript called *Cherye chuak ŭiju* 祭禮奏樂儀註, a manual for the ritual and its music,⁵² shows such a change for the first time. This manuscript includes the melodies of Chongmyo-cheryeak songs closest to the current ones. These melodies add additional pitches between repeated notes, resulting in more dynamic and complex lines than the wind instruments (Yi Sukhŭi 2003b: 87-8). Like the wind instruments, Chŏngdaeŏp songs tend to lower the original hwangjong (C) to muyŏk (Bb below C), and imjong (G) to chungnyŏ (F). Except for Sunŭng, all songs in the manuscript begin and end with muyŏk (Bb below C).

In Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, the melodies played by the bells and chimes are based on their original musical modes, p'yŏngjo and kyemyŏnjo, as in *Sogak 1*. In Pot'aep'yŏng, they consist of C, D, F, G, A, and start and end on C. In Chŏngdaeŏp, they

⁵² The manuscript's authorship and date are unknown. However, it is estimated to have been made after 1925, during the Japanese occupation of Korea (Yi Sukhŭi 2003b: 86).

consist of C, Eb, F, G, and Bb, and also start and end on C. In Pot'aep'yŏng, the wind instruments parts and the songs are also based on the same p'yŏngjo as in *Sogak I*.

However, the musical mode of the present Chŏngdaeŏp seems more complex than its original mode, kyemyŏnjo, in *Sogak I*. While the melodies of the bells and chimes are still grounded upon this kyemyŏnjo, the wind instruments and vocal parts, although based on the kyemyŏnjo pitch group, differ. A number of scholars find it difficult to consider them the same because of the tendency to lower hwangjong to muyŏk and imjong to chungnyŏ.

Chang Sahun (1985: 101-3) and Yi Sukhŭi (2003b: 94-8) see those melodies as exemplifying the way kyemyŏnjo has changed. According to Chang Sahun, since the end of eighteenth century, the original pentatonic kyemyŏnjo was transformed into tritonic or tetratonic-kyemyŏnjo by dropping both its second and fifth notes, or by dropping only the second. He characterizes the new kyemyŏnjo scale as one that drops its original second tone, resulting in a perfect fourth between its first note and third note. Emphasizing that the current melodies played by wind instruments have a perfect fourth and a major second like melodies based on the tetratonic-kyemyŏnjo, he suggests that the original Chŏngdaeŏp mode was also transformed into the tetratonic-kyemyŏnjo by dropping its second note (Chang Sahun 1985: 100-1, 1986: 415-20). Following Chang Sahun's interpretation, Yi Sukhŭi finds that the melodies of Chŏngdaeŏp have a tendency to use a perfect fourth and two major seconds, although they are based on the pentatonic scale of Bb, C, Eb, F, and G. Focusing on the prominence of a perfect fourth and major second in them, she suggests that this tendency reflects a change in the original kyemyŏnjo (Yi Sukhŭi 2003b: 98).

Examining the musical mode of Somu, the first piece of Chŏngdaeŏp, Chŏn Inp'yŏng concludes that these melodies were based on p'yŏngjo, with its second note dropped. Since the melodies of the winds and voice start and end on B flat, and mainly consist of Bb, Eb, F, and G, he interprets these melodies as grounded in p'yŏngjo. In addition, he finds that Chŏngdaeŏp pieces show a polymodality, appearing as p'yŏngjo in the wind instruments and singing, and simultaneously as kyemyŏnjo in the bells and chimes (Chŏn Inp'yŏng 1995: 153-5). Various compositions originally based on kyemyŏnjo, but changed by the dropping minor third between the first tone and the second,⁵³ have been analyzed by Hwang Chunyŏn. He finds that such Chŏngdaeŏp melodies lose their minor third by lowering the original first tone, hwangjong (C). As a result, he suggests, they become grounded on p'yŏngjo, starting with Bb (Hwang Chunyŏn 1993: 122-4).

These various interpretations may reflect the modal ambiguity of the melodies discussed. When examining them closely, one finds that singing and the vocal and wind parts utilize the pentatonic scale, consisting of Bb, C, Eb, F, and G. They seem to be grounded on p'yŏngjo, as Chŏn Inp'yŏng and Hwang Chunyŏn note. However, when analyzing which pitches appear more or less frequently, another interpretation is possible. In singing, two pitches, C and G, are rarely used. In other words, the melodies of singing rely on the construction of a perfect fourth degree and a major second, starting with Bb, Eb, and F. Since this degree relationship is the same as shown in the changed kyemyŏnjo,

⁵³ In his analysis of kyemyŏnjo, Hwang Chungyŏn uses a different way of arranging the notes of the mode than other authors. He places the first note in the middle of the consecutive notes of the mode. He calls it *kung* 宮, the center note; the second, calling it *sang il* 上一, the first upper, etc. The fifth note octave lower is called the first down. In addition, unlike Chang Sahun and Yi Sukhŭi, he considers hwangjong (C) as the first note of kyemyŏnjo used in Chŏngdaeŏp.

they seem to be grounded on it, as Chang Sahun and Yi Sukhŭi suggest. The case of the wind instruments' melodies also seems to require other interpretation than previous authors. Unlike the vocal parts, five pitches are used in these melodies, suggesting that they are based on p'yŏngjo, as Hwang Chunyŏn has concluded. However, upon listening to each piece of Chŏngdaeŏp, one finds that their mode is not the same the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces, which are based on p'yŏngjo. Actually, in Chŏngdaeŏp, a major second-degree progression between Bb and C does not appear as frequently as it does in Pot'aep'yŏng.⁵⁴

To discuss another change from *Sogak 1*, the insertion of a meaningless vowel ㅇ|| (sounding like “e”) should be mentioned. It was in *Cherye chuak ũiju* that this vowel first was recorded in the scores of Chongmyo-cheryeak, although it is not known when it had been added (Yi Sukhŭi 2003b: 88). According to Kim Chŏngja, this vowel tends to appear regularly when the same note repeats six times at the end of a five-Chinese characters phrase, or irregularly within any textual phrase (Kim Chŏngja 1992: 29-30). Noting that when Chongmyo-cherye's ritual dance movements change, there are no textual lyrics attached, Yi Sukhŭi suggests that this vowel functions like a lyric that signals such a change (Yi Sukhŭi 2003b: 94).

Thus, while the current Chongmyo-cheryeak shows certain differences from its historic antecedent, it retains some of its original features. The rhythmic regularities in the changgu, pak, and gong parts generally continued from the *Sejong Annals* to *Sogak 1*. In *Taeak*, the rhythm of the melodies in some pieces began to change. Such changes seem to have been made more frequently in pieces that have changgu patterns 3 or 5. However,

⁵⁴ When listening to sound recordings of Chongmyo-cheryeak made during the Japanese occupation, hwangjong notes in Chŏngdaeŏp do not sound lowered as much as muyŏk (Bb). They sound more like B to this author, while Chŏn Inp'yŏng notes that the original kyemyŏnjo seems to continue in them (Chŏn Inp'yŏng 1995: 155).

in *Sogak 1*, some of the changgu and pak parts in the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces do not observe the original rhythms. In these pieces, the original groupings of words by pak strokes has also changed in pieces that had had either changgu patterns 3 or 7. In addition, considerable rhythmic change appears in the same Pot'aep'yŏng pieces. In other Pot'aep'yŏng pieces, having either changgu patterns 1 or 2, rhythmic regularities in the changgu and pak parts were kept, and words were marked by pak strokes, as earlier. Such musical change, on the one hand, and continuity, on the other hand, is reflected in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak. Chŏngdaeŏp songs seem to have moved in the same direction as the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces. Those Chŏngdaeŏp pieces that originally included changgu patterns 1, 2, or 6 have the original groupings of words by pak strokes, while others do not. The pitches in the bells and chime parts remain the same in the melodic lines as in the *Sejo Annals*.

Chapter V: Voices of Performers and Others

The original function of Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music changed after the Taehan cheguk (the Korean Empire) ended in 1910. Chongmyo-cherye is no longer considered the state sacrificial rite, as it had been under a Confucian monarchy. The elements of the rite, its music, and dance were reconstructed. In order to understand how Chongmyo-cheryeak has been reshaped in the twentieth century, we turn to stories of people who have been involved in continuing the tradition of this music and the rite at which it is performed. Following that, we will consider two descriptions of the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak posted by ordinary individuals on the internet in order to reflect what Chongmyo-cheryeak means to the Koreans.

The music institute of the Yi royal family

When Japan first colonized Korea in 1910, the Taehan cheguk's last emperor was degraded to a king, and the Yi royal family was redefined as relatives of the Japanese emperor. The royal music institute became responsible for performing the ritual music and dance of Chongmyo-cherye during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910–1945). Formerly called *Changakkaw* 掌樂科, the Office of the Ministry of Music, it was renamed *Aak tae* 雅樂隊, “the band of aak,” and eighty-one out of 270 musicians were fired.¹ In 1913, it was again retitled, as *Yiwangjik aakpu* 李王職雅樂部, the Aak Music

¹ When the transformation of the Chosŏn dynasty to the Taehan cheguk was declared in 1897, the number of the court ceremonies increased to reflect this transformation, and the number of musicians and dancers reached 772 in 1897. However, the number decreased twice (from 772 to 305 to 270) as the Taehan cheguk reorganized the system of government between 1897 and 1908 (Ham Hwajin 1999: 92).

Institute of the Yi Royal Family. The institute continued to be reorganized, and by 1922 only thirty-five musicians were left. Although it was supported financially by the Korean royal family, it now operated under the supervision of the Japanese colonial government (Song Hyejin 2003: 14, Song Pangsong 1984: 525-43).

The musicians who remained faced hardships as the tradition of the Taehan cheguk's court music looked as it was about to end. They hardly had any opportunity to perform: ceremonies in which music used to be played, such as the royal session, were discontinued. Only one banquet was held during the entire thirty-five years of the occupation. However, two of the previous state sacrificial rites were still celebrated: *Munmyo cherye* 文廟祭禮, the sacrificial rite for Confucius, and Chongmyo-cherye (Chang Sahun 1986: 483, interview with Söng Kyöngnin and Kim Ch'önhüŋ, December 1, 2004, Söng Kyöngnin and Han Manyöng 1975: 242).

The practice of Chongmyo-cherye was permitted by the Japanese as a private sacrificial rite for the Yi royal family's ancestors. Reportedly, however, neither the king nor any other members of the royal family participated in the rite. It was the officials of *Chönsagwa* 典祀科, the Office of Ritual Observance, which was responsible for conducting Chongmyo-cherye (Song Hyejin 2003: 14, interview with Söng Kyöngnin and Kim Ch'önhüŋ, December 1, 2004).

The performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak now differed in important ways. First, many instruments formerly used in the rite were eliminated, so that the terrace and courtyard ensemble now consisted of 18 musicians each (Chang Sahun 1985: 393-4). Second, most of the Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöp pieces had their text changed. For example, if a piece's original lyrics included the Chinese characters 聖 divine or

皇 emperor, these were replaced by another character, 祖 ancestors. If a piece's original text commemorated the Chosŏn's relationship with the Japanese, those words were rewritten to eliminate the reference.² In actual performances of Chongmyo-cherye, however, singers did not read the lyrics of each piece. Instead, they vocalized the melodies by using onomatopoeic sounds to imitate wind instruments. Third, the number of dancers decreased from sixty-four to thirty-six. Due to this reduction in number, people from outside the music institute were brought in, but since they did not know how to do the ritual dance, a simple bowing movement in three directions took its place (Yi Chongsuk 2002: 167-8, interview with Sŏng Kyŏngnin and Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng, December 1, 2004, Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng, Sŏng Kyŏngnin, and Kim Kisu 1966: 23-9).

Under these changed circumstances, the institute's musicians began to seek new ways of continuing the court music tradition. They tried not only to preserve, but to broaden it. They reconstructed and presented court dances that had not been performed for some time and embraced musical genres such as Chŏngga (Korean traditional classical songs), that had formerly been performed outside the court. In addition, as musicians got older and retired, the institute began recruiting new students. Nine male apprentices were selected in 1919, and by 1945, 113 students had been admitted. Many joined after completing their formal education. The institute reached out the public from 1930 on by opening its performances to everyone. Recordings were made and performances began to be broadcast (Yun Myŏngwŏn 1991: 118, Chang Sahun 1986: 483-6, Sŏng Kyŏngnin 1991: 4-5, Song Hyejin 1991: 137-8). Once they were presented to the public and recorded, the repertoires seem to have taken hold both as musical works

² The stricken text generally celebrated the Chosŏn royal ancestors' conciliation or conquest of the Japanese.

to be played in their original performance context, and in new concert settings. There seemed to be a realization among the institute's musicians that what they had inherited was not something for the royal family alone, but for all of the Korean people (Han Myŏnghŭi, Song Hyejin, and Yun Chunggang 2001: 109-12).

The performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak underwent a similar rebirth. In the early 1930s, the ritual dance that accompanied Chongmyo-cheryeak was reconstructed and taught to new students at the institute, even though it was not used during the colonial period in performing the actual rite. Selected pieces of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp were also recorded and the instrumental music of Pot'aep'yŏng was played in public (Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng, Sŏng Kyŏngnin, and Kim Kisu 1966: 28-9, Yun Myŏngwŏn 1991: 126, Song Hyejin 2003: 9-10). Consequently, the ritual music obtained new performance contexts.

Therefore, from 1910 on, Chongmyo-cheryeak could no longer be produced in the identical way as it was played during the Taehan cheguk, as changes were made in the songs, the musical ensembles that played them, and in the dances. Nevertheless, the royal music institute attempted to continue the tradition of the former Korean dynasty's court music and its ritual dance by reconstructing it and presenting it to the public as a concert repertoire.

Kungnip kugak wŏn: The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts
(NCKTPA)

After Korea achieved independence in 1945, the royal music institute's musicians faced harsher condition than ever before and most musicians left. Sŏng

Kyöngnin describes the time as “being in a barren field.” In 1948, the remaining musicians submitted an appeal to the Korean National Assembly for transforming and supporting the royal music institute as a national organization (interview with Söng Kyöngnin and Kim Ch’önhüng, December 1, 2004). *Kungnip kugak wön*, the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA), was established in 1951, during the Korean War. The Center was responsible for performing the music of Chongmyo-cherye until 2003.

In their request, the musicians had admitted that “considering the use of aak in the past,” the reason for the music institute’s existence might be “obscure.” Pointing out that aak was both the art music of the country and the cultural heritage of the Korean people, they argued that it could refine the Korean mind and display the excellence of Korean culture. Finally, they stated that the creation of a new national music might be achieved only through aak (*Kungnip kugak wön* 2001: 47).

In response, the Korean National Assembly proclaimed: “Rooted in the beginnings of the Silla dynasty, passed down to the Koryö, and reaching its greatest height in the Chosön, aak³ is the art music that the Korean people alone possess. Therefore, in elevating this national music of our own, we are being asked to cultivate our own national spirits, as well as contribute to world culture” (*Kungnip kugak wön* 2001: 48).

Originally, the musicians hoped to call the NCKTPA *Kungnip aakwön* 國立雅樂院, the national center for aak. However, it seems that the Korean government

³ In this discussion, the meaning of aak includes not only the sacrificial ritual music of the Chosön dynasty, but *hyangak* as well.

chose the term *kugak* 國樂, national music, to emphasize its country-wide character.⁴ The term made its first appearance in 1907 to refer collectively to the music of the Chosŏn court (Song Pangsong 1984: 521). When the Korean phonetic alphabet became reevaluated as *kungmun* 國文, national script, between 1895 and 1910 by Korean nationalist elites of the early twentieth century who were actively searching for a uniquely Korean identity (Schmid 2000: 83-94), Korean court music was similarly redefined as national music.

The musicians who remained at the music institute after 1910 became its principal figures. The Center has worked to inherit and preserve traditional Korean music in many ways. Most notably, it opened a subsidiary educational institute in 1955 called *Kugaksa yangsŏngso* 國樂師養成所, the School for Traditional Korean Music. Later, this educational institute became the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts High School, and its graduates have been the main force in continuing Korea's court music tradition. The Center came to include a new music ensemble for traditional folk music (Kungnip *kugak wŏn* 2001: 45-8, Ch'oe Chongmin 1995: 43-6).

The Center has presented the performances of traditional Korean music and dance in various contexts. It has also published musical scores of its repertoire, as well as books. It has produced recordings, offered lectures, and held workshops (Song Pangsong 1984:

⁴ Senior musicians of the Chosŏn's royal music institute between 1907 and 1910 were called *kugaksa* 國樂師, national music teachers. During the Japanese occupation, the term *kugak* was no longer used at the Royal Music Institute. Instead, the musicians were called *aaksa* 雅樂師, aak teachers.

587). Chongmyo-cheryeak has also been enacted, published, and recorded, so that its tradition can be passed on to the next generation.⁵

Compared to the performances staged when Korea was an occupied country, the current presentations have certain differences. Instruments that had been removed during the colonial era have been restored: Ŏ and haegŭm to the terrace ensemble, and ǒ to the courtyard ensemble. In Confucian tradition, ǒ, which symbolizes the West and autumn, was the instrument that signaled the conclusion of a piece (Han Chin 1993: 14-5). The changgu part was also reconstructed in 1973⁶ based on the *Sejo Annals*. The lyrics of the ritual songs of Chongmyo-cheryeak were sung, and its ritual dance was once more performed by sixty-four dancers instead of thirty-six. In addition, the Center presented Chongmyo-cheryeak in a new format in 1999. When previously been performed in concert settings, only the ritual music was played. However, as presented in December 1999, not only the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak, but the rite and its ritual dance were done simultaneously. The Center wished to show how each piece of Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance changes musically as different ritual procedures unfold (interview with Kim Kōbu, November 31, 2004).

⁵ According to Song Hyejin, Chongmyo-cheryeak has become a significant musical repertoire due to the efforts of the NCKTPA. The Center presented the entire Chongmyo-cheryeak twelve times between 1965 and 2003. If one adds the many times the Center offered performances in which some pieces from Chongmyo-cheryeak are included, she explains, the number goes beyond several hundreds (Song Hyejin 2003: 10-11).

⁶ See footnote 51 in Chapter IV.

Performers as transmitters of tradition: Yi Tonggyu, Kim Yöngsuk, and Kwak T'aegyü

The tradition of Chongmyo-cheryeak and its dance has been transmitted through generations of performers. As a performance does not exist until it is enacted, sustaining the tradition would not have been possible without those artists. However, in conversation with contemporary Korean musicians and dancers, one learns that their understanding of “continuing the tradition” involves more than simply reproducing what they have learned from their teachers or past performers. To illustrate this point, we turn to the stories of three performers, Yi Tonggyu, Kim Yöngsuk, and Kwak T'aegyü.

Yi Tonggyu

Yi Tonggyu is the artistic director of the Chöngaktan 正樂團, a performing group for traditional Korean classical music within the NCKTPA. For his performance of *kagok* 歌曲, a Korean classical vocal genre, he has received the designation of one capable of performing (“holding”) a work that is a Human Cultural Treasure. Yi Tonggyu has also performed the ritual songs of Chongmyo-cheryeak.

Coming from a musical family in which his ancestors were devoted to the court music of the Chosön dynasty, he identifies himself as a “hereditary musician.” From his great-great-grandfather to his grandfather, his male relatives were court musicians. His grandfather, Yi Sugyöng, is said to have been the only musician who could sing the ritual songs of Chongmyo-cheryeak. His father, who majored in *p'iri* 피리, a kind of wind instrument, and in *kagok* singing, was trained at the Yi royal family's music institute (Söng Kyöngnin 1991: 5-6).

Yi Tonggyu remembers growing up “always listening to music.” He recalls paulownia boards⁷ on the roof of his grandfather’s house, and seeing his father teaching music classes. At the age of six, his father let him learn *tan’ga* 短歌, a vocal genre, in order to “loosen his voice.” In 1958, he entered the Kugaksa yangsǒngso, the School for Traditional Korean Music, where he majored in *kayagŭm*, a stringed Korean instrument, performance (interview with Yi Tonggyu, November 24, 2004).

It was at this school that he was taught *kagok* by Yi Chuhwan, the first Human Cultural Treasure for *kagok* performance, as well as the first chair of the NCKTPA. Among his classmates, Yi Tonggyu recalls, he was the only student who could produce a beautiful *soksori* 속소리, “the sound of inside” (a falsetto voice). “That I was born with such a good voice was something I was proud of inwardly,” he recollects. Realizing that he was serious about *kagok* singing, he began to take private lessons from Yi Chuhwan in 1971. Unfortunately, his teacher passed away soon afterwards.

“Being still young enough to learn more,” he began searching for another teacher. He concluded that he needed to study his late father’s singing, so he started collecting recordings of his father’s performances. There, he says, he found “a great difference between my father’s singing and what I had learned from Yi Chuhwan. At the time of those recordings, I think my father, Tubong Yi Pyǒngsǒng, was in a position of seniority as well as a teacher [of Yi Chuhwan]. In addition, my father used to play a lot. This is what I should do, this is the root!” (interview with Yi Tonggyu, December 24, 2004).

By that time he had also begun to learn the ritual songs of Chongmyo-cherye from Kim Kisu, who had learned them from Yi Tonggyu’s grandfather, Yi Sugyǒng. By the

⁷ Paulownia boards were used to make *kǒmun’go*, a Korean stringed instrument.

middle of 1970s, Yi Tonggyu began to wonder about some of the ritual songs. He noticed certain ones included syllables that were sung in Korean pronunciation that did not correspond to the Chinese characters in the text. He then consulted a historical music treatise called *Akhak kwebŏm*⁸ to confirm that these syllables really did not match the original texts. When he asked Kim Kisu why this was so, he was told that some texts had changed during the period of Japanese occupation. Yi Tonggyu then proposed that he sing the syllables as originally written, and his teacher simply agreed. Since then, Yi Tonggyu has performed the songs with their original lyrics (interview Yi Tonggyu, November 24, 2004).

Kim Yŏngsuk

Kim Yŏngsuk is the artistic director of the Inch'ŏn Metropolitan Dance Company in Inch'ŏn, Korea. She has been designated an assistant responsible for continuing the tradition of the ritual dance of Chongmyo-cheryeak. Majoring in traditional Korean dance in Ehwa Women's University, she was first introduced to the Chosŏn court dance in her junior year by her teacher, Kim Ch'ŏnhŭng. Having been "attracted" to the dance, she got a job at the NCKTPA in 1975. At the same time, she began teaching traditional dance at the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts High School (interview with Kim Yŏngsuk December 24, 2004).

At first, she was motivated to learn the ritual dance again in order to teach it to the students of the high school. Sŏng Kyŏngnin, who that time was the principal of the high school, taught her all twenty-three of the ritual dance pieces. According to Kim Yŏngsuk,

⁸ See Chapter III, footnote 12.

there were few dancers left who were still able to do all those dances. Although the students of the high school were taught to perform the ritual dance to accompany Chongmyo-cherye, they did not have to learn more than a few of the pieces. The modern rite does not last as long as it did formerly because officiants assigned to each spirit room (sinsil) now conduct ritual stages simultaneously. For example, the master celebrant no longer makes the first offering of wine to each ancestor himself, nor visits the individual spirit rooms in turn. Under these changed circumstance, learning four to five dance pieces was enough to accompany the rite (interview with Kim Yöngsuk, December 24, 2004).

The ritual dance's choreographic notation had already been published by Kim Kisu in 1958. Nevertheless, Kim Yöngsuk recalls, the complete suites were hardly taught or performed. Her teachers, who had been musicians in the Yi royal family's music institute, were concerned: dance pieces that had not been performed in a long time might be "lost." Sharing her teachers' worries, she learned all the ritual dance pieces again from Kim Kisu and performed them on stage in 1988 (Kim Yöngsuk, December 24, 2004).

The pieces she learned were the ones that had been reconstructed in the 1930s by Kim Yöngje, the fourth head of the Yi royal family's music institute. In order to revive the ritual dance, he had consulted *Siyong mubo* 時用舞譜, "the notation of dance currently used," which included dance movements and their names to accompany Pot'aep'yöng and Chöngdaeöþ. The notation was the only one available, but it was less than ideal because it did not include the dance movements for two Chöngdaeöþ pieces, Somu and Yönggwan. In two other pieces, Kwiin and Hyökchöng, the movements were only partially written out (Kim Ch'önhüng, Söng Kyöngnin, and Kim Kisu 1966: 22-3, Kim Yöngsuk 1981: 36-8).

Ultimately, Kim Yǒngje recreated dance movements for Somu and Yǒnggwan by combining the existing ones in the notation. He completed the missing parts of Kwiin and Hyǒkchǒng in the same way. As for the rest of pieces, he added or subtracted dance movements, although he retained most of the original (Kim Yǒngsuk 1981: 38-89).

Kim Yǒngsuk considers Kim Yǒngje's modifications inevitable. "As time passes, changes are bound to be made, although people living in the present generally follow what has been done in the past . . . because that is dance." In this context, she finds that the Chosǒn tradition has been "transmitted without great change" (interview with Kim Yǒngsuk, December 24, 2004, Kim Yǒngsuk 1981: 92).

Kwak T'aegyū

Kwak T'aegyū is a bandleader of the Ch'angjak aktan 창작악단, a performance group for creating compositions, within the NCKTPA. Majoring in p'iri, he studied with Kim T'aesǒp, a musician at the Yi royal family's music institute, and Chǒng Chaeguk, the first graduate of the Kugaksa yangsǒngso. After attending the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts High School, he earned a degree from Seoul National University in the 1970s.

According to Kwak T'aegyū, in traditional Korean music culture, musicians are encouraged to play differently from their teachers. When he learned the p'iri part of Chongmyo-cheryeak, he utilized notation that was coauthored by his teachers. At first, he followed the Chongmyo-cheryeak melodies as written and imitated what his teacher demonstrated. However, he was not expected to continue doing so indefinitely. As one's

musicality matures, he says, a musician needs to “extract one’s own interpretation” through “adding,” “subtracting,” or both. New notes may be inserted in the original melody, and some notes may be omitted. Consequently, rhythmic changes follow. Otherwise, he reports, the “teachers disliked it a lot” (interview with Kwak T’aegyū, December 28, 2004).

He uses a phrase “*Ch’ōngch’ul ōram* 青出於藍,” that refers to the student surpassing the teacher, that is, students should expand upon their teacher’s performance. In the case of Chongmyo-cheryeak, “since the bells and chimes play each note of the original Chongmyo-cheryeak melodies,” a p’iri player “should not be trapped” in the notation. Hwang Pyōnggi writes that the creativity of musicians has contributed to making musical changes in Chongmyo-cheryeak (interview with Kwak T’aegyū, December 28, 2004, Hwang Pyōnggi 1976b: 22-4).

According to Kwak T’aegyū, there may be different versions of one p’iri melody. Thus, we may wonder at how ensemble playing is possible in Chongmyo-cheryeak. However, as Kwak T’aegyū explains, there is a designated leader of the ensemble, the *mok-p’iri* 목피리, the head of the p’iri players. It is the *mok-p’iri* who leads the melodies, deciding on how to phrase or ornament them, and on their dynamics and tempo. Unlike a Western conductor, however, the *mok-p’iri* does not give directions to other musicians. Rather, they are supposed to adjust their playing in order to follow the *mok-p’iri*’s lead. For this reason, Kwak T’aegyū finds that the performance of the same piece will vary, depending on who becomes the *mok-p’iri*. “In the 1960s, teachers had their own musical logic,” he says. “We have the contemporary NCKTPA. As time goes on [the music will

be] transformed or changed in its own way” (interview with Kwak T’aegyū, December 28, 2004).

The new meaning of Chongmyo-cheryeak: Kim Ch’ōrho

Kim Ch’ōrho is the current head of the NCKTPA. He entered the Kugaksa-yangsongso in the 1960s and went on to major in theory of kugak at Seoul National University during the 1970s. Kugak was generally disregarded in those days, he says. While “playing a violin was considered wonderful,” he used to feel that “my acquaintances wondered why I did kugak— such a low art—although I did not *look* like a fool!” It was not until the 1980s that more Korean people began to realize “our things are not something to be ashamed of or feel inferior about.” Gradually, becoming interested in Korean “history, faces, clothing, and music,” Koreans recognized that their “things are just different.” Further, the notion that “such uniqueness was what made the world beautiful” became more prevalent than before (interview with Kim Ch’ōrho, December 18, 2004).

In 2004, the Center was planning to present a concert performance of the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak in which the ritual stages of Chongmyo-cherye would be enacted on stage. This was to take place at the upcoming Frankfurt Book Fair 2005, where Korea had been invited as the guest of honor. Kim Ch’ōrho says that the Center selected Chongmyo-cheryeak because it contained “the Orient’s historical and mental significance.” Further, it is “we” who “perform this Korean music so that people everywhere may benefit from it.” In the following, we will examine this statement more closely (interview with Kim Ch’ōrho, December 18, 2004).

Kim Ch'ŏrho begins by describing how the Orient has conceptualized art. He considers the core principle of oriental aesthetics to be the achievement of harmony. He says:

“Oriental art is very simple. The Orient expresses the order or flow of the world as *dao* 道, way. Human behavior that follows the dao is called li 禮, propriety. If one observes li, it means that such a person does not digress from dao. In this way, one can become liberated and secure. Then there is a phrase *Sugi ch'ian* 修己治安, meaning that only through cultivating oneself to follow dao can one spread peace. That state of achieving such peace among people is called hwa 和, harmony” (interview with Kim Ch'ŏrho, December 18, 2004).

“In the Orient,” he continues, harmony is understood as something that only liberated people can appreciate. The Orient's spirit is harmony. For this reason, the main theme of Oriental aesthetics is how to realize such harmony (interview with Kim Ch'ŏrho, December 18, 2004).

He went on explaining the relation of harmony, li, and music. “In order to achieve the state of harmony in music and life, there are courses to go through. In each course, li should be present. When one practices the state of harmony through music, it is called *yeak* 禮樂, that is, li and music.” As examples of *yeak*, he cites *cheryeak* 祭禮樂, the music of a sacrificial rite, and *yŏllyeak* 宴禮樂, the music of a banquet held with all due propriety.⁹ For him, ritual music is “the music through which the heaven, the earth, and all humanity together aspire for peace,” while banquet music expresses “joy between a king and queen, a king and his offspring, and a king and his subjects.” However, he says, “*cheryeak* is considered the most meaningful [music of all].”

⁹ The court banquets of the Chosŏn dynasty were done according to a set of prescribed ceremonial procedures. For example, how many times and when to drink wine, or when to play music, was all prescribed.

Elaborating on the sacrifices, Kim Ch'örho explains:

“In the Orient, it is chesa (a familial sacrificial rite) that is considered higher than any other family events.... In the Orient, venerating someone who passed away is regarded as very auspicious....The most representative [sacrificial] rite is to worship the kings and queens of a nation. So, among cheryeak, the finest example is Chongmyo-cheryeak.... It is because it includes such historical and spiritual meaning that we perform Chongmyo-cheryeak. By presenting this Korean music, people everywhere can listen and appreciate it” (interview with Kim Ch'örho December 18, 2004).

The multiple significances of Chongmyo-cherye: Yi Kijön

Yi Kijön is the director of the Department of the Practice of Li in the Chönju Yissi taedong chongyak wön, the organization of the Yi family clan. He has served in the organization since 1976, and in 2000 was designated as a specialist in the ritual procedures of Chongmyo-cherye (interview with Yi Kijön, December 16, 2004). His story illustrates how the practice of Chongmyo-cherye involves multiple layers of significance.

The performance of the rite embodies the Confucian idea of expressing filial piety. He says that his organization practices it because “we are the descendants of the ancestors. If we do not [do it], who else will?” According to Yi Kijön, the funds needed to conduct the rite comes mainly from donations, usually contributed by officiants. Although both the Korean government and the Seoul City administration sponsor the rite, those funds are not enough. “So the people who are selected as officiants donate money. They do this as though they were contributing wine or food at a familial sacrifice for their father” (interview with Yi Kijön, December 16, 2004).

Through the rite, the existence of the ancestral spirits is confirmed. He believes that the ritual stage of unifying the spiritual entity and physical remains of the ancestors should be done in a very pious manner. According to him, “When practicing Chongmyo-cherye, all procedures are important. Nothing is less important. However, the most solemn procedure is inviting the gods, that is, the burning of incense and pouring wine on the earth. There is a phrase *Ch’ŏnhon chibaek* 天魂地魄, which means *hon* 魂,¹⁰ the spiritual entity of an ancestor, is in heaven, and *ch’ebaek* 體魄,¹¹ the physical remains of an ancestor, is on earth. The practice of the rite can be done only when *honbaek* 魂魄, the spiritual entity and the physical remains of an ancestor, are invited and present. This is the most important thing” (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Since the rite has been recognized as an Important Intangible Cultural Property, the range of descendants who are allowed to practice it has been expanded. Historically, the descendants of the queens and the clans of the loyal subjects did not participate in the rite. However, in order to make it a National Intangible Cultural Property, about 15 years ago the organization began to invite members of the clans to which the Chosŏn queens and loyal subjects belonged to participate in the rite (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Yi Kijŏn observes, “We did change it. Although it is said that Chongmyo-cherye is practiced only for Chŏnju Yissi—even in the newspapers and on TV—it is not true. Still it is considered an event that Chŏnju Yissi members do. If so, how could it have

¹⁰ In the Confucian world view, the spiritual entity of an ancestor is invited by the ritual act of burning incense.

¹¹ An ancestor’s physical remains are invoked by pouring wine on the earth.

become a national cultural property? Isn't that so? Why did we change it? Weren't the queens and loyal subjects the people whose contributions made the Chosŏn dynasty last for 519 years?" (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

The practice of Chongmyo-cherye has made it possible to revive other Confucian state sacrificial rites discontinued by the Japanese colonial government. In 1988, the administration of the City of Seoul rebuilt *Sajiktan* 社稷壇, the altar of *Sajik* 社稷, spirits of land and grain, in the hope of increasing tourism. The organization was asked by the City to conduct *Sajikche* 社稷祭, the sacrificial rite for Sajik. Accordingly, all the components of the rite were reconstructed. Yi Kijŏn recalls that at first historical texts such as the annals of the Chosŏn kings were consulted. However, he continues, "the ability to conduct such a rite does not come from bibliographical research. Rather, it comes from a long period of living experience" (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Since 1988, Yi Kijŏn's organization kept practicing the newly-constructed rite at the Sajik altar independently, while petitioning the Korean government to give it official status. Finally, in 2000, it was designated Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 111. Chongmyo-cheryeak was performed to accompany the rite that year (interview with Yi Kijŏn, December 16, 2004).

Thus, we see that the practice of Chongmyo-cherye may carry various meanings simultaneously. For individuals participating in the rite, it is the instrument of expressing their filial piety. As a sacred place, it is *where* the existence of these individuals' ancestral spirits are affirmed, as well as the intersection in time when the ancestors and

their descendants can meet. Finally, it functions as a model initiative that encourages the revival of other Chosŏn state sacrificial rites.

Appreciation of “our things” in the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak

We will introduce the voices of Koreans who are not involved in the performance of Chongmyo-cherye, its music or dance, but have an interest in it for some reason. In this way, we may see what the rite, in its various aspects, means to contemporary Koreans. Two descriptions of and some reactions to two performances held in May 2002 and 2004, will be discussed in the following.^{12, 13}

Most of all, the historicity of Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music and dance is noted in the descriptions. In one, the author comments that “it is said that Chongmyo is the only site in the world where a sacrificial rite is held for the kings and queens of a past dynasty according to old ritual procedures,” and “the hundreds of officiants, gathered from various regions of Korea, in old costumes as they were in the past, standing in rows caught [my] eyes.” The writer also mentions what he/she learns from observing the performance of Chongmyo-cherye: “Only wines were offered [during the rite] in the Chosŏn dynasty,” unlike the Koryŏ dynasty. According to historical documents, he/she

¹² The use of the internet seems to facilitate the spread of information on Chongmyo-cherye and Chongmyo-cheryeak in Korea. There are many web documents concerning the rite and its ritual music and dance. For example, empas.com, one of the major Korean internet portal sites, has links to 1,698 personal blogs that include postings on Chongmyo-cherye and 975 blogs with reference to Chongmyo-cheryeak. The descriptions to be introduced were selected from the author’s casual internet search.

¹³ The first description is from a post by a member of a tea ceremony community named *Pulgwangsa tadohoe* 불광사 다도회, the Society for the Pulgwang Tea Ceremony, on its web board after the writer observed a performance at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in June 2002, Seoul, Korea (http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=202&nnew=1, accessed on March 2, 2006). The second is from a personal blog that describes a performance in Seoul, Korea, in May 2004. (<http://www.blog.empas.com/zach45/read.html?a=2107905> accessed on March 2, 2006).

writes, “tea offerings were usual in the court ceremonies of the Koryŏ dynasty”

(<http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/>

[read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=20](http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=20), accessed on March 2, 2006).

In another posting, after mentioning that King Sejong made Pot’aep’yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, another observer expresses his/her curiosity about “how King Sejong would feel listening to the music again after hundreds of years have passed”

(<http://www.blog.empas.com/zach45/read.html?a=2107905>, accessed on March 2, 2006).

These writers cited explain the ritual procedures, its music and dance, as well as their personal feelings on the elements of the ceremony. Listing each of the ritual procedures, the first author notes that:

“It was good to be able to watch closely the ritual procedures that were being conducted in the sinsil (spirit’s room) on a big screen this time. When I observed the rite a few years ago, I was curious [about what was going on in the sinsil] because it was impossible to see it. It was very impressive [to see] that [officiants] call upon the spiritual entities [of royal ancestors] by burning incense and bring forth the physical remains [of the ancestors] by pouring wine on the ground.” “The graceful music played by p’yŏnjong, p’yŏngyŏng, taego, chingo, chŏlgo tangp’iri, ching, and haegŭm made the atmosphere [of the rite] more solemn”
(<http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/>

[read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=202&nnew=1](http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=202&nnew=1), accessed on March 2, 2006).

After explaining what the ritual procedures are for and how they are related to the music, the author of the second description reveals that “besides the colors, which carry symbolic meanings independently of musical sounds, of the music instruments such as ch’uk, pak, ŏ [and] the feeling from characteristic percussive instruments such as p’yŏngyŏng and p’yŏnjong, it was t’aep’yŏngso that amazed me most The sound of

t'aep' yǒngso sounding during the second wine offering had the effect of conveying affectionate feelings [aet' ŭthan nŭkkim] tastefully [matkkal sŭrŏpke]."

(<http://www.blog.empas.com/zach45/read.html?a=2107905>, accessed on March 2, 2006)

The writers sampled were not shy revealing their affection for "our tradition." The first author says that "I like Chongmyo in the winter season. Coming to the shrine in winter with snow piled up, [I find] the long lines of the Chǒngjǒn roof and the still and spacious courtyard of the Chǒngjǒn more beautiful How about having a cup of tea there? A cup of warm tea, [one is] drinking it while watching it snow, is really tasty." The author ends with the comment: ". . . . having many things of interest in our tradition is also beautiful" (<http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/>

[read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=20](http://www.bulkwang.or.kr/technote/read.cgi?board=dado&y_number=20), accessed on March 2, 2006). The second writer who identifies himself as a college student in engineering comments:

"The tradition [of Chongmyo-cherye, its music and dance] we refer to now also is the one that has been shaped in its own way through the coexistence of it with the foreign culture in the past. The reason that [this] tradition is accepted as our characteristic thing is that [it] implicitly includes contexts. [In the contexts], there are common feeling that only we can have and feel"

(<http://www.blog.empas.com/zach45/read.html?a=2107905> accessed on March 2, 2006)

What is remarkable in these descriptions is that the experience of Chongmyo or the tradition of Chongmyo-cherye along with its ritual music and dance, provides each author an opportunity to affirm "our characteristic thing" and their love for "our tradition." One of the core concepts of nationalism is that of "conscious attachment to the nation. It is, after all, love of one great family" (Smith 2001: 31).

In examining the reaction of some Koreans to the rite conducted in May 2004 in which a Japanese royal family member participated as an officiant, we may see how in terms of nationalism, the performance of Chongmyo-cherye is regarded as a symbolic event in which Korean people's "independence and self-esteem" should not be violated. The ritual performance in 2004 was criticized by many members of the Chŏnju Yissi taedong chongyak wŏn, as well as other Koreans. Most of all, they denounced it because a Japanese, an adopted descendant of the Japanese royal family of Yi Pangja,¹⁴ the Crown Princess of the Taehan cheguk, made the second wine offering for the dead princess (*Chosŏn ilbo* 조선일보, May 11, 2004). A member of the Chŏnju Yissi clan expressed his discomfort, saying: "It was unthinkable that the officiant, belonging to the Japanese royal family whose ancestors destroyed the Chosŏn dynasty, appeared in such a sacred place like Chongmyo where the spirits of the royal ancestors of the Chosŏn dynasty are venerated!" (*Chugan chosŏn* 주간조선, May 20, 2004). Another said that "how could [the Committee] let the Japanese cousin of the Princess participate in the rite when there are descendants of King Ŭich'in, a son of King Kojong [the first emperor of the Korean Empire], available? Shouldn't the descendants [of King Ŭich'in] be officiants? What has happened to our people's independence and self-esteem?" (<http://www.rfo.co.kr/board1/view.php3?mode=view&id=599&page=1&num>, accessed on May 10, 2004). One person even suggested that the Crown Princess's mortuary table be relocated to another place so that no Japanese royal family member could take part in the rite in the future, claiming that the performance of the rite was a disgrace not only to the members of the Chŏnju

¹⁴ As a member of the Japanese royal family, she married the last Crown Prince of the Taehan cheguk. She claimed that she was chosen to be the wife of the Crown Prince because Japanese doctors had diagnosed her as infertile. Her mortuary tablet is kept with that of her husband in the Second Shrine building of Chongmyo.

Yissi clan, but to “forty million Korean people”

(<http://www.rfo.co.kr/board1/view.php3?mode=view&id=596&page=1&num>, accessed on May 10, 2004).

In addition, the head of the Committee for Conducting Chongmyo-cherye was blamed for introducing a group of fifty Japanese who had accompanied the Japanese officiant and observed the rite, as well as calling them VIPs. He was criticized for expressing his thanks to them and for explaining the rite to them in Japanese at the end of his address (*Chosŏn ilbo* 조선일보, May 11, 2004). “Chongmyo-cherye is not just an event for the Chŏnju Yissi, but a national one. How on earth is it possible [for the head of the Committee for Conducting Chongmyo-cherye] to greet [the Japanese] in Japanese at such a solemn event? It disgraced the Korean people to see him pay his respects [to the Japanese] in Japanese” (*Chugan chosŏn* 주간조선, May 20, 2004). After describing how many Koreans left early while criticizing the speaker, a Korean expressed his feelings as follows: “The Portraits of King Sejong, Yi Sunsin,¹⁵ King Kojong . . . passed before my eyes through my tears. All of them looked very outraged.”

(http://www.ohmynews.com/board/freeboard_view.asp?board=freeboard&me, accessed on May 9, 2004).¹⁶

We may read these reactions as follows: Chongmyo-cherye, as a national event, provides a “sacred” space in which the Korean people’s dignity and national pride should not be violated. No Japanese person whose ancestors had threatened the autonomy of Korea

¹⁵ Yi Sunsin was a heroic admiral who defeated the Japanese Navy when Japan invaded Korea between 1392 and 1398.

¹⁶ The next day, the head of the Committee for Conducting Chongmyo-cherye posted an apology for speaking Japanese in “sacred Chomgyo” in few days (http://www.rfo.co.kr/popup2/winopen/jongmyo_netizen1.gif, accessed on May 9, 2004).

should be permitted to venerate the royal ancestors of the Chosŏn and the Korean empire, nor should the sounds of the Japanese language defile their sacred space.

Chongmyo-cheryeak: cultural object or performance?

Recent debates have been carried out as to the authenticity of the contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak performance. The ceremony has come under criticism as “the distorted performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak.” Claiming that the ritual music’s texts, dance movements, and musical structures were purposefully distorted by the Japanese colonial government, some scholars propose to “correct” the performance of the ritual music and dance, and “restore” its original form (Kim Ryong 2001, Yi Chongsuk 2002, Nam Sangsuk 2003). The concept of authenticity in nationalism theory is an idea relating to the identity of a nation. Nationalism in the search of what it is to be truly oneself finds an answer in “the authentic elements of our beings, and strip[s] away the accretions of the ages.” Furthermore, this idea implicitly leads to “the notion of authenticity as originality,” as exemplified in Korean debates on the originality of Chongmyo-cheryeak (Smith 2001: 29)

However, another group of scholars argues that the altered lyrics were already corrected in 1980 by the NCKTPA at Yi Hyegu’s request. In addition, they contend that the current Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance is the result of natural changes made throughout history. They imply that making such changes has become part of the tradition of performing the ritual music and dance (Song Hyejin 2003, Yi Sukhŭi 2003). In nationalism theory, the ambiguity in the notion of continuity and change is discussed; the idea of continuity is not the opposite notion to change. Continuity entails “a gradual

movement of change and transformation, or an accumulation of layers of past states.” Therefore, “change is continuous” (Smith 2001: 29-30). In this context, changes in Chongmyo-cheryeak may be understood as a product of the continuity of its tradition.

These debates received public attention when two conferences were held in June and December of 2003 and their proceedings reported in major newspapers. In heated discussions, the idea of originality was referred to as a key concept that justifies the existence of Chongmyo-cheryeak in the present. One newspaper reported:

“The important point is not whether changes were made by the colonial government, or if superficial changes have been the result of transmission. Kugak (traditional Korean music), especially when it comes to an inherited cultural property like Chongmyo-cheryeak, needs to be performed according to its original” (*Han’guk ilbo* 한국일보 June 20, 2003).

We may discover two assumptions in this report: First, Chongmyo-cheryeak is referred to as a “property,” that is, it is conceptualized as an object. Second, since it is “inherited,” so it must be preserved in the likeness of its “original.” It is not permissible for it to change, since it has come down to us from the past. Therefore, as music from the past, it should remain in the past.

Other news media had a different opinion from the above:

“Considering that musicians have learned [traditional Korean] music through oral transmission . . . not depending on musical notation, it would be unreasonable [for us] to examine the originality of the existing music. Perhaps the basis that makes the theory of originality legitimate would be the Intangible Cultural Property Protection Law. However, it would not be easy to set up a measurement for the originality of intangible cultural properties, although it would be easier in the cases of tangible cultural properties” (*OhmyNews.com* 오마이뉴스 June 20, 2003 http://www.ohmynews.com/articleview/article_view.asp?at_code=129255, accessed Marh 2, 2006)

This account suggests that the notion of originality may not be applicable to Chongmyo-cheryeak because the music has been transmitted by performers. In addition, Chongmyo-cheryeak is not a tangible cultural asset, such as the Chongmyo shrine.¹⁷

Realizing the difference between a tangible and an intangible cultural asset, one may argue that, since the historical notation of Chongmyo-cheryeak is not the actual performance, the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak cannot exist until it is performed. In epistemology, the music may be considered a cultural object. At the same time, in an ontological way, it is a performance which has been passed down by generations of people. Moreover, although the music has its origin in the past, the performance of the music has always been a contemporary matter. That makes it possible for Koreans of today to continue to play Chongmyo-cheryeak, relate to its performance as part of their cultural heritage, and foster its preservation for future generations.

¹⁷ According to the Intangible Cultural Property Protection Law, the notion of originality signifies the state of a performance when it is designated intangible cultural property. Consequently, the performance is required to be preserved as it is. However, Yim Tonhŭi writes that many Korean scholars are concerned about the idea of originality as implied in the law because it denies the essential quality of folk arts of which vitality depends on its improvisation (Yim Tonhŭi 1998: 172).

Chapter VI: Findings and Conclusion

Findings

My first finding is that the ritual music of Chongmyo-cherye, although it has lost its original context, enhances the lives of contemporary Koreans who are involved in or come to witness the performance of Chongmyo-cherye along with its ritual music and dance. It is a cultural medium that evokes harmony between the ancestral spirits and their descendants when it is performed. It offers an opportunity for Koreans of all ages to learn about and appreciate their tradition. Nowadays, contexts have been created in which the music is given new meaning: Chongmyo-cherye is now celebrated to express filial piety, not only toward the royal ancestors of the Chosŏn dynasty, but also toward the loyal subjects of Chosŏn. Both royal ancestors and loyal subjects have been redefined as “people who have contributed to make the Chosŏn dynasty endure.” Seen in this way, Chongmyo-cherye becomes a ritual performance through which the leadership of those ancestors is celebrated. Originally, it was intended to foster harmony between the reigning king and his subjects, and the ancestral spirits. Today, Chongmyo-cheryeak brings together the modern generation and their ancestral spirits.

Another context has been created since the Korean government has designated Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music, and dance as Important Intangible Cultural Properties. As such, they must be perpetuated for their “historical, artistic, and scholarly values” (Yi Changyŏl 2003: 8). By law, the rite, along with its music and dance, must be performed at least once a year. Thus, they are recognized as cultural assets of significant worth to Korean society.

As a result of its new importance, Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music, and its dance have been utilized by the Korean government to represent Korean identity. Thus, when Korea sponsored the Olympic Games in 1988, the Korean government presented these performances as one of the programs during the Olympics Cultural Arts Festival. From its conception, Koreans decided that the Seoul Olympic “should be a cultural Olympics to show our [Korean] traditional culture and art, as did the ’64 Tokyo Olympics and the ’68 Olympics in Mexico.” According to the ethnomusicologist, Margaret Dilling, Korean planners who chose the music for the opening and closing ceremonies of the Seoul Olympics and the Arts Festival sought to present Korea to the world as a nation both ancient and modern. The message they wished to send was that Korea was not only a recipient of culture from other developed countries, but a transmitter as well, and the musical performances that framed the Olympic ceremonies were designed accordingly (Dilling 1991: 1-11, 583, 638). In this way the performance of Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music, and its dance were coordinated to display Korea’s long history and tradition—all as part of the new Korean identity. Dilling reports that the Korean planners considered the Seoul Olympics and its cultural programs “an inspiring step towards national solidarity, a historical moment to enhance Koreans’ pride in their country and in their Koreanness” (Dilling 1991: 575-6).

In 1997, the Korean Ministry of Culture and Tourism announced Chongmyo-cheryeak to be one of the ten cultural symbols that represent “the spirit of the Korean people [kungminsŏng]” which is “the product [tökke] of life” resulting from the continuous history of a people’s physical and moral experience (<http://www>.

mct.go.kr/imagesofkorea/kor/about/main.htm, accessed on March 1, 2006). The symbols referred to have been publicized to make “Korean identity” known to its citizens as well as those outside Korea (*Yŏnhap news* 연합뉴스 July 8, 2002

http://news.naver.com/news/read.php?mode=LSD&office_id=001&article_id=0000202626§ion_id=100&menu_id=100, accessed on March 13, 2006). In celebration of the opening of the 2002 World Cup, Koreans again presented Chongmyo-cherye, along with its music and dance, as one of the programs through which the government wished to show Korea as a country with an “everlasting traditional culture” coexisting along side of “cutting-edge science represented by information technology” (*Yŏnhap news* 연합뉴스 March 21, 2002 http://news.naver.com/news/read.php?mode=LSD&office_id=001&article_id=0000143106§ion_id=106&menu_id=106, accessed on March 13, 2006).

Yet another context has been associated with the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak with the revival of Sajikche and its designation as an Important Intangible Cultural Property. The music of Chongmyo-cheryeak is performed as part of the reconstructed Sajikche that had been lost since it was discontinued by the Japanese.

My second finding holds that a Korean identity has been constructed and it is conveyed by the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak. As the presentation of Chongmyo-cherye at the Olympic Games in 1988 exemplifies, this ritual represents not only Korea’s past, but has been used to proclaim a contemporary Korean identity. One notes that the rite, its ritual music, and its dance were presented, as a unified cultural event. The architectural features of the shrine buildings, the idea of filial piety, the ritual procedures, the music of Chongmyo-cheryeak, the use of traditional musical instruments, the continuation of

hwangjong pitch as set up during the reign of King Sejong, the ceremonial clothing, the number of dancers, the ritual vessels, food, and wine, all collectively represented the history of Korea—a history that is ongoing. At the same time, each of the above was an element out of Korea’s unique past, by which Koreans may differentiate themselves from others.

My third finding argues that the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak is situated in postcolonial irony because of the foreign designation of “cultural property” that Koreans have applied to it. In the postcolonial period, Japan, the occupier of Korea, originated the notion of cultural property, promulgating the Cultural Property Protection Law of 1950¹ to protect valuable cultural objects or a cultural heritage that, without proper management, might be lost.

Cris Shore and Susan Wright, anthropologists studying policy as a social phenomenon, explain that policies are not only means of governance, but a set of regulations which encode “social norms and values.” Policies embrace “the entire history and culture of the society that generated them” and “regulate . . . [people] from the top down, through rewards and sanctions” (Shore and Wright 1997: 7). In this context, Japanese Law may be regarded as a set of governing tools which are derived from the history and culture of Japanese society.

¹ The term *munhwajae* 文化財, cultural property, and its concept were new to Korea until the 1950s and were introduced through Japan. Previously, other terms, such as *pomul* 寶物, treasure, *sajŏk* 史積, a historical spot, or *yumul* 流物, relic, were used. The term “cultural property” was gradually circulated within Korean academia and the administration of Korean government and became public in 1961 when the government opened an office called *Munhwajae kwalliguk* 文化財管理局, the Office for the Protection of Cultural Property (Yi Changyŏl 2003: 8).

Modeling itself after the Japanese system, even after it was free of Japan, the Korean government established its own Cultural Property Protection Law in 1962.² According to Andrew Killick, one factor motivating this imitation was the desire of the Korean regime to collaborate with Japan for economic reasons (cited in Kim Jin-woo 2002: 88). Following Robert Young's definition of postcolonialism as a condition in which ex-colonies continue to be dominated by a general system of power relations, including economic and political domination, even after independence, we can view that the elevation of Chongmyo-cheryeak in a postcolonial context (Young 2001: 44).

According to Korean Law, cultural property consists of two kinds. While an object like a painting or a historic building is designated a *tangible* cultural property, a cultural performance is an *intangible*. In both cases, the core principle for preservation is to retain the cultural property intact. If a musical or dance performance such as Chongmyo-cheryeak is designated a cultural property, performers appointed as *poyuja* 保有者, literally "holders," are obligated to continue their performances without alteration (Yi Changyŏl 2003: 8-12, Kim Jin-woo 2002: 88).

Keith Howard, an ethnomusicologist, points out that the implementation of the cultural property law has had a positive effect, causing "many lost or flagging traditions . . . [to be] revived and brought to the attention of the whole nation" Nationalistic pride has been encouraged" (cited in Kim Jin-woo 2002: 89). In this context, the performance Chongmyo-cheryeak in the present serves to boost nationalistic spirit.

² A Korean adaptation of Japanese models seems to take place in other realms of Korean society and culture. Hyung Il Pai, an anthropologist specializing in Korean archaeology, points out that the first museum system in Korea was set up by Japanese scholars during the Japanese colonization of Korea, and that Japanese influence has "determined" how Korean historical works of art, such as pagodas and tomb paintings, are "documented, classified, and presented to the public today" (Pai 1998: 23).

However, in reality, the present royal ancestral shrine rite, its ritual music, and dance are not identical copies of their originals, contrary to the belief of some Koreans. Instead, the rite is a reconstructed version of Chongmyo-cherye, which had not been practiced for twenty-four years after independence. Chongmyo-cheryeak underwent drastic changes during the Japanese occupation. The dance movements performed today were reconstructed in the 1930s by Kim Yŏngje, the fourth director of the Yi royal family's music institute. The Chŏngdaeŏp melodies that are sung or are played by wind instruments, like other traditional Korean musical genres based on kyemyŏnjo, have undergone a gradual change of that mode, as musicians who perform the ritual music prefer to play their own versions of Chongmyo-cheryeak melodies through subtle variations.

Thus, although artists involved with Chongmyo-cheryeak are being asked to present it as closely as possible to the original, that “original” has already been changed during the Chosŏn dynasty, as shown in the analysis of Chongmyo-cheryeak in Chapter IV. Debates on the authenticity of the current Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance indicate that the current performance is looked upon with suspicion. Some view it as having been “distorted” by the Japanese colonial government, since it differs from the historical music and dance notation that has come down to us (Nam Sangsuk 2003: 31-56). These scholars propose that the performance be reconstructed in accordance with the original sources. Yi Chongsuk urges such a reconstruction be done in order to restore “national pride and self-esteem.” In these scholars’ opinion, it is assumed that “correcting” the present Chongmyo-cheryeak is a necessary cultural endeavor to rediscover national identity (Yi Chongsuk 2002, 2003: 104). Some reports of these

debates express also concern for a return to the original Chongmyo-cheryeak, stripped of its historical changes, because it is inherited cultural property.

Korean law, a group of native ethnomusicologists, and some reports in the press all conceptualize Chongmyo-cheryeak as a cultural property whose authenticity must be preserved. Its reconstruction along the lines of the original is advocated as a matter of national identity. Ironically, however, as we have noted, just such a conceptualization of Chongmyo-cherye as a “cultural property” is an imported notion derived from the Japanese Cultural Property Law. Within a postcolonial context, it seeks to found—perhaps unknowingly— Korean identity upon a Japanese concept.

Conclusion

Korean dynasties (the Silla, the Koryŏ, the Chosŏn, and Taehan cheguk) implemented Chongmyo-cherye when they sought to utilize Confucianism for political reasons. For them, it taught the correlation of the moral quality of ren, the practice of li, and the institutionalization of the social and political system to establish a harmonious government. Above all, those dynasties practiced the Confucian royal ancestral sacrificial rite to strengthen the royal authority. Under the Chosŏn, this practice seemed to fulfill a dual function: worshipping royal ancestors as gods of the state, and expressing the royal family’s filial piety in venerating these ancestors as private familial spirits. In addition, the practice of the rite under the Chosŏn was a political and cultural expression that could affirm the dynasty’s nationality as an independent state within the framework of medieval universalism.

In the late nineteenth century, when Korea turned away from China and searched for its own unique identity, the practice of Chongmyo-cherye, its ritual music, and dance were reconstructed to reflect the Chosŏn dynasty's transformation into Taehan cheguk, the Korean Empire.

Influenced by Confucian aesthetics of music that saw music as having three functions (the cultivation of oneself, the building of a harmonious world, and the governance of that world), the Chosŏn dynasty reformed its aak, the ceremonial music accompanying the state sacrificial rites, and Chosŏn's officials reconstructed aak melodies to codify the Confucian idea of the hierarchical stratification of the world. Just as King Sejong's creation of hyangak (native music) pieces, including Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp, was to confirm royal authority and, at the same time, boost national consciousness, King Sejo's revision of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp seems to have had the same intention.

The current Chongmyo-cheryeak shows certain differences from its historical predecessors, although it retains some of their original features. The rhythmic regularities in the changgu, pak, and taegŭm parts generally persisted from the *Sejong Annals* to *Sogak 1*. In *Taeak*, the rhythm of some pieces' melodies began to change. Such changes appear to have been made more frequently in pieces having changgu patterns 3 or 5. However, in *Sogak 1*, some of the changgu and pak parts in the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces do not observe the original rhythms.

The original groupings of words by pak strokes also changed in *Sogak 1*. The pieces affected were those with either changgu patterns 3 or 7. In addition, drastic rhythmic changes appear in the melodies of these compositions. In other Pot'aep'yŏng

pieces, (those having changgu patterns 1 or 2), rhythmic regularities in the changgu and pak parts were kept, and words were marked by pak strokes as before. Such instances of both musical change and continuity are reflected in the current Chongmyo-cheryeak.

In addition to the Pot'aep'yŏng pieces, Chŏngdaeŏp songs also seem to have moved in the same direction. Some Chŏngdaeŏp pieces which originally included changgu patterns 1, 2, or 6 have the original groupings of words by pak strokes, while others do not. The melodies in the bells and chime parts are the same as the melodic lines in the *Sejo Annals*. Melodic phrases as divided in *Sogak 6* have been retained in the current melodies in the bells and chime parts.

As we have seen, at present, male descendants of both royal ancestors and loyal subjects conduct Chongmyo-cherye in order to show their filial piety. Having been discontinued after independence, the rite was revived in 1969 and Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance have accompanied it ever since. After being designated an Important Intangible Cultural Property in 1975, Chongmyo-cherye was restored to make it as “traditional” as it had been before 1910, resulting in a newly-constructed “traditional” rite. The 110 ritual procedures were set up according to the Chosŏn *Kukcho oryeŭi* (a text of state ritual code), ceremonial clothing was made in accordance with *Taehan yejŏn* (the Korean Empire’s li book), and the number of female dancers were decided according to *Taehan yejŏn*. Offerings of food and wine were prepared. As a practical matter, a narrator was added to the rite to explain ritual procedures to the audience. Since the ritual time is shortened, only selected pieces need to be performed.

After Korea was colonized by Japan in 1910, the original function of Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music changed. Chongmyo-cheryeak could no longer be performed

in the same way as it had been during the Taehan cheguk (1897–1910). Some changes were made in the lyrics, musical ensembles, and dances. However, the music institute of the Yi royal family made efforts to continue the tradition of the Korean Empire's court music that had been jeopardized during the colonial period. The institute's musicians especially tried to revive Chongmyo-cheryeak's ritual dance. Since 1969, the NCKTPA has presented the performances of Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance. When compared to that of Chongmyo-cheryeak in the colonial era, the current performance is different. Some of the instruments that were omitted during the colonial era have been restored. The changgu part has been reconstructed based on the notation in the *Sejo Annals*. The lyrics of its songs are sung again, and Chongmyo-cheryeak's ritual dance, reconstructed after being diminished in the colonial era, is once more performed by sixty-four dancers.

As heirs of the tradition of Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance, Korean musicians and dancers understand that its continuation should be more than simply an imitation of what they have learned from their teachers or from studying the past. When the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak is presented to the world, its meaning is re-signified: the music is considered a cultural performance that proclaims the history and spirit of the Orient and the Korean past. Nevertheless, debates on the authenticity of the contemporary Chongmyo-cheryeak continue among a group of scholars who claim that Chongmyo-cheryeak's texts, ritual dance, and musical structures were distorted during the Japanese occupation of Korea. Others consider that, with the exception of texts, changes in the music and its ritual dance as natural.

My findings lead me to conclude that the ritual music survives because it plays a role in the lives of contemporary Koreans, both those who participate in the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak, and those who appreciate it. Chongmyo-cheryeak is presented as a cultural event to express a Korean identity. When Korean planners chose musical performances for the Olympic Games in 1988, the performance of Chongmyo-cheryeak was utilized to set the nation's past before the public. Nevertheless, a historical understanding of the Japanese concept of cultural property enables us to see that designating Chongmyo-cheryeak a national treasure situates in postcolonial irony.

After the Japanese occupation of Korea in 1910, Chongmyo-cheryeak ceased to be considered state sacrificial ritual music, as it had been before. The significance and features of the music were reshaped during the Japanese occupation. Some words in its lyrics changed; the lyrics were not sung; its original ritual dance was lost; many instruments were omitted in the ensembles; and its changgu rhythm parts were not played. Since Korean independence in 1945, changes gradually have been made in order to restore Chongmyo-cheryeak to its form prior to the occupation by selectively reviving either the tradition of the Chosŏn dynasty or that of Taehan cheguk. The alterations and omissions of the Japanese colonial period were reversed. In addition, the NCKTPA published a new version of Chongmyo-cheryeak notation in which some words that had changed during the colonial era are corrected in 2004. Such efforts show how Korean performers, scholars, and the Korean government, in effacing cultural remnants of the Japanese occupation, are in the process of emerging from the shadow of their colonial experience.

Bibliography

- Adams, Bella. 2001. "Identity Politics." In *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by John C. Hawley, 240-2. Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press.
- Adejumobi, Saheed Adeyinka. 2001. "Essentialism." In *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by John C. Hawley, 156-8. Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press.
- Ashcroft, Bill, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin. 1998. *Key Concepts in Postcolonial Studies*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Bary, Wm. Theodore de. 1985. "Introduction." In *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, edited by Wm. Theodore de Bary and JaHyun Kim Haboush, 1-58. New York: Columbia University.
- Blacking, John. 1974. *How Musical Is Man?* Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- Carr, Brian, and Indira Mahalingam. 1997. "Introduction." In *Companion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy*, edited by Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, 491-2. New York and London: Routledge.
- Chae, Hyun Kyung [Ch'ae Hyŏn'gyŏng]. 1996. "Ch'angjak kugak: Making Korean Music Korean." PhD diss., University of Michigan.
- Chang, Töksun 張德順. 1973. *Han'guk kojŏn munhak ũi yihae* 韓國古典文學의 理解 [An understanding of classical Korean literature]. Seoul: Iljisa 一志社.
- Chang, Sahun 張師勛. 1966. *Kugak non'go* 國樂論攷 [The theoretical study of traditional Korean music]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- _____. 1982. *Sejongjo ũmak yŏn'gu: Sejong taewang ũi ũmak chŏngsin* 世宗朝音樂研究-世宗大王的音樂精神 [The study of music under the reign of King Sejong: the musical aesthetics of King Sejong]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- _____. 1983. *Kugak saron* 國樂史論 [The study of traditional Korean music]. Seoul: Taegwang munhwasa 大光文化社.
- _____. 1985. *(Ch'oesin) Kugak ch'ongnon* (最新) 國樂總論 [A comprehensive study of traditional Korean music]. Seoul: Segwang ũmak ch'ulp'ansa 世光音樂出版社.
- _____. 1986. *Chŭngbo han'guk ũmaksa* 增補 韓國音樂史 [The history of Korean music]. Seoul: Segwang ũmak ch'ulp'ansa 世光音樂出版社.

Cheng, Chungying. 1997. "The Origins of Chinese Philosophy." In *Companion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy*, edited by Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, 493-534. New York: Routledge.

Chi, Tuhwan 池斗煥. 1983. "Chosŏn chŏn'gi myoje e kwanhan ilgoch'al" 朝鮮前期 廟制에 관한 一考察 [The study of early Chosŏn rules on the burial of royal ancestors]. *Han'guk munhwa* 韓國文化 [Korean Culture] 4: 119-49.

_____. 1985. "Kukcho oryeüi p'yŏnch'an kwajŏng (I)- Killye Chongmyo Sajik cheüi rül chungsimüro" 國朝五禮儀 編纂過程(I)-吉禮 宗廟 社稷祭儀를 中心으로 [The process of compilation of manuals for the Five National Rites of the Chosŏn dynasty: focused on the ritual ceremony for Chongmyo and Sajik]. *Pusan sahak* 釜山史學 [Historical study in Pusan] 9: 1-36.

Cho, Chaesŏn 趙在善. 1991. *Chŏnp'ye hüimun üi punsŏk* 奠幣喜文의 分析 [An analysis of Chŏnp'ye hüimun]. Seoul: Susŏwŏn 修書院.

Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄 [Annals of the Chosŏn Dynasty]. 48 vols. Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 國史編纂委員會, 1955-8 (rep. 1972).

Cho, Tongil 趙東一. 1999a. *Hana imyŏnsŏ yŏrŏsin tongasia munhak* 하나이면서 여럿인 동아시아문학 [The singularity and diversity of East Asia literature]. Seoul: Chisik sanŏpsa 지식산업사.

_____. 1999b. *Kongdong munŏ munhakkwa minjok ōmunhak* 공동문어문학과 민족어문학 [Literature in the common written language and literature in the vernacular]. Seoul: Chisik sanŏpsa 지식산업사.

Cho, Namgwŏn 趙南寬, and Kim, Chongsu 金宗수, trans. 2000. *Yŏkchu akki* 역주 악기 [The *Records of Music*, translated and annotated]. Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원.

Ch'oe, Chongmin 崔宗민. 1995. "Kwangbok 50 nyŏn kugak kyoyuk üi hyŏnhwang kwa munjejŏm" 광복 50년 국악교육의 현황과 문제점 [Independence at fifty years: the present status and problems of traditional Korean music education]. In *Kwangbok 50 chunyŏn kinyŏm haksul taehoe: kwangbok 50 nyŏn kugak chunghŭng 50 nyŏn* 광복 50주년 기념 학술대회: 광복 50년 국악중흥 50년 [Conference for the celebration of independence at fifty years: independence at fifty years, the fifty-year revival of traditional Korean music], edited by Kungnip kugak wŏn, 43-62. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 國立國樂院.

Chongmyo cherye pojonhoe 宗廟제례보존회. 2004. *Chongmyo-cherye chŏnsu kyoyuk kyojae* 宗廟祭禮 전수교육교재 [Textbook for the Royal Ancestral Shrine rite]. Seoul: Chongmyo cherye pojonhoe 宗廟제례보존회.

Chŏn, Inp'yŏng 全仁平. 1995. "Yŏrŏgaji kyemyŏnjo" 여러가지 계면조 [Various kyemyŏn modes]. *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 정신문화연구 [Studies in moral culture] 18 (2): 135-57.

Chŏng, Wŏnho 정원호. 2000. *Pot'aep'yŏng Chŏngdaeŏp ŭi ridŭm pyŏnhwa e taehan sajŏk koch'al: Sogak wŏnbo kwŏn 6 e kihayŏ* 보태평 정대업의 리듬변화에 대한 사적 고찰: 속악원보 권 6에 기하여 [The historical study of the rhythmic change of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp on the basis of *Sogak wŏnbo*, chapter 6]. MA thesis, Seoul National University.

Clifford, James. 1988. *The Predicament of Culture: Twentieth-Century Ethnography, Literature, and Art*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Condit, Jonathan. 1977. "The Evolution of *Yŏmillak* from the Fifteenth Century to the Present Day." In *Chang Sahun paksu hoegap kinyŏm: Tongyang ūmakhak nonch'ong* 張師勛博士 回甲記念: 東洋音樂學論叢 [A collection of papers for celebrating the 60th birthday of Dr. Chang Sahun], 231-64. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

_____. 1979. "A Fifteenth-Century Korean Score in Mensural Notation." *Musica Asiatica* 2: 1-87.

_____. 1984. "Korean Scores in the Modified Fifteenth-Century Mensural Notation." *Musica Asiatica* 4: 1-117.

DeFrancis, John, ed. 2003. *ABC Chinese-English Comprehensive Dictionary*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Deuchler, Martina. 1992. *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*. Cambridge, MA and London: Council on East Asian Studies, Harvard University Press.

Dilling, Margaret Walker. 1991. "Music of the Seoul Olympic Ceremonies." PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley.

Duncan, John B. 2000. *The Origins of the Chosŏn Dynasty*. Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies. Seattle and London: University of Washington Press.

Ermath, Elizabeth D. 1998. "Postmodernism." In *Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, edited by Edward Craig, vol. 7, 587-90. New York: Routledge.

Fabian, Johannes. 1983. *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Objects*. New York: Columbia University.

Fanon, Frantz. 2004 [1963]. *The Wretched of the Earth*, translated by Richard Philcox. New York: Grove Press.

- Geertz, Clifford. 1973. *The Interpretation of Culture*. New York: Basic Books.
- Hall, Stuart, ed. 1997. *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: SAGE.
- Ham, Hwajin 咸和鎭. 1999. *Han'guk ūmak sosa sogo* 韓國音樂小史 小考 [A short history and study of Korean music]. Seoul: 民俗苑.
- Han, Chiman 韓志晩. 1998. "Sajök koch'arül t'onghayö pon Chongmyo ūi kõnch'uk chök t'üksöng e kwanhan yön'gu" 史的考察을 통하여 본 宗廟의 建築的 特性에 關한 研究 (A study on the architectural characteristics of Korean royal ancestral shrine from the historic contemplation). MA thesis, Sönggyun'gwan taehakkyo 成均館大學教.
- Han, Chin 韓眞. 1993. "Han'guk chönt'ong akki ūi sangjing söng e kwanhan yön'gu" 韓國 傳統樂器의 像徵性에 關한 研究 [A study of symbolism in traditional Korean musical instruments]. MA thesis, Seoul National University.
- Han, Manyöng 韓萬榮 (Hahn Man-young). 1981. *Pulgyo ūmak yön'gu* 佛教音樂研究 [The study of the music of Buddhism]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.
- _____. 1990. "Chöngak: The Rise of Music for the Middle Classes." *Minjok ūmakhak* 民族音樂學 (Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute) 12: 1-11.
- Han, Myönghui 韓明희, Song, Hyejin 송혜진, and Yun, Chunggang 윤중강. 2001. *Uri kugak 100 nyön* 우리국악 100 년 [One hundred years of traditional Korean music]. Seoul: Hyönamsa 현암사.
- Han, Yöngsuk 韓英淑. 1991. "Sogak wönbo inp'yön sojae Pot'aep'yöng ūi ridüm yön'gu" 俗樂源譜 仁編所在 保太平의 리듬 연구 [A study of Pot'aep'yöng rhythm notated in *Sogak wönbo*, chapter 1]. MA thesis, Hanyang taehakkyo 漢陽大學教 .
- Han, Yöngu 韓永遇. 1983. *Chosön chön'gi sahoe kyöngje yön'gu* 朝鮮前期 社會經濟研究 [A study of the society and economy of the early Chosön dynasty]. Seoul: Ūryu munhwasa 乙酉文化社.
- Herndon, Marcia. 1971. "The Cherokee Ballgame Cycle: An Ethnomusicologist's View." *Ethnomusicology* 15 (3): 339-52.
- Herndon, Marcia, and Norma McLeod. 1990. *Music as Culture*. Richmond, CA: MRI Press. Second edition, paperback. First published in 1979.
- Herndon, Marcia, and Norma McLeod, eds. 1980. *The Ethnography of Performance*. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions.

- Hong, Chǒngsu 홍정수. 1993. “Taegangbo ūi chǒlchu pangsik” 대강보(大綱譜)의 절주방식(節奏方式) [An interpretation of taegang notation]. *Han’guk ūmak sahakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 (Journal of the Society for Korean Historico-Musicology) 11: 19-79.
- Howard, Keith. 1985. “Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals: Traditional Music on a Korean Island.” PhD diss., Queen’s University of Belfast.
- Hwang, Pyǒnggi 黃秉冀 (Hwang, Byung-ki). 1976a. “Han’guk chǒnt’ong ūmak ūi mijǒk t’ūksaek (6)” 韓國傳統音樂의 美的特色 (6) (The characters of the Korean traditional music (6)). *Konggan* 空間 (Space) 104: 74-6.
- _____. 1976b. “Han’guk chǒnt’ong ūmak ūi mijǒk t’ūksaek (9)” 韓國傳統音樂의 美的特色 (9) (The characters of the Korean traditional music (9)). *Konggan* 空間 (Space) 107: 22-4.
- Hwang, Chunyǒn 黃俊淵 (Hwang Jun-yǒn). 1992. “Chǒngak kwa minsogak ūi t’ūksǒng” 正樂과 民俗樂의 特性 [Characteristics of Korean classical and folk music]. *Han’guk ūmak yǒn’gu* 韓國音樂研究 (Studies in Korean music) 20: 178-193.
- _____. 1993. “Han’guk chǒnt’ong ūmak ūi akcho (pyǒngjo wa kyemyǒnjo)” 韓國傳通 音樂의 樂調 (平調와 界面調) [Musical modes of traditional Korean music (*p’yǒngjo* and *kyemyǒnjo*)]. *Kugak wǒn nonmun chip* 國樂院論文集 (Journal of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) 5: 113-33.
- _____. 1998. “Chosǒn hugi ūi sǒnbi ūmak” 조선후기의 선비음악 [The music of the noble in the late Chosǒn period]. *Han’guk ūmak yǒn’gu* 韓國音樂研究 (Studies in Korean music) 26: 99-113.
- Hwang, Hyǒnju 黃賢柱. 1996. “Injojo Chongmyo-cheryeak ūi yǒksajǒk koch’al” 仁祖朝宗廟祭禮樂의 歷史的 考察 [A historical study of Chongmyo-cheryeak under the reign of King Injo]. MA thesis, Yǒngnam University 嶺南大學教.
- Hwang, Ŭidong 황의동. 1995. *Han’guk ūi yuhak sasang* 한국의 유학사상 [The Confucian ideology of Korea]. Seoul: Sǒgwangsa 서광사.
- Killick, Andrew P. 1991. “Nationalism and Internationalism in New Music for Korean Instruments.” *Korea Journal* 31 (3): 104-16.
- _____. 1998. “The Invention of Traditional Korean Opera and the Problem of the Traditionesque: *Ch’anggŭk* and its Relation to *P’ansori* Narratives.” PhD diss., University of Washington.
- _____. 2002. “Korean *Ch’anggŭk* Opera: Its Origins and Its Origin Myth.” *Asian music* 33 (2): 43-82.

Kim, Chaeyöng 김재영. 1999. “*Sogak wönbo sinp’yön üi kyöktoböp yön’gu Chöngdaeöp Pot’aep’yöng üi chungsim üiro*” 俗樂源譜 信篇의 擊挑法 研究 - 定大業 保太平을 중심으로 - [A study of *kyöktoböp* in *Sogak wönbo*, chapter 6: focused on Pot’aepyöng and Chöngdaeöp]. *Han’guk ümak sahakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 (Journal of the Society for Korean Historico-Musicology) 23: 131-72.

Kim, Chongsu 김중수. 1985. “Chosön chön’gi aak akhyön e taehan yön’gu” 朝鮮前期 雅樂 樂縣에 대한 연구 [A study of musical ensembles in the early Chosön]. MA thesis, Seoul National University.

_____. 1988. “Sejongjo aak chöngbiga Yömillak Pot’aep’yöng Chöngdaeöp e kkich’in yöngnyang” 世宗朝 雅樂整備가 與民樂 保太平 定大業에 끼친 영향 [The influence of aak reformation under the reign of King Sejong on Yömillak, Pot’aep’yöng, and Chöngdaeöp]. *Han’guk munhwa* 韓國文化 [Korean Culture] 9: 123-46.

_____. 1995. “Chosön sidae Wön’guje yön’gu” 朝鮮時代 圓丘際 研究 [A study of Wön’guje in the Chosön dynasty]. *Minjok ümakhak* 民族音樂學 (Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute) 17: 117-44.

_____. 1996. “Kyöngmogung cheryeak yön’gu” 景慕宮(景慕宮) 제례악 연구 [A study of Kyöngmogung sacrificial ritual music]. *Minjok ümakhak* 民族音樂學 (Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute) 18: 1-29.

Kim, Chönghui 김정희. 2001. “Kugak üi söguhwa wa orientaliijüm üi munje” 국악의 서구화와 오리엔탈리즘의 문제 [On the problem of the Westernization of traditional Korean music and orientalism]. *Ümakkwa munhwa* 음악과 문화 (Music and Culture) 4: 131-9.

Kim, Chöngja 김정자. 1992. “Chongmyo akchang üi parüm pöp (Diction) e kwanhan koch’al” 종묘악장의 발음법 (Diction)에 관한 고찰 [A study of the way of dictioning the text of Chongmyo-cheryeak songs]. *Minjok ümakhak* 民族音樂學 (Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute) 14: 22-48.

Kim, Ch’önhung 金千興, Kim, Kisu 金琪洙, and Söng, Kyöngnin 成慶麟. 1966. *Muhyöng munhwajae chosa pogosö che isip ku ho: Chongmyo ilmu* 無形文化財 調査報告書 第二十九號: 宗廟佾舞 [Research reports on intangible cultural properties, no. 29: the ritual dance of Chongmyo]. Manuscript. Currently in the Library of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

Kim, Haeyöng 金海榮. 1993. “Chosön ch’ogi sajön e kwanhan yön’gu” 朝鮮初期 祀典에 관한 研究 [A study of the early Chosön state sacrificial rites]. PhD diss., Han’guk chöngsin munhwa yön’guwön 韓國精神文化研究院.

Kim, Hyöngdong 金亨東. 1990. “Sejongjo aak chöngbi üi yöksajök paegyöng yön’gu: yömal sönh’o chöngch’i sahoe sasang üil chungsim üro” 世宗朝 雅樂整備의 歷史的 背景 研究: 麗末 鮮初 政治 社會 思想을 中心으로 [A study of historical background for aak reformation in the reign of Sejong: focused on political and social ideologies appearing in both the late Koryö and the early Chosön]. *Hanguk ümakhak nonjip* 韓國音樂學論集 [A collection of papers on Korean musicology] 1:102-33.

Kim, Jin-woo [Kim, Jinu]. 2002. “Twentieth-Century Discourses on Korean Music in Korea.” PhD diss., University of Michigan.

Kim, Munsik 김문식, and Song, Chiwön 송지원. 2001. “Kukka cherye üi pyönc’h’ön kwa pogwön” 국가제례의 변천과 복원 [The change and restoration of state sacrificial rites]. In *Söul 20 segi saenghwal munhwa pyönc’h’ön sa* 서울 20 세기 생활문화변천사 [The history of the change of life and culture in 20th century Seoul], 669-741. Seoul: Söul sijöng kaebal yön’gu 서울시정개발연구원.

Kim, Ryong 金龍. 2001. “Chongmyo-cheryeak kwa Chongmyo-cherye ilmu rül chohwaropke ilch’i sik’inün pangböp yön’gu: hyönyaeng Chongmyo-cheryeak kwa *Siyong mubo* üi Pot’aep’yöng chimu rül chungsim üro” 宗廟祭禮樂과 宗廟祭禮佾舞를 調和롭게 一致시키는 方法 研究: 現行 宗廟祭禮樂과 時用舞譜의 保太平之舞를 중심으로 [A study of ways to harmoniously synchronize Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance: focused on the current ritual dance and the dance of Pot’aep’yöng in *Siyong mubo*]. *Han’guk ümak yön’gu* 韓國音樂研究 (Studies in Korean music) 30: 123-35.

Kim, Sejung 김세중. 1999. “Miwan üi rünesangsü: Sejongjo aak chöngbi rül tasi saenggak handa” 미완의 르네상스: 세종조 아악정비를 다시 생각한다 [Renaissance unfinished: Re-thinking aak reformation during the reign of King Sejong]. *Tongyang ümak* 東洋音樂 [Asian music] 21: 165-74.

_____. 2005. *Chönggan poro ingnün yennorae* 정간보로 읽는 옛노래 [Historical songs deciphered from Chönggan notation]. Seoul: Yesol 예술.

Kim, Söngnye 金聖惠. 1998. *Han’guk ümak kwallyön hagwi nonmun ch’ongmok* 韓國音樂關聯學位論文總目 [Dissertations and thesis index for Korean music studies]. Seoul: Minsogwön 民俗苑.

Kim, Yöngsuk 金英淑. 1981. “Hyönyaeng ilmugo” 現行佾舞考 [The study of current sacrificial ritual dance]. MA thesis, Ihwa yöja taehakkyo 梨花女子大學校.

Küm, Changt’ae 琴章泰. 1994. *Han’guk yuhaksa üi ihae* 韓國儒學史의 理解 [The understanding of Confucianism in Korean history]. Seoul: Minjok munhwasa 民族文化社.

_____. 2000. *Yugyo ūi sasang kwa ūirye* 유교의 사상과 의례 (The Confucian Thoughts and Rites). Seoul: Yemun sŏwŏn 예문서원.

Kungnip kugak wŏn 國立國樂院 (The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts). 2001. *Kŏnwŏn 1400 nyŏn kaewŏn 50 nyŏn kungnip kugak wŏnsa* 建元 1400 年 開院 50 年 國立國樂院史 [Established 1400 years ago, reopened up 50 years ago: the history of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 國立國樂院.

Kwŏn, T'aeuk 權泰旭. 1990. "Sejong sillok akpo sojae Chongmyo-cheryeak ūi akcho yŏn'gu" 世宗實錄樂譜 所載 宗廟祭禮樂의 樂調研究 [A study of musical modes in Chongmyo-cheryeak notated in the *Sejong Annals*]. *Han'guk ūmakhak nonjip* 韓國音樂學論集 [A collection of papers on Korean musicology] 1: 511-28.

Lam, Joseph S.C. 1995. "The Yin and Yang of Chinese Music Historiography: The Case of Confucian Ceremonial Music." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 27: 34-51.

_____. 1996. "Ritual and Musical Politics in the Court of Ming Shizong." In *Harmony and Counterpoint*, edited by Bell Yung, Evelyn Rawski, and Rubie Watson, 35-53. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Lee, Byong-won [Yi, Pyŏngwŏn]. 2000. "The Current State of Research on Korean Music." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32: 143-9.

McGee, R. Jon, and Richard L. Warms. 1997. *Anthropological Theory: An Introductory History*. London: Mayfield Publishing Company.

Merriam, Alan P. 1964. *The Anthropology of Music*. Chicago: Northwestern University Press.

Müller, Klaus-Peter. 2001. "Constructionism." In *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by John C. Hawley, 114-5. Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press.

Munhwajae ch'ŏng 문화재청 (Intangible Cultural Property of the Cultural Heritage Administration). 2001. *Chongmyo-cherye Chongmyo-cheryeak* 종묘제례 종묘제례악 [Chongmyo-cherye and its ritual music]. Taejŏn: Munhwajae ch'ŏng muhyŏng munhwajae kwa 문화재청무형문화재과.

Munhwa kongbobu munhwajae kwalliguk 文化公報部 文化財管理局 [Office of Cultural Heritage of the Culture and Public Relations Administration]. 1985. *Chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae haesŏl: Noriwa ūisik* 重要無形文化財解說: 놀이와 儀式 [Explanation of important intangible cultural properties: plays and ceremonies]. Seoul: Munhwa kongbobu munhwajae kwalliguk 文化公報部 文化財管理局.

Murray, Stuart. 2001. "Nation/Nationalism." In *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by John C. Hawley, 312-5. Westport, CT, and London: Greenwood Press.

Na, Hüira 나희라. 2003. *Silla üi kukka chesa* 신라의 국가제사 [The state sacrificial rites of the Silla dynasty]. Seoul: Chisik sanöpsa 지식산업사.

Nam, Sangsuk 남상숙. 2003. "Chongmyo cherye akpo koch'al: *Sejo sillok* akpo esö hyönhaeng kkaji" 宗廟祭禮樂譜 考察-世祖實錄樂譜에서 現行까지 [An analysis of notations of Chongmyo-cheryeak from *Sejo Annals* to the present]. Paper presented at Chongmyo-cheryeak mit ilmu kwallyön haksul palp'yohoe 宗廟祭禮樂 및 佾舞 관련 학술발표회 [Conference on Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance], Seoul, Korea, June 19, 2003.

Huang, Nansen. 1997. "Confucius and Confucianism." In *Companion Encyclopedia of Asian Philosophy*, edited by Brian Carr and Indira Mahalingam, 535-52. New York: Routledge.

Neuman, Daniel. 1993 "Epilogue: Paradigms and Stories." In *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, edited by Stephen Blum, Philip V. Bohlman, and Daniel Neuman, 266-76. Chicago: University of Illinois Press. Paperback. First published in 1991.

Nkrumah, Kwame. 1965. *Neocolonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism*. London: Nelson.

O, Set'ak 吳世卓. 1982. "Munhwajae pohoböp yön'gu" 文化財保護法 研究 [A study of the cultural property protection law]. PhD diss., Tan'guk taehakkyo 檀國大學教.

O, Yongnok 吳龍祿. 1995. "Han'guk kijon ümak hyöngsöng non I-1: Yömillakkye, Pohöjagye, Yöngsan hoesanggye akkogül chungsim üro" 한국기존음악형성론 I-1 여민락계, 보허자계, 영산회상계 악곡을 중심으로 [Theory I-1 on the formation of traditional Korean music: focused on Yömillak, Pohöja, and Yöngsan hoesang]. *Minjok ümakhak* 民族音樂學 (Journal of the Asian Music Research Institute) 17: 77-116.

Paek, Kisu 백기수. 1981. "Kongja üi yesul sasang" 공자의 예술사상 [Confucius's view on art]. *Tongyanhak* 東洋學 (The Oriental Studies) 11: 265-79.

Paekkwa sajön ch'ulp'ansa 백과사전출판사. 1999. "Minjok ümak" 민족음악 [National music]. In *Chosön taebaekkwä sajön* 10 조선대백과사전 10 [Chosön complete encyclopedia vol. 10], 92-3. P'yöngyang: Paekkwa sajön ch'ulp'ansa 백과사전출판사.

_____. 2000. "Cheryeak" 제례악 [Sacrificial ritual music]. In *Chosön taebaekkwä sajön* 20 조선대백과사전 20 [Chosön complete encyclopedia, vol. 20], 331. P'yöngyang: Paekkwa sajön ch'ulp'ansa 백과사전출판사.

Pai, Hyung Il. 1998. "The Colonial Origins of Korea's Collected Past." In *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*, edited by Hyung Il Pai and Timothy R. Tangherlini, 13-32. Berkeley, CA: Institute of East Asian Studies.

Pak, Hūngsu 朴興秀 [Park, Hung-Soo]. 1966. "Kugak ūmkye ūi sajök in yŏn'gu" 國樂音階의 史的인 研究 (A historical study on the musical scales of Korean music). *Sōngdae nonmun chip* 成大論文輯 [A collection of papers published by Sōngkyun'gwan University] 11: 463-75.

Pak Nakkyu 朴駱圭 (Park, Nak-kyu). 1988. "Sōgyōng esōi chōllyewa mihak chōk munje" 書經에서의 典禮와 美學的 問題 (Rituals and aesthetic problems in *Shujing*(書經)). *Mihak* 美學 (Korean Journal of Aesthetics) 13: 27-49.

_____. 1992a. "Kodae chungguk ūi yugawa toga angnon ūi kibon kwanjōm (sang)" 高대중국의 유가와 도가 악론(樂論)의 기본관점 (상) [Basic concepts of music in Confucianism and Taoism I]. *Nangman ūmak* 낭만음악 [Romantic Music] 4 (2): 69-93.

_____. 1992b. "Chungguk sōnjin ūi soriwa ūmak" 중국 선진(先秦)의 소리와 음악 (From sounds in magic to music in ancient China). *Mihak* 美學 (Korean Journal of Aesthetics) 17: 1-26.

_____. 1993. "Kodae chungguk ūi yugawa toga angnon ūi kibon kwanjōm (chung)" 高대중국의 유가와 도가 악론(樂論)의 기본관점 (중) [Basic concepts of music in Confucianism and Taoism II]. *Nangman ūmak* 낭만음악 [Romantic music] 5 (2): 97-120.

Park, Mikyung [Pak, Migyōng]. 1985. "Music and Shamanism in Korea: A Study of Selected *Ssikkim-gut* Rituals for the Dead." PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles.

Pihl, Marshal R. 1994. *The Korean Singer of Tales*. Harvard-Yenching Institute monograph, no. 37. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Pilzer, Joshua D. 2003. "Sōdosori (North Western Korean Lyric Song) on the Demilitarized Zone: A Study in Music and Teleological Judgment." *Ethnomusicology* 47 (1): 68-92.

Provine, Robert C. 1974. "The Treatise on Ceremonial Music (1430) in the Annals of the Korean King Sejong." *Ethnomusicology* 18 (1): 1-29.

_____. 1980. "'Chinese' Ritual Music in Korea: the Origins, Codification, and Cultural Role of Aak." *Korea Journal* 20 (2): 16-25.

_____. 1987. "The Nature and Extent of Surviving Chinese Musical Influence on Korea." *World of Music* 29 (2): 5-16.

_____. 1988. *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology: Early Sources for Korean Ritual Music*. Seoul: Iljisa.

_____. 1989. "State Sacrificial Rites and Ritual Music in Early Chosŏn." In *Kugak wŏn nonmun chip* 國樂院論文集 (Journal of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) 1: 239-307.

_____. 1993. "Korea." In *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, edited by Helen Myers, 363-76. New York: W.W. Norton.

_____. 1996. "State Sacrificial Music and Korean Identity." In *Harmony and Counterpoint: Ritual Music in Chinese Context*, edited by Bell Yung, Evelyn Rawski, and Rubie Watson, 54-75. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Ramnarine, Tina K. 2003. *Ilmatar's Inspiration: Nationalism, Globalization, and the Changing Soundscapes of Finnish Folk Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Roseman, Marina. 1996. "Decolonizing Ethnomusicology: When Peripheral Voices Move in from the Margins." In *Aflame with Music: 100 Years of Music at the University of Melbourne*, edited by Brenton Broadstock, Naomi Cumming, Denise Erdonmez Grocke, Catherin Falk, Ros McMillan, Kerry Murphy, Suzanne Robinson, and John Stinson, 167-89. Parkville, Vic.: Centre for Studies in Australian Music, University of Melbourne.

Schmid, Andre. 2000. "Decentering the 'Middle Kingdom': The Problem of China in Korean Nationalist Thoughts, 1985–1910." In *Nation Work: Asian Elites and National Identities*, edited by Timothy Brook and Andre Schmid, 83-107. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press.

Seeger, Anthony. 1980. "Sing for your Sister: the Structure and Performance of Suya *Akia*." In *The Ethnography of Musical Performance*, edited by Marcia Herndon and Normal McLeod, 7-42. Norwood, PA: Norwood Editions.

Sejong Annals. See *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*.

Shankar, S. 2001. "Decolonization." In *Encyclopedia of Postcolonial Studies*, edited by John C. Hawley, 133-8. Westport and London: Greenwood Press.

Shore, Cris and Susan Wright. 1997. "Policy: A New Field of Anthropology." In *Anthropology of Policy: Critical Perspectives on Governance and Power*, edited by Cris Shore and Susan Wright, 3-39. London and New York: Routledge.

Smith, Anthony D. 2001. *Nationalism*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

Song, Hyejin 송혜진. 1991. "Yiwangjik aakpuwa inyŏnŭl maejŏttŏn pakkat saram tŭl" 이왕직아악부와 인연을 맺었던 바깥 사람들 [Outsiders with ties to the music institute

of the Yi royal family]. In *Yiwangjik aakpu wa ūmak indŭl* 李王職雅樂部와 음악인들 [The music institute of the Yi royal family and its musicians], edited by Kungnip kugak wŏn kugak wŏn yŏn'gu sil, 137-67. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

_____. 2000. *Han'guk aaksa yŏn'gu* 韓國 雅樂史 研究 [A study of the history of Korean aak]. Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원.

_____. 2003. "20 segi Pot'aep'yŏng Chŏngdaeŏp ūi chŏnsŭng kwa yŏnwŏn e kwanhan sogyŏn" 20 세기 보태평 정대업의 전승과 연원에 관한 소견 [A view on the transmission of Pot'aep'yŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp in the 20th century]. Paper presented at Chongmyo-cheryeak mit ilmu kwallyŏn haksul palp'yohoe 宗廟祭禮樂 및 佾舞관련 학술발표회 [Conference on Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance], Seoul, Korea, June 19, 2003.

Song, Pangsong 宋芳松 (Song, Bang-song). 1981. *Han'guk ūmakhak nonjŏ haeje* 韓國音樂學論著解題 [An annotated bibliography of Korean musicology]. Sŏngnam: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu wŏn 韓國精神文化研究院 .

_____. 1984. *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* 韓國音樂通史 [The chronicle of Korean music]. Seoul: Ilchogak 一潮閣.

_____. 1987. "Sejo ūmak ŏpchŏk ūi yŏksajŏk chomyŏng" 世祖音樂業績의 歷史的 照明 [Historical understanding of King Sejo's musical achievements]. *Han'guk hakpo* 韓國學報 (Journal of Korean Studies) 48: 69-96.

_____. 2002. "Historical Source Materials and Modern Scholarship in Korea." In *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, volume 7: East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, edited by Robert C. Provine, Yosihiko Tokumaru, and J. Lawrence Witzleben, 853-7. New York: Routledge.

_____, Kim, Sŏnghye 金聖惠, and Ko, Chŏngyun 高正閏. 2000. *Han'guk ūmakhak nonjŏ haeje II: 1980-1995* 韓國音樂學論著解題 II : 1980-1995 [An annotated bibliography of Korean musicology II: 1980-1995]. Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원.

Sŏng, Kyŏngnin 成慶麟. 1975. *Aak* 雅樂 [Elegant music]. Seoul: Kyŏngwŏn'gak 京元閣.

_____. 1991. "Aakpu ūi no sŭsŭng tŭl kwa aakpu ūi sinsedae" 아악부의 노스승들과 아악부의 신세대 [Elderly teachers and new generation in the music institute of the Yi royal family]. In *Yiwangjik aakpu wa ūmak indŭl* 李王職雅樂部와 음악인들 [The music institute of the Yi royal family and its musicians], edited by Kungnip kugak wŏn kugak wŏn yŏn'gu sil, 1-21. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

_____, and Han, Manyŏng 韓萬榮 (Hahn, Man-young). 1975. *Muhyŏng munhwajae chosa pogosŏ che paek sip yuk ho: Chongmyo-cherye* 無形文化財 調查報告書 第一一六號: 宗廟祭禮 [Research reports on intangible cultural properties, no. 116: Chongmyo-cherye]. Manuscript. Currently in the Library of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

_____, Yi, Hyegu 李惠求, and Chang, Sahun 張師勛. 1964. *Muhyŏng munhwajae chosa pogosŏ che sam ho: Chongmyo-cheryeak* 無形文化財 調查報告書 第三號: 宗廟祭禮樂 [Research reports on intangible cultural properties, no. 3: Chongmyo-cheryeak]. Manuscript. Currently in the Library of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

Tanjong Annals. See *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*.

Titon, Jeff Todd, and Mark Slobin, eds. 1996. *Worlds of Music: An Introduction to the Music of the World's Peoples*. New York: Schirmer Books. 3rd ed.

Treitler, Leo. 1989. *Music and the Historical Imagination*. Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press.

Visweswaran, Kamala. 1996. "Postcolonialism." In *Encyclopedia of Cultural Anthropology*, edited by David Levinson and Melvin Ember, vol. 3, 988-93. New York: Henry Holt & Company.

Weaver, Jace. 2000. "Indigenusness and Indigeneity." In *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, edited by Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray, 221-35. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

Widdess, Richard. 1992. "Theory and Method: Historical Ethnomusicology." In *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, edited by Helen Myers, 219-31. London: W.W. Norton.

Willoughby, Heather. 2000. "The Sound of *Han: P'ansori*, Timbre and a Korean Ethos of Pain and Suffering." *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32: 17-30.

Yao, Xinzhong. 2000. *An Introduction to Confucianism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Yi, Chaesuk, and others 李在淑. 1998. *Chosŏnjo kungjung ũiryewa ũmak* 조선조 궁중의례와 음악 [Court ceremonies and music of the Chosŏn dynasty]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

Yi, Ch'anggyu 이창규. 1991. "Naŭi aakpu sijŏl kwa aakpu ũi ch'in'gu tŭl" 나의 아악부 시절과 아악부의 친구들 [My life and friends in the music institute of the Yi royal family]. In *Yiwangjik aakpu wa ũmak indŭl* 李王職雅樂部와 음악인들 [The music

institute of the Yi royal family and its musicians], edited by Kungnip kugak wŏn kugak wŏn yŏn'gu sil, 83-7. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

Yi, Changyŏl 이장열. 2003. "1969 nyŏndae chungyo muhyŏng muhwajae poho chŏngch'aek: wŏnhyŏng pojŏn kwallyŏn saŏp ūl chungsim ūro" 1969 년대 重要無形文化財 保護정책 : 원형보존관련 사업을 中心으로 [The policy for the protection of important intangible cultural properties in 1969: focused on projects to preserve originals]. Paper presented at Chongmyo-cheryeak mit ilmu kwallyŏn haksul palp'yohoe 宗廟祭禮樂 및 佾舞관련 학술발표회 [Conference on Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance], Seoul, Korea, June 19, 2003.

Yi, Chongsuk 이종숙. 2002. "Siyong mubo ūi mujŏl kujo punsŏkkwa hyŏnhaeng Chongmyo ilmu ūi pigyo yŏn'gu" 時用舞譜의 舞節 構造分析과 現行 宗廟佾舞의 비교 研究 (An analysis of dance passages' structure in *Siyong Mubo* (時用舞譜) and the comparison between the analysis and the current Royal Ancestral Shrine Ilmu (現行 宗廟佾舞)). PhD diss., Yongin taehakkyo 龍仁大學敎.

Yi, Chŏnghŭi 이정희. 2001. "Chosŏn ch'ogi akhyŏn e nat'an an ūmak sasang yŏn'gu" 朝鮮初期 樂懸에 나타난 音樂思想 研究 [A study of musical ideology exhibited in the musical ensembles of the early Chosŏn]. MA thesis, Han'guk yesul chonghap hakkyo 한국예술종합학교.

_____. 2002. "Chosŏn hugi Chongmyo akhyŏn koch'al" 조선 후기 宗廟樂懸 고찰 [A study of the musical ensembles of the late Chosŏn]. *Han'guk ūmak sahakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 (Journal of the Society for Korean Historico-Musicology) 22: 535-70.

Yi, Hanu 이한우. 2003. *Sejong, kŭga paro Chosŏn ida* 세종, 그가 바로 조선이다 [King Sejong, he is the Chosŏn!]. Seoul: Tongbang media 동방미디어.

Yi, Hŭidŏk 李熙德. 1991. "Ŭmyang ohaeng sŏl" 음양오행설 [The theory of yin and yang and the five elements]. In *Han'guk minjok munhwa taebaekkwa sajŏn 17* 한국민족문화대백과사전 17 [Complete encyclopedia of Korean people and culture, vol.17], compiled by Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu wŏn p'yŏnch'anbu, 480-2. Sŏngnam: Han'guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu wŏn 한국정신문화연구원.

Yi, Hwanŭi 이환의. 2000. "Insamal" 인사말 [An address]. In *Chongmyo taeje* 종묘대제 [Great rite of Chongmyo] (brochure).

Yi, Hyegu 李惠求. 1967. *Han'guk ūmak sŏsŏl* 韓國音樂序說 [Introductory explanation of Korean music]. Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

_____. 1976. *Han'guk ūmak nonch'ong* 韓國音樂論叢 [Essays on Korean music]. Seoul: Sumundang 秀文堂.

_____. 1985. *Han'guk ūmak nonjip* 韓國音樂論集 [A collection of papers for Korean music]. Seoul: Segwang ūmak ch'ulp'ansa 世光音樂出版社.

_____. 1987. *Chǒngganbo ūi chǒnggan taegang mit changdan* 井間譜의 井間大綱 및 장단 [Chǒnggan notation's chǒnggan, taegang, and rhythmic patterns]. Seoul: Segwang ūmak ch'ulp'ansa 世光音樂出版社.

_____. 1990. "Han'guk ūi ūmak" 韓國의 音樂 [The music of Korea]. In *Han'guksa 23* 韓國史 23 [Korean history, vol. 23], 415-58. Seoul: Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 國史編纂委員會.

_____. 1995. *Han'guk ūmak non'go* 韓國音樂論攷 (Korea's Music: Theory and History). Seoul: Seoul National University Press.

_____, trans. 1973. *Akpo I: Sejong changhŏn taewang sillok 22* 악보 I: 세종장헌대왕실록 22 [Notation I: Annals of King Sejong, vol. 22]. Seoul: Sejong taewang kinyŏm saŏphoe 세종대왕기념사업회.

_____, trans. 1979. (*Kugyŏk*) *Akhak kwebŏm I* 국역 악학궤범 I [Akhak kwebŏm I, translated]. Seoul: Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe 민족문화추진회.

Yi, Kangsuk 李康淑. 1985. *Ūmak chŏk mogugŏ rŭl wihayŏ* 음악적 모국어를 위하여 [For native musical language]. Seoul: Hyŏnŭmsa 玄音社.

_____. 1988. "Sahoe kwan'gye ūi chǒngnip kwa ūmak ūi yŏkhal" 사회관계의 정립과 음악의 역할 [Establishment of social relations and the role of music]. *Yesul kwa pip'yŏng* 예술과 비평 [Arts and critics] 4 (1): 102-16.

Yi, Kŏnyong 이건용. 1987. *Han'guk ūmak ūi nollliwa yulli* 한국음악의 논리와 윤리 [The logic and ethics of Korean music]. Seoul: Segwang ūmak ch'ulp'ansa 세광음악출판사.

_____. 1994. "Minjok ūmak ūi pansŏnggwa tayanghan silch'ŏn ūi kil" 민족음악의 반성과 다양한 실천의 길 [Reflection of national music and various ways to practice the music]. *Minjok yesul* 민족예술 [Korean People's Arts] 1 (2): 150-7.

_____ and No, Tongŭn 노동은. 1993. *Minjok ūmak non* 民族音樂論. Seoul: Han'gil sa 한길사.

Yi, Sangŭn 李相殷. 1984. "Akki ūi ūmak non e kwanhan koch'al (I)" 樂記의 音樂論에 관한 考察 (I) [A study of musical theory in the *Records of Music* (I)]. *Tongyang ch'ŏrhak yŏn'gu* 東洋哲學研究 [Studies in the philosophy of the East] 5: 95-121.

Yi, Sukhŭi 이숙희. 2003a. “Chosŏnjo Chongmyo-cheryemu ūi pyŏnch’ŏn sogo” 朝鮮朝宗廟祭禮舞의 변천 小考 [A study of changes in Chongmyo-cherye’s ritual dance during the Chosŏn dynasty]. Paper presented at Chongmyo-cheryeak mit ilmu kwallyŏn haksul palp’yohoe 宗廟祭禮樂 및 佾舞관련 학술발표회 [Conference on Chongmyo-cheryeak and its ritual dance], Seoul, Korea, June 19, 2003.

_____. 2003b. “Chongmyo-cherye akchang ūl t’onghaebon Chongmyo-cheryeak ūi chŏnsŭng” 종묘제례 악장을 통해본 종묘제례악의 전승 [The transmission of Chongmyo-cheryeak: focused on its ritual songs]. Paper presented at Kugak hak haksul hoeŭi: Chongmyo-cheryeak ūi chŏnsŭng 국악학 학술회의: 종묘제례악의 전승 [Conference on traditional Korean music: focused on the transmission of Chongmyo-cheryeak], Seoul, Korea, December 18-19, 2003.

Yi, T’aejin 이태진. 2000. *Kojong sidae ūi chae chomyŏng* 고종시대의 재조명 [Re-evaluating the reign of King Kojong]. Seoul: T’aehaksa 태학사.

Yi, Tongjun 李東俊. 1991. “Yugyo ” 유교 [Confucianism]. In *Han’guk minjok munhwa taebaek kwa sajŏn 16* 한국민족문화대백과사전 16 [Complete encyclopedia of Korean people and culture, vol. 16], compiled by Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn p’yŏnch’anbu, 877-915. Sŏngnam: Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’gu wŏn 한국정신문화연구원.

Yi, Ŭnp’yo 李殷杓. 1991. “Chongmyo cherye” 종묘제례 [The Royal Ancestral Shrine Rite]. In *Han’guk minjok munhwa taebaek kwa sajŏn 20* 한국민족문화대백과사전 20 [Complete encyclopedia of Korean people and culture, vol. 20], compiled by Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn p’yŏnch’anbu, 735-6. Sŏngnam: Han’guk chŏngsin munhwa yŏn’guwŏn 한국정신문화연구원.

Yim, Tonhŭi 임돈희. 1998. “Han’guk muhyŏng munhwajae chŏnsŭng pochon sŏnyang chedo” 한국 무형문화재 전승 보존 선양제도 [The transmission, preservation, and enhancement system of Korean intangible cultural properties]. Paper presented at The 1st UNESCO International Training Workshop on the Living Human Treasures System, Seoul, Korea, October 13-20, 1998.

Young, Robert J. C. 2001. *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*. Malden: Blackwell Publishers.

Yu, Chŏngyŏn 柳靜延. 1997. “Chŏngdaeŏp ūi ūmakchŏk pyŏnhwa e taehan yŏn’gu” 定大業의 音樂의 變化에 대한 研究 [A study of musical changes in Chŏngdaeŏp]. MA thesis, Ihwa yŏja taehakkyo 梨花女子大學教.

Yugyo sajŏn p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe 儒教事典編纂委員會. 1990. “Chongmyo” 종묘 [the Royal Ancestral Shrine]. In *Yugyo taesajŏn* 儒教大事典 [A complete dictionary of Confucianism], 1420. Seoul: Yugyo sajŏn p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe 儒教事典編纂委員會.

_____. 1990. “Ŭmyang ohaeng söl” 음양오행설 [The theory of the yin and yang and the five elements]. In *Yugyo taesajön* 儒教大事典 [A complete dictionary of Confucianism], 1155-8. Seoul: Yugyo sajön p’yönch’an wiwönhoe 儒教事典編纂委員會.

Yun, Myöngwön 윤명원. 1991. “Yiwangjik aakpu sidae ũi öpchök” 이왕직 아악부 시대의 업적 [Achievements of the music institute of the Yi royal family]. In *Yiwangjik aakpu wa ũmak indül* 李王職雅樂部와 음악인들 [The music institute of the Yi royal family and its musicians], edited by Kungnip kugak wön kugak wön yön’gu sil, 117-29. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wön 국립국악원.

Yun, Sahyöng 尹絲滄. 1991. “Söngnihak” 성리학 [Neo-Confucianism]. In *Han’guk minjok munhwa taebaek kwa sajön 12* 한국민족문화대백과사전 12 [Complete encyclopedia of Korean people and culture, vol. 12], compiled by Han’guk chöngsin munhwa yön’guwön p’yönch’anbu, 431-8. Söngnam: Han’guk chöngsin munhwa yön’guwön 한국정신문화연구원.

Mediagraphy

Kugak che ku chip Chongmyo-cheryeak 國樂 第九集 (宗廟祭禮樂) [Traditional Korean Music, vol. 9: The Royal Ancestral Shrine Rite Music]. 예전미디어 (Yejeon media) SKCD-K-0059, 1987. Compact disc.

Aak chǒngsu: Yiwangjik aakpu ūi ūmak 雅樂精粹: 이왕직아악부의 음악 [The essence of aak: the music from the music institute of the Yi royal family]. 신나라레코드[Synnara Record] SYNCD-006, [1991]. Compact disc.

Hall, Stuart. 1997. *Stuart Hall: Representation & the Media*. Northhampton, MA: Media Education Foundation. VHS.

Scores

Cherye chuak ūiju 祭禮奏樂儀註 [Manuals for rites and music]. Manuscript. Its author and year unknown. Currently in the Museum of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts.

Kim, Kisu 金琪洙. 1980. *Kugak chŏnjip p'al (chŏn) Chongmyo-cheryeak* 국악전집 八종묘제례악 (全) [A complete collection of traditional Korean music, vol. 8: Chongmyo-cheryeak]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

Kungnip kugak wŏn 國立國樂院 (the National Center for Korean Performing Arts). 1973. *Han'guk ūmak 11: Chongmyo-cheryeak (Pot'aep'yŏng Chŏngdaeŏp)* 한국음악 11: 종묘제례악 (보태평 정대업) [Korean music, vol. 11: Chongmyo-cheryeak (Pot'aepyŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp)]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn.

_____. 1991. *Han'guk ūmak 11: Pot'aep'yŏng Chŏngdaeŏp* 한국음악 11: 보태평 정대업 [Korean music, vol. 11: Pot'aepyŏng and Chŏngdaeŏp]. Seoul: Ŭnha ch'ulp'ansa 銀河出版社.

_____. 2004. *Chongmyo-cheryeak (chŏn) 종묘제례악 (全)* [Chongmyo-cheryeak]. Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원.

Kungnip kugak wŏn chŏnt'ong yesul chinhŭng hoe 國立國樂院傳統藝術振興會 (the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts Committee for Enhancement of Traditional Korean Arts). 1989a. *Han'guk ūmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ il: Taeak hubo (chŏn)* 韓國音樂學資料叢書 一: 大樂後譜 (全) [The resource collection for Korean musicology, vol. 1: Facsimile of *Taeak hubo*]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

_____. 1989b. *Han'guk ūmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ sibil: Sogak wŏnbo (chŏn)* 韓國音樂學資料叢書 十一: 俗樂源譜 (全) [The resource collection for Korean musicology, vol. 11: Facsimile of *Sogak wŏnbo*]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

_____. 1989c. *Han'guk ūmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ isip: Sejong changhŏn taewang sillok akpo Sejo hyejang taewang sillok akpo* 韓國音樂學資料叢書 二十: 世宗莊憲大王實錄樂譜 世祖惠莊大王實錄樂譜 [The resource collection for Korean musicology, vol. 20: Facsimile of *Sejong Annals'* notation and *Sejo Annals'* notation]. Seoul: Kungnip kugak wŏn 국립국악원.

Yiwangjik aakpu akpo 李王職雅樂部樂譜 [Notation of the music institute of the Yi royal family]. Manuscript. Its author and year unknown. Currently in the ownership of Nam Sangsuk.