

ABSTRACT

Title of Dissertation: THE MUSIC PERFORMED FOR THE SACRIFICIAL RITE AT THE ROYAL ANCESTRAL SHRINE OF THE CHOSŎN DYNASTY (1392–1910): INDIVIDUAL AGENCY AND DISCOURSE ON MUSIC EXPRESSED IN THE EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY KOREAN ENCYCLOPEDIA *TONGGUK MUNHŎN PIGO* (1770)

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In 1964, the South Korean government designated the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Chongmyo) as Intangible Cultural Property No. 1, and in 2001 UNESCO awarded the rite and music a place in the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity. The Royal Ancestral Shrine sacrificial rite and music together have long been an admired symbol of Korean cultural history, and they are currently performed annually and publicly in an abridged form. While the significance of the modern version of the music mainly rests on the claimed authenticity and continuity of the tradition since the fifteenth century, scholarly inquiry sheds further light on contextual issues such as nationalism, identity, and modernity in the post-colonial era (after 1945), as well as providing additional insights into the music.

This dissertation focuses on the Royal Ancestral Shrine's musical past as reflected in documentary sources, especially those compiled in the eighteenth century during the Chosŏn dynasty (1392–1910). In particular, the substantial music section of an encyclopedic work, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* (Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom, 1770), mainly compiled by a government official, Sŏ Myŏngŭng (1716–1787), provides a considerable amount of information on not only the music and sacrificial rite program, but also on eighteenth-century and earlier concerns about them, as discussed by the kings and ministers at the Chosŏn royal court.

After detailed examination of various relevant documentary sources on the historical, social and political contexts, I investigate the various discourses on music and ritual practices. I then focus on Sŏ Myŏngŭng's familial background, his writings on music prior to the compilation of the encyclopedia, and the corresponding content in the encyclopedia. I argue that Sŏ successfully converted the music section of the encyclopedia from a straightforward scholarly reference work to a space for publishing his own research on and interpretation of the musical past, illustrating what he considered to be the inappropriateness of the existing music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the later eighteenth century.

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EXPRESSED IN THE
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TONGGUK MUNHŎN PIGO (1770)

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PREFACE

This research stemmed from a paper required for a graduate course focusing on the historical aspect in ethnomusicology, taught by Robert Provine in the first year of my study in the U.S. as a doctoral graduate student. In the process of writing that paper, for the first time I encountered Korean historical documents, the *Sillok* (*Veritable Records*) of Chosŏn kings, written in Chinese, and I developed a keen interest in reading such historical documents. In subsequent years, I took some fundamental courses on the Korean language, and, to conduct archival research, I benefitted from subsidies provided by some institutions, including a Harvard-Yenching Library Travel Grant (2009), the Academy for Korean Studies Pre-doctoral Research Fellowship Program (2009), and the Participant of Cultural Partnership Initiative by the National Gugak Center (2011). The last two of these enabled me to visit libraries and archives in South Korea and obtain valuable sources of restricted accessibility, though many other sources have already been open to the world via the internet.

In this dissertation several systems of romanization are applied to names of people, titles of writings, and terms in languages other than English: McCune-Reischauer romanization for Korean, *Hanyu pinyin* 漢語拼音 (Chinese Phonetic Alphabet) for Chinese, and Hepburn romanization for Japanese. The romanizations, upon their first appearance, are followed by the original orthography: *han 'gŭl* and *hancha* for Korean, traditional characters for Chinese, and *hiragana* and *kanji* for Japanese. For names of people, I also give the English names for a few persons outside Euro-American academia who have also written in English or earned high prestige within their field of study and are therefore known to the Western world. For example, for the renowned Korean

musicologist 李惠求, both the English name and the romanization of the name, Lee Hye-Ku and Yi Hyegu respectively, are given. Readers who are familiar with characters and musical terms in Chinese may find some of them different from their usual appearance or usage, due to the Korean writing practice or printing font of *hanmun* 漢文. Some examples are the Chinese characters *zhong* 鐘 (bell) and *qing* 清 (clear), which are replaced by *chong* 鍾 and *ch'ōng* 淸 respectively.

The bibliographic stylesheet is basically the notes and bibliography system given in the *Chicago Manual of Style* and Turabian's *A Manual for Writers* (7th edition), expanded to include data essential to East Asian bibliography, and tailored to the bibliographic situation of the documents that I have consulted. Most of the documents in East Asia compiled before the modern era are usually organized differently from the modern works. In most cases they were bound into a certain number of volumes and comprise a certain number of folios in each volume. Each volume usually consists of certain number of *kwōn* (chapters), especially if the documents were intended to be published. What makes a major difference from the practice of modern printing is that the folio number is usually reset to one for the first folio of each *kwōn*.

The situation is further complicated by the bibliographic situation of documents. While certain scholars have contributed to the bibliographic study of Korean historical documents (such as the work by Chōn Hyebyong 千惠鳳), such efforts in the realm of the historical study of Korean music still need more attention. Since many of the historical documents consulted in this study were created primarily for non-musical purposes and represent widely varied bibliographic situations, it is hard to unify the style of citations. Below are the ways of citation tailored to the sources with unique bibliographic situations:

Example 1: *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* 114.18a (1770/4/19)

Example 2: *Daily Records*, vol. 72, 921 (1770/4/18)

Example 3: *Chronology*, *kwŏn* 1, (1727/12).

Example 1, the *kwŏn* and folio system, is used for the documents for which a reliable edition is recognized, despite the presence of modern paginations in facsimile reprints, or conversely, such facsimile reprints are absent (such as *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*). In this example, it makes reference to the first half (“a”) of the eighteenth (“18”) folio in the one hundred-fourteenth chapter (“114”) in the *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo*, in particular the T’aebaeksan copy. Example 2 shows the treatment for the transcribed edition of the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat*, as most of its originals were written in the style of grass calligraphy. Example 3 is for manuscripts with not much bibliographic information, in this case the *Pomanjae yŏnbo* 保晩齋年譜 [Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng]. It should be noted that the date in parentheses in these examples is comprised of the lunar month (and day, if available) and year in the Western calendar, and an apostrophe is employed to indicate an intercalated month.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AKS	Han'gukhak Chungang Yŏn'guwŏn 韓國學中央研究院 (Academy of Korean Studies, 2005–present, formerly Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 韓國精神文化研究院)
HCMY	Han'guk Chŏngsin Munhwa Yŏn'guwŏn 韓國精神文化研究院 (Academy of Korean Studies, 1978–2005)
HMC	(P'yojŏm yŏngin) Han'guk munjip ch'onggan (標點影印) 韓國文集叢刊 [Facsimile Reproductions of Collected Works, with Punctuations]
HŬCC	Han'guk ũmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ 韓國音樂學資料叢書 [Series of Materials for Korean Musicology]
HŬHC	Han'guk ũmakhak haksul ch'ongsŏ 韓國音樂學術叢書 [Korean Musicology Academic Series]
KNKAW	Kungnip kugagwŏn 國立國樂院 (established in 1951, named in English National Classical Music Institute until 1989, afterwards changed to Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center, and later changed to National Gugak Center)
KPW	Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe 國史編纂委員會 (National Institute of Korean History)
MMC	Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe 民族文化推進會

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

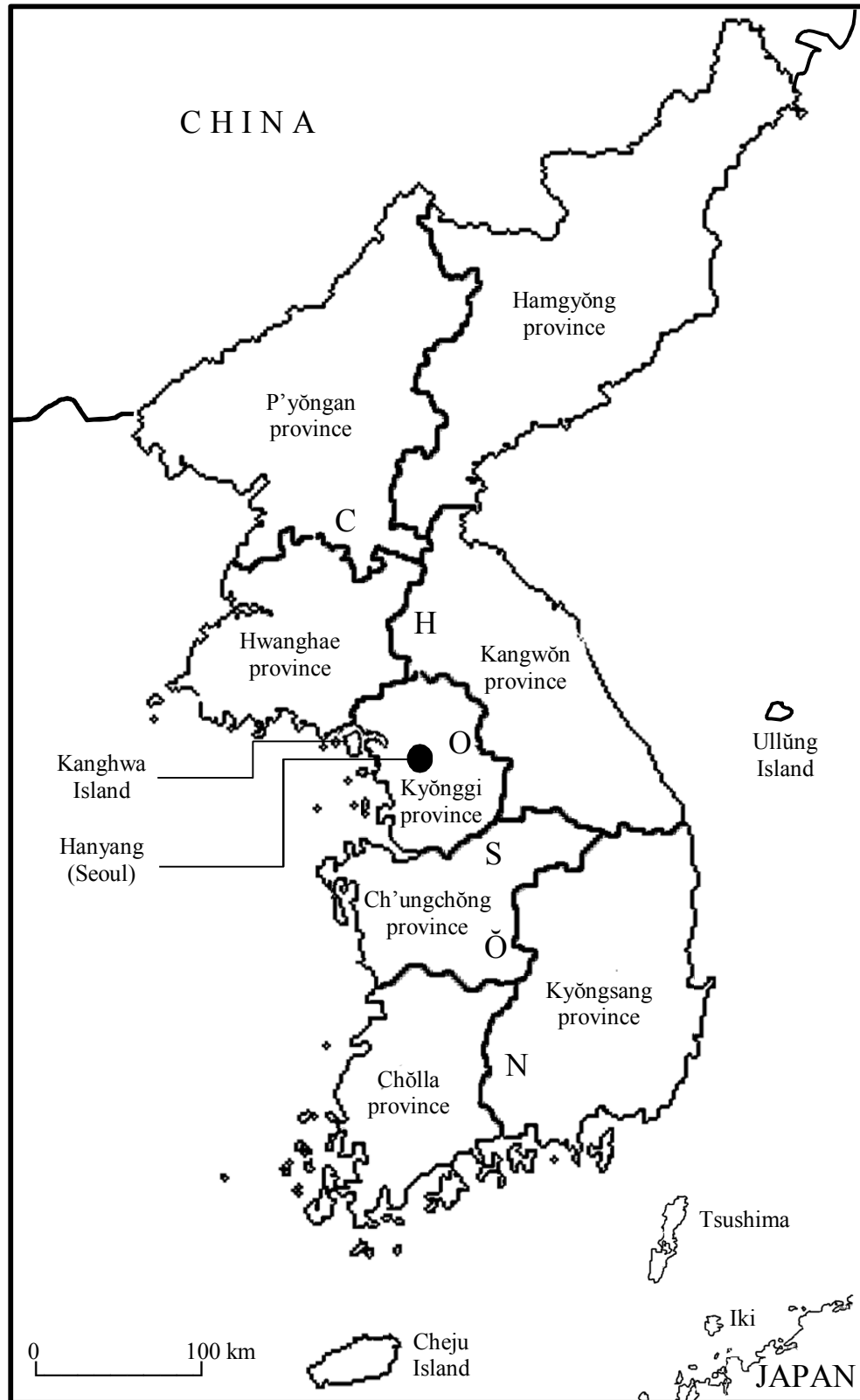
Chosŏn 朝鮮 (1392–1910)¹ (see Map I–1) was the last monarchic dynastic era in the history of Korea,² and this dissertation explores music performed in the Chosŏn period for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, as recorded in eighteenth-century sources. In this investigation, I pay special attention to a tune given in an encyclopedic work compiled in this period, since this tune, reproduced from an earlier source compiled in the fifteenth century, is especially revealing about royal court decisions and official actions on the matter of music in ritual. I also contextualize the reasons for particular decisions and actions, which in fact are still illustrative in the discourse on the authenticity of the music performed today at the Royal Ancestral Shrine of the Chosŏn dynasty.

The Emergence of Modern Korea: The Significance of the Past in the Present

The significance of a historical study of the musical past of a surviving musical tradition has to be understood in light of present circumstances. This section gives the historical and social aspects that constitute the modern context within which such a tradition (i.e., the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine), is continued,

¹ In response to the Korean demand for independence from China, Chosŏn was reconfigured as the Great Han Empire (*Kor.*: Taehan Cheguk 大韓帝國) in 1897 until it ended in 1910. I take the Empire as a special period of Chosŏn, because the system of monarchism remained largely unchanged and the lineage of kingship was not broken.

² Korea had long been an independent political entity under different political regimes at different periods, including the Chosŏn of the Yi 李 family. In 1948, the nation (here referring to people who share a common language, race, and history) was divided into two separate countries, namely, the Republic of Korea (or “South Korea,” *Kor.*: Taehan Min’guk 大韓民國) and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (“North Korea,” *Kor.*: Chosŏn Minjujuŭi Inmin Konghwaguk 朝鮮民族主義共和國), shortly after its liberation from Japanese colonial domination in 1945.



Map I-1: Map of Chosŏn and Its Neighboring Countries

and it highlights emphasis on the past in present-day Korea, even though the past has been transformed into a modern state in a globalized setting.

To many Koreans the concept of royal Korea (primarily the Chosŏn dynasty from 1392 to 1910) includes the territories of both present-day South Korea and North Korea. During the later years of Chosŏn (after 1800, generally speaking), Koreans, particularly those at the top of the political hierarchy who had adhered to the system of Confucian norms and values for centuries, were unable to reach a consensus on how to deal with foreign cultural import such as religion and science brought by European Jesuits coming in from China. In the second half of the nineteenth century, threats from imperialistic foreign powers came from surrounding countries such as Russia and Japan, as well as from the sea-going Europeans and Americans. Korea gradually lost its autonomy in various respects, and eventually it was annexed by Japan, initiating the colonial period from 1910 to 1945.

Near the end of WWII, in 1945, the Soviets declared war on Japan and occupied the northern part of Korea when it was certain that Japan would surrender in less than one week. One month later the U.S. troops landed and occupied the southern part. The line that divided the U.S. and Russian ("The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" at the time) zones of occupation was drawn approximately at the 38th parallel of north latitude, which still marks the contentious boundary between North Korea and South Korea. In the following years governments were quickly set up in North Korea and South Korea with interventions from Russia and the U.S., respectively. In 1950, war broke out between North and South Korea, and a few years later the Korean War arrived at a stalemate, with

the signing of a truce.³ At present North Korea and South Korea are officially still at war, though for most of the time it is peaceful. Since then the national unity has remained broken and is gradually becoming less important to younger generations. It should be noted that while South Korea includes the capital of Chosŏn, Hansŏng 漢城 (now called Seoul), and possesses substantial historical and documentary resources, North Korea seems to lack such resources,⁴ and none of the royal ceremonies are still performed due to political considerations.⁵

Even though the land area of the Korean peninsula is relatively small in comparison to some other countries in the region, its significance is considerable. In terms of geography, the Korean peninsula descends from the northeastern Euro-Asian continent into the northwestern Pacific Ocean. While its northern border connects with China and Russia, Japan is only about 100 km from the southern seashore, with two islands (now called Tsushima 対馬 and Iki 壱岐) on the way that serve as stepping stones which historically helped travelers to cross over. For this reason Korea was regarded as a bridge or “cultural conduit” between her neighbors, particularly China and Japan. Even

³ For details, see Ki-baik Lee (Yi Kibaek 李基白), *A New History of Korea*, translated by Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 373–81. North Korea is an authoritarian-communist country characterized by the governmental ownership of major production sectors in the economy. South Korea, though carrying “Republic” in her official name, became truly a republican country, signified by the direct election of a president, only in 1987. The economy of South Korea is largely in the hands of several *chaebŏl* 財閥 (business conglomerates), such as Samsung, Hyundai, Daewoo, and Lucky-Goldstar (LG), which collectively accounted for two-thirds of the total GNP of South Korea in mid-1980s. For more general information about North and South Korea, see “Country Studies,” by Federal Research Division of Library of Congress. <https://www.loc.gov/collections/country-studies/?q=korea>. Last accessed on Feb 27, 2016. For more recent statistics on South Korea, visit the website of Statistics Korea, a central government organization for statistics: <http://kostat.go.kr/portal/eng/index.action>. Last accessed on Apr 16, 2016.

⁴ Information on the level of holdings of historical documents in North Korea is unavailable.

⁵ Both North and South Korea are trying “to maintain a sense of continuity with older forms of Korean culture...North Korea has drawn actively from traditional folksongs and melodies in reconstructing a strong national repertoire. The South has done much to distinguish Korean aesthetics while working to preserve a plethora of highly localized forms...managed through the Intangible Cultural Asset Preservation system.” Donna Lee Kwon, *Music in Korea: Experiencing Music, Expressing Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 18.

now, being in between the three super powers in the region, namely, China, Japan, and Russia, any moves from either North or South Korea could be significant, influencing the way that these super powers interact with each other and with powers in the West.⁶

Given the unique location and their recent history of suffering from international encounters, the governments of both North and South Korea have struggled to increase their presence and influence around the world so as to secure their survival as political entities and to increase their power to negotiate at the international level, though it is done with remarkably different methods. In North Korea, military force is embraced, particularly the recent and threatening development of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles. By contrast, a strategy of developing “soft power” is taken by South Korea. For example, South Korea has held a number of international events in the past decades, such as the 1988 Olympic Games, 2002 World Cup (hosted jointly with Japan), and 2012 World Expo. Also, South Korea has impressed the world with their success in capitalism and with an economic boom characterized by their production and sale of high-end electronic products such as Samsung smartphones, their heavy industry such as shipbuilding, and their exportation of popular culture, including music, TV dramas, and movies, thereby creating the so-called “Korean wave” (*hallyu* 韓流).

Though these strategies seem to serve their intended purposes successfully, the quest for Korean identity, particularly in South Korea, appears to be another pressing question about which individuals and government have displayed their concerns. Even though there has been a long process of adoption of Chinese culture and institutions

⁶ For how China’s policy towards North Korea relates to the U.S., see, for example, Bates Gill, “China’s North Korea Policy, Assessing Interests and Influences,” United States Institute of Peace, *Special Report* 283 (July 2011).

(which gradually became the standard of being civilized in the East Asian context before the coming of Western culture in the latter nineteenth century), Korea has maintained her independent political status since the Koguryŏ 高句麗 period (ca. 37 B.C.–668 A.D.), enabling its people to maintain a sense of identity as a separate people. Also, though literary Chinese was for many centuries the written *lingua franca* for people of the higher social hierarchy, a distinctive indigenous language was maintained for daily communication and also contributed to sustaining a Korean identity, as the language is highly different from Chinese in terms of lexicon, phonology, and grammar.⁷

Nevertheless, the display of intense concerns about being Korean (within South Korea) at both individual and governmental levels observed both inside and outside the country perhaps “reflects a history of subordinate relations to powerful foreign states and the tragedy of national division after WWII.”⁸ It is not hard to understand that it may be often difficult for them to define exactly what being a Korean means, especially in a situation of rapid modernization and development where the old can be compared with the new.⁹

To tackle the identity crisis, the government of South Korea has forged ways of turning certain aspects of life into icons that people can refer and adhere to in underpinning Korean identity, and it is realized in part through a national preservation system of intangible cultural properties, backed by legal institutions and governmental financial aid. The intangible cultural properties are categorized as follows: music, dance, theatre, plays and rituals, crafts, food, and martial arts. The importance of these intangible

⁷ Andrea Matles Savada, and William Shaw, eds., *South Korea: A Country Study* (Washington, D.C.: Federal Research Division, Library of Congress, 1992), 18.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 108.

⁹ Keith Howard, “Introduction,” in *Preserving Korean Music: Intangible Cultural Properties as Icons of Identity*, Perspectives on Korea Music I (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), xiii.

cultural properties often lies in the documented or lived past, and it is by re-enacting these ways of doing things that the past has been turned into a source of Korean identity.¹⁰

Music and Identity

Quite a number of traditional musical genres are promoted and preserved in this way as a manifestation of Korea identity. These include *p'ansori* 판소리 (storytelling through songs with barrel drum accompaniment), and *nongak* 農樂 (farmers' percussion music), *sanjo* 散調 (“scattered melodies” for solo melody instrument with drum accompaniment), music for *kut* kut (Korean shamanic rituals), and, particularly relevant for this dissertation, the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Some of these genres are claimed to possess long histories that date back to the Chosŏn dynasty and even earlier. The embedded significance of these musical genres has been proven and accepted by academics, as “Growing numbers of scholars in Korea and overseas are finding that the multifaceted musical culture of Korea repays study, not just for its links to China and Japan, but for its own sake.”¹¹

The music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was one of the most important cultural icons in the preservation system. To many South Koreans, the Royal Ancestral Shrine of the Chosŏn dynasty, where the spirit tablets (wooden

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ *East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea, Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Volume 7, ed. Robert C. Provine, Yoshihiko Tokumaru, and J. Lawrence Witzleben (New York: Routledge, 2001), 801. Indeed, the categorization of traditional music in Korea not only displays such historical but also social settings in the past: “At the apex of the hierarchy was the royal court, which maintained a large staff of professional musicians and dancers for its lavish banquets and ceremonies. Outside the court itself, wealthy people supported smaller-scale chamber music and art song genres. For the common people, there were musical storytelling, farmers’ percussion bands, and various forms of folk theatricals.” Ibid, 859.

blocks on which the names of the deceased are inscribed) of kings of the Chosŏn dynasty are installed, is one of the most important cultural symbols representing the past from which modern South Korea emerged.¹² Designated as Intangible Cultural Property No. 1 in 1964 by South Korea, the music performed for the sacrificial rite is claimed to “have continued without impairment for 500 years.”¹³ Though changes in musical content and its social affiliations, and individual creativity in the modern reconstruction of the ritual and music are salient, the combination of ritual with a Chinese (Confucian) origin and music with an emphasis on Korean creativity serve successfully as a cultural symbol that many Koreans admire. The emphasis on authenticity and continuity of the tradition in present political settings has also drawn the attention of scholars, and the voices of the modern participants in the performance have been considered in dealing with the scholarly issues such as nationalism, authenticity, and identity.¹⁴

¹² There is also much tangible historical heritage that nowadays brings Koreans pride: they have preserved 81,258 woodblocks of the world's oldest and finest edition of Buddhist *Tripitaka* (in Chinese) which dates back to the thirteenth century; the continuous standard historical record of a long single dynasty (i.e., Chosŏn) which had a span of more than five hundred years; and the *Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People* (*Hunmin chŏngŭm* 訓民正音) (1446), which evidences the origin of the Korean alphabet that is commonly being used now in both North and South Korea, etc.

¹³ Cultural Heritage Administration, “Cultural Heritage, the Source for Koreans’ Strength and Dream,” Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, http://jikimi.cha.go.kr/english/world_heritage_new/intangible_treasure_01.jsp?mc=EN_04_02 (accessed March 10, 2011). It should be noted that this phrase disappeared in the later stages of this research. The performance of the rite was designated as Intangible Cultural Property number fifty-six in 1975, and, it is now an annual event that takes place on the first Sunday of May (by the Western calendar) in Seoul. The performance of the rite is organized by the descendants of the Chosŏn royal family, i.e., Chŏnju Yi Royal Family Association (Chŏnju Yissi taedong chongyagwŏn 全州李氏大同宗約院), while the performance of music is organized by the National Gugak Center (Kungnip Kugagwŏn 國立國樂院), a governmental organization. For the National Gugak Center and the transmission of music and dance from the Chosŏn court, see Howard, *Preserving Korean Music*, 51–60.

¹⁴ Lee Hyeyoung 이혜영 (Yi Hyeyŏng), “Out of the Shadow of Korean Colonial Experience: An Interpretation of Chongmyo-cheryeak, the Royal Ancestral Shrine Ritual Music,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maryland, College Park, 2006. For the issues about Korean music in general, see Kwon, *Music in Korea*, 11–21.

Encountering Korean Music and Indigenous Research

Korean popular culture became pervasive in Hong Kong after the television drama *Taejanggŭm* 大長今 (known in the USA as “Jewel in the Palace”) was broadcast in 2005, and some of my friends thought that it was because of that expression of *hallyu* that I became a fan of Korean music and therefore interested in Korean music history. But this is not the case. Unlike many others, my first contact with Korean culture was their past as it was explained in an academic context. It dates back to the course “Historical Ethnomusicology” in 2006, taught by Professor Robert Provine, who later became the advisor of this dissertation, for which I needed to write an assignment to fulfill course requirements, and I selected Korean music as the topic. Having received my education in Hong Kong and being able to perform on the Chinese *erhu* 二胡, a two-string fiddle, at the beginning of the program I intended to take Chinese music as my dissertation topic, as written in my statement of purpose in application for the PhD program. My mind changed after the course, as I found myself intrigued by Korean historical documents. Also, the teacher’s insightful and inspirational guidance, usually expressed in a humorous way, was another major factor. After I expressed my intention to change my topic for dissertation, Professor Provine suggested that historical study of Chinese music would be a feasible and possible topic. But I thought it would be both beneficial and challenging to work on a topic under the supervision of an expert in the same field of research interest.¹⁵

Indigenous Korean scholars who pursue historical study with an emphasis on the investigation of documents remain a small minority, and language is the major barrier

¹⁵ In the subsequent years I visited South Korea several times. The first visit was an eleven-month stay during August 2009 and July 2010 via participation in the fellowship program sponsored by the AKS, and the second visit was a six-month stay during June and November of 2011 via participating in the Cultural Partnership Initiative organized by KNKAW, followed by a conference meeting in November 2014.

facing them. This is because only literary Chinese was used in official documents during the dynastic era, though spoken Korean was commonly used in daily communication. The Korean writing system, invented in the fifteenth-century and officially named *han'gŭl* 한글 in the early twentieth century, did not gain widespread popularity until the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and since then it has largely replaced (in both South and North Korea) the use of *hancha* 漢字 and *hanmun* 漢文, the Korean terms for Chinese characters and Chinese literature respectively. In my experience in reading Korean materials, *hancha* were still commonly used in mixed-script publications in the 1960s and 1970s, but rarely seen in those published since the 1990s. In recent decades, however, efforts have been given to the translation of Chinese documents produced during the dynastic era into modern Korean. Consequently, the substantial number of historical documents written in Chinese has meant that competency in reading *hancha* and *hanmun* remains an advantage in pursuing historical study of the dynastic era.

Given that historical studies on music in the East Asian regions are somehow shaped by their cultural history,¹⁶ I would like to account for tendencies in the historical studies of Korea's musical past based on the statements made by indigenous scholars who have been working in the area for a long time,¹⁷ and introduce a few indigenous studies on subjects relating to my own research.

¹⁶ Isabel Wong's article, "From Reaction to Synthesis: Chinese Musicology in the Twentieth Century," in *Comparative Musicology and the Anthropology of Music*, edited by Bruno Nettl and Philip V. Bohlman (Chicago: University of Chicago Press), 37–55, examines the relationship between the development of indigenous scholarship on Chinese music and its circumstances.

¹⁷ Information in this section is mainly drawn from the following works: Lee Byongwon's "The Current State of Research on Korean Music," *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32 (2000): 143–9. For his comments on historical studies, see 143–44; Song Bangsong's *Korean Music, Historical and Other Aspects* (Seoul: Jimoondang Publishing Company, 2000a). For the development and problems in scholarship on Korean music, with an emphasis on indigenous scholarship, see 69–92. Though it is not cited here, I have also consulted Robert Provine's essay, "Korea," in *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, ed.

The formation of indigenous scholarship on Korean music as an independent discipline dates back to first half of the twentieth century, when the country was under Japanese colonial rule. During this early period the majority of contributions were made in the field of historical studies, represented by two pioneers, Lee Hye-Ku (Yi Hyegu 李惠求, 1909–2010) and Chang Sahun 張師勛 (1916–1991).¹⁸ More than half a century later, Lee Byong Won (Yi Pyŏngwŏn), a student of both Lee Hye-Ku and Chang Sahun and an early graduate of the Department of Korean Music of Seoul National University, summarized the development of indigenous historical studies at the turn of the millennium:

Historical research [on music] is divided into two main groups: one group that deals with historical literature or records, and the other that concentrates on deciphering and interpreting the music in old manuscripts... [Research on the old manuscripts has] contributed to the understanding of the structure and style of the repertoires of the remote past and musical evolution... [and] attempts to reconstruct the music in performance have been extremely limited.¹⁹

Since the 1960s, the exploration of surviving musical manuscripts, especially those from the Chosŏn dynasty, may be a major factor for such an academic trend. Among the studies on the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, some can be classified as belonging to the latter group, since they focus merely on the musical structure, particularly on deciphering the rhythmic patterns,²⁰ and some

Helen Myers (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 363–76.

¹⁸ See Song Bangsong's *Korea Music, Historical and Other Aspects*, 69–72, 83, and Lee Byong Won's "The Current State of Research on Korean Music," 144. Both Lee and Song realize that their works have laid the standard of historical studies on music. Furthermore, in 1959, when Lee Hye-Ku and Chang Sahun taught at Seoul National University, it was the first higher educational institution in Korea to offer academic degree in Korean music. For some selected works by Lee and Chang, see the Bibliography.

¹⁹ Lee Byong Won, "The Current State of Research on Korean Music," 144.

²⁰ Mun Sukhŭi 문숙희 (Moon Sukhie), "Chongmyo cheryeak *Kimyŏng kwa Tokkyŏng* ŭi ūmak chŏk

aim to provide a narrative of the development of music based upon surviving notations.²¹ While the analyses of music presented in these works are based upon the music preserved in surviving notations, I found that these studies are caught in the situation, as Song Bangsong suggests, that many musical sources “have not yet received a proper historical examination as to their dates of composition, authors, occasions for composition, and so on.”²²

There are also a number of works that deal with historical literature or records specifically regarding the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine,²³ and in the last decade and a half, individual scholars of this camp have started to shed light on the relationship between music and its broader context, especially that in the eighteenth century. Song Ji-won (Song Chiwŏn 宋芝媛), who finished her dissertation under the supervision of Chang Sahun, has written articles on sources, especially the sources compiled by Sŏ Myŏngŭng,²⁴ and a book on the state music policies in the late eighteenth-century Chosŏn dynasty.²⁵ Some of her writings attempt to shed light on the

pyŏnch'ŏn e kwanhan yŏn'gu.” 종묘제례악기명과독경의음악적변천에관한 연구 (A Study on the Musical Changes of *Kimyŏng* and *Tokkyŏng* in the Music for the Sacrificial Rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine), *Han'guk ūmaksa hakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 41(2008): 187-225, and *Chongmyo cheryeak ūi wŏnhyŏng kwa pogwŏn* 종묘제례악의원형과복원 [The Archetype and Recovery of the Music for the Sacrificial Rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine], Sunggil Taehakkyo Han'guk Munye Yŏn'guso Haksul Ch'ongsŏ 28 (Seoul: Hakkobang 學古房, 2011). See also the works by Mun Sukhŭi listed in the Bibliography.

²¹ Nam Sangsuk 南相淑, “The Debate over the Distortion of Chongmyo Cheryeak,” *The World of Music* 49 (2007): 25–42.

²² Song Bangsong, *Korean Music: Historical and Other Aspects*, 85.

²³ Such as Yi Hyegu's “Sejongjo ūi Chongmyo chehyangak” 世宗朝의宗廟祭享樂 [Music for the Sacrificial Rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine during the Reign of Sejong], in his *Han'guk ūmak sŏsŏl* 韓國音樂序說 [Introduction to Korean Music] (Seoul: Sŏul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu 서울대학교출판부, 1967), 151–66, and Kim Chongsu's 金鍾洙 “Chosŏn hugi Chongmyo akchang nonŭi, chakhŏnsi akchang ūi yŏnju kwanhaeng” 朝鮮後期宗廟樂章論議, 酌獻時樂章의演奏慣行 [Discussions on the Royal Ancestral Shrine Hymn Texts During Late Chosŏn Dynasty: the Performance Practice for Chanting During the Rite of Offering Wine], *Han'guk ūmak yŏn'gu* 韓國音樂研究 17 (1989): 109-31.

²⁴ See Bibliography.

²⁵ Song Chiwŏn, *Chŏngjo ūi ūmak chŏngch'aek* 정조의음악정책 [The Policies Towards Music by King Chŏngjo], *T'aehak ch'ongsŏ* 태학총서 [T'aehak Series] 22 (P'aju: T'aehaksa, 2007).

social aspects of the musical past, which are quite different from the style of indigenous scholarship mentioned above. While I am hesitant to agree with some of her ideas, her research provided much useful bibliographic information when I conducted archival research during the early stages of this study.²⁶

At the early stage of this study I knew almost nothing about Chosŏn court ceremonial music and historical study, as shown by that paper required for the graduate course I mentioned in the preface. I knew that there were already quite a number of works (mainly by Robert Provine) on the sources of Chosŏn court ceremonial music in the fifteenth century. Only after reading a certain number of historical documents did a blurry blueprint start to emerge, and it gradually developed into the present dissertation. As a foreigner (from Hong Kong) pursuing historical ethnomusicological study in the United States on the musical past of Korean surviving musical traditions, I hope to provide some fresh perspectives on the understanding of the Korean musical past other than those in the indigenous academic studies, especially the ways of reading the materials based upon which the past is reconstructed, and through which we can understand how the eighteenth-century Koreans understood, made use of, and expressed individual agency in their musical past.

²⁶ Apart from Song Chiwŏn, other noteworthy the works by other indigenous historians were consulted in the present study, such as Kim Munsik's 金文植 "Sŏ Myŏnggŭng chŏsul ŭi chongnyu wa t'ŭkching" 徐命膺著述의種類와特徵 [A Classification and Description of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng's Writings], in *Chukpu Yi Chihyŏng kyosu chŏngnyŏn t'oeji kinyŏm nonmunjip: Han'guk ŭi kyŏnghak kwa hanmunhak* 竹夫李簾衡教授定年退職紀念論文集: 韓國의經學과漢文學 [Articles Commemorating the Retirement of Professor Yi Chihyŏng: The Studies of Classics and the Studies of Chinese Literature in Korea] (Seoul: T'aehaksa 太學社, 1996), 127–98.

Historical Studies and Ethnomusicology

While pursuing historical study is relatively uncommon in the field of ethnomusicology, history has long been an important concept in ethnomusicology serving different purposes in the discipline. The typical purposes of history are subservient to living traditions, such as to “provide an expanded context in which to understand present-day performance,” and to “help corroborate oral accounts and texture ethnographic accounts.”²⁷ Indeed, very few ethnomusicologists have addressed the question of what historical studies should do and what they should look like.

Thirty years ago the term “historical ethnomusicology”²⁸ was coined to put people who pursue historical studies in the discipline under the same umbrella. However, due to its flexibility and fluidity in research objects and methods, and the implicit theories and methods, the attributes of historical studies in ethnomusicology, as a field of inquiry within the discipline, are still under scrutiny. In an attempt to characterize the field of historical research within the discipline, Bruno Nettl realizes:

Historical musicologists wish to know what actually happened, and their interpretations may draw on parallels within the same culture; ethnomusicologists, confronted with events of the past or changes of the present, wish to interpret these in terms of comparisons across cultures or in the context of the several domains of culture, seeking regularities or norms, and developing theories of “what happened”...historians in essence discover particular events and their relationships...historical studies, to qualify as proper ethnomusicology, should relate somehow to the central tenets of ethnomusicological definition—relationship to other cultural domains and a view of music as a world of musics.²⁹

²⁷ Ruth Stone’s “Historical Research,” in *Theory for Ethnomusicology* (Upper Saddle River [NJ]: Pearson Education, Inc., 2008), 186.

²⁸ The name “historical ethnomusicology” was coined by Kay Shelemay in 1980. See her “‘Historical Ethnomusicology’: Reconstructing Falasha Liturgical History,” *Ethnomusicology* 24 no. 2 (1980): 233–58.

²⁹ Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, 2nd edition (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2005), 273.

Describing the range of activities of historical ethnomusicologists, Richard Widdess states that “there is no consensus on the agenda or methodology of historical ethnomusicology, and a wide variety of historical materials and approaches to their study can be observed.”³⁰ Even though there might not yet be agreement among ethnomusicologists on historical methodology, it is surely the case that different cultures, especially those with a long literary history, will require differing methods and balances of concerns. In this dissertation, I focus on the nature of Korean historical documents and techniques that are useful in their investigation, along with their relevance to issues current in present-day ethnomusicology.

Though emphases are different in the disciplines of history and historical ethnomusicology, there is no real confrontation between them, by which I mean that the duties assigned to historical musicologists (to know what actually happened) can also be of interest to ethnomusicologists, and vice versa (to interpret what actually happened in terms of comparisons across cultures or in the context of the several domains of culture). Historical ethnomusicology, in fact, has seen a notable growth in recent years, including a special interest group in the Society for Ethnomusicology³¹ and a volume of wide-ranging essays edited by Jonathan McCollum and David Hebert.³²

To address the question of what historical ethnomusicology does, I would first like to confirm the definition of history.³³ History can be classified into two types,

³⁰ “Historical Ethnomusicology,” in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London: Macmillan, 1992), 219.

³¹ See http://www.ethnomusicology.org/?page=Sections_HE (accessed Apr. 16, 2016).

³² *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014).

³³ Indeed, while looking into the nature of history as a research discipline via academic journals such as *History and Theory*, especially the volumes on the first half of the twentieth century, the field of history, similar to ethnomusicology, explores questions that are concerned with the borders and nature of its subject matter, theories, and research methods.

depending on the writer's intent.³⁴ The first type takes history as a field of activity that studies the past as it was.³⁵ Its purpose is to discover the truth about the past via proper examination of evidence or what historians generally call sources, which were usually produced in a temporal space which is the same or as close as possible to that particular past. What is finally called a history is the interpretation (or, as Robin Collingwood describes it, "the thought expressed in it")³⁶ of those "sources." The second type of history takes history as a conception of the past, which consists of taking a position on the past, usually justified by its compatibility with present goals or theses. The way that the past is retrieved in the two different types of history is significantly different. In ethnomusicology, taking the second type of history as a subject of inquiry, such as the process of how history is reconstructed and applied in relation to the role and content of music, is not uncommon.³⁷ The method of this dissertation is framed by the first type of history, but its content, in keeping with ethnomusicological requirements, is also like the second one.

The key element that makes historical studies of music like this one ethnomusicological is a shared conception of music, that is, as a sonic phenomenon. It should be understood as part of human culture and as a by-product of behavior underlaid with corresponding conceptions, and, more importantly, it has to be understood in context

³⁴ The following discussion on history is derived from statements provided in the webpages of the Warring States Project of University of Massachusetts at Amherst, which give the strictest sense of the nature of history. See <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/> (accessed Apr 16, 2016).

³⁵ See "Methodological Difficulties, Two Kinds of History," in which the research objects of the discipline of history and the two types of history are clearly defined. <http://www.umass.edu/wsp/history/difficulties/two.html> (accessed Apr 16, 2016).

³⁶ Robin G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1956), 214.

³⁷ An example is given by Anthony Seeger in his "When Music Makes History," in *Ethnomusicology and Modern Music History*, ed. Stephen Blum et al. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 19), 23–34.

as well.³⁸ The nature of music in historical studies of music, however, also needs to be understood in a wider sense, as music at the point when historians encounter it can be either sonically sounding or in silent written form. The content of sounded music is straight forward (i.e., the music that was actually performed and often recorded). The unsounded written music, which by nature is in contrast to a sonic phenomenon, is more complicated, since it includes music presented, preserved, or represented in visual media, such as notations, texts, pictures, or even objects, such as musical instruments. Also, the written music might not have been performed in the first place.³⁹ The historical studies of sounding or unsounding music in ethnomusicology should be treated with the same concepts applied by ethnomusicologists mentioned above: they are part of human culture, and as a by-product of behavior underlaid with corresponding conceptions, they must also be understood in context as well.

Nevertheless, most of the existing historical studies on music do have their distinctive features distinct from typical ethnomusicological works. Typical ethnomusicological studies are characterized by the research method of fieldwork, which demands researchers' direct experience of the context of an event (which becomes part of the past right away), while historical studies are characterized by a temporal distance between the research object and researcher. It is through conducting fieldwork, like a rite

³⁸ According to Merriam, "the music product is inseparable from the behavior that produces it; the behavior in turn can only in theory be distinguished from the concepts that underlie it...if we fail to take cognizance of the parts, then the whole is irretrievably lost." Alan Merriam, *Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964), 35. Anthony Seeger simply says that music in general "must include both sounds and human beings." Anthony Seeger, "Ethnography of Music," in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London: Macmillan, 1992), 89.

³⁹ An example for this situation is the *Notations of Ritual Music (Aak-po 雅樂譜)* (1430), in which only two of the twelve melodies prepared for the sacrificial rites were actually used. See Robert Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology: Early Sources for Korean Ritual Music*, Traditional Korean Music 2 (Seoul: Il Ji Sa Publishing Co., 1988), 165.

of passage, that ethnomusicologists transform their experience into evidence, from which the past is conceived and interpreted from both first-hand tangible and intangible ethnographic data. Given that experience must be subjective, ethnomusicologists are aware of the importance of being reflexive in their writings, in order to provoke the validity in their presentation and theorizing of experience, data, and observation about the past. This past, usually presented in the forms of ethnography or documentary, is validated by the methods employed at every stage of the research process, so as to clarify the positions and reasoning of the researcher in knowledge production. Because the past presented in ethnomusicological studies has been intertwined with the researchers' past in fieldwork, that the way it is perceived, constructed, and presented is therefore vital and needs to be disclosed (i.e., the reflection in ethnomusicology).⁴⁰ Perhaps the last volume of the *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, which includes ethnomusicologists' experience and reflection, is a good illustration of my point.⁴¹

Historians avoid making statements about the past that lack the support of evidence. That is not to say that historians' experience and knowledge in dealing with evidence lacks importance; indeed, it is essential for judging the reliability of the evidence. The point is that any of their interpretations of the distant past must have the support of evidence, and such interpretations, particularly their formational process, have to be disclosed to readers explicitly. Though the historical study of music is typically defined by temporal or spatial distance between researchers and their research object, it

⁴⁰ One of the tools employed by ethnomusicologists to distance themselves from their experience for such reflection is the fieldnotes. See Gregory F. Barz, "Confronting the Field (note) in and out of the Field," in *Shadows in the Field*, ed. Gregory Barz and Timothy J. Cooley (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 206–23.

⁴¹ *The World's Music: General Perspectives and Reference Tools*, *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Volume 10, edited by Ruth M. Stone (New York: Routledge, 2001).

does not mean that contemporary fieldwork is incompatible with historical studies.⁴² A connection between ethnomusicology and history is the personal, reflexive quality of both disciplines. The audience for ethnomusicological work usually does not possess the same experience that the researchers do, and the same is true of the audience for historical ethnomusicological works. Perhaps awareness of criticizing our own interpretation in the quest of the true past, and making the ways we understand the past explicit to our audience is a goal common to all branches of ethnomusicology, including historical study.

Examination of sources, a vital step unique to the research method in historical study, may contribute to ethnomusicology as more and more research is conducted based on the data obtained from media, perhaps a sign of the return of “arm-chair ethnomusicology.”⁴³ And this is the very idea that, on the one hand, underpins the methodology of this study, and on the other, that this study may contribute to the discipline of ethnomusicology.

Earlier Historical Research on East Asian Music

Since the mid-twentieth century, Western interest in the historical study of music in East Asia has emerged,⁴⁴ and two dominant figures in this area were Laurence Picken

⁴² A recent example of employing fieldwork in historical study is by Katherine In-Young Lee. In her “The Drumming of Dissent during South Korea’s Democratization Movement,” *Ethnomusicology* 56, no. 2 (2012): 179–205, archival audio and video materials are juxtaposed with information obtained from interviews so as to suggest how political meanings were attributed to percussion music in the corresponding time. Though she has previously lived and worked in Korea, in this case she has replaced her past with oral history and lived experience, such as imprisonment and observation, obtained from individual musicians during her fieldwork, so as to support her interpretation of the past with further evidence from audio and video recordings.

⁴³ See Bruno Nettl, *The Study of Ethnomusicology, Thirty-one Issues and Concepts*, 9.

⁴⁴ For both foreign and indigenous scholarship on music in this region, see the articles by Alan Thrasher,

(1909–2007) and Rulan Chao Pian (1922–2013), known for their sustained influence in the field and their different approaches to the historical study of music. While both of them focus on music, Picken’s approach is characterized by a special attention to “real music” resulting from interpretation of the intrinsic evidence of a source, with less emphasis on the “social environment [which is] ultimately essential for the understanding of any musical tradition.”⁴⁵ Pian’s approach is more reflexive, characterized by the presence of “arguments in support of the interpretation” based on careful examination of the data given by the sources and of the sources themselves.⁴⁶

Coincidentally, one of Picken’s students and one of Pian’s students have pursued historical study of Korea music at more or less the same time. Jonathan Condit, representing Picken’s approach, deciphers the temporal values (rhythm) of two forms of the Korean “squares and columns notation” (*chǒngganbo* 井間譜), which is said to be intended to give precise rhythmic notation of the music, with an emphasis on intrinsic characteristics observed in the notation, such as the distribution of notes.⁴⁷ Representing Pian’s approach, Robert Provine attempts to decipher the music of Chinese origin notated in the form of Chinese pitch-pipe (*lǜlǜ* 律呂) notation by tracing the Chinese origin of the data given in Korean sources and comparing the sources in both countries. His work describes the creative and selective processes exercised by fifteenth-century Koreans, as

David Hughes, and Robert Provine in *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, ed. Helen Myers (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993).

⁴⁵ Richard Widdess and R. F. Wolpert, ed., “Preface,” in *Music and Tradition, Essays on Asian and Other Musics Presented to Laurence Picken* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), viii.

⁴⁶ Bell Yung, “Foreword,” in *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 16, reprint edition (Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), xvii.

⁴⁷ Jonathan Condit, *Music of the Korean Renaissance: Songs and Dances of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

shown by the comparison of such documents.⁴⁸ Though both scholars focus on music, there is a stronger emphasis in the latter on how music was reconstructed from sources and how it was understood in terms of behavior (in this case the cross-cultural and selective process of the production of texts on music by the fifteenth-century Koreans, who were influenced by Chinese conceptions of pitch hierarchy and in a particular Confucian orthodoxy that will be described in Chapter Two below).

Overview of the Dissertation

This dissertation contextualizes the contents in an eighteenth-century Korean official encyclopedia, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 東國文獻備考 (*Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom*) (1770). Instead of serving as a scholarly referential example, I argue that this encyclopedia reveals the inappropriateness of the existing musical settings at that time. To this end, I examine the context from various aspects, such as the intrinsic organization of the encyclopedic work, the history and the practice of the performance of the ceremony, the music prescribed in ritual manuals, individual's lived experience, and, most importantly, the chronological and bibliographic situation of the source of information itself.

In Chapter Two, I give an introduction to the Chosŏn dynasty, in particular on social norms, governing ideology and tools, and political dynamics, which serves as a basis for understanding the historical content in succeeding chapters and enabling readers to understand why ritual and music were important components in the political scene in the eighteenth-century Chosŏn dynasty.

⁴⁸ Robert Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*.

Chapter Three gives details on the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the Chosŏn dynasty, with a focus on the development and changes in the ritual program and music. It also provides readers with technical information on ritual and music given in fifteenth-century documents, so as to describe the relationship between such documents and their eighteenth-century context that is necessary in understanding the problems in performing the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine encountered by later generations and their corresponding discourses.

Chapter Four investigates an important reform of such music in 1743. By comparing and contrasting two eighteenth-century documents, 1) the *Veritable Records* (a retrospective source of information on Chosŏn court ceremonial music that is therefore seemingly authoritative but representative in nature, that has been held as a major source in many indigenous historical narratives), and 2) the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat* (a set of descriptive journals centered on the king and his activities, with both his written and spoken communications with his ministers). I show how the 1743 reform was recorded differently in the two documents, and the comparison leads to an investigation of the revival of another court ceremony that preceded the reform, from which we see how the music for the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was problematized, setting the 1743 reform into motion.

Chapter Five is a biography of Sŏ Myŏngŭng (1716–1787), prior to his becoming the major compiler and editor of the musical section, “Investigation of Music” (“Akko” 樂考), in the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*. It sheds light on the lived experience of Sŏ in terms of his familial background and involvement in musical activities (broadly defined), in order to provide an explanation for his keen motivation in the production of texts on court

ceremonial music, in particular that dealing with the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. In the absence of an autobiography by him, this biography helps to locate Sŏ Myŏngŭng in the social matrix outlined in Chapter Two, which is a prerequisite for understanding the musical content of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* discussed in Chapter Six.

Chapter Six is a detailed examination of the musical section “Akko” in the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, with a focus on the contents of the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. By comparing the organization of “Akko” and its Chinese precedent, *Wenxian tongkao*, I argue that the “Akko” is not merely a reference work tailored to circumstances unique to Korea, but a venue where Sŏ Myŏngŭng, while apparently maintaining that sterile textual organization, presents his personal findings on the investigation of the Chosŏn musical past by inserting editorial commentaries. This finding also gives evidence of Sŏ’s individual agency, which is contradictory to the intended purpose of the entire project as a national reference work, and serves as an example illustrating the complexities of eighteenth-century political dynamics.

Above all, the arguments and methods presented in this research are founded on the close examination of bibliographic details of the numerous sources. Since some readers may have less interest in such a high level of detail, I have positioned this bibliographic analysis in Appendix One rather than in the main text. Also, I have translated some detailed excerpts from the documents that support my arguments, and those are given in further appendices.

It is my hope that this close study of historical documents and their human contexts will be a useful addition to the growing body of writings in historical ethnomusicology, since there are many cultures in addition to Korea where a great number of historical documents relating to music are preserved but have received inadequate attention. All such documents were produced by humans and are expressions of their thinking and the culture of their time, so they can be approached in ways that are deeply relevant to the issues and concerns of ethnomusicology. It may also be the case that native Korean scholars will take an interest in how a foreign music researcher, using techniques and disciplines largely unfamiliar in Korea, has approached the study of historical Korean documents.

CHAPTER TWO: CHOSŎN DYNASTY

This chapter is an introduction to the Chosŏn dynasty, which serves as the basis for understanding the historical content in the succeeding chapters. At the end of this chapter, I summarize those issues that have to be understood in terms of such introductory information. A detailed examination of a five-hundred-year long dynasty can fill many volumes of books and still never be comprehensive, and the brief outline information here is derived from contemporary scholarly works.¹ Readers who are interested in a fuller historical account of the Chosŏn dynasty can refer to these materials.

The Chosŏn dynasty began as a palace coup by a powerful military general with support from Confucian literati. Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂 (1335–1408, r. 1392–1398), originally a military general in the late Koryŏ 高麗 dynasty (918–1392), overthrew Koryŏ and founded Chosŏn, with boundaries including roughly what is now South Korea and North Korea. Prior to Japanese invasions in the late sixteenth century, Chosŏn enjoyed a relatively long period of peace, with the exception of several internal

¹ Two books of general Korean history are frequently consulted for this chapter. The first is Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), and Michael J. Seth, *A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present* (Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2010). The later has greater coverage of the modern period than the former, in particular the period after 1960. A third useful source is Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

Since this study focuses on sacrificial rites, I am particularly interested in the studies on how Confucianism came into play in various aspects of the Chosŏn society. In past decades some Western scholars have contributed to this area, and I am strongly indebted to them. For example, William de Bary and Jahyun Kim Haboush, ed., *The Rise of Neo-Confucianism in Korea*, Neo-Confucian Studies (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985); Jahyun Kim Haboush, “The Confucianization of Korean Society,” in *The East Asian Region, Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaptation*, ed. Gilbert Rozman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 84–110; Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 36 (Cambridge [MA]: Council On East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992); James B. Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions: Yu Hyŏngwŏn and the Late Chosŏn Dynasty* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996). Some other works are also consulted, cited in subsequent footnotes.

political upheavals. It is in this long peaceful time that Confucianism, a Chinese ideology of governance and of orthodoxy in individual and collective ways of living, took increasingly strong root, as reflected in the political system and national rites in Chosŏn.² In succeeding centuries (prior to 1800), internal political dynamics, foreign invasions, advancement in agricultural technology (which resulted in economic growth), and the change of political regimes in China had impacts on Chosŏn, reflected in the political scene of the eighteenth century.

Confucianism

Confucianism³ had entered Korea long before the Chosŏn dynasty, and the impacts Confucianism had on Korean society changed as time went on.⁴ An early

² As Haboush suggests, “by the mid-sixteenth century, the political ethos of the Chosŏn court was predominantly Confucian. All decisions, large or small, had to be advanced, argued, and justified by Confucian rhetoric.” (Haboush, “The Confucianization of Korean Society,” 95). For the Confucianism in Chosŏn, James Palais says “After 1392 the Neo-Confucian thought...became the basis not only of the educational curriculum and the civil service examination system, but also of ritual practice, family organization, and ethical values for an increasing percentage of Korean society.” (Palais, *Confucian Statecraft and Korean Institutions*, 5).

Palais’s notion of “contemporary historiography [in] which the masses have become the most important factor in explaining the surge of dynamism in the late Chosŏn period and drive toward modernity and capitalism in the economy” (*ibid.* 4) encouraged him to examine writings by individuals who attempted to analyze the problems of society and to devise solutions for them, as traditional Korean historiography that was solely dominated by the educated elite who monopolized the use of writing.

³ The emergence of Confucianism in China dates back to Zhou 周 dynasty (ca. 1045 –256 B.C.). Based on classics such as the *Analects of Confucius* (*Lunyu* 論語), it was adopted as the governing ideology in the Han dynasty (206 B.C.–220 A.D.). The period after the Han dynasty was one of political disorder and internal disunity, intensified by later invasions of nomadic peoples from the north and west, when Buddhism was introduced into China. The Sui (589–617) and Tang (618–906), a period when China expanded her territories, were characterized by official adherence to religions such as Buddhism and the indigenous Taoism. During these dynasties Confucianism lost much of the prestige and place that it had once enjoyed. When it came to the Song dynasty (960–1279), a revival of Confucianism emerged in a form later named “Neo-Confucianism” by seventeenth-century Jesuits. The orthodoxy of Neo-Confucianism was the result of the philosophical movement of the revival of Confucianism during the Song dynasty, characterized by an emphasis on the interpretation of Confucian classics inherited from remote past and on the explanation of the way of human life, in particular the firm link between human nature and metaphysical doctrine, against the nihilism and the teaching of “non-action” respectively by Buddhism and Taoism. See Huang Siu-chi, *Essentials of Neo-Confucianism: Eight Major Philosophers of the Song and Ming Periods* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1999), 1–16. For a concise description of

practical use of Confucianism was by the first king of the Koryŏ dynasty, T'aejo 太祖 (r. 918–943), who “turned to the Confucian concept of the Mandate of heaven to claim his legitimacy.”⁵ Confucianism also brought in various types of formal rites, such as that for the royal ancestors, as recorded in the standard history of the Koryŏ dynasty, *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (which was compiled during the early Chosŏn dynasty), and the impact of Confucianism had on Koryŏ can also be observed in the recruitment of bureaucrats by civil examination based on Confucian classics. Such a system gradually engendered a unique social group comprising the *sadaebu* 士大夫 (literati and officialdom, Chinese: *shidafu*), which had nearly exclusive access to educational and official posts, and which sustained political influence in the succeeding Chosŏn dynastic period. The influence of Confucianism on early Koryŏ was superficial, as concluded by Haboush:

As the early Koryŏ civil elite's “Confucianness” seems to have been mainly aesthetic and literary rather than philosophical or religious, Confucian influence seems to have been limited to public behavior and public discourse. They did not denounce such social customs counter to Confucian practice as endogamy, nor did they renounce the Buddhist faith. In their mind...Confucianism had a specific place in the political realm, just as Buddhism did in the spiritual realm.⁶

During the late Koryŏ dynasty, Neo-Confucianism entered Korea along with the new syllabus for the civil examination promulgated by Yuan 元 China (1279–1368),⁷ a

Confucianism from a Western perspective, see John King Fairbank, *The United States and China*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Press, 1971), especially Chapter 3, “The Confucian Pattern,” and Chapter 5, “The Political Tradition.”

⁴ “The first Korean exposure to Confucianism is usually dated to the second century B.C.” (Haboush, “Confucianization of Korean Society,” 86).

⁵ Haboush, “The Confucianization of Korean Society,” 88–89.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Neo-Confucianism entered Korea when it was made a tributary nation under the Mongol empire, as Koreans had easy access to Yuan China, particularly with the residence of the young crown prince and his retinue in the capital at the time, Peking. The Confucian classics with commentaries by Zhu Xi 朱熹 (one of the representative figures of Neo-Confucianism) eventually became the basic texts for the civil examinations in Koryŏ, through which the government recruited its new officials. See Haboush, “The

regime established by Mongolians with military force. Along with this process came the growth in economic power of the *sadaebu*, who later turned into a force promoting changes in the society and eventually helped establishing the Chosŏn dynasty.⁸ They supported Yi Sŏnggye, a powerful military general, particularly after he had successfully defeated the “Red Turbans” (a group of north Chinese rebels), in putting himself onto the throne. The end of the Koryŏ dynasty implied the decline of the dominant role of Buddhism, which had long shaped the mind and behavior of Koreans, being replaced by the ideology of Confucianism promulgated by the new regime.

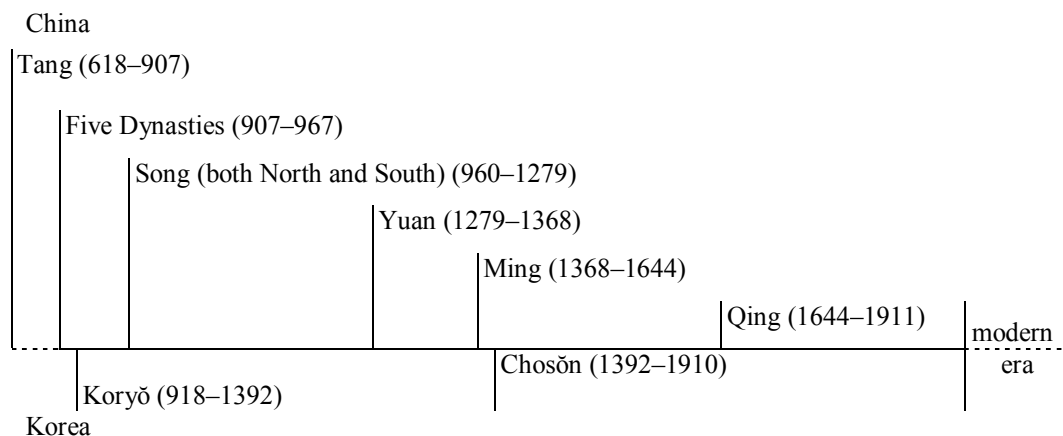


Figure II–1: A comparative chronology of dynastic Korea and China

When it came to Chosŏn, certain ideas of Confucianism, especially in its Song-dynasty Neo-Confucian development (see notes 2 and 3), comprised the major ethical core that guided human interaction. As a national ideology, Confucianism began to have impacts at different levels of Korean society, as Hwang points out:

Confucianization of Korean Society,” 89–90.

⁸ The fall of Koryŏ is attributed to the struggle for political and economic interests between the king and the aristocracy; see Seth, *A History of Korea*, 115–6.

The “great chain” of Confucian cosmology began with the individual’s self-cultivation of filial piety through ritual and learning, which in turn facilitated the application of morality to achieve familial and social harmony, a just political order, and peace under heaven.⁹

This is shown by official documents, such as the *Illustrated Conduct of the Three Bonds* (*Samgang haengsilto* 三綱行實圖) (1432), that preach the core of Confucian moral teachings, beginning from the educated people. According to Lee, the purpose of this document was:

To portray models of the loyalty, filiality, and fidelity that ideally characterized proper relationships between ruler and official, father and son, and husband and wife. It hardly needs to be added that the purpose behind this work was to widely encourage those ethical values that form the basis of Confucian morality, thus to further sustain the *yangban*¹⁰ social order.¹¹

Political System and Social Classes

The ideal Confucian polity had been realized by the implementation of a political system that “took the division between symbolic and real authority as an essential ingredient of success” in the early Chosŏn. In a context of hereditary monarchy, a political structure of “Prime Minister-centered bureaucracy” was adopted, in which “royal authority flowed from the almost entirely symbolic status of the king, while most decision making and administrative power was delegated to the Prime Minister.” With this structure, “the legitimacy of the monarchy was based on the mandate of the Yi royal house, while the efficiency and stability of the system was maintained by the executive

⁹ Kyung Moon Hwang, *A History of Korea*, 75–6.

¹⁰ *Yangban*, the “two-orders,” in general refers to the social group of *sadaebu*, and it “came to be used broadly to designate the status group in Yi society privileged to occupy civil and military posts in the bureaucracy...because it was this *yangban* class that directed the government, economy, and culture of Yi dynasty society...” See Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 173.

¹¹ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 195.

power of the State Council (*Ŭijŏngbu* 議政府) led by the Prime Minister.” The possibilities of royal autocracy and vagaries of individual kings were therefore reduced.¹²

The political system and its structure were sustained by an intrinsic norm and a special design of government structure. By and large within the bureaucracy, a hierarchical structure was intended,¹³ but the possible dominance by the high echelon in bureaucracy was repressed by a separation of power in the government structure, which comprised three censoring organs usually staffed with junior officials with less prestige.¹⁴ Throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, such a political system, with checks and balances of power among the king, senior ministers, and junior officials, constituted “a kind of constitutional monarchy, but that more normally tilted between degrees of tyranny and of an ochlocracy [government by mob] of aristocrats in which the king was little more than a figurehead.”¹⁵ Nevertheless, this apparently balanced system did not prevent internal power struggles, which had engendered a unique manner of kingship when it came to the eighteenth century, as we shall see in a later section.

Civil service examinations had been implemented long before the Chosŏn dynasty, reflecting a Confucian meritocratic ideal in which educated and competent people of different social status could theoretically participate in governance via examination based on Confucian classics. It was unlike the modern era, for most of the Chosŏn dynasty people were broadly classified into three mainly hereditary social

¹² Quotations in this paragraph are also drawn from Jahyun Kim Haboush’s *The Confucian Kingship in Korea: Yŏngjo and the Politics of Sagacity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 12.

¹³ Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 12.

¹⁴ Edward Wagner, *The Literati Purges: Political Conflict in Early Yi Korea* (Cambridge: East Asian Research Center Harvard University, 1974), 1–3.

¹⁵ Wagner, *The Literati Purges*, 2.

statuses: slaves, peasantry, and ruling class,¹⁶ a structure inherited from the Koryŏ dynasty. The recruiting system in Chosŏn helped maintain the boundary of the ruling class and was found to favor elite groups of a relatively small number of clan lineages.¹⁷

The ruling class can be further subdivided into two smaller groups: members of the royal family and the *yangban*. Centering on the king, members of the royal family bear the surname as the royal family (*Yi* 李) and its particular Chŏnju 全州 lineage, and *yangban* is defined as follows:

The members of the “two orders” of officialdom who served in the bureaucracy as civil or military officials... [who subsequently constituted] the status group in [Chosŏn society privileged to occupy civil and military posts in the bureaucracy].¹⁸

During the Chosŏn dynasty there were many cases in which members of the *yangban* were related to the royal family by marriage, as in the case of Sŏ Myŏngŭng. Not surprisingly, virtually all of the documents examined in this dissertation were produced by the *yangban* and intended for consultation by others in the same class.¹⁹

¹⁶ The people of the first two social statuses in general had relatively low prestige in society and slight opportunity of receiving education, and they were responsible for the production of most of the food and goods in the society, also bearing most of the tax burden. In contrast, the people of the ruling class in general had a better chance of education in orthodox Confucianism orthodox and enjoyed social prestige, and they formed the core of the government, made the decisions and carried out most of the administrative duties theoretically under the norm of such orthodoxy. See Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 173–5 and 184–5.

¹⁷ Edward Wagner, “The Ladder of Success in Yi Dynasty Korea,” *Occasional Papers on Korea*, no. 1 (April 1974), 1–8.

¹⁸ Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 173.

¹⁹ The social class derived and maintained by the recruitment system by and large determined who produced the documents and the content of the documents on music. As textual production was limited to people receiving training on the study of Confucian classis, documents seldom mentioned any music that did not promote Confucian ideas and help self-cultivation of one’s virtue.

National Rites and Music

The process of putting Confucianism into practice at different levels of society began in the early Chosŏn with the seizing of power by scholars influenced by Neo-Confucianism. “To the Confucians in early Chosŏn, Koryŏ society had lost its basic order and had ceased to function properly.”²⁰ One of the attempts by the early Chosŏn Confucian bureaucracy, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, was to restore the proper social relationship between the different social positions defined by Confucianism. In Confucianism, such social relationships contribute to a harmonious society, which requires the implementation of appropriate acts of individuals according to their relationships with others as defined by their social positions, such as fathers and sons, husbands and wives, rulers and subjects, etc. In an ideal society, appropriate behavior is not superficial or idealized, but genuinely based on one’s feelings towards others. One of the ways to nurture such sentiment is the repeated performance of various “rituals [of appropriateness]” (Korean: *ye*; Chinese: *li* 禮).

To implement such ideas in the early Chosŏn dynasty, in particular for the dissemination of filial piety, in addition to official publications such as the *Samgang haengsilto* 三綱行實圖 mentioned earlier, legislation regarding the establishment of ancestral shrines and enforcement of domestic ancestral worship was codified, and promotion of the ritual habits began from the very top of the social hierarchy, the royal family. In Confucian tradition, a ruler, in this case the king of the Chosŏn dynasty, “bears responsibility both for his own sacrificial rites and for certain other state rites

²⁰ Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 109.

carried out on the behalf of the nation.”²¹ Also, the performance of sacrificial rites at the national level serves as exemplary behavior of a ruler in a Confucian state for other members in the ruling class and, by extension, for the ordinary people as well, the ultimate goal being to instill the concept of an appropriate code of conduct for various social positions and thereby to maintain a harmonious society.

Apart from the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the ruler, as the figurehead of the country, needs to perform some extra rites that are for spirits of less personal concern. These spirits include those of land, grain, heavenly phenomena, and dynastic founders.²² However, the sacrificial rite for royal ancestors is the most important one among the various rites, because the performance of stylized sacrificial rites to memorialize royal ancestors re-articulates the core of Confucian dogma (i.e., filial piety, preached and reinforced through various symbols), including both behavior (such as bows, reading and burning prayers, the performance of music) and objects (such as utensils, costumes, musical instruments and sound) as designated in ritual manuals.

Music was an important component of various events taking place on various occasions in the Chosŏn court. From varying types of sources we can observe the depiction of the performance of music in royal banquets, royal audiences, royal progression, ambassador reception, and sacrificial rites at national level.²³ In the point of

²¹ One of the expressions of appropriate conduct in Confucian dogma is the performance of sacrificial rites, as Provine states: “In the Confucian tradition, a sacrificial rite is a ceremonial demonstration of the duty of a proper gentleman to honour the spirits of his ancestors. One is expected not only to always have inward feelings of respect for ancestors, but also to exhibit that respect in formal, timetabled rites.” See his “State Sacrificial Rites and Ritual Music in Early Chosŏn,” in *Kugagwŏn nonmunjip* 國樂院論文集 (Journal of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) 1, (Seoul: KNKAW, 1989), 240.

²² Ibid., 239–307.

²³ The Chosŏn sacrificial rites were classified into three major categories: Great Rites (*taesa* 大祀),

view of Confucianism, as Dewoskin points out, music is “construed as a complement to ritual,” and it is both an indicator (“a spontaneous expression of public sentiment or barometer of the spiritual condition of the people”) and mediator of the social norm (“an instrument of moral education”) in a society.²⁴ Derived from such a notion, when an old regime had been overthrown by the new (e.g., Koryŏ was being replaced by Chosŏn), there is a discourse that “the [court ceremonial] music of the preceding dynasty had been corrupt and now required rectification.”²⁵ This notion of ceremonial music was pervasive throughout most of the Chosŏn period, at least until the eighteenth century. From the discussions recorded in the sources, we know that the participants rationally understood that music was only one of the numerous aspects by which a good performance of sacrificial rite was judged, subsidiary to a fully devoted heart and respect, which were more vital and could readily be judged from the attitudinal display by the participants. A good performance of music was believed to be able to facilitate the summoning of spirits of royal ancestors and therefore the reception of blessings from those spirits, while a bad performance could ruin the sacrificial rite.²⁶

Medium Rites (*chungsa* 中祀), and Small Rites (*sosa* 小祀). Music was employed in most of the Great Rites and Medium Rites. Ibid., 244.

²⁴ Kenneth J. DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two*, Michigan Papers in Chinese Studies 42 (Ann Arbor: Center for Chinese Studies, The University of Michigan, 1982), 19 and 29.

²⁵ Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 12.

²⁶ In a study like this one that deals with music and ritual, in questioning the worship of the royal ancestors in Chosŏn, it seems unavoidable not to mention the belief system and the religious aspects connoted by the performance of music. In the process of revising this dissertation on November 16, 2015, Provine stated that the core of Confucianism is behavior, and belief is not entirely necessary, based on the Confucian classical text *Liji* 禮記 (the *Book of Rites*): “To treat the dead as dead would show a lack of love and therefore cannot be done; to treat the dead as living would show a lack of wisdom and likewise cannot be done” (2.16b), translation from Burton Watson, *Early Chinese Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 142. While I agree with his statement on Confucianism, there is also the notion from Confucian classics that the ancestral spirits will come to the sacrificial rite if music is appropriately performed was employed in the rhetoric of eighteenth-century Koreans in provoking music reform (I will give more information in Chapter Three). An example of such rhetoric is in the memorial written by Sŏ Myŏngŭng, which is translated in Appendix Three.

For these reasons, unlike many musical performing groups nowadays, the performance of music in the Chosŏn court was highly institutionalized, and rather rigid in terms of its repertoire and programs. The performance of music in the Chosŏn court context was theoretically administered solely²⁷ by the Music Bureau (Changagwŏn 掌樂院).²⁸ The Music Bureau was a governmental organ which was also responsible for the recruitments and training not only of musicians, but also of dancers, reflecting the broad Korean conception of court ceremonial music that incorporates instrumental music, vocal music (such as chanting of hymn text), and dance. While the organization of the Music Bureau and the standards for recruitment of musicians is given in the *National Code* (*Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典) (1485),²⁹ specific repertoire and programs are given in ritual manuals and musical treatises (such as *Kukcho oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀 [Five Rites of the Nation] and *Kukcho orye sŏrye* 國朝五禮序例 [Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation] (1474), and *Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範 [Guide to the Study of Music] (1493) (see Appendix One). Both the fixed repertoire and formulaic ritual programs, laid out by the forerunners of the dynasty (including those for the sacrificial rites) and recorded in such governmental documents, had been authoritative and retained with minor additions and supplements by succeeding generations in the rest of the dynasty. The ritual structure and the content of music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

²⁷ This is because criticism of and intervention in the musical matters at technical and practical level from outside the Music Bureau were not uncommon in the Chosŏn period.

²⁸ The Music Bureau was established in 1466, and before that there were some other departments responsible for the performance of court ceremonial music in early Chosŏn. See Song Pangsong, *Chŭngbo Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* 增補韓國音樂通史 [A revised and enlarged edition of the *History of Korean Music*] (Seoul: Minsogwŏn, 2007), 206–9.

²⁹ For standards of recruitment, see *National Codes* 3.38a–39a.

Invasions by Neighboring Countries

One watershed in Chosŏn history was the Japanese invasions (1592–1597), which paralyzed every aspect of Koreans' lives and left almost nothing in its integrity.³⁰ All court rites and ceremonies were suspended or held at minimal specification, in an absence of music. While the country was still gradually recovering from the invasions, the country was again invaded, by the Manchus in 1627 and 1636, and was forced to abandon her ally, Ming China, the regional superpower and center of civilization that had helped them in fighting against the Japanese. After the invasion, some members of the royal family were compelled to accompany the Manchu army as hostages, and Ming China fell in 1644, coming under the rule of Manchus, who had long been regarded as “barbarians” by both the Chinese and Koreans. Their imperial rule is known in Chinese history as the Qing dynasty (1644–1911). Even though the Manchu invasions caused relatively less loss of life and damage than those by the Japanese, enmity towards Qing China was fanned by the hostage policy and the Koreans' feelings of cultural superiority to the Manchus.³¹ The shadow of such cultural superiority still lingered among the intellectuals in the eighteenth century, and “a sense of mission as the sole custodian of the one true civilization” developed, subsequently leading to severe factionalism aroused by deviation in the redefinition of their cultural identity among different groups

³⁰ For a brief introduction to the history and impacts of the Japanese invasions, Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 209–15.

³¹ One of the royal hostages, after staying in China for eight years, was released and succeeded to the Korean throne, and is now known as Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659). Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 215–7. Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 23–25.

of aristocracy (factions),³² in turn constituting the political dynamics in eighteenth-century Chosŏn, as we shall see in the next section.

Eighteenth-century Chosŏn: Political Dynamics

The Koreans enjoyed a peaceful era for more than one-and-a-half centuries after the Manchu invasions, and the political dynamics and social settings were quite different from those before the foreign invasions and also in the early Chosŏn period when it came to the eighteenth century. Within the bureaucracy, the system originally designed to maintain an equilibrium of power among the king, ministers, and lower-ranking officials gradually developed into a political scene punctuated by factional strife (*tangjaeng* 黨爭) and the dominance of high positions by relatively few great families.

The intensity of factional strife reached an apex in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, resulting in the executions of a number of officials, and the new king at the time (posthumously known as Yŏngjo 英祖, 1694–1776, r. 1724–1776) decided to make “a practice of appointing officials from all the major factions, a policy that brought a half century of political stability as he carefully balanced factions and exerted a strong personal influence on the court.”³³ To further mitigate the strife while adhering to Confucian orthodoxy, Yŏngjo, while retaining a symbolic status, “availed himself of rhetoric and ritual to fashion an image as a moral ruler.”³⁴ In later chapters, we shall see

³² Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 2–3, 24–5.

³³ Seth, *A History of Korea*, 190. According to Haboush, Yŏngjo might have also been in a crisis of legitimacy when he ascended to the throne. As a secondary son of Sukchong 肅宗 (1661–1720, r. 1675–1720) and a low-born secondary consort, Yŏngjo ascended to the throne after his brother, the legitimate heir Kyŏngjong 景宗 (1688–1724, r. 1720–1724) who left no heir after his short reign. See Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 32 and 54.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 191.

how rhetoric comes into play in perfecting the music performance in ritual settings, in particular the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Chapter Four).

The concentration of bureaucratic control within relatively few great families engendered a new intellectual force in the eighteenth century.³⁵ Since government vacancies were limited and insufficient for the increasing population of *yangban*, the chance of upward mobility of most intellectuals was reduced. Most of them were barred from participation in the political process, so some of them “sought fulfillment in activities as members of a clan sub-lineage or as inheritors of a particular scholarly tradition,”³⁶ and they gradually became another type of political force outside the bureaucracy, usually under the auspices of private schools, or buried themselves in the countryside, falling to a kind of local gentry.³⁷ Some of them pursued other careers such as farming or commerce, or transformed themselves into another social status, *chungin* 中人, the hereditary class of technical specialists in the capital.³⁸ These intellectuals, together with independent artisans with special skills, wealthy commoner-landlords, and wholesale merchants, gradually became more significant in the society as they became wealthier due to technological advances in agriculture and the development of trade and wholesale merchandizing.³⁹ Some of the intellectuals who were barred outside the political system started to criticize the ideology of Confucianism they had once embraced and through which they gained prestige in the society, and they gradually

³⁵ According to Ki-baik Lee, these great families took “advantage of their monopoly of high political office” and were able “to manipulate the examinations and appointment processes to assure the preferment of their youth and thus perpetuate their hold on power.” See Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 222.

³⁶ See Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 222.

³⁷ Ibid., 250-1.

³⁸ Ibid., 175.

³⁹ Ibid., 224-31.

developed into an intellectual force that promoted the reformation of Chosŏn dynasty institutions, the so-called Practical Learning (*Sirhak* 實學).⁴⁰ While some *Sirhak* scholars wanted to reform the current society in which they lived, some others, in an attempt to understand the process in which the current society had been shaped, traced the past of every aspect of their society. In sum, the focus of *Sirhak* research was on the actual conditions, circumstances, and objects surrounding the scholars.

The central government in Seoul was well aware of the current social situation and the development of such an intellectual force, in particular during the reigns of Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800). The government, in a fashion similar to the *Sirhak* scholarship, prepared “a large number of works of practical application in the administration of the country.”⁴¹ While some of these works, instead of criticizing the current institution, appeared as national codes enforcing the current institutions, such as the *Supplement to the National Code* (*Sok taejŏn* 續大典) (1746) and the *Supplement to the Five Rites of the Nation* (*Sok oryeŭi* 續五禮儀) (1751), some others served as reference works dealing with various issues and investigating departmental business. The *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 東國文獻備考 (Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom) (1770), prepared at Yŏngjo’s behest, is an encyclopedic reference work aiming to provide an official discourse on virtually every area of Korean history, and that work is also the major research object of this dissertation.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 232–3.

⁴¹ Ibid., 238. The examples given in this paragraph are drawn from the same work.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have given information that is necessary for understanding the historical content found in the succeeding chapters. Though Confucianism entered Korea during the Koryŏ dynasty, it was not until the Chosŏn dynasty that it gradually restructured the relations and interactions among people based on their social positions, with an emphasis on the ideas of filial piety, appropriate behavior, and the maintenance of proper relationships. Such ideas also applied to the political arena, where the king was little more than a figurehead and a “Prime Minister-centered bureaucracy” aimed to maintain a balance in the distribution of power and therefore a harmonious society.

As a symbolic, exemplary representation of appropriate behavior, national rites, in which the king or his proxy as the head of a country represented its entire people, are therefore important in the Chosŏn dynasty. While sacrificial rites to other spirits demonstrate the king’s concern for the benefit and luck of his people, the sacrificial rites to royal ancestors exemplify the cores of Confucian dogma, filial piety and behavior, which exclude no man, even at the top of the social hierarchy. Music, construed as a complement to ritual and an indicator and mediator of social norms, also needed to be performed appropriately, and was therefore highly institutionalized by the government.

Such Confucian notions of the function of rites and music were retained throughout the Chosŏn dynasty, but the scrutiny of both the national rites and music for refinement reached its zenith in the eighteenth century, as they became an important reflection of authority for the king, in particular Yŏngjo, who wanted to end the severe factional strife and strengthen political stability. On the other hand, power had already been in the hands of relatively few families, and literati who were barred from the

bureaucracy switched from Confucian classics to Practical Learning in an attempt to influence the society. The central government also employed the scholarship of the style of Practical Learning to maintain and enforce current institutions and the regime's legitimacy. It is in such a broader historical and social context that I locate the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

CHAPTER THREE: OVERVIEW OF THE SACRIFICIAL RITE AT THE ROYAL ANCESTRAL SHRINE AND ITS MUSIC IN CHOSŎN

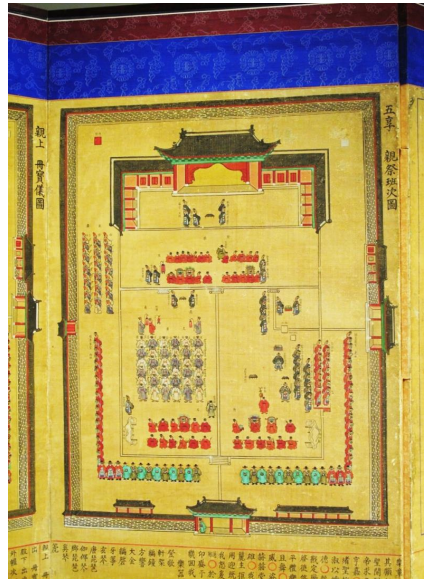


Plate III-1: A painting on a screen (during the reign of Ch'ŏlchong, r. 1849–1863) depicting various positions for some of the participants in a full sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Photo taken by the author at an exhibition held in the National Museum of Korea from July 19 to September 18, 2011.

The performance of a full sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine

(Chongmyo 宗廟) during the eighteenth-century Chosŏn dynasty was a magnificent event.

It began at midnight, and had more than two hundred participants,¹ who were required to follow specified dress codes and came together to participate in the sacrificial rite by candle light.² There was also live music and dance, chanting of blessing prayers, and

¹ The estimated number of participants is based on several sources. The portion of *Daily Records* compiled during the reign of Yŏngjo gives three lists of names of participants who had identified roles in the sacrificial rite, and the number of participants ranges from 114 (*Daily Records* vol. 50, 741–2) to 115 (*Daily Records* vol. 58, 15, and vol. 58, 786–7). From *Chongmyo ŭigwe* 宗廟儀軌 [Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine] (1706), a descriptive source on the sacrificial rite at the time, there were 43 musicians in the ensembles and 72 dancers. See Sŏ Munjung 徐文重 (1634–1709), et al., comp., *Chongmyo ŭigwe* (1706), fasc. rpt., HŭCC 29 (Seoul: KNKAW, 1990), 25. There were also guards and audience, but their number is not mentioned in any sources.

² The uses of candles are mentioned in two sources. The first use is to illuminate the flag that cues musicians to start or stop playing the music by its raising or lowering. See Sŏ Munjung, *Chongmyo ŭigwe* (1706), (Seoul: KNKAW, 1990), 35. The second use is in the chamber, as shown by a complaint about the

offering of rice wine and fresh sacrifices of livestock for the spirits of the deceased ancestors.

The *Chongmyo* (Royal Ancestral Shrine)

In the Chosŏn dynasty the term *Chongmyo* 宗廟 (Royal Ancestral Shrine) broadly referred to an architectural complex which had the main purposes of storing the spirit tablets of the members of the royal family (particularly kings and queens), serving as the site of national sacrificial rites, and symbolically representing the history and continuity of the dynasty.³ The earliest form of the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the Chosŏn dynasty was a single structure comprised of several major sections. Based on descriptions in fifteenth-century sources, such as *Veritable Records of T'aejo* (*T'aejo sillok* 太祖實錄) 8.6a–7a (1395/9/29), the core part of the structure was the Hall of Chambers (*t'aesil* 太室, the center of the inverted “U” shape structure with a bulging rooftop in Plate II–1). Inside the Hall of Chambers lay five chambers (*sil* 室) separated by stone walls (which are abridged to one in Plate II–1), and they were where the spirit tablets of ancestors were installed. Extending from both sides of the hall of chambers are the side rooms (*iksil* 翼室 in *Veritable Records of T'aejo*, *hyŏpsil* 夾室 in later veritable records), one on each side of the hall of chambers.⁴ As viewed from the front the hall of chambers and side rooms

ritual helpers who knocked down a goblet due to replacement of a candle, recorded in *Daily Records* vol. 46, 895 (1737/4/9).

³ At least this was true for the early Chosŏn Koreans, as the removal of the Koryŏ Chongmyo, a symbol of the previous dynasty's sovereignty, was a top priority. See Ch'oe Sun'gwŏn 최순권 and Im Sŏngbŏm 임승범, *Chongmyo cherye: Chungyo muhyŏng munhwajae che 56 ho* 종묘제례:중요무형문화제 제 56 호, (Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원, 2008), 14–5.

⁴ As the number of the spirit tablets increased, the rooms started to fall short of space. The side room, in particular the one on the west, was meant to hold the spirit tablets of ancestors but was removed from the chamber in the earlier part of the Chosŏn dynasty in keeping with Chinese precedents. See *Veritable Records of Sejong* 11.21b–22a (1421/4/26).

are characterized by spaces (*kan* 間) formed by wooden columns, and there were seven such spaces for the hall of chambers and two for each side room.

A number of expansions were made to the Royal Ancestral Shrine as time went on, the most significant one during the reign of Sejong 世宗 (r. 1418–1450).⁵ An additional shrine building was constructed to hold more spirit tablets, and since then, the Royal Ancestral Shrine has consisted of two major structures: the primary shrine (Chongmyo 宗廟) and the secondary shrine (Yŏngnyŏngjŏn 永寧殿). The primary shrine, in the narrower sense, housed the spirit tablets of preceding kings who had actually sat on the throne and those of their queens. The secondary shrine contained mostly the spirit tablets of kings that were posthumously enthroned, such as the four generations of ancestors before the founder of the dynasty (*sajo* 四祖).⁶ The dual-shrine design of the Royal Ancestral shrines remained unchanged even after the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty in 1910.

While ritual was performed by officiants mainly in the primary shrine and secondary shrine, music and dances were performed outside, on the Terrace (*tangsang* 堂

⁵ Another expansion was made later, during the reign of Myŏngjong 明宗 (r. 1545–1567), when three additional spaces / chambers were added to the hall of chambers, thereby increasing the spaces / chambers from seven to ten. See *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 東國文獻備考 (*Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom*) (1770), held by AKS, Changsŏgak 藏書閣, Seongnam 城南, Korea, 24.14a–b.

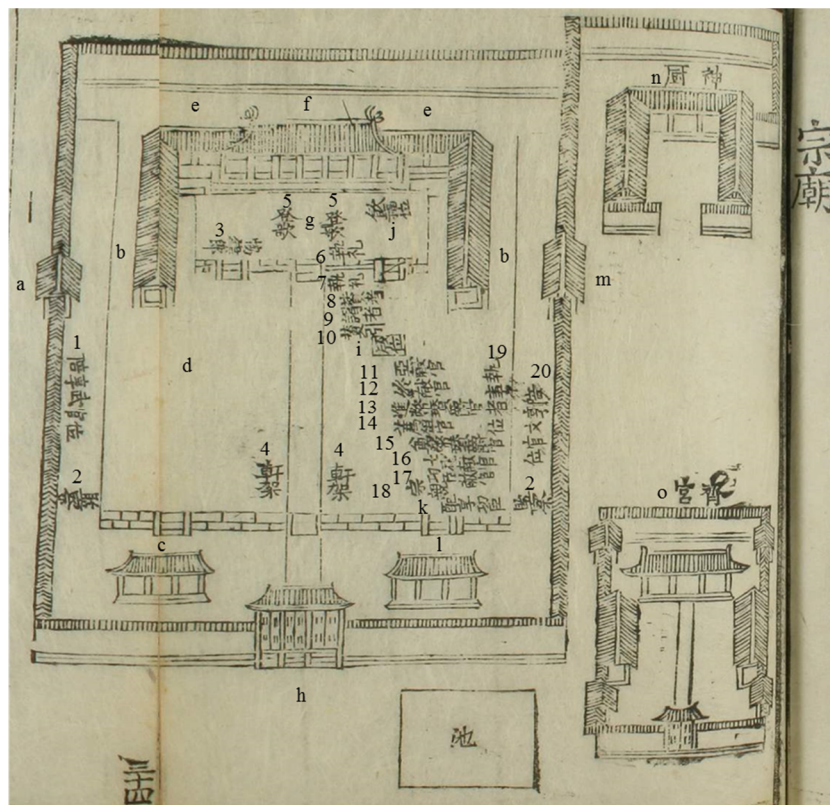
⁶ The way that spirit tablets were allocated to either primary shrine or secondary shrine during the Chosŏn dynasty, especially in the fifteenth century, was more complicated than what I have described here. It gradually took shape after numerous debates on various occasions during the dynasty, and it was determined by various factors at the time. For example, the first time that the spirit tablet of a deceased king who had actually sat on throne was moved to the secondary shrine happened during the reign of Yŏnsan'gun 燕山君 (r. 1494–1506), in which the spirit tablet of Chŏngjong 定宗 (r. 1398–1400), the second king of the dynasty, was moved from the primary shrine to the secondary shrine, due to lack of space (chambers) in the primary shrine. *Diary of Yŏnsan'gun* (*Yŏnsan'gun ilgi* 燕山君日記) 15.10b–11a (1496/6/4) In contrast, during the reign of Chŏngjo 正祖 (r. 1776–1800), the spirit tablet of Chinjong 眞宗 (1719–1728), who had never sat on the throne, was enshrined in the primary shrine, in order to maintain the linear agnatic lineage (male line and seniority) and to prevent possible damage to Chŏngjo's legitimacy, as his father committed regicide and was sentenced to death in 1762. *Veritable Records of Chŏngjong* (*Chŏngjong sillok* 正宗實錄) 5.42b (1778/4/26).

上) and in the Courtyard (*tangha* 堂下). Musicians, including both instrumentalists and singers, were divided into two groups, namely, the terrace ensemble (*tŭngga* 登歌) and courtyard ensemble (*hŏn'ga* 軒架). Plate III–2 is a graphic prescription for the locations of the musicians (i.e., items 3, 4, and 5) and other participants during a full sacrificial rite at the primary shrine, as shown in the fifteenth-century *Kukcho orye sŏrye* 國朝五禮序例 (*Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation*) (1474), with my addition of a legend on the places and people. It should be noted that dancers, shown in Plate III–1 but not Plate III–2, are also divided into two groups, and each group is comprised of thirty-six dancers and responsible for a particular type of dance.⁷

There was another expansion to the Royal Ancestral Shrine at the end of the sixteenth century, because both the primary shrine and secondary shrine had been burnt to ashes during the Japanese invasions. After the invasions, they were rebuilt according to the basic structure mentioned above, except that the number of spaces formed by wooden columns, due to the increase in the number of spirit tablets, increased from seven to eleven for the Hall of Chambers,⁸ which further extended the length of the higher roof top. Plate III–3 is an illustration of the primary shrine from an early eighteenth-century source evidencing such change.

⁷ The illustration in Plate II–2 of the structure and positions of the participants is selective, as quite a number of participants mentioned in the *Five Rites of the Nation* are not included. For example, the role of First Wine Offering officiant (*ch'ohŏn'gwan* 初獻官), usually taken by the king or his proxy, is not shown, which is probably a practice to show respect to the king. Other participants, such as sacrifice carriers (*pongjogwan* 捧俎官) and chanters of blessing prayer (*taech'uk* 大祝) who should be standing in the courtyard and hall of chambers respectively before the performance of the rite, are also absent, probably due to the lesser significance of their roles in the rite and the limited space of the drawing.

⁸ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 24.16a.



Roles or groups of participants in the sacrificial rite (listed numerically)

- 1 (Position for) audience of military officers (*paehyang mugwanwi* 陪享武官位)
- 2 Inspectors (*kamch'al* 監察)
- 3 Music coordinator (*hyōmnyullang* 協律郎)
- 4 Courtyard ensemble (*hōn'ga* 軒架)
- 5 Terrace ensemble (*tūnga* 登歌)
- 6 Master of ceremonies, on the terrace (*chimnye* 執禮, *tangsang* 堂上)
- 7 Master of ceremonies, in the courtyard (*chimnye* 執禮, *tangha* 堂下)
- 8 Helpers (in courtyard) (*ch'anja* 贊者)
- 9 Ushers for First Wine Offering officiant (*alcha* 謁者)
- 10 Ushers for other ritual participants (*ch'anin* 贊引)
- 11 Middle Wine Offering officiant (*ahōn'gwan* 亞獻官)
- 12 Final Wine Offering officiant (*chonghōn'gwan* 終獻官)
- 13 First helper for Offering of Tribute (*chinp'ye ch'anjakkwan* 進幣贊爵官)
- 14 Helper for offering fresh sacrifice (*ch'ōnjogwan* 薦俎官)
- 15 Second helper for Offering of Tribute (*chōnp'ye ch'anjakkwan* 奠幣贊爵官)
- 16 Officiant for the sacrificial rite for the Seven Spirits (*ch'ilsa hōn'gwan* 七祀獻官)
- 17 Officiant for the sacrificial rite for merit subjects (*kongsin hōn'gwan* 功臣獻官)
- 18 Members of royal family (*chongch'in* 宗親)
- 19 (Position of) other helpers (*chipsaja wi* 執事者位)
- 20 (Position of) audience comprised of civil officers (*paehyang mun'gwanwi* 陪享文官位)

Names of the structures or ritual settings (in alphabet letters)

- a West entrance (*sōmun* 西門)
- b Veranda (*nangjōng* 廊庭)

- c Shrine of Seven Spirits (*Ch'ilsa* 七祀)⁹
- d Courtyard
- e Side rooms (*hyöpsil* 夾室)
- f Chambers hall (*t'aesil* 太室)
- g Terrace
- h Main entrance, or south entrance (*chöngmun* 正門)
- i Position for First Wine Offering officiant (the king) (*p'anwi* 版位)¹⁰
- j Position for (Rite of) Drink With Blessings (*ümbogwi* 飲福位)
- k Merit subjects (their spirit tablets) who deserved sacrifice (*paehyang kongsin* 配享功臣)
- l Shrine of merit subjects (*Kongsindang* 功臣堂)
- m East entrance (*tongmun* 東門)
- n Kitchen (*Chusin* 廚神)
- o Hall for abstinence (*chaegung* 齋宮)

Plate III–2: Illustration of the positions of various officiants and other participants outside the hall of chambers at the primary shrine during a sacrificial rite. Taken from *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation* (1474), 1.34ab.

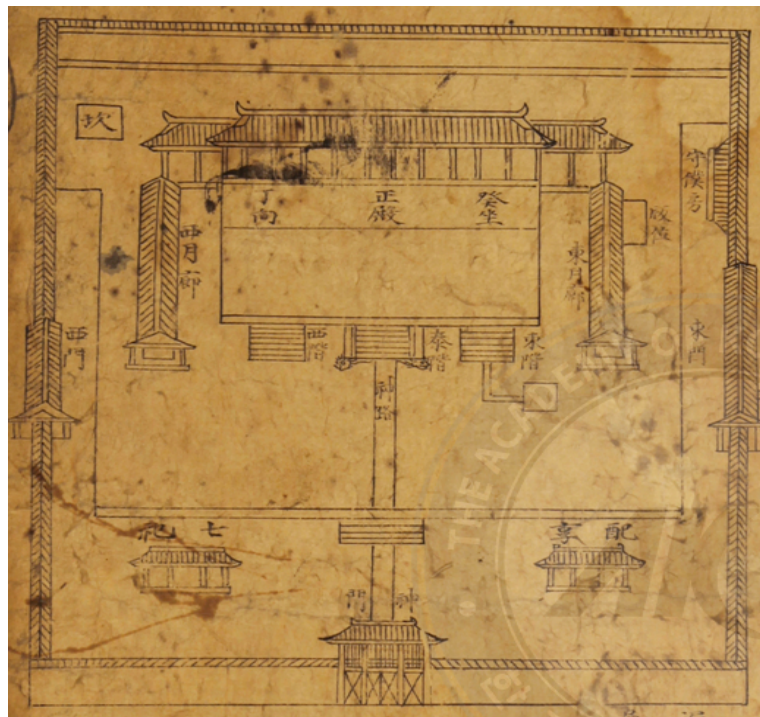


Plate III–3: An illustration of the primary shrine in *Chongmyo üigwe* (1706). The watermark of the Academy for Korean Studies at lower right-hand corner is a recent addition.

⁹ The Seven Spirits are Deity of Life (*Samyöng* 司命), Deity of Doors (*Saho* 司戶), Deity of Kitchens (*Saju* 司竈), Deity of Rooms (*Chungnyu* 中霤), Deity of Gates (*Kungmun* 國門), Spirits of Unjustly Dead (*Kongyö* 公厲), and Deity of Ways (*Kukhaeng* 國行). *Kukcho orye sörye*, 1.3b.

¹⁰ In *Kukcho oryeüi*, *p'anwi* is only for the king when the sacrificial rite is performed in person by the king (i.e., as the First Wine Offering officiant). For the rite performed by a proxy, the manual does not give any exact position for the First Wine Offering officiant. The reader may compare *Kukcho oryeüi* 1.29a and 38b.

The structural components of the Royal Ancestral Shrine remained more or less unchanged in the remaining period of the dynasty. Unlike the Royal Ancestral Shrine of the Koryŏ dynasty, the Chosŏn one was preserved through succeeding political upheavals and military conflicts, such as the Japanese annexation, World War II, and the Korean War. Map III–1 is an overhead depiction of the Royal Ancestral Shrine created during the Japanese annexation in the early twentieth century, with my legend indicating major parts of the Royal Ancestral Shrine depicted in the sources cited above.

Plate III–4 and Plate III–5 show the secondary shrine and primary shrine at the present time. While the original number of spaces formed by the wooden columns for the hall of chambers in the secondary shrine remains unchanged, that of the primary shrine has finally been increased to nineteen,¹¹ resulting in a different appearance from those given in illustrations in early sources.

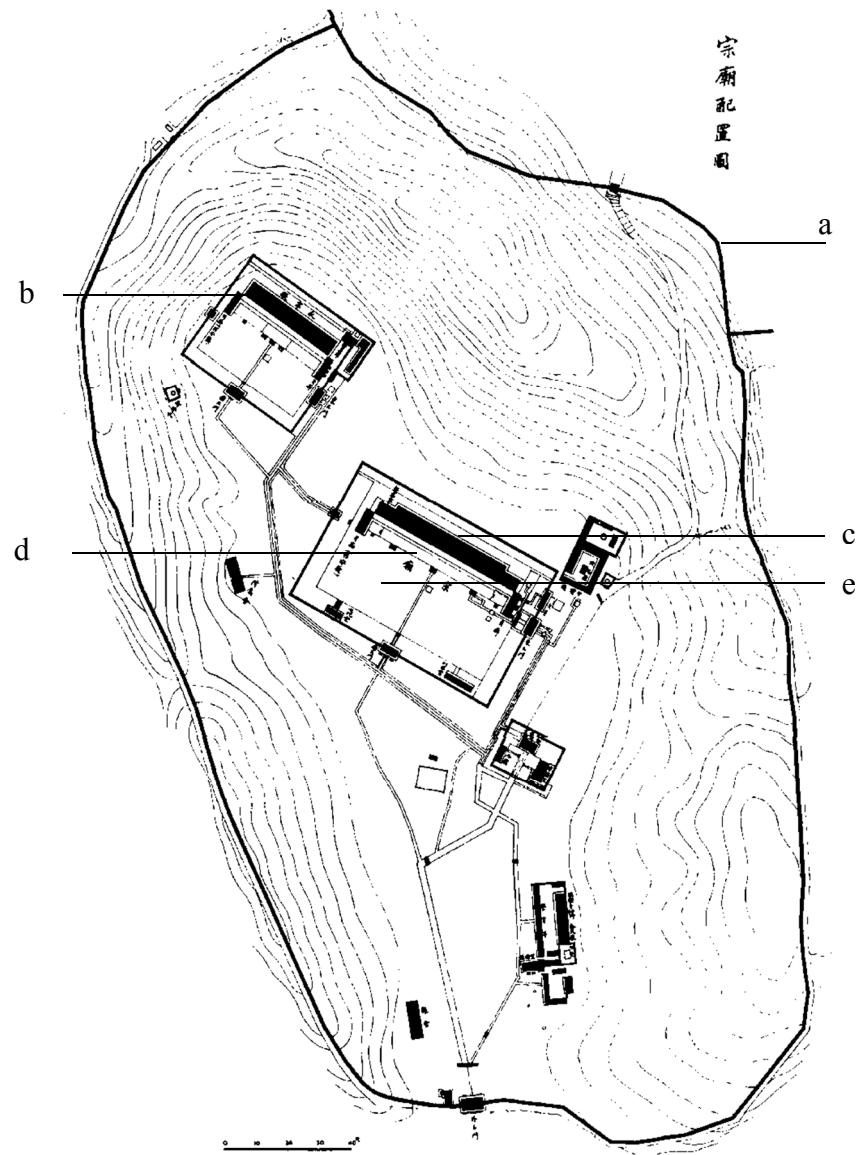
The Formation of Sacrificial Rites and Music

Though the concept of ancestral worship at the Royal Ancestral Shrine and the performance of sacrificial rites and music at the national level had already been established by the middle of Koryŏ dynasty,¹² it was not until the Chosŏn period that the true purpose of the Royal Ancestral Shrine and its illustrative significance were taken seriously.¹³ Among the various kinds of national sacrificial rites performed in the court

¹¹ The expansion was completed in 1836. See Lee Soo-mi (Yi Sumi 이수미) and Chae Hae-jeong (Ch'ae Haejŏng 채해정) ed., *145 nyŏn Manŭi kwihwan, Oegyujanggak ŭigwe* 145 년 만의 귀환, 외규장각 의궤 (*The Return of the Oegyujanggak Ŭigwe from France: Records of the State Rites of the Chosŏn Dynasty*) (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 2011), 44.

¹² Martina Deuchler, *Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 45–6.

¹³ Haboush “The Confucianization of Korean Society,” 101–3. Robert Provine doubts that “those practitioners in the Koryŏ period would have thought what they were doing was not serious,” as “there’s a



- a wall
- b secondary shrine (Yŏngnyŏngjŏn)
- c primary shrine (Chongmyo)
- d Terrace (*tangsang* 堂上)
- e Courtyard (*tangha* 堂下)

Map III-1: A map of Royal Ancestral Shrine, from *Chōsen koseki zufu* 朝鮮古蹟圖譜 [Illustrative Plates of the Relics of Chosŏn Dynasty] (Seoul: Chōsen sotokufu, 1931), vol.11, 1521, plate 4923.

substantial amount of material on sacrificial rites in the *Koryōsa*, suggesting that plenty of such material survived the dynastic transition and that there was serious dealing with the rites during Koryō.” Personal communication.



Plate III-4: Dress rehearsal in the morning for the annual performance of the sacrificial rite at Yongnyonggong, without live television broadcasting. Photo taken by the author on May 2nd, 2010.



Plate III-5: The annual performance of the sacrificial rite at Chongmyo in the afternoon, with live television broadcasting. Photo taken by the author on May 2nd, 2010

with participation by government ministers of various ranks, only that performed at the Royal Ancestral Shrine tied the royal family explicitly to the country, as its object for worship was supposed to be the exclusively agnatic (male lineage) succession of the royal family, while the other national sacrificial rites were mostly dedicated to non-Korean (usually Chinese) spirits.¹⁴ In this sense, the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was a space used by the king to perform his identity as the legitimate heir to the throne, so as to further consolidate his authority. Furthermore, to maintain social stability, the early Chosŏn government, as a young Confucian state, did not merely establish a royal example of performing the sacrificial rite to ancestors for the promotion of the “great chain of Confucian cosmology,”¹⁵ but repeatedly urged the Confucian elite to set an example for the rest of the population and employed legal recourse as a positive force that complement such moral exhortation.

During several reigns in the fifteenth century, particularly those of Sejong (r. 1418–1450), Sejo 世祖 (r. 1455–1469), and Sŏngjong 成宗 (r. 1469–1494), various documents on government institutions and codes of conduct based upon Confucianism were compiled, listing specifications for musical instruments, repertoire, and program. The initial prescriptions for the systematic performance of sacrificial rites took shape as early as 1415.¹⁶

¹⁴ A rare example is the Myŏngsan taech’ŏn 名山大川 (Famous Mountains and Streams). See Provine, “State Sacrificial Rites and Ritual Music in Early Chosŏn,” 253.

¹⁵ See Chapter Two, n. 9.

¹⁶ The first officially codified ritual manual for sacrificial rites is *Five Rites* (first part, 1415), upon which supplementary and revised editions were made in the fifteenth century. These documents are discussed in Appendix One.

The Ritual Procedures for the Sacrificial Rite

The Royal Ancestral Shrine was Chosŏn's most important spiritual shrine;¹⁷ in an annual cycle, according to *Five Rites of the Nation* (1474), there were a number of rites (not necessarily including sacrifice) to be performed there, such as Praying and Announcement (Kigo 祈告) and Offering of Seasonal Food (Ch'ŏnsin 薦新). The sacrificial rite, as prescribed in the fifteenth-century ritual manuals, is characterized by offering the sacrifice of cows, sheep, and pigs, and should be performed five times a year, as well as on special occasions, such as a king's enshrinement. The main sacrificial rite performed in the shrine was classified as a "Great Rite" (*taesa* 大祀), which was much more magnificent than the rites at lower levels.¹⁸

The Great Rite included detailed ritual procedures including the offering of three sacrifices and wine, and, particularly relevant for us, the performance of music. The sacrificial rites performed in both the primary and secondary shrines had more or less the same ritual procedures and musical settings, despite the fact that rites were performed

¹⁷ Two other Shrines were also regarded as important in terms of the category of their sacrificial rites, Shrine of Heavenly Spirit (Wŏn'gu 圓丘) and Shrine of Spirits of Land and Grain (Sajik 社稷). The former had been quickly abolished in the fifteenth century and was not reinstalled until the late nineteenth century. The latter was retained throughout the dynasty, and the Chinese characters of Chongmyo and Sajik had been commonly used to represent the country. The importance of the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine has been realized by scholars. Martina Deuchler concludes that the sacrificial rite at Royal Ancestral Shrine was a manifesto of individual virtue, agnatic principle and concord among classes of different social hierarchies; see her "Agnation and Ancestor Worship," in *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 139–44. As Haboush suggests, "the most important sacrificial rites of the Chosŏn monarchy were of course those offered to the Yi royal ancestors...these rites were the symbolic expression of the present monarch's right to rule as the direct descendant of a royal house possessing the mandate." This leaves those sacrificial rites performed in the Sajik less significant in importance. See Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 49.

¹⁸ For levels of sacrificial rites in Chosŏn court, see Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 14–17, and "State Sacrificial Rites and Ritual Music in Early Chosŏn," 237–307. The Great Rite, in comparison to the Medium Rite (*chungsa* 中祀) and Small Rite (*sosa* 小祀), was mainly characterized by a longer period of abstinence prior to the performance of the rite. See *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation*, 1.12a–13b.

more frequently in the primary shrine (usually five times a year) than in the secondary shrine (usually twice a year).

Table III–1 gives the major ritual procedures of the sacrificial rite performed in the main shrine by the king in person, extracted from the paired manuals *Five Rites of the Nation* and *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation* (1474). Having observed the “fast” (*chaegye* 齋戒) by refraining from wine and meat for a week, the king, wearing a black costume specially made for sacrificial rites, entered the Royal Ancestral Shrine at around midnight¹⁹ via the south entrance, in which the spirit tablets of his royal ancestors were placed. Before the king entered the shrine, however, all of the other participants, including ceremony helpers, the audience (comprised of ministers and officials of various ranks, plus members of the royal family), and musicians and dancers (who were regarded as people from the lower classes), who each adhered to proper dress code, were already in place and ready for the rite. Since the sacrificial rites were always performed starting late in the night, the shrine was illuminated by candles. After the king reached his starting position (i.e. the position for the Primary Officiant, *p'anwi*), the Master of Ceremony in the Courtyard announced that the rite was about to begin. An official, the Music Coordinator (*hyŏmnyullang* 協律郎), raised a signal banner (*hwi* 麾) to signal to the musicians and dancers to begin the performance. With all these symbolic and musical elements, it would have been a spectacular performance and great tourist attraction (as, in

¹⁹ An annotation in *Five Rites of the Nation* gives the time, in the Chinese system, when the participant enters the shrine and the beginning of the rite. See *Five Rites of the Nation* 1.27a–b. My translation of time is based on the information on time units given in Endymion Wilkinson's *Chinese History: A Manual, Revised and Enlarged*, Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series 52 (Cambridge [MA]: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000), 198–219, in particular the table on page 211. The last preparation for the Early Libation at the Royal Ancestral Shrine begins at 11:45PM one day before the chosen date. At 12:15AM all participants, in specific order, start entering the shrine and the performance of the rite begins at 1:15AM.

Major ritual sections	Notes	Ensemble	Dances	Music
The king enters the shrine via the south entrance	No music for progression. The king reaches Position for Primary Official.			
Welcoming the Spirits (<i>yǒngsin</i> 迎神) (This term is not mentioned in the manual).	The master of ceremonies at courtyard announces at 1:15AM that the rite is about to begin. The signal “music begins” (<i>akchak</i> 樂作) as the Music Coordinator (<i>hyōmyullang</i> 協律郎) raises the banner (<i>hwī</i> 麾). The musician plays <i>ch’uk</i> 祝 (wooden instrument). The dance and music of <i>Pot’aep’yōng</i> are performed. When the eighth rendition (<i>sōng</i> 成) is completed, the master of ceremony announces the four bows. The etiquette officer (<i>Yeiūsa</i> 禮儀使) asked the king to bow four times. After the ninth <i>sōng</i> is completed, the music coordinator flattens the <i>hwī</i> , the musician plays <i>ō</i> 散 (a wooden instrument with an appearance of a tiger), and music stops.	Courtyard	<i>Pot’aep’yōng</i> 保太平	<i>Pot’aep’yōng</i> , <i>Yǒngsin Hūmun</i> 迎神熙文
Early Libation (<i>sin’gwan</i> 晨祼)	The master of ceremonies announce the Early Libation (which includes the rituals of Offering of Tribute (<i>chōnp’ye</i> 奠幣) After cleansing his hands, the king is guided to the first chamber.	Courtyard		

Table III–1: Major ritual procedures in *Kukcho oryūi*, “Auspicious Rites” (“Killlye”) *kwōn* 1, 25b–35a.

Major ritual sections	Notes	Ensemble	Dances	Music
(cont.) Early Libation	<p>Terrace ensemble performs the music and dance of <i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i>.</p> <p>The king visits the chambers one by one. Rituals such as offering incenses, coins, and libations are carried out by the helpers.</p> <p>Music continues and stops after the king has visited all chambers.</p> <p>The king proceeds to Position for First Wine Offering officiant (<i>p'amwi</i>).</p>	Terrace	<i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i>	<i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i> , <i>Chŏnp'ye</i> <i>Hŭimun</i> 奠幣熙文
Offering of Sacrificial Food (<i>chinch'an</i> 進饌 / <i>ch'ansik</i> 饌食)	<p>Music begins when the sacrifice enters the main entrance.</p> <p>The helper for offering fresh sacrifice places the sacrificial food (ox, lamb and pig) in front of the spirit tablets one by one.</p> <p>Music stops when all sacrifices are placed.</p>	Courtyard		<i>P'ungan</i> 豐安
First Wine Offering (<i>ch'ohŏn</i> 初獻)	The Master of Ceremonies announces that the Etiquette-in-Charge guides the king to carry out First Wine Offering			

Major ritual sections	Notes	Ensembles	Dances	Music
(Cont.) First Wine Offering	<p>The king approaches the chambers again. When the king reaches the first chamber, music begins.</p> <p>The king gives libation to his ancestors, including both the deceased kings and queens in each chamber. After the king has bowed in the chamber, music stops.</p> <p>The elocutionist of prayer (<i>ch'uk</i> 祝) reads the Prayer for Blessings, and afterwards, music resumes.</p> <p>The king visits each chamber in turn and repeats the above procedures. After the rite is completed in the last chamber, music stops.</p> <p>The king returns to his position. No music.</p> <p>The dancers of <i>Pot'aepyǒng</i> withdraw from the courtyard and the dancers of <i>Chǒngdaeǒp</i> enter.</p> <p>No music.</p>	Terrace	<i>Pot'aep'yǒng</i>	<i>Pot'aep'yǒng</i>
Middle Wine Offering (<i>ahŏn</i> 亞獻)	<p>The Middle Wine Offering officiant arrives in the chamber. Music begins when he arrives.</p> <p>The Middle Wine Offering officiant gives libation to the deceased kings and queens. The same procedure is performed in the rest of the chambers. Music stops after the rite has been performed.</p>	Courtyard	<i>Chǒngdaeǒp</i>	<i>Chǒngdaeǒp</i>

Major ritual sections		Ensembles	Dances	Music
Final Wine Offering (<i>chonghŏn</i> 終獻)	<p>The Final Wine Offering officiant arrives in the chamber. Music begins when he arrives.</p> <p>The Final Wine Offering officiant gives libation to the deceased kings and queens. The same procedure is performed in the rest of the chambers. Music stops after the rite has been performed.</p>	Courtyard	<i>Chôngdaeŏp</i>	<i>Chôngdaeŏp</i>
Sacrifices to Seven Spirits (<i>ch'ŭlsa</i> 七祀)				
(Rite of) Drink With Blessings (<i>ŭmbok</i> 飲福)	<p>The king moves to the place for <i>ŭmbok</i> (<i>ŭmbogwi</i> 飲福位), takes the wine and sacrifice, then moves back to his position.</p> <p>No music.</p>			
Removing the Vessels (<i>ch'ŏlbyŏndu</i> 徹饗豆)	<p>Music begins when the Master of the Ceremony announces "removing the Vessels." Music stops when all vessels have been removed.</p>	Terrace		<i>Ongan</i> 雍安
Ushering Out the Spirits (<i>sŏngsin</i> 送神)	<p>The master of ceremony announces that the rite for Ushering Out the Spirits begins.</p>	Courtyard		<i>Hungan</i> 興安

fact, it is today, in much truncated form and during daylight). Still, according to sources such as the ritual manuals and other documentary sources, only those whose presence was required were allowed to participate, and most of the participants were not enjoying the performance,²⁰ since the sacrificial rite was too long and usually would not end until dawn, not to mention the discomfort of a performance during adverse weather conditions such as snow or rain.

The core of the sacrificial rite is the set of three wine offerings, upon which much controversy on music accompaniment centered, and therefore more details are given here. Since all three comprise the same procedures but are performed by different persons, I describe the First Wine Offering only. During the First Wine Offering, the king (or his proxy) needs to walk up to the shrine building from the courtyard and then visit and kneel to the spirit tablets stored in the chambers one by one. Inside the chambers, after the king kneels to the spirit, the offering of wine is represented by the pouring of wine onto the ground and is performed by ritual helpers, followed by the reading of a formulaic prayer that indicates the completion of this ritual segment; the performing musical ensemble was signaled to pause at this time. After the reading of the text, musicians are signaled to resume, and the king rises and proceeds to the next spirit tablet, where he repeats the same procedures. The whole process, except during the reading of the prayer, is accompanied by music, performed by the ensemble on the terrace in front of the structure. It should be noted that the First Wine Offering therefore is comprised of repetitions of a particular set of ritual procedures. As time went on, the number of

²⁰ This sentiment was disclosed in the memorial submitted by Sō Myōngūng, which reveals that many of the participants were trying to avoid their assigned duties in the rite. This memorial is discussed in Chapter Five and part of it is translated and given in Appendix Three.

repetitions increased and became an important concern, as we will see in the discussion on music in the eighteenth century in Chapter Four.

The Music Performed for the Sacrificial Rite

Unlike Korean shamanic music, a counterpart of court ritual music for the indigenous belief system that was usually performed among and by people outside the educated political hierarchy, the music for the Royal Ancestral Shrine was performed in the sacrificial rites at the national level and was exclusive to the people of the highest level in the political hierarchy. As a result, there are relatively more surviving documents mentioning such music. A comprehensive examination of every aspect of the music (such as instruments, instrumentation, costumes, the history of its development, and so on) would easily fill many volumes and is not feasible here. For our current purposes (i.e., to understand the discourse on the music made by eighteenth-century Koreans), I will only give the necessary historical information, beginning with fifteenth-century Korean sources, on the following aspects: 1) the two different types of music of two different origins, namely, *aak* and *sogak*; 2) the relationship between ritual and music (i.e., the way such music fits into ritual procedures); and 3) the idea of “renditions” and its meanings.

The Two Different Types of Music

The music for the Royal Ancestral Shrine performed at the beginning of the Chosŏn dynasty was quite different from that which is still performed nowadays. Even in the fifteenth century, the music was changed several times. The first seemingly

successful effort in changing the music is shown in *Notations of Ritual Music (Aak-po 雅樂譜)*, dated 1430 and appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong*. The second reform, recorded in the *Veritable Records of Sejo*, took place in 1464 and is reflected by another set of scores, *Notations of New and Provisional Music (Sinje yakchǒng akpo 新制略定樂譜)*, dated 1463 and appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejo*.

The *Aak-po* gives tunes for royal audience and sacrificial rites, adapted from Chinese documents.²¹ Plate III–6 is the first page of the music for the sacrificial rites in *Aak-po*, in which the first melody, *Hwangjong-gung il* 黃鍾宮一 [The first melody in fa of C (terminology explained below)], is given, followed by its eleven possible transpositions at different pitch levels (only those at C# and D# are shown in the plate).



Plate III–6: The first page of *Aak-po* appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (*Chǒngjoksan-bon* 鼎足山本), 137.1a (online image captured from the web page of Kyujanggak library of Seoul National University)

²¹ This source has been examined thoroughly by Robert Provine. See his *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 141–71. Most of the information on *Aak-po* in this section is drawn from this work.

Since the music is presented in two Chinese pitch notation systems, before providing musical examples (i.e., transnotations), explanation is needed for readers who are not familiar with those systems. The first system in question is “Pitch Pipe” notation (Chinese: *lǜlǜ* 律呂; Korean: *yullyŏ*). According to Provine:

This is a basic, ancient, and precise letter notation consisting of the twelve Chinese names for the twelve chromatic pitches (pitch pipes) in the octave. The full name of each pitch has two characters, though musical notation normally employs only the first [as in the case of *Aak-po*]. Pitches in higher or lower octaves can be indicated by additional prefixes (though the *Aak-po* and its sources never employ the lower octave prefix)...Pitches in the higher octave are called “clear” (*ch’ōng* 清) and are often indicated by the prefix 𠂔.²²

To give an example of pitches in the higher octave, the higher C would be notated as 清黃 (*ch’ōnghwang*) or simply 潢 (*hwang*).²³

The second notation system is scale-degree names, or the “seven tones” (Chinese: *qisheng* 七聲; Korean: *ch’ilsŏng*). According to Provine:

[The scale-degree name system] lacks the absolute pitch references...It resembles the Western movable-do solmization system in which syllables are used with intervallic meanings rather than reference to specific pitches. Put another way, in this notation a piece of music appears the same, regardless of transposition, and a tonic pitch must be posited in order to specify a key.²⁴

The heptatonic scale structure of the “seven tones” is indeed derived from “a fundamental and the first six tones which it generates through the circle of fifths... [In traditional Chinese modal system] the tones available for any mode constitute a fa-scale (intervallically like a Lydian mode).”²⁵ Due to the pitch hierarchy “attested in ancient

²² Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 146–7.

²³ I also adhere to Provine’s suggestion that the fundamental pitch *hwangjong* is transcribed as C. See his *Essays on Korean Musicology*, 147, n. 7.

²⁴ Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 151.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 153.

sources and philosophical treatises... [the music for sacrificial rites given in *Aak-po* is restricted] to melodies in fa-modes....”²⁶ Table III–2 is a chart for interpretation of the notations, in which the twelve pitch names find their corresponding names in “Pitch Pipe” notation. To illustrate the musical mechanism and for the music examples below, the scale-degree names in two keys (i.e., fa of C and fa of B^b), are also given.

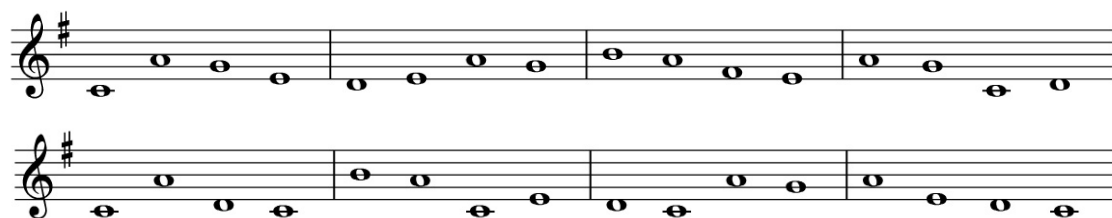
Pitch	Characters	Korean	Chinese	solmization (fa of C) / <i>ch’ilsǒng</i>	solmization (fa of B ^b) / <i>ch’ilsǒng</i>
C	黃鍾	hwangjong	huangzhong	fa / kung 宮	sol / sang
C [#] / D ^b	大呂	taeryō	dalü		
D	太簇	t’aeju	taicou	sol / sang 商	la / kak
D [#] / E ^b	夾鍾	hyōpchong	jiazhong		
E	姑洗	kosōn	guxian	la / kak 角	si / pyōn-ch’i
F	仲呂	chungnyō	zhonglü		do / ch’i
F [#] / G ^b	蕤賓	yubin	ruibin	si / pyōn-ch’i 變徵	
G	林鍾	imjong	linzhong	do/ ch’i 徵	re / u
G [#] / A ^b	夷則	ich’ik	yize		
A	南呂	namnyō	nanlü	re / u 羽	mi / pyōn-kung
A [#] / B ^b	無射	muyōk	wuyi		fa / kung
B	應鍾	ūngjong	yingzhong	mi / pyōn-kung 變宮	
c	清黃鍾	ch’ōng	qing	fa / kung	sol / sang
		hwangjong	huangzhong		
c [#] / d ^b	清大呂	ch’ōng	qing dalü		
		taeryō			
d	清太簇	ch’ōng	qing taicou	sol / sang	la / kak
		t’aeju			
d [#] / e ^b	清夾鍾	ch’ōng	qing		
		hyōpchong	jiazhong		

Table III–2: Chart providing the twelve pitch names, pitch names in “Pitch Pipe” notation, and scale degree names in two keys (C and B^b)

With such technical details in mind, we can now transnotate the melodies for sacrificial rite in *Aak-po*. The transnotations of *Hwangjong-gung il* in fa of C (in Plate III–7 above) and one of its possible transpositions (fa of B^b) are given in Figure III–1 and

²⁶ Ibid., 156.

Figure III–2 respectively.²⁷ This particular tune, *Hwangjong-gung il*, according to Provine, “was used for all transpositions in all parts of all sacrificial rites [including the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine], with the lone exception that in the closing section of the rites (‘Ushering Out the Spirits’) a second tune...was used.”²⁸



singers, and indeed the theoretical foundation of the proper order of social hierarchy that was carried by certain scale degrees.²⁹ The hymn text, given in *kwŏn* 147 of the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, consists of eight verses, and each verse contains four Chinese characters that convey a perceivable meaning, following an ancient Chinese poetic format. Given that the number of notes in the melodies and the number of words in the hymn text are the same, the music in *Aak-po* is syllabic and each verse would presumably have the same duration in performance. Reflecting its Chinese origin, such music was called *aak* 雅樂 (“appropriate” music, but implying ritual music) in both fifteenth-century Korean sources and the discourse by eighteenth-century Koreans.

Evidence for the next reform of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine is given by another set of notations, *Notations of New and Provisional Music*,³⁰ and the first page of that source is given in Plate III–7. Even though the first reform had been carried out during the reign of Sejong, he himself was not satisfied with the resulting music. During the later years of his reign, he launched another project to create new music for certain court ceremonies, including the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, in an effort to replace the *aak* of Chinese origin with “indigenous music” (*hyangak* 鄉樂). Though music, including a few dance suites, was then composed, Sejong’s intention was not fully accomplished until the reign of his son, Sejo. Sejo rearranged the music, in particular the two dance suites *Preserving the Peace*

²⁹ Ibid., 159–161.

³⁰ So far a historical investigation on this source in Western languages is absent, except an analysis and transnotation of the music content by Jonathan Condit. For a transnotation of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine given in this source, see his *Music of the Korean Renaissance: Songs and Dances of the Fifteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 183–204.

bamboo (*sajuk* 絲竹) instruments, vocal line (*ka* 歌, chanting of hymn text), percussive instruments (such as the hour-glass-shaped drum *changgo* 杖鼓, wooden clapper *pak* 拍, large gong *taegŭm* 大金 and small gong *sogŭm* 小金),³³ and the hymn text; and 2) the “five-tone simplified notation” (*Oŭm yakpo* 五音略譜), which depicted the pitches.³⁴

For current purposes, I focus only on the music’s pitch notating method, the “five-tone simplified notation,” and the lyrics (i.e., the hymn texts).³⁵ According to Provine,

This is a scale-degree notation in which a tonic note is specified and other notes are described in terms of their distance up or down from the tonic note. It is necessary to know both the pitch of the tonic note and which melodic mode is in use in order to specify the set of pitches for any given piece.³⁶

Table III–3 gives the scale degrees of “five-tone simplified notation” and their meaning.

A transnotation, that retains the structure of the “squares and columns notation” of *Hŭimun* 熙文 [Resplendent Administration] from the dance suite *Pot’aep’yŏng* (as shown in Plate III–7) that is performed for Welcoming the Spirits, is given in Figure III–3.³⁷ It should be noted that the first row and the third row of the transnotation give, respectively, the scale degrees (the second column) and the hymn text (the fifth column) from the original notation, and the second row is the transnotation of the pitches.

³³ The *changgo* and *pak* are employed in both the courtyard ensemble and terrace ensemble. The large and small gongs are performed by the dance group in *Chŏngdaeŏp*.

³⁴ *Veritable Records of Sejo* 48, 1a–b.

³⁵ The deciphering of rhythms and rhythmic patterns in *chŏngganbo* has been an intriguing subject in academia. One work examining the various interpretations is Yi Hyegu 李惠求, *Chŏngganbo ŭi chŏnggan • taegang mit changdan* 井間譜의 井間 • 大綱 및 장단 [The Squares and Columns of *Chŏngganbo* and Rhythm] (Seoul: Segwang ŭmak ch’ulp’ansa 세광음악출판사, 1987).

³⁶ Provine, “Notation Systems in Korea,” in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music*, Volume 7: *East Asia: China, Japan, and Korea*, 837–9.

³⁷ A very recent “folkloric” performance of this particular musical example, imitating a ritual context in a concert hall, is available in “20151126(목) 무형유산 6 마당 우리전통의 멋과흥제 3 편 - YouTube.htm,” starting from 3’58”. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JkR04IDGeLg>. Last access on Apr 16, 2016.

Scale degree	Meaning	Pitch and solmization
sang o 上五	above tonic 5 steps	c ¹ , sol
sang sa 上四	above tonic 4 steps	a, mi
sang sam 上三	above tonic 3 steps	g, re
sang i 上二	above tonic 2 steps	f, do
sang il 上一	above tonic 1 step	d, la
kung 宫	tonic note	c, sol
ha il 下一	below tonic 1 step	A, mi
ha i 下二	below tonic 2 steps	G, re
ha sam 下三	below tonic 3 steps	F, do
ha sa 下四	below tonic 4 steps	D, la
ha o 下五	below tonic 5 steps	C, sol

Table III–3: The scale degrees in *Oŭm yakpo* and their meaning, and the exact pitch and solmization if the tonic of a piece is c and in the sol mode

下五		下四					
C sol		D la					
se 世							

			下三				
D la			F do				
tök 德							

F do							
kye 啓							

			下二				
F do			G re				
a 我							

G re							
hu 後							

(Hymn text: “Our fathers’ virtue guides us and our sons; O, think upon their shining form and voice! Respectfully we offer sacrifice; Pray grant us peace, in which we may rejoice.”)³⁸

Figure III–3: Transnotation (turned horizontal and read left to right) of the first phrase of *Hūmun* of *Pot’aep’yŏng* for Welcoming the Spirits (excerpt) and translation of hymn text

Sejo’s “new” musical composition for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was later labeled as *sogak* 俗樂 (music in popular style) in another fifteenth-century ritual manual (*Kukcho oryeūi*) (1474) and musical treatise (*Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範) (*Guides to the Study of Music*) (1493), so as to contradict the *aak* of Chinese origin revived by Sejong. The most important characteristic of *sogak* is that the length of the hymn texts in *Pot’aep’yŏng* and *Chŏngdaeŏp* varies and is irregular, and the hymn text does not adhere to a particular poetic format. Furthermore, based on the transnotations and some other sections in the *Veritable Records of Sejong* and *Veritable Records of Sejo*, a quick comparison of the characteristics of the two musics suggests that the vocal melody of *sogak* is more melismatic than that of *aak*; that *aak* employs only foreign (Chinese) instruments, while *sogak* employs both foreign (Chinese) and indigenous (Korean) instruments; and that singers are employed only in the terrace ensemble for *aak*, while *sogak* employs singers in both courtyard ensemble and terrace ensemble, etc.³⁹

³⁸ The translation is taken from Jonathan Condit, *Music of the Korean Renaissance*, 185. The transnotation gives only the first phrase of the hymn text, i.e., “Our fathers’ virtue guides us and our sons.”

³⁹ For the instrumentation and instruments of *aak*, see the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, 128.24b–25a; for that of *sogak*, see the *Veritable Records of Sejo*, 48.6ab.

The Relationship between Ritual and Music

While there are many other differences between the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine recorded in the two notations, the major difference for our ethnomusicological concerns here is the flexibility of the music itself in adapting to new circumstances. Table III–4 gives the titles of music in *Notations of New and Provisional Music* and their corresponding ritual procedures.⁴⁰ One of the circumstances faced by Chosŏn Koreans was, as time went on, that more and more spirit tablets were installed in the Hall of Chambers, prolonging the performance of sacrificial rites, in particular in the sections in which certain ritual procedures needed to be performed in each chamber (such as Offering of Tribute, Offering of Sacrificial Food, and the three Wine Offerings, as shown in Table III–1 above).

Though it ceased to be performed at the Royal Ancestral Shrine after 1464, the music of *aak* for the First Wine Offering comprised an unfixed number of musical repetitions (i.e., *Hwangjong-gung il* and the hymn text) of the same length and had no limit on the number of such pieces, so it did not require substantial alteration to both its existing musical and textual content, except for the addition of new hymn texts and repetition of music, when dealing with the increase in the number of spirit tablets. It is in this sense that *aak* was relatively flexible, in particular in adapting to the prolonged ritual. In contrast, the music of *sogak* for the First Wine Offering is more rigid: it has a fixed number of different pieces (in terms of both of the musical content and the length of

⁴⁰ The information in the column of *aak* and *sogak* is respectively drawn from Provine's *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 18–9 and Table III–1 with alterations and additions. Translation of titles of *sogak* pieces are taken from Condit's *Music of the Korean Renaissance*.

Ritual procedures		
Welcoming the Spirits	<i>Aak</i> <i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , 9 renditions: fa of C (thrice) fa of F (twice) fa of A (twice) fa of A ^b (twice)	<i>Sogak</i> <i>Hŭimun</i> 熙文 [Resplendent Administration] of the dance suite <i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i> 保太平 (<i>Preserving the Peace</i>), 9 <i>sŏng</i> 成 (this term is explained below)
Offering of Tribute (during Early Libation)	<i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , fa of E ^b	<i>Hŭimun</i> of the dance suite <i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i>
Offering of Sacrificial Food	<i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , fa of B ^b	<i>P'ungan</i> 豐安 (Bountiful Peace)
First Wine Offering	<i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , fa of E ^b	Dance-suite <i>Pot'aep'yŏng</i> : 1) <i>Hŭimun</i> 熙文 (<i>Resplendent Administration</i>) 2) <i>Kimyŏng</i> 基命 (<i>Founding the Mandate</i>) 3) <i>Kwiin</i> 歸仁 (<i>Returning to Goodness</i>) 4) <i>Hyŏngga</i> 亨嘉 (<i>Perpetual Excellence</i>) 5) <i>Chimnyŏng</i> 輯寧 (<i>Union and Accord</i>) 6) <i>Yunghwa</i> 隆化 (<i>Exalted Transformation</i>) 7) <i>Hyŏnmi</i> 顯美 (<i>Manifest Beauty</i>) 8) <i>Yonggwang</i> 龍光 (<i>Gracious Light</i>) 9) <i>Chŏngmyŏng</i> 貞明 (<i>Pure and Bright</i>) 10) <i>Taeyu</i> 大猶 (<i>Great Way</i>) 11) <i>Yŏksŏng</i> 繹成 (<i>Unceasing Perfection</i>)
Second and Third Wine Offering	<i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , fa of B ^b	Dance-suite <i>Chŏngdaeŏp</i> 定大業 (Founding the Dynasty): 1) <i>Somu</i> 昭武 (<i>Illustrious War-might</i>) 2) <i>Tokkyŏng</i> 篤慶 (<i>Great Reward</i>) 3) <i>T'akchŏng</i> 濯征 (<i>Splendid Campaigning</i>) 4) <i>Sŏnwi</i> 宣威 (<i>Extended Majesty</i>) 5) <i>Sinjŏng</i> 神定 (<i>Divinely Decreed</i>) 6) <i>Punung</i> 奮雄 (<i>Resolute Bravery</i>) 7) <i>Sunŭng</i> 順應 (<i>Obeying and Responding</i>) 8) <i>Ch'ongyu</i> 寵綏 (<i>Grace and Tranquility</i>) 9) <i>Chŏngse</i> 靖世 (<i>Bringing Peace to the Age</i>) 10) <i>Hyŏkchŏng</i> 赫整 (<i>Glorious Marshalling</i>) 11) <i>Yŏnggwan</i> 永觀 (<i>Eternal Prospect</i>)
Removing the Vessels	<i>Hwangjong-gung il</i> , fa of E ^b	<i>Ongan</i> 雍安 (<i>Harmonious Peace</i>)

Ushering Out the Spirits	<i>Hwangjong-gung i</i> 黃鍾宮	Hūngan 興安 (<i>Prosperous Peace</i>)
	二. [The second melody in fa of C]: fa of C	

Table III-4: The ritual procedures of the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine and the music in *aak* and *sogak*

hymn text) and such pieces have to be performed in a specific order as a dance-suite.

Given other things remaining constant (such as the performance practice and the tempo of the music), the dance-suite has to be slowed down to accompany the prolonged ritual, though the musicians in the eighteenth century, as we shall see in Chapter Four, tackled the prolonged ritual at their convenience.⁴¹

The Idea of “Nine” Renditions

The specific number of renditions, in particular nine renditions, of a given piece(s) of music and dance in sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, reveals the apparent religious functions of music depicted in Confucian classics.⁴² Such an idea was examined and elaborated by a fifteenth-century Korean music theorist and advisor to king Sejong,

⁴¹ Indeed, for most of the Chosŏn dynasty, Koreans had adhered to procedural outlines for various rites prescribed in *Kukcho oryeŭi* and *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, which remained unchanged since their compilation in 1474 until the end of, at least, the eighteenth century. When new circumstances emerged and the existing outlines fell short of what was needed, supplements were made (see the examples given in Appendix One, n. 28). In contrast, the music, in particular that for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, was changed at least few times, as mentioned in this chapter, and the much more specific and inflexible music (i.e., the *sogak*) was altered and changed from time to time, as we shall see in later chapters.

⁴² I have mentioned this aspect earlier in Chapter Two, n. 26. The Confucian classics in question is the section of “Chunguan Zongbo” 春官宗伯 (Offices of Spring) in *Zhouli* 周禮 (Rites of the Zhou Dynasty) (3rd century B.C.), and the section of “Yiji” 益稷 (The Yi and Ji) in *Shujing* 書經 (Book of Documents). For discussion on how these materials were received by the fifteenth-century Koreans, see Provine’s *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 69–71.

Pak Yŏn 朴堧 (1378–1458), who played a significant role in reforming the *aak* for various court ceremonies during Sejong’s reign.⁴³

According to Pak Yŏn’s memorials recorded in the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, there are two characters representing the idea that the dance and the music needed to be performed in a certain number of renditions: *sŏng* 成 (perfection) and *pyŏn* 變 (change). For the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, both of them are preceded by the Chinese number *ku* 九 (nine, Chinese: *jiu*). Citing mainly the *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*, Pak Yŏn emphasizes in his memorials that only when music and dance are performed in *kubyŏn* 九變 (nine changes) and *kusŏng* 九成 (nine perfections) during Welcoming the Spirits will the ancestral spirits come to the sacrificial rite.⁴⁴

In the case of *aak*, *kubyŏn* does not just mean repeating the music nine times, though it seems to be the same, given that the title of the tune (*Hwangjong-gung il*) remains unchanged. In fact, the music, according to Pak Yŏn who cites *Rites of the Zhou Dynasty*, has to be performed in four different keys (i.e., in different transpositions): since inversions of melodic intervals happen in keeping with the hierarchy of pitches mentioned above, the tune is therefore sounded differently in different keys. To display such complexity, scholars employed the term “nine renditions,” as given in Table III–4.

The *kusŏng* of dance is about the positions of dancers on a place where grids are marked. “One *sŏng*” is completed, along with the completion of “one” *pyŏn* of music,

⁴³ In an attempt to construct a biography of Pak Yŏn, Robert Provine has examined relevant sources. See his “Investigating a Musical Biography in Korea: The Theorist/Musicologist Pak Yŏn (1378–1458),” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32 (2000): 1–15.

⁴⁴ For Pak Yŏn’s memorials on these concepts, see the *Veritable Records of Sejong* 32.12a (1426/4/25), 47.11b–12b, 15b–16a, 17a (1430/2/19), and 92.2ab (1441/1/6). The memorial in 32.15b–16a (1426/4/25) is repeated in 55.17a (1432/3/4).

after which they moved to the second set of grids, and so forth, as is illustrated in Figure III-4.⁴⁵

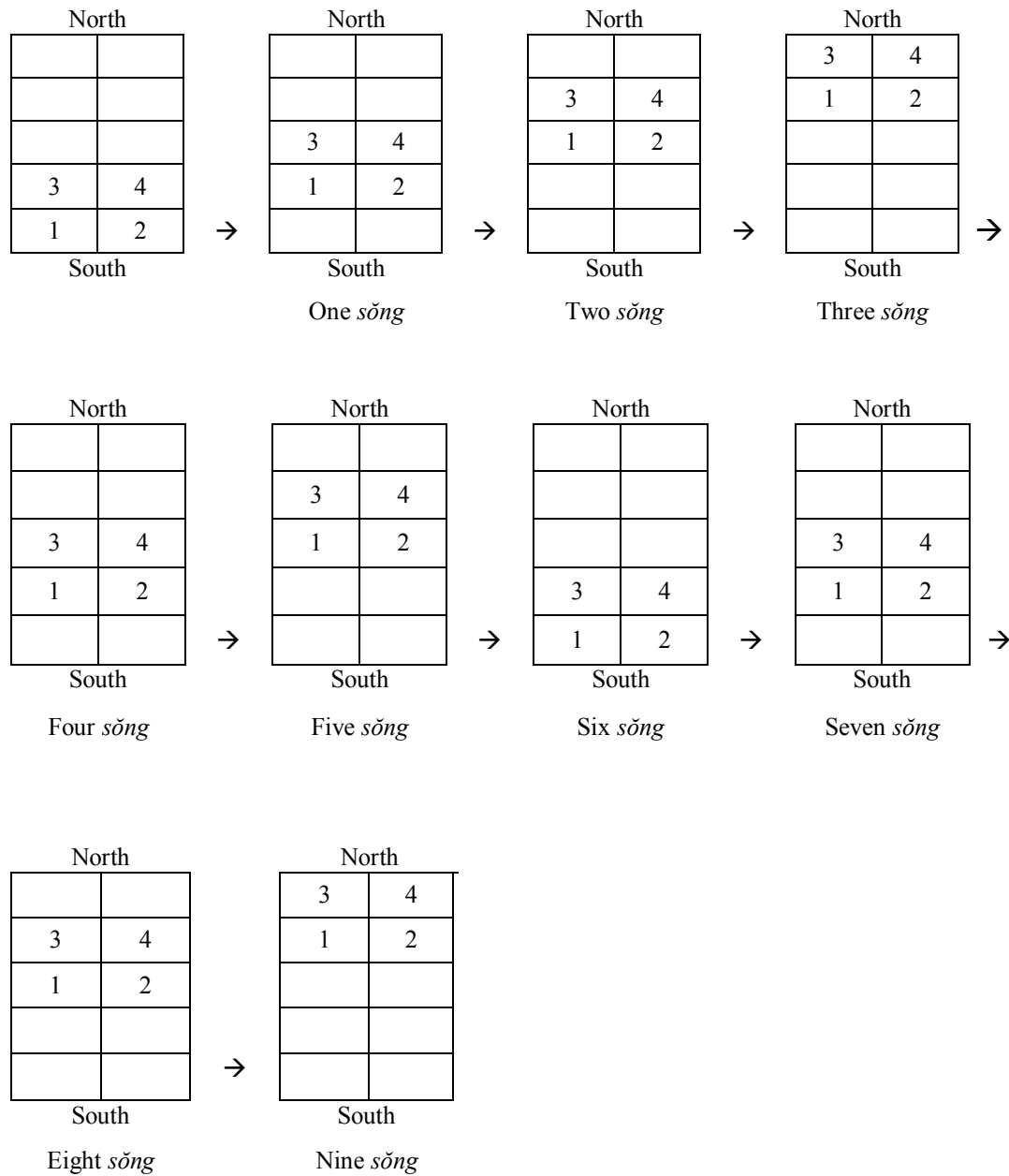


Figure III-4: The positions of a group of four dancers for *kusong*

⁴⁵ This figure is constructed based on *Veritable Records of Sejong* 32.15b–16a (1426/4/25).

As mentioned in the previous section, *aak* for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was replaced by *sogak* (including the dance), which seems not to adhere to most of the concepts of *aak* on music and dance mentioned above. As we shall see in the next chapter, eighteenth-century Koreans seemed to be uncertain about such notions of “nine” renditions, resulting in a faulty interpretation of their musical past, upon which the 1743 reform is based. It was not resolved until Sŏ Myŏngŭng visited a royal repository (*sago* 史庫, a place for the preservation of important documents, see Appendix One) and discovered such notions of “nine” renditions in the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, as we will investigate in Chapter Six.

Conclusions

Perhaps there is an impression that court ritual music was steadfast once it was set, and it was therefore merely a performance of routine that was promulgated, if not overemphasized, by the relatively well-known ritual manuals. However, the fact is that as time went on, more and more deceased kings and queens, each represented by a spirit tablet, were enshrined at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and therefore the time needed to complete the ritual was increasingly prolonged. The repertoire to be performed during the sacrificial rite, which included two dance suites with the chanting of hymn texts in through-composed form, created during the earlier years of the dynasty, gradually fell short of the expectations of the participants in the sacrificial rites, and complaints, particularly towards the hymn texts, recurred intermittently from the late sixteenth century until the eighteenth century.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE 1743 HYMN TEXTS REFORM

The 1743 hymn texts reform is an important incident in the history of Korean court ceremonial music. It took place in the nineteenth year of the reign of Yǒngjo 英祖, who sat on the throne for the longest time among Chosŏn rulers (more than fifty-one years, 1724–1726), and it was twenty-six years into the reign before Sŏ Myǒnggŭng compiled the “Akko 樂考” (“Investigation of Music”) of the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* in 1770. The result of the reform was a canonic text that was included in later compilations about court ceremonial music.¹ In this dissertation, an examination of the reform allows us to understand how King Sejo’s (r. 1455–1468) version of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was perceived by the participants in the 1743 reform, and the concerns of the king and his ministers on how the music should be performed.

Though the 1743 hymn texts reform is important, no thorough investigation of the scene in which the reform emerged has been conducted, particularly the causes that led to the commencement of the reform.² There are several sources that give accounts of the reform, such as the *Sillok* (*Veritable Records*), the *Sŭngjǒngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (*Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat*), and some other official documents.³ Since the *Daily Records* is closer in time to the events it describes and more detailed than the

¹ Kim Chongsu 金鍾洙, “Chosŏn hugi Chongmyo akchang nonŭi, chakhŏnsi akchang ŭi yǒnju kwanhaeng” 朝鮮後期宗廟樂章論議, 酌獻時樂章의演奏慣行 [Discussions on Chongmyo Hymn Texts During the Late Chosŏn Dynasty: the Performance Practice of Chanting During the Rite of Offering Wine]. *Han’guk ūmak yŏn’gu* 韓國音樂研究 17 (1989): 129.

² See note 1. In the same article, Kim also gives an account of the history of the discussions regarding hymn text rectifications from Sŏnjo 宣祖 (r. 1567–1608) to Yǒngjo (r. 1724–1776). Though the *Veritable Records* are cited and consulted in this article, Kim’s account is similar to that in the *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo*, which he later translated and published by KNKAW in 1994. In short, Kim situates the 1743 hymn text reform in a consecutive stream of historical events scattered in a span of two hundred years, and the uniqueness of the incident in its historical context at the time is neglected.

³ Such as *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* (44.27a–36b), *Chongmyo ūigwe songnok* 宗廟儀軌續錄 [Supplements to *Chongmyo ūigwe*], reprint ed., edited by Changsŏgak of the AKS (Seongnam: AKS, 2012), 63–81, and the *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (63.6b–7b).

Veritable Records and other official documents, a comparison of information on the reform given in the two sources allows us to reconstruct a more precise context in understanding the reform.⁴ It also allows us to retrieve the information that had been left out and/or was thought to be less unimportant by the compilers of the *Veritable Records*, information that turns out to be vital in understanding the content of the musical section of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

The Problems of the Chanting of Hymn Texts

The 1743 hymn texts reform centered on the suite of music that accompanies the First Wine Offering, *Pot'aep'yŏng* 保太平 (Preserving the Peace), which consists of performance by musical instruments, chanting of hymn texts, and dance, and the focus of the reform was on the hymn texts. Apart from the first and the last stanzas, which are for the entrance and exit of the king in the shrine building, the remaining ten stanzas are dedicated to and praise one or two specific ancestors, including the early kings who made substantial contributions to the dynasty, king Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608, who successfully prevented the country and the Yi regime from destruction due to the Japanese invasions near the end of the sixteenth century), and four direct ancestors of king T'aejo (*sajo* 四祖).⁵ As mentioned in the previous chapter, *Pot'aep'yŏng* was created in the fifteenth century, and subsequent changes were rarely made. Since the

⁴ For an introduction to these sources, see Appendix One. I gave a presentation on the 1743 reform based on the comparison of the two sources: “Contextualizing the 1743 Reform of the Music for the Sacrificial Rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine,” presented at the AMS/SEM/SMT Joint Meeting, New Orleans, November 1, 2012. Some information in this chapter is drawn from this presentation.

⁵ An additional stanza of hymn text for Sŏnjo, titled *Chunggwang* 重光 [Reappear after eclipse], was written in 1626. For the discussion on the background of hymn texts, see *Agwŏn kosa* 樂院故事 [Past Affairs of the Music Bureau] (1696), described in Appendix One.

number and arrangement of spirit tablets in the primary and secondary shrines increased and changed substantially after the fifteenth century, it was reported from time to time that the themes of each stanza of hymn texts did not match the worshipped object.⁶

Yŏngjo was aware of that problem early in his reign, and he might have realized that the texts had raised disputes among officials in different preceding reigns.⁷ Yŏngjo seems to have kept this problem in mind without mentioning it often.⁸ When it came to 1743, the matter was reported again, and he finally grasped the opportunity to resolve the problem. Table IV–1 summarizes the allocation of hymn text to each spirit tablet at the time based on the report.⁹

The Initiation of the Reform

To understand how the reform was set into motion, we need to understand how the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine was problematized, and how the king and his ministers who were participating in the meeting had to conform to certain prescriptions. First, there were the notions that for each spirit tablet there should

⁶ See *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 44.12b–36b. I will discuss this section of historical narrative further in Chapter Six.

⁷ From an entry in *Daily Records*, we know that the king was informed by such disputes, as another document recording the stream of disputes, *Past Affairs of the Music Bureau*, was mentioned to the king by an official and the king had ordered to have the document for his reference. See *Daily Records* (T'amgudang edition, 1960–70), vol. 47, 565 (1737/10/21).

⁸ By using text search with the keyword “akchang” 樂章 in the web edition of the *Daily Records*, a rare example suggests Yŏngjo realized the problem. See *Daily Records*, vol. 50, 664 (1741/2/28). Original text: “The king said, ‘The hymn texts intended for specific chamber are repeated and/or postponed in [the performance of the sacrificial rite] at the Royal Ancestral Shrine’” 上曰 太廟 則各室樂章 或復用 或推用之矣.

⁹ The table is based on the conversation between the Director of the Music Bureau (Changakchŏng 掌樂正), Yi Yŏndŏk 李延德 (1682–1750), king Yŏngjo and some other ministers, as recorded in *Daily Records*, vol. 52, 389 (1743/4/17) and *Yŏngjo sillok*, 57.44a–b. In the conversation, Yi Yŏndŏk mentioned the posthumous title of ancestors when referring to the hymn texts. The titles of each stanza are my addition based on *Past Affairs of the Music Bureau*. The allocation of spirit tablets are also given in *Kukcho sok oryeŭi sŏrye* 國朝續五禮儀序例 [Illustrated Rubrics for the Continuation of the Five Rites of the Nation] (1744) 1.5a.

<u>Order of spirit tablets</u>	1 st tablet	2 nd tablet	3 rd tablet	4 th tablet	5 th tablet
<u>Deceased kings of Chosŏn</u>	1 st king: T'aejo	3 rd king: T'aejong	4 th king: Sejong	7 th king: Sejo	9 th king: Sŏngjong
<u>Hymn text stanzas and their themes</u>	1 st stanza Mokcho (Kimyŏng 基命)	2 nd stanza Ikcho (Kwiin 歸仁)	3 rd stanza Ikcho & T'akcho (Hyŏngga 亨嘉)	4 th stanza Hwangjo (Chimnyŏng 輯寧)	5 th stanza King T'aejo (Yunghwa 隆化)

6 th tablet	7 th tablet	8 th tablet	9 th tablet	10 th tablet	11 th tablet	12 th tablet
11 th king: Chungjong	14 th king: Sŏnjo	16 th king: Injo	17 th king: Hyojong	18 th king: Hŏnjong	19 th king: Sukchong	20 th king: Kyŏngjong
6 th stanza King T'aejong (Hyŏnmi 顯美)	7 th stanza King T'aejong (Yonggwang 龍光)	8 th stanza Queen Wŏn'gyŏng (Chŏngmyŏng 貞明)	9 th stanza Sŏnjo (Chunggwang 重光)	10 th stanza: All ancestors (Taeyu 大猶)	1 st stanza: Mokcho (Kimyŏng 基命)	2 nd stanza: Ikcho (Kwiin 歸仁)

Table IV-1: The allocation of hymn texts in 1743

be one stanza of hymn text, and second, that the theme of each stanza of hymn text should be centered on the corresponding king. But why did these assumptions, if they had ever been mentioned at all, recur in 1743?

Both *Veritable Records* and the *Daily Records* give information on the meeting in which the reform was initiated. In the *Veritable Records* (Plate IV–1), the first section of the entry on the day the reform was initiated gives the names of the ministers who were called to a meeting with the king, followed by the second section that says that one of the ministers was ordered by the king to compile a ritual protocol. The third section says that the Chief of the Music Bureau could not give a detailed answer to the king's

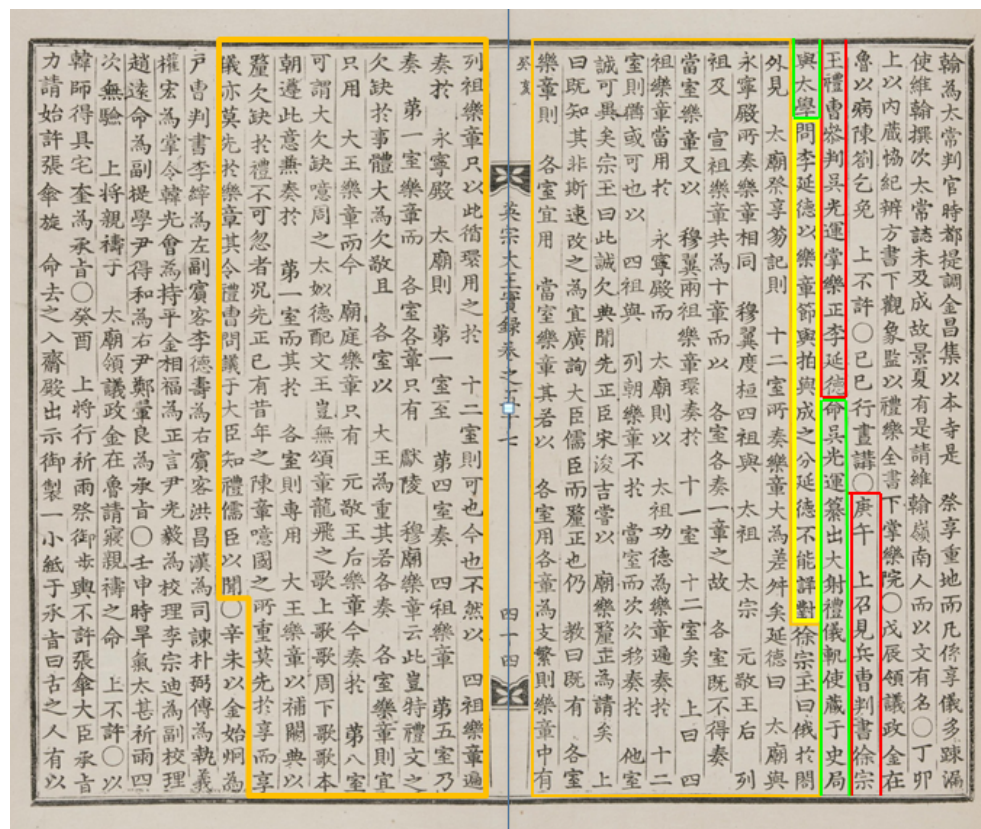


Plate IV–1: The *Veritable Records of Yongjo* 57.44a–b (1743/4'17). The 1st section in the red box, the 2nd section in the green box, the 3rd section in the yellow box, and the 4th section in the orange box. Images from the KPW

questions about a few musical terms. The fourth section is about who initiated the reform, what the king's concerns were, and his consultation with the ministers regarding the problem. However, due to the concise nature of *Veritable Records*, it is difficult for historians to draw conclusions about whether or not different pieces of information in the *Veritable Records* are related. By contrast, the *Daily Records* (see Plate IV-2), which consists of minutes taken during the meetings of the king with his ministers, allows us to be sure that the information outlined in the *Veritable Records* is an array of consecutive events that are causally related.



Plate IV-2: The entry on the meeting on 1743/4/17 in the *Daily Records*

So we can now explore why the two assumptions (one text for each spirit tablet and text corresponding to the specific king) came into play by looking into what had just happened at the time. In the third lunar calendric month of 1743, nearly two months before the reform, Yŏngjo started to revive the Grand Ceremony of Archery (*Taesarye* 大射禮), a rite that “originated in China as a way for the emperor to select officials based

on their physical strength and proper conduct.”¹⁰ The first Grand Ceremony of Archery was performed in 1477,¹¹ and it ceased to be performed after the Japanese invasion near the end of the sixteenth century, not resuming until the reign of Yǒngjo. Under Yǒngjo’s close supervision, the Grand Ceremony of Archery was successfully revived and performed, after several lengthy discussions and a rehearsal with his ministers.¹²

The revival of the Grand Ceremony of Archery was a scholarly project. It demanded interpretations of precedents given in official histories (such as the *Veritable Records*)¹³ and rubrics given in other official documents such as the *Guide to the Study of Music*,¹⁴ *Five Rites of the Nation*, and *Da Ming Ji Li* 大明集禮 (*Collected Ceremonial of the Ming Dynasty*).¹⁵ While important information such as an outline for the ritual procedures, the melody, and the hymn texts accompanying the ceremony are found in these sources, certain details, such as the color of the targets, needed to be worked out. The only musical topic that was considered worth their discussion is on how the hymn texts should be chanted in accordance with the progression of the ceremony. After interpreting the precedents and canons and rehearsing for the ceremony, the king and his ministers found an appropriate way to perform the music, in particular setting the music

¹⁰ Shin Myung-ho, *Chosŏn Royal Court Culture: Ceremonial and Daily Life*, trans. Timothy V. Atkinson (Seoul: Dolbegae Publishers, 2004), 55–6. In the Chosŏn dynasty, the ceremony was not intended, however, for official selection. Instead, “it is an event through which the king and his officials become united.” See Yun Chiyŏng 윤치영, ed., *Yǒngjo Taewang* 英祖大王 (*The Great King Yǒngjo*) (Seongnam: AKS, 2001), 70. Furthermore, the Ceremony of Archery is classified as a “Military Rites” in *Five Rites of the Nation*. There was also discussion on whether the ceremony should carry the word “Grand,” and it turned out to be named in such way. *Daily Records* vol. 52, 298 (1743/3/19).

¹¹ *Veritable Records of Sŏngjong* 83.1a (1477/8/3).

¹² For examples of discussions, see *Daily Records* vol. 52, 336 (1743/4/20) and 339–341 (1743/4/22). For a record of the rehearsal, see *Daily Records* vol. 52, 352–4 (1743/4/30).

¹³ *Daily Records* vol. 52, 292(1743/3/27). See also *Yǒngjo sillok* 57.30a.

¹⁴ *Daily Records* vol. 52, 296 (1743/3/28). The hymn texts and the title of the music used to accompany the hymn texts are given in *Akhak kwebŏm*, 2.21b. The title of the music is the same as one of the sections of *Pot’aep’yŏng* for First Wine Offering.

¹⁵ *Veritable Records of Yǒngjo* 57.42a (1743/4’/7). These two sources are mentioned in the introduction to the ritual program.

to the ritual procedures. Ten days later, the king called for the meeting as a follow up to the ceremony, for which some other documents were ordered to be compiled.¹⁶

The consent to the first assumption mentioned above was the result of the successful experience in reviving the Grand Ceremony of Archery, in which Sŏ Myŏngŭng's father, Sŏ Chongok 徐宗玉 (1688–1745),¹⁷ had actively participated. It is, in the same meeting therefore, where Yŏngjo, based on his successful experience in reviving the archery ceremony, asked several questions on how the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine should be performed. The second assumption, which had long been a controversial issue,¹⁸ was brought up again by Sŏ Chongok, the Minister of the Board of Military who had participated in the revival of the Grand Ceremony of Archery since the beginning.

The Result of the Reform

Four days later, both of the king's assumptions on how the music should be performed for the First Wine Offering were contradicted by the Chief State Councilor, Kim Chaero 金在魯 (1682–1759). Based on the *Fives Rites of the Nation* and the *Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine*, Kim traced the intention of how the hymn texts were set when they were created during the reign of Sejong, who was regarded as a

¹⁶ An essay and a set of guidelines were ordered to be compiled. See *Daily Records*, vol. 52, 389 (1743/4'17); *Yŏngjo sillok*, 57.44a. It seems that the essay finally came out with a scroll painting. See Yun Chiyŏng, ed., *Yŏngjo Taewang*, 70. The set of guidelines was later known as *Taesarye ŭigwe* 大射禮儀軌 [Guidelines for the Rite of Archery].

¹⁷ It seems that Sŏ Chongok was an official trusted by the king, as Yŏngjo had personally selected him as one of the officials in his early reign. See Yun Chiyŏng, ed., *Yŏngjo Taewang*, 64–5. In many cases the appointments of officials during Chosŏn dynasty were suggested by high-ranking ministers first and then endorsed by the king.

¹⁸ This issue is recorded in various sources before the 1743 reform, such as *Agwŏn kosa* (1696) and *Chongmyo ŭigwe* (1706).

legendary king throughout the Chosŏn dynasty (the hymn texts were in fact composed during the reign of Sejo in 1463 and put into practice in 1464, as mentioned in Chapter Three). According to Kim,

I have investigated [*Kukcho*] *Oryeŭi sŏrye* [Rubrics for the *Five Rites of the Nation*, 1474] and the entries regarding hymn texts in *Chongmyo ŭigwe* [*Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine* (1706)], and the hymn texts were in nine stanzas, excluding the stanzas of *Hŭimun* 熙文 [which is the first stanza] and *Yŏksŏng* 繹成 [which is the last stanza], that accompany the entrance and exit respectively during the First Wine Offering, at the time that the music and ceremonies were codified during the reign of Sejong [r. 1418–1450]. The music is said to be *sŏng* [perfected] after *kubyŏn* 九變 [nine changes]. Therefore, the hymn text reads “it is perfect after the chant has been *kubyŏn*.” This is to say, [the hymn texts] are to be shared by all spirit tablets so as to fulfill the idea of *sŏng*. It is originally not intended to perform one stanza for each spirit tablet.¹⁹

Facing Kim’s investigation on the intrinsic meanings of the hymn texts, which seemed so reasonable at the time, the king abandoned his assumption developed from his successful experience. After several lengthy discussions,²⁰ the king made the final decision on how the organization and the performance of the hymn texts for the First Wine Offering were to be changed. It turned out that two of the ten stanzas of hymn texts, namely, *Hyŏnmi* 顯美 *Chŏngmyŏng* 貞明,²¹ were merged into a single stanza, and the nine remaining stanzas of hymn texts for all three Wine Offerings were now supposed to be allocated to twelve spirit tablets. The first decision did not much alter the

¹⁹ *Daily Records*, vol. 52, 401 (1743/4’/23). According to a memorial submitted to Yŏngjo in 1754 by Sŏ Myŏngŭng, Sŏ Chongok participated in the meeting silently. This memorial will be discussed in the next chapter.

²⁰ *Daily Records*, vol. 52, 481–2 (1743/6/3); 492–5 (1743/6/9); 498–9 (1743/6/10).

²¹ The titles are confirmed by another documents, *Kukcho sok oryeŭi sŏrye* 國朝續五禮儀序例 [Illustrated Rubrics for the *Continuation of the Five Rites of the Nation*] (1744) 1.3a. It should be noted that the titles *Hyŏnmi* 顯美 and *Chŏngmyŏng* 貞明 are given in some other places in the *Daily Records*, such as vol. 61, 650 (1754/8/3) and vol. 70, 234 (1765/12/9). The first entry which gives the merger between *Yonggwang* 龍光 and *Chŏngmyŏng* 貞明 is just on the next day of the last example. See *Daily Records* vol. 70, 236–7 (1765/12/10). I am uncertain about the reason for such discrepancy.

length of the repertoire, but the second one influenced the practice of the performance of music.²²

Understanding the Success of Reviving the Grand Ceremony of Archery

Given the process leading to the reform, which had been omitted from the *Veritable Records* and has now been retrieved from the *Daily Records*, I would like to look further into the process of setting hymn texts in the Grand Ceremony of Archery. Similar to the case of the later 1743 reform dealing with the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the details of their discussion and the process for the revival of the Grand Ceremony of Archery were omitted from the *Veritable Records*, and for present purposes there is no need to go into the details. In this current section, I give my concluding observations only.

For the king and ministers their first concern about music was rather practical, and they showed little documented interest in detailed musical aspects such as melody and rhythm. The primary purpose of music, as the tool that articulates the temporal boundaries of the performances of a ritual procedure, is to accompany the ritual procedures appropriately. In the case of the 1743 Grand Ceremony of Archery, an ideal performance of music, particular the pace of the music, was the one that allowed enough time for the participants of the Grand Ceremony of Archery to make their shots without hurrying while also not holding back progression to the next procedure. The appropriateness of the tempo of the music is defined by ritual actions; that is, if the

²² The *Daily Records* also gives information on how musicians dealt with this consequence of the reform. See *Daily Records*, vol. 52, 528 (1743/6/20); 547 (1743/7/4). In 1765, Sŏ Myŏngŭng suggested how the music should be performed corresponding to the merger of hymn texts. See “Follow Up to the 1743 Reform (1765)” in Chapter Five.

music ended before the performance of the ritual procedure, then it was regarded as too fast, and vice versa. Such a practical concern was the major criterion in the arrangement of hymn texts to the music.

The process of setting hymn texts for the Grand Ceremony of Archery is a typical example that shows how pragmatic eighteenth-century Korean scholars were when carrying out historical research. Historical documents, in this case the *Book of Rites* (*Liji* 禮記), one of the Confucian classics, are the source of authority that justifies the present action, and the scholars would search for sources that provided precedents supporting their practical concerns. The key to the success in reviving the Grand Ceremony of Archery was being able to define terms from earlier sources, and it was Sŏ Chongok who discovered the canon from a Confucian classic that justified their interpretation and therefore allocated one hymn text to one ritual procedure. It was based on such an understanding that Sŏ initiated the 1743 hymn text reform for the Royal Ancestral Shrine, though his discourses were soon enough turned down by the Chief State Councilor with different research, but using a similar method.

Conclusions

Though Sejo's version of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine had fallen short of the expectation of some eighteenth-century Koreans in the court, Sŏ Chongok in particular, it continued to be performed for the rest of the dynasty. Sŏ Chongok's research in the Chinese classics, and his findings of an authoritative interpretation of the terms provided strong support for setting one stanza of hymn text to one ritual procedure in the process of the Grand Ceremony of Archery, but his findings

and effort to provoke a similar change to the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, in order to make the theme of each stanza of hymn text centered on the corresponding king, was ruled out by the Chief State Councilor's findings from research in Korean records at hand. Nevertheless, as we shall see in the next chapter, Sŏ Chongok's intention and efforts were reinstated by his son.

The 1743 reform was carried out in an environment of imperfect historical information, mainly due to the administrative and physical limitation of access to the *Veritable Records*. Under such circumstances, the recurring discussions on music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine among the kings and ministers during the seventeenth and eighteenth century happened. Without easy access to the *Veritable Records*, the way that the ministers worked out an authoritative explanation of the principles behind the formation of the musical and the ritual program for the Royal Ancestral Shrine, as seen in their memorials, was purely literal and merely based on the information in the manuals.

CHAPTER FIVE: SŌ MYŎNGŬNG AND HIS WRITINGS ON MUSIC



Plate V-1: A portrait of Sŏ Myŏngŭng (1716–1787) at the age of 66 (1781). From *Portraits of Historic Koreans* (Seoul: Tamgu-Dang Publishing Company, 1972), plate no. 134.

To understand the impact of the 1743 hymn text reform had on Sŏ Myŏngŭng 徐命膺 (1716–1787), the son of Sŏ Chongok and the compiler of the “Investigation of Music” in the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, I would like to pay attention to anything that was related to music in his lived experience, such as in his family background, his conceptions of court ceremonial music, his involvement in musical activities (broadly defined), and events that might have had an impact on his understanding of the history of Chosŏn court ceremonial music prior to the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* in 1770.¹

¹ Employing biography as a mean for historical enquiry is not new in ethnomusicology. For examples, see the articles by Robert Provine, “Investigating a Musical Biography in Korea: The Theorist/Musicologist Pak Yŏn (1378–1458),” *Yearbook for Traditional Music* 32 (2000): 1–15, and Joseph Lam, “Writing Music Biographies of Historical Asian Musicians: The Case of Jiang Kui (A.D. 1155–1221),” *World of Music* 43, no. 1 (2001): 69–95. Both of them have implied and suggested the possibilities and potentials of

Like his father, Sŏ Myŏngŭng served in the court in various positions and gradually was promoted, eventually reaching to a position as a high-ranking officer. What seemed to be most cherished by the kings he served (Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo) was his knowledge of subjects outside the Confucian classics. As one of the more prolific writers of the Chosŏn dynasty, his writings cover various subjects, ranging from the Chinese way to augur changes (*yi* 易), Confucian classics, history, astronomy, mathematics, and music. The period after his retirement in 1780 until his death in 1787 was the most productive scholarly period in his life, when he devoted most of his time to reviewing his writings and editing them into voluminous series.

In the past two decades Sŏ Myŏngŭng's writings have attracted attention from indigenous scholars, notably Kim Munsik 金文植 and Song Chiwŏn 宋芝媛.² Kim has given a general introduction to Sŏ Myŏngŭng's writings on various subjects, and examined some of Sŏ's writings in relation to his career as a government official.³ Song has paid special attention to his writings related to music, attempting to understand his writings in relation to political circumstances.⁴ These scholars have provided useful

biographies understanding historical individuals in East Asian settings.

² Han Minsik 韓莢燮, a librarian at Korea University, also wrote an article on a Sŏ Myŏngŭng's writing. See his "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi *Pomanjae sajip* ŭi p'yŏnch'an kwajŏng kwa t'ŭkchŏng" 徐命膺의保晩齋四集의편찬과정과특징 (The Compiling Process and Characteristics of *Pomanjae sajip*), *Han'guk sirhak yŏn'gu* 韓國實學研究 17 (2009): 83–131.

³ Kim Munsik examined Sŏ's works and classified the subjects in Sŏ's writings; see his "Sŏ Myŏngŭng chŏsul ŭi chongnyu wa t'ŭkchŏng" 徐命膺著述의種類와特徴 [A Classification and Description of Sŏ Myŏngŭng's Compilations], in *Chukpu Yi Chihyŏng kyosu chŏngnyŏn t'oejik kinyŏm nonmunjip: Han'guk ŭi kyŏnghak kwa hanmunhak* 竹夫李篋衡教授定年退職紀念論文集: 韓國의經學과漢文學 [Articles Honoring Retirement of Professor Yi Chihyŏng: The Studies of Chinese Classics and Literature in Korea] (Seoul: T'aehaksa 太學社, 1996), 127–98. Kim has also given a relatively comprehensive account of Sŏ Myŏngŭng's life; see Kim Munsik, "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong" 徐命膺의생애와규장각활동 [The Life of Sŏ Myŏngŭng and His Activities in the Kyujanggak], *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 精神文化研究 22, no. 2 (1999): 151–84.

⁴ Song Chiwŏn has listed such works and given an introduction to them, and the information in Table 5.1 is drawn from her "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi ūmak kwan'gye chŏsul yŏn'gu" 徐命膺의音樂관계著述研究 ["A Study of Sŏ Myŏngŭng's Musical Writings"], in *Han'guk ūmak yŏn'gu* 韓國音樂研究 27 (1999): 53–69. Song also

bibliographic information, and based on their work, I list most of Sō's writings on music below:

1. 1752 *Taeak wōllyu* 大樂源流 [The Origin and Changes of Great Music], said to be lost in 1770.
2. 1764 *Siak yogyōl* 詩樂要訣 [Rubrics for Poems and Music]
3. 1765 *Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章 [Hymn Texts for National Rites], manuscript.
4. 1770 "Akko" 樂考 [*Investigation of Music*] in *Tongguk Munhōn pigo* 東國文獻備考 (Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of East Kingdom).
5. 1770 or after *Taeak chōnbo* 大樂前譜 [Great Music, Volume 1], said to be lost in 1884.
6. 1770 or after *Taeak hubo* 大樂後譜 [Great Music, Volume 2], manuscript.
7. 1780/3 *Tongbang aak tosō* 東方雅樂圖書 [Book on Ritual Music of the East Kingdom], manuscript.
8. 1780 *Siak hwasōng* 詩樂和聲 [The Harmony of Poems and Music], manuscript.
9. 1781/7 *Kukcho siak* 國朝詩樂 [Poems and Music of the Nation], manuscript. In *Pomanjae inggan* 保晚齋剩簡 [Literary Remains of Sō Myōngūng] (date unknown).
10. 1783 *Siak myogyē* 詩樂妙契 [Matching up Poems and Music], manuscript. In *Pomanjae ch'ongsō* 保晚齋叢書 [Collectanea by Sō Myōngūng] (in or before 1786), manuscript.
11. 1787 (Printed in 1838) Certain sections in *Pomanjae-jip* 保晚齋集 [Collected Writings of Sō Myōngūng].
12. [?] *Chongnyul chōnsō* 鍾律全書 [Books on Bells and Temperament], manuscript. In *Pomanjae inggan*.
13. [?] *Wōnūmyak* 元音鑰 [Key to the Origin of Music], manuscript. In *Pomanjae ch'ongsō*, manuscript.
14. [?] *Aak tosō* 雅樂圖書 [Books of Court Ceremonial Music], manuscript. In *Pomanjae inggan*.

It could not be denied that some of Sō Myōngūng's writings on court ceremonial music resulted from royal order (such as items 3, 4, 8, and 9). But there are also works that he initiated by himself (such as items 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 10 to 14), and Kim and Song do not provide any explanation of such independent initiatives. Furthermore, in some of the prefaces to the works written in his later years (items 7, 8, 13, 14), there is a strong emphasis on the history of the changes in the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and, for the music, presentation of musical notation of the music in a style other than that which had been performed since the reign of Sejo.

Though it may not be fully answered, it is still of interest to me to ask why it was Sō Myōngūng who was frequently involved in the textual production on court ceremonial

attempts to understand Sō's late musical treatises against the political background of his time; see her *Chōngjo ūi ūmak chōngch'aek* 景宗의 음악정책 [King Chōngjo's Policies Towards Music], T'aehak ch'ongsō 태학총서 [T'aehak Series] 22 (P'aju 坡州 [Korea]: T'aehaksa 태학사, 2007).

music, in particular the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, in the eighteenth century. Kim has suggested that during his service in the court Sō Myōngūng had displayed a strong influence from his father on the methods of governance and policy making,⁵ and that would not be sufficient. In an attempt to construct a musical biography, for my current purposes (i.e., to understand the meaning of the inclusion of a particular tune in the “Investigation of Music” of the *Tongguk Munhōn pigo*), I would like to pay attention to his conceptions of court ceremonial music and his involvement in musical activities (broadly defined) prior to the compilation of the work in 1770.

Genealogy and the Sō Clan in the Eighteenth Century⁶

Sō Myōngūng was born into a *yangban* family. In terms of its political significance as defined by the successful involvement of its members in the government, the Sō clan was an active *yangban* family in the eighteenth century, as nearly half of its members held various positions.⁷ The genealogy of the Sō clan shows that the clan claims a long history dating back to the Koryō dynasty. Sub-lineages for a few famous and

⁵ See Kim Munsik, “Sō Myōngūng ūi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong,” 159–60.

⁶ The Korean clan genealogies typically trace ancestral origins and emphasize those members who passed the official recruitment examinations, along with presenting various biographical details. Martina Deuchler points out that genealogies can be read as the “manifestations of a heightened sense of identity and solidarity” that “circumscribed the descent groups’ boundaries toward outside world.” See her *The Confucian Transformation of Korea*, 167–8. For a case study on a Korean clan genealogy, see Hildi Kang, *Family Lineage Records as a Resource for Korean History: A Case Study of Thirty-nine Generations of the Sinch'on Kang Family (720 A.D.–1955)* (Lewiston [UK]: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2007). The clan genealogy of the Sō clan was first compiled in 1702 and received several expansions later. The edition that I consulted in this study is the 1818 edition, as indicated by a preface written by Sō Maesu 徐邁修 (1731–1818). See the entry on Sō Maesu in the Bibliography.

⁷ According to “Pyōngjin chungjōn *Taegu Sōssi sebo*-pal” 丙辰重鑄大丘徐氏世譜跋 [Postscript to 1736 edition of *Taegu Sōssi sebo*], written by Sō Chongok 徐宗玉 (1688–1745), the father of Sō Myōngūng, when it came to the eighteenth century, there were nearly a thousand descendants of Sō Sōng, and among them two hundred were within the paternal lineage. Among the paternal members nearly half of them, around 100 people, were serving at various ranks and positions in the court at the time.

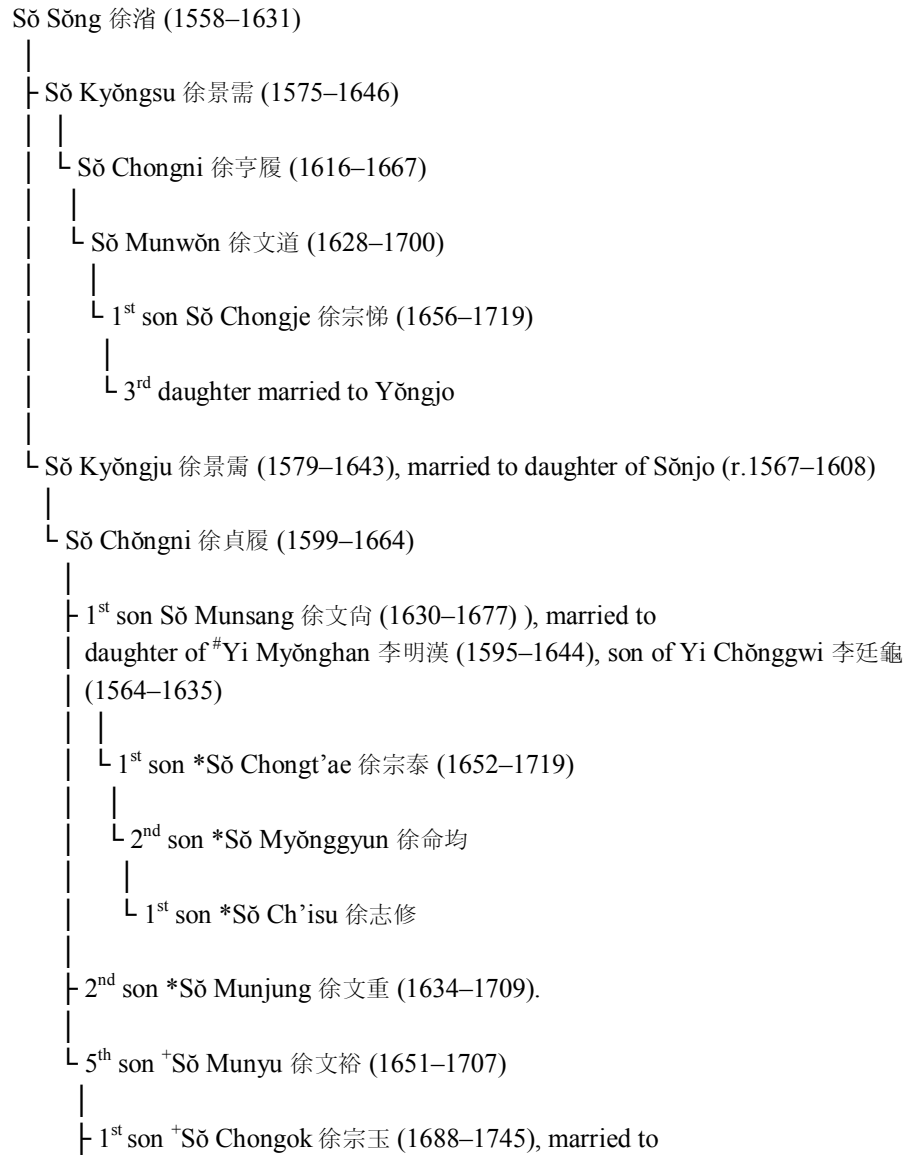
prominent clan figures in the fifteenth century have been traced,⁸ but in other sources⁹ it is clearly stated that it was Sō Sōng 徐滄 (1558–1631), the great-great-great-grandfather of Sō Myōngŭng, who contributed very strongly to the continuity of the rule of Sōnjo (r. 1567–1608), and thereafter an increase in the number of holders of various positions in the government by the members of the Sō clan emerged. Indeed, the compilation of the first genealogy of Sō clan in 1702 was rather “recent” (in comparison to many other clans), evidencing the rise of this young and influential clan in eighteenth-century Chosŏn.

Figure V–I is a highly selective and simplified version of Sō Myōngŭng’s family tree, extracted from the genealogy of the Sō clan and giving the branches of the descendants of Sō Sōng to indicate the possible influence of the Sō clan at the time. In 1592 Sō Sōng became an in-law of the Royal family, as one of his sons married a daughter of king Sōnjo. After that, along with the increase in number of clan members (including both paternal and maternal sides), more and more members of the Sō clan passed the state examinations, and some of them attained high-ranking positions in the court. The Sō clan established a network with other *yangban* families comprised of high ranking officials, and even members of the Royal family (e.g., Yōngjo) via marriage, a common practice during the Chosŏn dynasty for the *yangban* to maintain their status and prestige. As shown in the Figure V–1, Sō Myōngŭng was born into a family comprised of a number of members who were either a State Councilor (*Ŭijōng* 議政), the highest

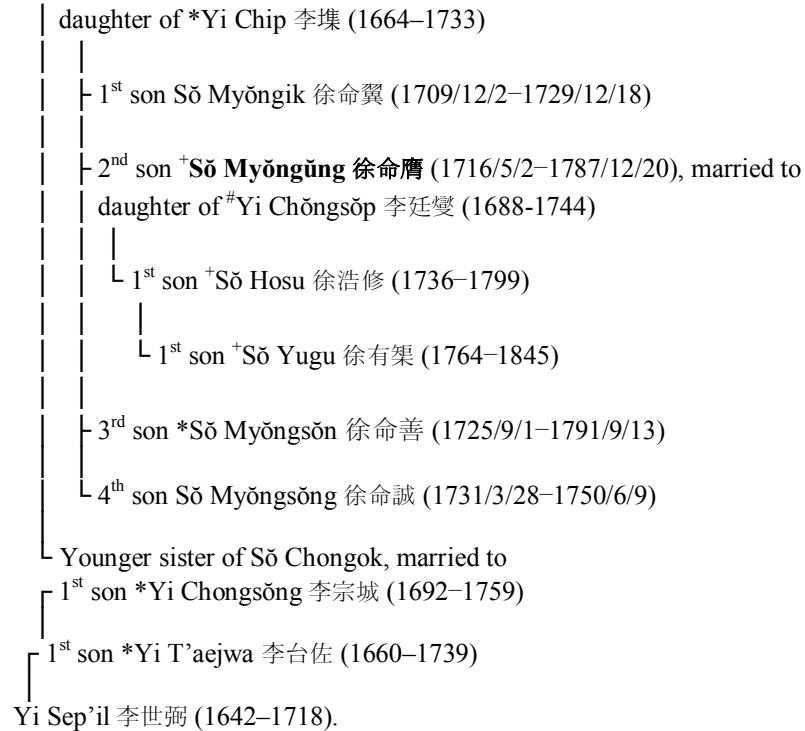
⁸ When it came to the early Chosŏn dynasty, a few members of the clan succeeded in attaining high ranking positions in fifteenth-century Chosŏn court, such as Sō Kōjōng 徐居正 (1420–1488). Sō Kōjōng was the brother-in-law of Ch’oe Hang 崔恒 (1409–1474), the writer of the hymn texts for the dance suites *Pot’aep’yōng* and *Chōngdaeōp*.

⁹ Such as the commemorative writings of the members of the Sō clan in various collected writings (*munjip* 文集).

position in the court, or a Minister (*P'ansŏ* 判書) in the “Six Boards” (*Yukcho* 六曹),¹⁰ and it is worth mentioning that one of the branches was made the in-law family via marriage to Yŏngjo.



¹⁰ For the roles of the State Council and Six Boards, see Wagner, *The Literati Purges*, 12–3. In short, the State Council was the highest organ of the government and core of the governance, having general powers of surveillance over all other government offices and affairs, while the Six Boards were more administrative organs. According to Wagner, “to become a High State Councilor was one of the chief glories to which an official might aspire. Such an appointment, ordinarily, was the culmination of a lifetime of public service.”



The “*” and “+” represent the State Councilors and Ministers of the “six boards” respectively, while “#” represents member of the Royal clan.

FIGURE V-1: Simplified family tree of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng

Coincidentally, several people in this family tree were involved in the compilation of documents related to the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and even expressed their opinions regarding the music, and they are familiar to those who are interested in the history of Korean court ceremonial music. The first one is Yi Chŏnggwi, whose memorials report his investigation on the history of the setting of hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and they were subsequently included in his *Wŏlsa-jip* 月沙集 [*Collected Writings of Yi Chŏnggu*] (1688) and quoted in other documents such as *Agwŏn kosa* 樂院故事 [Past Affairs of the Music Bureau] (1696). The second one is the author of *Agwŏn kosa*, Yi Sep'il, who gives explanatory notes clarifying the theme of each stanza of hymn text of the music for the sacrificial rite

at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (see also Appendix One). The third one is Sŏ Munjung, who was in charge of the compilation of the *Chongmyo ũigwe* 宗廟儀軌 [Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine] (1706). All of these works, cited above and discussed in detail in Appendix One, have now become the major sources of information about the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and they had probably been known to Sŏ Myŏngŭng before his service in the court, as they were consulted during the 1743 hymn texts reform, in which Sŏ Chongok, the father of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, had participated. The fourth one is Yi Chŏngsŏp, who is said to have been the author of two *sijo* 時調 (a musical and poetic genre enjoyed by educated people at the time) in the poetry collection *Haedong kayo* 海東歌謠 [Songs of East of the Sea],¹¹ which is less relevant to the present study.

Sŏ Myŏngŭng's Involvements in Court Music and Related Activities

Neither Sŏ Myŏngŭng nor his descendants ever wrote his musical biography, and in the following sections I account for his involvement in the performance of court ceremonial music and related activities so as to articulate a relationship between him and Chosŏn court ceremonial music, in particular the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

¹¹ See the introduction in *Han'guk yŏktae inmul chonghap chŏngbo sisŭt'em* 韓國歷代人物情報시스템 [Information System of Historical Koreans], http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?ppId=PPL_6JOc_A1688_1_0018825&isEQ=true&krstalSearchArea=P. Last access on Apr 16, 2016.

The First Compilation on Court Ceremonial Music (of Chosŏn) (1752)

The work in question is *Taeak wŏllyu* 大樂源流 [The Origin and Changes of Great Music] (1752). Sŏ compiled this work at the age of thirty-seven, when he was the magistrate (*hyŏn'gam* 縣監, a low-ranking position), of the small county of Ŭihŭng 義興 in Kyŏngsang 慶尙 province (southeastern Korea peninsula), remote from the capital. This work is only mentioned in *Pomanjae yŏnbo* 保晩齋年譜 [Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng] (?), said to have been “lent to someone and lost during the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*” in 1770.”¹² This work may be the earliest evidence suggesting Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s initial attempts to write about court ceremonial music.

Though we cannot yet trace any surviving parts of this works, it is the first document evidencing Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s interest in Chosŏn court ceremonial music. The words *taeak* (great music) in its title suggests that it focused on court ceremonial music. Given that *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* deals with various subjects of Chosŏn Korea with an emphasis on historical investigation, the articulation between *Taeak wŏllyu* and *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* by the compiler of *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng* suggests that the content of *Taeak wŏllyu* was a historical study of Chosŏn (Korean) court ceremonial music, not of the music of the neighboring country, Qing China.

¹² *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, *kwŏn* 1 (1752/10); this source is also cited by Song Chiwŏn, “Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi ŭmak kwan’gye chŏsul yŏn’gu,” 58, n. 9. Though it is said to be “borrowed by someone” during the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, as we shall see later in this chapter, the discovery of the history of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine during Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s visit to the repository in 1770 might have been a possible reason for the disappearance of this work.

The Memorial to the Crown Prince (1754)¹³

About one year after the compilation of *Taeak wöllyu* in 1754, Sŏ resigned from the position of county magistrate and took another civil examination at a higher level. He passed and was assigned to a senior-sixth-ranking position in one of the Six Boards in the capital. He stayed in this position for about two months, and was then assigned to another position, Fourth Censor (*chŏngŏn* 正言) in the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn 司諫院), one of the instrumentalities “designed to prevent abuses in the exercise of political and administrative authority.”¹⁴

Appointed to such an important position, Sŏ quickly expressed his thoughts on the ideal rule of a king. About ten days after his appointment, he submitted a memorial to the young Crown Prince, who at the time was temporarily assigned by his father as a royal proxy. This memorial lists the criteria for a good king in an orderly fashion, and it can be divided into two sections. The first section of the memorial is about personal virtues, and the second section is about policies; and in this second section, the first item is about the rectification of rites, which will be discussed below.

In the previous chapter, I concluded that the 1743 reform, initiated by Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s father Sŏ Chongok, did not solve the problem of the mismatch between the themes of the hymn text and the person being worshipped during the First Wine Offering. In this 1754 memorial, Sŏ Myŏngŭng gives suggestions on how to rectify the

¹³ Apart from the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat*, this memorial was partially included in the *Veritable Records* of Yŏngjo and completely so in the *Collected Writings of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*. It is titled as “Chinch’i pŏpsŏ 陳治法書” [“A Memorial Elaborating the Ways of Governance”] in the *Collected Writings of Sŏ Myŏngŭng* (1838), facs. rpt., HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 113–27. A translation of part of the memorial focusing on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine is given in Appendix Three.

¹⁴ See Ki-baik Lee, *A New History of Korea*, 175.

performance of the sacrificial rite, and he attributes these suggestions to his father Sŏ Chongok. Table V–1 summarizes Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s suggestions and compares them with current practice.

<u>Ritual procedures</u>	<u>Current practice</u>	<u>Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s suggestions</u>
Offering Sacrificial Food (Early Libation)	Courtyard ensemble performs <i>P’ungan</i> 豊安. Music seemingly needed to be repeated for an uncertain number of times until sacrificial food has been placed in the chamber one by one.	One stanza of hymn text for each chamber
First Wine Offering	Terrace ensemble performs <i>Pot’aep’yŏng</i> , and music is paused when reading the prayer.	No music until the king visited all chambers. Once started, the music should be performed without pause.

Table V–1: Comparison between current practice and Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s suggestions

Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s suggestions focus on two ritual procedures, the Offering of Sacrificial Food and the First Wine Offering. For the Offering of Sacrificial Food, Sŏ suggests that each chamber should have a specific stanza of hymn text, and the intention of such practice is to regulate the duration of the actions, which, according to ritual manual (the *Five Rites of the Nation*), are to be performed by various helpers. The second suggestion aims to prevent the mismatch between the theme of hymn text and the person being worshipped, while maintaining nine stanzas of hymn texts, which were said to be Sejong’s intention when setting the hymn text. The suggestions in this memorial resonate with the issues brought up in the 1743 reform and connote the influences Sŏ Chongok had on Sŏ Myŏngŭng.

The Compilation of *Siak yogyŏl* 詩樂要訣 (1764)

Only the title of the work, *Siak yogyŏl* 詩樂要訣 [Rubrics for Poems and Music] (1764), is recorded, in the *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, and it is uncertain whether the work has survived; it is said to have been completed when Sŏ served as the Third Magistrate in the Seoul Magistracy.¹⁵ This work was probably on how to set the hymn texts to ritual and music, judging from the content of several works later compiled by Sŏ, such as *Siak hwasŏng* 詩樂和聲 (1780), *Kukcho siak* 國朝詩樂 (1781), and *Siak myogyŏ* 詩樂妙契 (1783), all listed near the beginning of this chapter, which also carry the words *siak*.

The Compilation of *Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章 (1765)

The compilation of *Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章 [Hymn Texts for National Rites] (1765) was ordered by Yŏngjo on the day following his participation in the rehearsal of the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine on the sixth day of the fourth lunar month in 1765.¹⁶ This was the first time that Sŏ was recommended to take part in a compilation project centered on ritual and music, when he was serving in seemingly unrelated positions, such as the Second Minister (*Ch'amp'an* 參判) of the Board of Punishments (*Hyŏngjo* 刑曹) and Deputy Director (*Chehak* 提學) of the Office of the Special Counselors (*Hongmun'gwan* 弘文館). This shows that he might already have been known for his interest in court ceremonial music, even though that reputation might be known

¹⁵ The only description of *Siak yogyŏl* is “most of the content has not been explored by previous scholars.” (Original text: 詩樂 亦多先儒所未言) See *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, *kwŏn* 1 (1764/12).

¹⁶ *Daily Records* vol. 69, 870–1 (1765/4/6). It should be noted that Yŏngjo, after performing the sacrificial rite in person on 1765/4/10, when he was already seventy, ceased to perform the rite in person. Subsequently, he only participated, once a year, in the rehearsal of the sacrificial rite held several days before the actual performance.

only to one or two other high-ranking ministers. Five years later, he was recommended again by another minister to be editor of the “Akko,” when he was representing Chosŏn in a visit to Beijing, the capital of Qing China.

The *Hymn Texts for National Rites*, compiled jointly by Sŏ Myŏngŭng and three other officials, may tell us something about what was happening with regard to the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine at the time, if it is juxtaposed to its context. Surprisingly, the *Daily Records* or the *Veritable Records* do not record much discussion about the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine prior to the launch of this project. Nevertheless, the colophon, authored by the king himself, may provide some hints:

The documents and records for our country are incomplete, and it is difficult and inconvenient to investigate [the precedents]. This is a pity. When I was participating in the rehearsal yesterday¹⁷ I suddenly became aware of this: there are eleven tunes for the music, but there are nine stanzas [*chang* 章] of hymn texts, except the stanzas of *Hŭimun* 熙文 and *Yŏksŏng* 繹成, which is the meaning of “nine perfections” (*kusŏng* 九成). . . Here I give homily for the future: [there is] the reason for the insertion of *Chunggwang* 重光, among the nine hymn texts, and the consequence of the combination of two stanzas of hymn texts, *Yonggwang* 龍光 and *Chŏngmyŏng* 貞明; in case in future there is a request for additions to the hymn texts and [people] do not know why the two hymn texts are combined, this work is compiled and the great achievements by various royal ancestors are fully represented [by the hymn texts] here in this work. It is not necessary for any addition to the hymn texts to make [such achievements] known. Furthermore, the hymn texts (*akka* 樂歌) at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (Ch’ŏngmyo 清廟) and the hymn texts for various ancestors at Munsojŏn 文昭殿 are different. My words here have thoughtful purpose, too.¹⁸

¹⁷ According to *Daily Records* Yŏngjo participated in the rehearsal on 1765/4/6, and he authored the colophon on the next day. See *Daily Records* vol.69, 871 (1765/4/7).

¹⁸ “Colophon to *Kukcho akchang* by the King,” in *Kukcho akchang*, 1a–2b.

Follow Up to the 1743 Reform (1765)

Near the end of 1765 the *Daily Records* gives some evidence of Sŏ Myŏngŭng's interest in music. The conversations between Sŏ and the king are quite different from earlier ones, since they are on the "technical" aspects of music, such as the instrumentation of ensembles and the cadential note of the tunes, comments of a sort that were rarely made by most other ministers.

On the twenty-sixth day of the eleventh month of 1765, Sŏ Myŏngŭng attended a banquet held by his colleague, Hong Kyehŭi 洪啓禧 (1703–1771),¹⁹ in which a relatively unpopular type of music (*aak* for banquets) was performed, instead of the more appealing *sogak* 俗樂.²⁰ The king, Yŏngjo, heard about the music performed for the banquet, and, two weeks later, he asked Sŏ Myŏngŭng what he thought about the music. Sŏ expressed his appreciation of the performance of *aak* and emphasized the difference in instrumentation between the two basic ensembles, Terrace and Courtyard, for various types of ceremonies.²¹

On the next day Sŏ Myŏngŭng raised a technical suggestion for the music performed for the sacrificial rite, which was rarely observed to have been raised by other ministers. He said:

Regarding the hymn texts I would like to express my opinions. The hymn texts, specifically *Yonggwang* and *Chŏngmyŏng*, to be chanted [during the sacrificial rite] at the Royal Ancestral Shrine had been merged and therefore the incorrect *sipsŏng* 十成 [ten perfections] is now *kusŏng* 九成

¹⁹ Hong is one of the students of Yi Chae 李穡 (1680–1746), who wrote a preface in 1745 to the *Kahun* 家訓 (family instructions) said to be written by Pak Yŏn. The preface and the family instructions are included in various editions of collection of Pak Yŏn's writings. For example, Pak Simhak 朴心學 comp., *Nan'gye sŏnsaeng yugo* 蘭溪先生遺藁 (Collected Writings of Pak Yŏn) (1822), Pak Changha 朴壯夏, comp. *Nan'gye sŏnsaeng munjip* 蘭溪先生文集 [Collected Works of Pak Yŏn] (1958).

²⁰ *Daily Records* vol. 70, 218 (1765/11/26). I have discussed *aak* and *sogak* in Chapter Three.

²¹ *Daily Records* 70. 233 (1765/12/8).

[nine perfections].... However, in changing the hymn text, the musicians did not correspondingly change the music at the times. Though the chanting [of the hymn texts] is *kusŏng*, the music is still *sipsŏng*. It has to be rectified.²²

On the next day the king and Sŏ Myŏngŭng met again and called the officers of the Music Bureau to the meeting. After Sŏ asked the officers the question regarding the performance of music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, he concluded that the officers did not truly understand the meaning of “nine renditions.” To rectify the music (i.e., to musically merge the stanzas of hymn text), he suggested that the tonic pitch at the end of the instrumental part of *Yonggwang* and the beginning of that of *Chŏngmyŏng* should be eliminated or replaced by another pitch, since a piece of music theoretically begins and ends with the tonic pitch, in particular the *hwangjong* 黃鍾.²³

The conversations on the banquet music and the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine between Sŏ Myŏngŭng and the king suggests he had paid special attention to the music. Even though it is uncertain whether he played any musical instruments, Sŏ brought the subject of music, in particular the instrumental parts that had been neglected by most of his contemporaries, to the attention of the king.

The Bestowment of a Posthumous Title on Pak Yŏn (1767)

Since the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* gives, and indeed, as we shall see in the next section, repeats, a substantial number of materials written by Pak Yŏn 朴堧 (1378–1458),²⁴ it is necessary to look into how he was regarded at the time. In imperial China a

²² *Daily Records* 70.234 (1765/12/9).

²³ *Daily Records* 70.236–7 (1765/12/10).

²⁴ For information on Pak Yŏn, see Provine, “Investigating a Musical Biography in Korea,” 1–15.

posthumous title “is granted to an emperor or a minister after his death and chosen according to how the respective person performed during his lifetime.”²⁵ The bestowment of such a title on Pak Yŏn took place in 1767, three hundred and ten years after his death. The request for a posthumous title was initiated by a letter sent to the State Councilor by Pak Saryang 朴師良 (?-?) in 1765,²⁶ claiming himself a descendant of Pak Yŏn, resided in Yŏngdong 永同 county of Ch’ungch’ŏng 忠淸 province about two hundred kilometers from the capital. The entire process, from sending the request letter to the court to sending the officer to the county where Pak Yŏn’s shrine was (and is) located, took nearly five years to complete.²⁷ It should be noted that Sŏ Myŏngsŏn, Sŏ Myŏnggŭng’s younger brother, was one of the officers responsible for suggesting the possible posthumous titles,²⁸ which are in two Chinese characters that reflects one’s contributions and character.

It seems that there was not much information on Pak Yŏn, before the bestowment of the title, known to the circle of intellectuals in the capital,²⁹ and he might not have been as famous before the bestowment in the eighteenth century as has been assumed,³⁰

²⁵ Ulrich Theobald, “Names of Persons and Titles of Rulers.”

<http://www.chinaknowledge.de/History/Terms/titles.html>, last accessed on Apr 16, 2016. See also Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, 103.

²⁶ This letter is included in a later edition of collected works of Pak Yŏn. See Pak Changha 朴壯夏, comp., *Nan’gye sŏnsaeng munjip*, 40b–41b.

²⁷ For the entire process, see *Nan’gye sŏnsaeng munjip*, 40b–44b.

²⁸ See *Nan’gye sŏnsaeng munjip*, 42a, and *Daily Records* 71.297 (1767/11/2).

²⁹ In an entry that records a royal lecture on the reading of *Kukcho pogam* on Sejong (in particular *kwŏn* 6.14b–15b) given in the *Daily Records* of 1733, Yŏngjo, after hearing the relevant section on Pak Yŏn, asked the question of “who is Pak Yŏn? Are there any descendants of him?” The Participant (Ch’amch’an’gwan 參贊官) of the Office of the Royal Lectures replied that he did not know much about him. *Daily Records* vol. 42, 889 (1733/12/3).

³⁰ In an introductory article to the compilation process of “Akko,” Song Chiwŏn assumes that Sŏ Myŏnggŭng had consulted “every existing material at the time, especially...*Nan’gye yugo* [Collected writings of Pak Yŏn].” Song Chiwŏn, “18 segi Chosŏn ūmak chisik chipsŏng ūi pangsik, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* “Akko” rŭl chungsimŭro” 18 세기 조선 음악지식 集成의 방식, 東國文獻備考 樂考를 중심으로 (A Compilation Method for Knowledge about 18th Century Chosŏn Music), *Han’guk munhwa* 한국문화 57

even though there were known sources of information about such historical figures at the time.³¹ One of the official steps for the bestowment of a posthumous title in Chosŏn, similar to China, demands an “official biography” or “account of conduct of the object” (*sijang* 諡狀),³² and for Pak Yŏn’s case, it was written by Hong Kyehŭi 洪啓禧, who employed *aak* in his banquet mentioned above.³³ The *sijang* for Pak Yŏn, based on textual comparison, seemingly repeats the information from the known sources at the time (i.e., the official *Kukcho pogam* and the unofficial *Pirwŏn chapki*), especially on Pak Yŏn’s musical talent and his contribution to Chosŏn court ceremonial music. Such repetition of materials at the time testified to Pak Yŏn’s contribution and confirmed his authoritative role in the history of the creation of Chosŏn court ceremonial music during the reign of Sejong.

The Compilation of “Akko” of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* (1770)

When Sŏ Myŏngŭng was designated as chief compiler of the “Akko” in 1770, he was visiting Beijing, the capital of Qing China, as an envoy. After he returned, he had a chance to visit the royal repository to investigate the *Veritable Records*, and both the *Veritable Records* and the *Daily Records* say this visit was to investigate the history of

(2012), 144. If *Nan’gye yugo*, in which Pak Yŏn’s memorial on his theory on court ceremonial music is given, was available at the time, it might seem to be clumsy that, as mentioned later, Sŏ Myŏngŭng reported his findings on Pak Yŏn to the king right after his return from the Royal repository.

³¹ Such as *Kukcho pogam* and Sŏ Kŏjŏng’s 徐居正 (1420–1488) *P’irwŏn chapki* 筆苑雜記 [Random notes on the circle of intellectuals] (1486). I consulted the copy held by National Library of Korea (Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan 國立中央圖書館), 古 2150–6 (1642), with a colophon written by Sŏ Chŏngni, Sŏ Myŏngŭng great-grandfather, when it was re-printed. The description of Pak Yŏn’s musical talent in this document is repeated in a conversation between Yŏngjo and one of his ministers in 1750. *Yŏngjo sillok* 71.2b, (1750/1/9).

³² See Wilkinson, *Chinese History: A Manual*, 122.

³³ The *sijang* for Pak Yŏn is given in various editions of his collected writings. See n. 19.

solar and lunar eclipses in Chosŏn.³⁴ However, Sŏ took the opportunity to copy substantial materials on music from the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, in particular the sections on Pak Yŏn's theories on court ceremonial music, and later included them in "Investigation of Music." A detailed investigation of the process and content of the compilation of "Investigation of Music" of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* is main topic of Chapter Six Below.

The reasons why Sŏ Myŏngŭng came up with the idea of investigating the history of court ceremonial music in the *Veritable Records of Sejong* could be multifold. The *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, compiled after his death, says that at the time he "was puzzled by the question of why *aak* is applied to the sacrificial rite at different shrines except the Royal Ancestral Shrine, which employs *sogak*."³⁵ The bestowment of a posthumous title for Pak Yŏn mentioned above might have played a significant role in the process.

Conclusions

In this chapter I have constructed a musical biography of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, in particular dealing with his involvement in the discussions and textual production on court ceremonial music. While I observed that there was a strong emphasis on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and familial influences might have been an important reason, the question of why Sŏ Myŏngŭng was so fond of writing, including but not limited to texts about music, even before he started to serve the court, demands

³⁴ *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* 114.18a (1770/4/19), and *Daily Records* vol. 72, 921 (1770/4/18).

³⁵ See *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, *kwŏn* 3 (1770/5).

further research and additional evidence, so as to explain the development of such an individual character.

Sŏ Myŏngŭng had learned much from his father on the affairs of the court, and the fact that he made an effort to re-articulate the political ideals of his father. This is shown by the memorial by which he had the opportunity to express his thoughts, in particular on how the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine should be reformed (proposing one stanza of hymn text for each past reign) when he served the king as the Fourth Censor in the Office of the Censor-General, a low-ranking but politically influential position. As time went on the king had shown no intention of changing his decision made in the 1743 reform (demonstrated by the compilation of *Hymn Texts for National Rites* in 1765). Perhaps Sŏ Myŏngŭng might have compromised; instead of promoting another reform, by settling for refinement of the result of the 1743 reform with which he did not agree, while demonstrating his knowledge of technical aspects in music. Between being filial to his father by insisting on his father's ideals and respecting the king's authority by following his decision in the 1743 reform, he chose the latter.

In an environment of imperfect and incomplete historical information, information in authoritative documents contradictory to the present political situation could be deemed a potentially powerful threat to the king's authority. The assignment to visit the Royal Repository and access the fifteenth-century *Veritable Records* in 1770 was a sign of trust expressed by the king. As we shall see in the next chapter, Sŏ Myŏngŭng chose to disclose the information he obtained during the visit, revealing the king's faulty decision that was based on an incorrect interpretation of the musical past in 1743.

CHAPTER SIX: THE “AKKO” OF *TONGGUK MUNHŎN PIGO*

Tongguk Munhŏn pigo was the result of a collective effort by literati officials during the reign of Yŏngjo (r. 1724–76). Stemming from a project focusing on the boundaries and geography of the country,¹ it turned out to be the first systematic investigation of matters related to the governance of the country, divided into thirteen topics covering such subjects as the history and the development of astronomy, geography, rites, music, military matters, and economics. Modelled upon an earlier Chinese encyclopedic work compiled during Song China, Ma Duanlin’s 馬端臨 *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Investigation of Documents and Traditions) (ca. 1324?),² which had been one of the most consulted and respected reference sources in

¹ See Appendix Six: Translation of Yŏngjo’s Preface to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

² See the preface by king Yŏngjo to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*. For a detailed description of these and some other editions, see Liu Zhaoyou 劉兆祐, “*Wenxian tongkao* banbenkao 文獻通考版本考” (“A Bibliographical Study on the Various Versions of *Wenxian Tongkao*,”) *Guojia Tushuguan guankan* 國家圖書館館刊 (*National Central Library Bulletin*) no. 2 (2005): 155–71. Liu also, after comparing various sources of information, dates the work at 1324, which I adhere to. For a general comparison of these editions, see also Lee Tsong-han, “Dongtai de zhidushi - *Wenxian tongkao* zhi shixue fangfa 動態的制度史-文獻通考之史學方法” (“A Dynamic Institutional History: A Study of the Historical Method of *Wenxian tongkao*,”) *Taida lishi xuebo* 臺大歷史學報 (*Historical Inquiry*) 46 (December 2010): 4–5.

The copy close at hand to the eighteenth-century Koreans seems to have been a copy of Chinese edition published between 1524 and 1747, characterized by a preface prepared by Shizong 世宗 (an emperor of Ming China, r. 1522–1566) mentioned in Yŏngjo’s preface, as that preface was removed in the 1748 edition (see Lee, “Dongtai de zhidushi,” 4). After the *Wenxian tongkao* entered Korea (according to Provine, “Korea received a copy of the *Wenxian tongkao* from the Chinese emperor Hui-di 惠帝 (r. 1398–1402) in early 1402”; see his *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 95–6), this work seems to have been re-printed locally, as shown by some volumes, said to have been published during the reign of Sŏngjong (r. 1469–1494), currently held by Kyujanggak library of Seoul National University (가람古貴 340.0952–M11–v.143/144) and National Library of Korea (일산貴 032–35, 일산貴 032–36) (electronic images of these volumes are available). An annotated catalogue by Sŏ Myŏngŭng (ordered to compile in 1781) of the Chinese books engraved in China and held in the Royal library in the palace (*Kyujanggak ch’ongmok* 奎章總目 [Catalogue of Kyujanggak], see Fang Chaoying, *The Asami Library, A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 204), shows that two sets of *Wenxian tongkao* (one consisting of 88 volumes and the other of 100 volumes) were held at Kyujanggak at the time. The local reprints, according to another bibliographic work, *Sŏgo sŏmok* 西庫書目 [List of holdings in West Library] (1792?, Zhang Bo-wei 張伯偉 discusses this work, see his *Chaoxian shidai shumu congan* 朝鮮時代書目叢刊, vol. 2 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 2004), 603–5) seemingly were not part of the royal collection. An apparently Korean printing is digitized and made available at the Digital Archive of National Archives of Japan (国立公文書館), 294-0006. http://www.digital.archives.go.jp/index_e.html, last accessed on Jan 2, 2016. The edition that I consulted mainly in this research is an 1747 edition included in

the Chosŏn dynasty,³ the Korean project was finished within ten months, resulting in 100 *kwŏn*, subsequently receiving three expansions and revisions in the remaining years of the Chosŏn dynasty.

As one of the thirteen topical sections of an official encyclopedic work, the “Akko” 樂考 (“Investigation of Music”) provides information that is related to court ceremonial music, and it attempts to provide a historical narrative on various genres, with intermittent commentaries by the section’s primary compiler, Sŏ Myŏngŭng.⁴ Though it covers a long period of approximately two millennia (from the period of the legendary Kija Chosŏn 箕子朝鮮 to 1760),⁵ the informational focus is mainly on court ceremonial music of the Chosŏn dynasty. Given that music, in Confucianism, is a symbolic expression of virtue and is correlated to the moral standards of one’s rule (see Chapter Two), the purpose of the “Akko,” as suggested in its preface, is to highlight the superiority of music created by the contemporary regime (the Yi family) compared to that of previous dynasties, in particular that of the Koryŏ.⁶

However, it is not merely an officially-commissioned encyclopedic reference work, even though the goal of the work is to provide a reference for future governance and an authoritative explanation of various issues. Individual agency is observed, as sectional editors could provide their own comments and recommendations on those

Siku quanshu huiyao 四庫全書薈要, which is easily available on the internet and fulfills its purpose here, i.e., for folio count and comparison of content with *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

³ Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 95–6.

⁴ A detailed description of the compilation process of “Akko,” based on other contemporary sources, is given in Appendix Four.

⁵ See *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 50.1a and 41.17a. According to some Chinese classics, Kija was a descendant of a minister of the (Chinese) Shang 商 dynasty (17th century B.C.E.–11th century B.C.E.), who was regarded by many eighteenth-century Chosŏn intellectuals to have brought Chinese civilization into Korea. According to Ki-baik Lee, the Kija legend is refuted by a number of considerations; see his *A New History of Korea*, 13–16.

⁶ See Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s preface to “Akko,” *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 39.1a–2a.

topics that remained unsettled in the policy at the time. In a description of the earliest surviving Korean historical document that includes information on music, Robert Provine suggests that such documents reflect “Chinese Confucian scholarly methods,” and that such Confucian methods are characterized by “respect for and interest in past achievements, expressed by frequent and extended quotations from earlier writings considered to be authoritative, combined with newer interpretive insights in the form of commentaries.”⁷ In another article he further scrutinizes such methods with an example of a fifteenth-century source, the *Guide to the Study of Music* (*Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範) (1493), arguing that the compilation team demonstrated “a remarkable independence and creativity of thought, while maintaining an air of Confucian respect toward Chinese precedent and demonstrating a careful, if selective, scholarly apparatus.”⁸ Such observations on Korean historical documents seem to be outside the concern of modern scholars, because when they read “Akko,” they seldom evaluate its significance from the perspective of the lived experience of its main compiler Sŏ Myŏngŭng; within that context is the process by which Sŏ Myŏngŭng obtained his information (i.e., the visit to the Royal Repository, as mentioned in the previous chapter), where fifteenth-century veritable records were stored. Above all, in this chapter I argue that even though extended quotations from earlier works are given in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, they are edited and rephrased to fit into the particular historical narrative that the editor intended to make, which was contradictory to the intended purpose of “Akko” mentioned above.

⁷ Robert Provine, “Korea,” in *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*, ed. Helen Myers (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 364.

⁸ Robert Provine, “Patterns of Compilation: Thoughts on Chapter 6 of the *Akhak kwebŏm*,” *Han’guk ūmaksa hakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 11 (1993): 519. He also argues that modern translation of quoted passages of earlier Chinese writings should focus on how fifteenth-century Koreans understood the Chinese precedents rather than the original meaning of such passages. *Ibid.*, 519.

In the following sections, I will first look into the organization and format of “Akko” and, particularly, the information related to the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. After a brief introduction to the organization of the work, I look into the content of the information, commentaries made along with the information, and the process of how sources were edited and manipulated, thereby attempting to understand how Sŏ Myŏngŭng understood the fifteenth-century Korean sources and why he made his statements about the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine at the time, so as to highlight the inappropriateness of the music at the time from inside the apparent organization of the work.

The Organization and Format of “Akko”

As already mentioned, the organization of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* is modeled on an earlier Chinese encyclopedia, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1259–?). However, we can see that Sŏ Myŏngŭng did not merely imitate the structure of the music section of the Chinese work (which itself largely consists of quotations from earlier writings); he also made changes to the organization so that it would better fit Korean circumstances, after comparing the organization of Ma’s musical section with what was required for the Korean context. Below is a brief description of the contents of the sections on music in *Wenxian tongkao*,⁹

Chapter 128–130: A chronological account of musical events in the court [a total of 98 folios,¹⁰ the chapters containing 34, 37, and 27 folios respectively]

Chapter 131: A chronological account of the constructing of pitch pipes [54 folios]

Chapter 132: An entire section on determining the pitches of bells, taken from Zhu Xi’s *A General*

⁹ The description is taken, slightly paraphrased, from Rulan Chao Pian, *Song Dynasty Musical Sources and Their Interpretation* (reprint edition, Hong Kong: The Chinese University Press, 2003), 18.

¹⁰ A typically folio in the 1747 edition contains 16 columns (*hang* 行) and 21 normal-type characters (or 42 half-sized type).

Survey of Ritual (Yili jingzhuan tongjie 儀禮經傳通解) [1217–1222] [35 folios]
 Chapter 133: A chronological account of attempts at obtaining standards of measurement [26 folios]
 Chapter 134–139: A comprehensive list of musical instruments arranged by the eight traditional categories of materials plus one supplementary group, each of which is subdivided into three sections: ceremonial, foreign, and popular musical instruments [a total of 192 folios, the chapters containing 44, 21, 27, 44, 42, and 14 folios respectively]
 Chapter 140: Seating arrangements for the various types of ensembles [35 folios]
 Chapter 141–143: Vocal music for ceremonial and entertainment [a total of 98 folios, the chapter containing 26, 44, and 28 folios respectively]
 Chapter 144–145: Ceremonial dances [a total of 69 folios, the chapters containing 34 and 35 folios respectively]
 Chapter 146: Music and dances of foreign origin for entertainment [26 folios]
 Chapter 147: Miscellaneous entertainment [28 folios]
 Chapter 148: Music of the border areas and music for the conclusion of certain ceremonies (37 folios).

Below is the table of contents of “Akko” given near the beginning of the *Tongguk*

Munhŏn pigo:

Chapter 39: “Creation of the system of pitches” (*Yullyŏ chejo* 律呂制造), “Watching for the Ethers [to Determine Pitches]” (*Hugi* 候氣),¹¹ and “Measurement of Length, Volume and Weight” (*Toryanghyŏng* 度量衡) (a total of 53 folios, the topics having 46, 2, and 5 folios¹² respectively)
 Chapter 40–41: “Historical Music Systems” (*Yŏktae akche* 歷代樂制) (a total of 54 folios, 37 + 17 folios)
 Chapter 42: “Musical Instruments” (*Akki* 樂器) (50 folios)
 Chapter 43: “Ensembles” (*Akhyŏn* 樂懸) (19 folios)
 Chapter 44: “Vocal Music: Royal Ancestral Shrine” (*Akka: Chongmyo* 樂歌 宗廟) (37 folios)¹³
 Chapter 45: “Vocal Music: Various Rites, Ancestral Shrine inside the Palace, Various Historical Kings” (*Akka: Wŏnmyo and Yŏlcho* 樂歌 原廟 列朝)¹⁴ (17 folios)
 Chapter 46: “Vocal Music: Royal Audiences, Royal banquets” (*Akka: Chohoe, Yŏnhyang* 樂歌 朝會 宴饗) (27 folios)
 Chapter 47: “Vocal Music: Eulogistic Posthumous Titles” (*Akka: Chonho* 樂歌 尊號) (11 folios)
 Chapter 48: “Vocal Music: Chinese Music, Indigenous Music” (*Akka: Tangak, Hyangak* 樂歌 唐樂 鄉樂) (17 folios)
 Chapter 49: “Dance” (*Angmu* 樂舞), “Costumes” (*Akpok* 樂服), “Appendix: Costumes of Musicians in Sacrificial Rites” (*Pu Agin Chebok* 附樂人祭服), “Musicians” (*Agin* 樂人) (a total of 18 folios, approximately 6 + 4 + 8 folios respectively)
 Chapter 50: “Non-ritual¹⁵ Music” (*Sokpuak* 俗部樂), “Folk music” (*Sanak* 散樂) (a total of 45 folios, each topic has approximately 39 + 6 folios)

¹¹ The translation of *hugi* is adopted from Derk Bodde, “The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as Watching for the Ethers,” in his *Essays on Chinese Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 351–72, in which Bodde explains the mechanism of the experiment and its perception in past China.

¹² A typically folio in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* contains 16 columns (*hang* 行) with 21 normal-types characters (or 42 in half-sized type).

¹³ Though the content under the topic “*Akka*” is mainly on the set of hymn texts and its related records, I adhere to the translation of “vocal music” so as to distinguish the term *akchang*.

¹⁴ According to Provine, in the Wŏnmyo “another set of sacrificial rites was held for royal ancestors” and “these ceremonies were more spiritually Korean than those in the Royal Ancestral Shrine.” See his “State Sacrificial Rites and Ritual Music in Early Chosŏn,” in *Kugagwŏn nonmunjip* 國樂院論文集 (Journal of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) 1 (Seoul: KNKAW, 1989), 248.

¹⁵ The word “ritual” is limited to the music of the sacrificial rites.

There are many similarities between the two encyclopedic works, reflecting certain Chinese influences on Korean conceptions of music within intellectual circles. For example, both works display strong emphasis on the method by which the fundamental pitch *hwangjong* 黃鍾 is created; the correlation of pitches with phenomena such as astronomical matters, seasons, and consequently the calendar; the correlation of the resulting *hwangjong* pitch pipe with national standards of measurement; the classification of instruments based on their materials; and a broad concept of music that incorporates literature, musical sounds, dance, and so forth.

There are, however, also differences between the two works reflected in the way that the content is organized and categorized. Given that one goal in the Korean work is to highlight the superiority of music created by the current regime and the absence of music theories in the periods before Chosŏn, Sŏ Myŏngŭng rearranged the order of certain topics, such as “The Creation of Pitches,” which now comes first (Chapter 39 of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*) instead of second (Chapter 131 of *Wenxian tongkao*).¹⁷ The length of certain topics, as reflected by their number of folios, probably reflects what

¹⁶ Sŏ added topics that were not included in *Wenxian tongkao*, such as “Musicians” (Chapter 49) and “Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People” (Chapter 51). While the inclusion of the former makes sense, the inclusion of a dictum on the writing system (the Korean alphabet) promulgated in the fifteenth century seems to be farfetched, though at the end of the chapter Sŏ Myŏngŭng gives his rationalization.

¹⁷ One of the most salient influences is on the conception of music, reflected by correlations and the experiment of testing the pitches by “watching for the ethers” (*hugi* 候氣). The principles and the operation of the experiment are described in Derk Bodde, “The Chinese Cosmic Magic Known as Watching for the Ethers,” in his *Essays on Chinese Civilization* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 351–5. A lesson to be learned on how Sŏ Myŏngŭng treated Korean sources, instead of judging the trueness of the content of the record, lies in how Sŏ attempts to rationalize the successful experiment “watching the ether” recorded in sources. Such an attempt resonates with the way that Confucian classics were rationalized. The sources enjoyed more authority in the eighteenth century than in modern times, and in the case of “Watching the Ethers,” the authority of sources was based on the nostalgic mindset of scholars rather than its practicality.

was regarded as important by the compiler. In this sense, the chapters on “Vocal Music” obviously outweigh other chapters proportionally, for there are five chapters (Chapter 44 to 48, 109 folios in total) on that topic out of thirteen chapters (337 folios in total,) occupying almost one-third of the work. In *Wenxian tongkao*, by contrast, there are only three chapters (Chapter 141 to 143, 98 folios in total) on vocal music out of twenty-one chapters (700 folios in total).

Furthermore, instead of dynastic order, the “Vocal Music” chapters are divided according to the performance context of various kinds of court ceremonial music. In particular, Sō has made the “Vocal Music for the Sacrificial Rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine” an independent chapter, preceding “Vocal Music for Various Rites, Ancestral Shrine inside the Palace, and Various Historical Kings,” emphasizing the primacy of that music among the several types of music for the various sacrificial rites at numerous shrines, at least in the compiler’s opinion.

The textual indentation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, including the section of “Akko” and other topical sections as well, is unique and consistent. Unlike many other official documents produced in the Chosŏn dynasty, in which the main text is usually indented from the top of the page (since Chinese text, including half-size type for comments, is read from top to bottom and from right to left,) especially in the case of royal or imperial names (and except for the titles and sub-titles of different sections), *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* shows different levels of textual indentation of its content¹⁸ so as to distinguish

¹⁸ Given “the way of selection and organization of its content is similar to that of *Wenxian tongkao*” (see Yŏngjo’s preface given in Appendix Five,) such textual indentation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* may reflect how the textual indentation looks in *Wenxian tongkao*, at least that in the copy of that particular version available to the compilers at the time. It should be noted that the term *pŏmnye* 凡例 (Chinese: *fanli*) is employed in Yŏngjo’s preface, which, in its modern usage, means the part of forewords setting out

historical events recorded in official documents from the discourses by contemporaries recorded in private records. In “Akko,” there are four levels of textual indentation for its content: 1) the paragraphs beginning at and aligning with the top indicate chronological entries or major subjects; in many cases they are followed by 2) paragraphs with an indentation level of one character-space from the top, indicating supplementary information on the chronological entries or major subjects. The information at these two indentation levels seems to be drawn from official documents (such as *Veritable Records* and *Guide to the Study of Music*). In some cases there are individuals’ explanations of and opinions on the entry or the subject, and those are put into 3) paragraphs at an indentation level of two characters from the top; these passages, usefully, are always attributed to a named person. Finally, 4) the paragraphs with indentation level of three characters from the top indicate Sō Myōngŭng’s own commentaries. Adhering to these rules for textual indentation, there is no special treatment for royal or imperial names, or for comments in half-size type. In the following sections, I will discuss how Sō Myōngŭng constructs his discourse under the

principles of edition and selection, etc. The *fanli* of *Wenxian tongkao* perceived by the eighteenth-century Koreans seems to be included in Ma Duanlin’s preface to the work, as a separate “*fanli*” section is absent in various surviving editions of *Wenxian tongkao*. In Ma’s preface, he defines the word *wen* and *xian* in the title: *wen* refers to “official records” (*dianxi* 典籍), such as “classics and historical writings” (*jingshi* 經史), “collections of important documents” (*huiyao* 會要), and “letters” (*shuxin* 書信) in “biographical works” (*zhuangji* 傳記), upon which, with proof of evidence, he narrates the historical events; “*xian*” refers to “[writings by] scholars” (*xian* 賢), such as “memorials” (*zoushu* 奏疏), “commentaries” (*pinglun* 評論), and “private historical writings” (*yantan* 燕談 and *baiguan* 稗官), upon which he provides the discourse on narratives of historical events. Together with his commentaries on questionable records, this is what the title *Wenxian tongkao* means. See *Wenxian tongkao*, “Preface,” 3b–4b. The indentation of *Wenxian tongkao* more or less reflects such characteristics of the work, and certain Chinese scholars have made the same observation. See Fang Baozhang 方寶璋 and Zheng Junhui 鄭俊暉, *Zhongguo yinyue wenxianxue* 中國音樂文獻學 [The Study of Chinese music bibliography] (Fujian: Fujian jiaoyu chubanshe 福建教育出版社, 2006), 184–5. In recent years, Ma’s commentaries have drawn scholars’ attention, as they help in revealing Ma’s unique historiography. See Zhang Yuan 張元, “Ma Duanlin shilun de jiegou fenxi 馬端臨史論的結構分析,” in *Deng Guangming jiaoshou bainian danchen jinian wenji* 鄧廣銘教授百年誕辰紀念論文集 [Essays in memorial of the hundredth birthday of Professor Deng Guangming] (Beijing 北京: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 [Zhong Hua Book Company], 2008), 90–103.

apparent organization of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* by employing commentaries.

Information on the Music for the Sacrificial Rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine

The “Akko” not only gives information on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, but also on many other types of court ceremonial music. Maintaining a topical organization similar to that of the *Wenxian tongkao*, information on the *music* per se, as distinct from the hymn texts, for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in “Akko” is scattered in different sections and presented along with information for other court ceremonial music.

However, by making cross-references to the information in other chapters, Sŏ Myŏngŭng produces in his commentaries a cohesive narrative on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine under the apparent organization. In total, there are twenty-one of his personal commentaries in “Akko,” as listed in the chart below:

No.	Chapter and folios	Summary
1	39.5a–6a	Explains why the length of pitch pipes suggested by Pak Yŏn (1378–1458) was different from the theory by Zhu Zaiyu 朱載堉 (?–1611)
2	39.22b–23a	Suggests that the heptatonic scale is more natural than pentatonic scale
3	39.48a–b	Attempts to explain why the experiments to determine pitches by watching for the ethers were successful in Korea, while saying there is no way to carry the investigation further
4	39.49b–50b	Explains the discrepancy in the length of the two measuring sticks (related to pitch standards) stored in the Music Bureau at the time.
5	40.8a–b	Highlights the inappropriateness of the music of the Koryŏ dynasty. Only the musical instruments fulfil the concept of properness (<i>a</i> 雅), and therefore are worthy of mention.

6	40.11a	Queries whether only Chinese music had been employed in the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the early part of the Chosŏn dynasty
7	40.19a–21a	Explains and acknowledges Pak Yŏn’s theory on the application of scales at different pitches
8	40.22a	Makes cross reference to the music set during the reign of Sejong in chapter 39
9	42.8a	Queries some information given in <i>Akhak kwebŏm</i>
10	42.18b	Laments the inappropriateness of music performed on <i>hyŏn’gŭm</i> 玄琴 (<i>kŏmun’go</i> 거문고) at the time
11	43.18a	Justifies the instruction in the music for the entrance and exit of the king at the palace given in <i>Kukcho oryeŭi</i>
12	44.36b–37b	Cites the veritable records and explains the misconception of the history of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the eighteenth century.
13	45.17a	Explains why military music is included in “Akko”
14	46.5a	Mentions the uncertainty about the authorship of the lyrics for banquet music
15	46.27a	Acknowledges the banquet music created during the reign of Sejong
16	48.16b	Gives the titles of two pieces of banquet music and explains why their lyrics are not given in <i>Tongguk Munhŏn pigo</i>
17	49.2b–3b	Acknowledges Pak Yŏn’s suggestion on dance steps and movements, in particular the idea of “nine perfections”
18	49.6b	Argues that the number of dancers in sacrificial rites should be judged by the worshipped objects, not by the subordinate position of Chosŏn king to Chinese emperor
19	50.12b–13a	Suggests the complaint about banquet music near the end of Koryŏ dynasty was an omen for the correct music of Chosŏn dynasty
20	50.34b	Argues that the two dance suites were created during the reign of Sejong
21	51.4b	Explains why the <i>Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People</i> is included in “Akko”

While these commentaries address a number of diverse issues and provide a useful source of information for understanding how Sŏ interpreted various issues related to Chosŏn court ceremonial music, only two commentaries are of particular concern for the current discussion: commentary numbers eight and twelve. These two commentaries aim to create a historical narrative on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal

Ancestral Shrine created during the reign of Sejong, and therefore clarify the stances (i.e., the misconception that the music had been implemented since the reign of Sejong) upon which the last rectification in 1743 (a reform of hymn texts and music) had been made, and therefore to highlight the inappropriateness of the music performed since that date.

While the eighth commentary, in chapter 40, is placed after a ritual program abridged from the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, commentary twelve is placed at the end of chapter 44, preceded by a subject entry on the 1743 reform. To reinforce his narrative, Sŏ Myŏngŭng includes corresponding information extracted from the *Veritable Records* during his visit to the book repository in Chŏngjoksan, information that had not been known among eighteenth-century Koreans, as was described in the previous chapter. In order to explore the distinctiveness of Sŏ Myŏngŭng's understanding of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine performed during the reign of Sejong, I will examine such information from several perspectives in the following sections: Pak Yŏn's memorials on musical key (chapter 40), the abridged version of the ritual program taken from *Five Rites* (chapter 40), one particular melody in the *Notations of Ritual Music* appended to the *Veritable Record of Sejong* (chapter 39), the illustrations of ensembles from the *Five Rites* (chapter 43), the history of the changes of music (chapter 41), and the history of the disputes on hymn texts (chapter 44).

Pak Yŏn's Memorials on Musical Key and Mode (Chapter 40)

To refute the eighteenth-century misconception of the origin of the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, Sŏ gives information on

Sejong's music and its technical details based on the information he collected at the royal book repository, though, if compared to the source of information (i.e., *Veritable Records of Sejong*), some of them are anachronistic.

According to an entry in chapter 39, in 1430 the *Notations of Ritual Music* (*Aak-po* 雅樂譜) was compiled, in which tunes for sacrificial rites at various shrines were recorded.¹⁹ Sŏ, in another entry in chapter 40, gives information on how such music, in question the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, was received after it was put into practice.²⁰ This entry, dated 1431, begins with Sejong's inspection of the musical instruments of *aak* for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, followed by a phrase, which apparently seems to be Sŏ Myŏngŭng's own addition, saying that the king, in response to a memorial re-submitted earlier by an office that summarized Pak Yŏn's suggestion,²¹ ordered employment of "the scheme of using particular modes and keys" (*hapsŏng* 合聲) for the music performed for the sacrificial rites at different shrines as suggested by Pak Yŏn, including that for the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

To provide further details, Sŏ includes four additional memorials by Pak Yŏn (with indentation of one character from the top, which as mentioned above indicates supplementary content in the entry).²² These memorials, in which preceding Chinese

¹⁹ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 39.6ab. Textual comparison suggests the information is drawn from *Veritable Records of Sejong* 47.18ab (1430/2/19). A tune from the *Aak-po* reproduced in the same chapter (39.12a) will be discussed below.

²⁰ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.11ab.

²¹ Textual comparison suggests this summary of memorials is taken from *Veritable Records of Sejong* 47.10b (1430/2/19).

²² *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.11b–12a, 40.12a–15a, 40.15a–18a, and 40.18a–19a. Textual comparison suggests, again, these memorials are taken from *Veritable Records of Sejong* 47.17ab (1430/2/19), 32.10a–12b (1426/4/25), 47.10b–12a (1430/2/19), and 92.2ab (1441/1/6) respectively. It should be noted that the last one dates 1441 in *Veritable Records of Sejong*, and in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* it is placed under 1430.

sources are mentioned, are on two topics: the number of renditions to be performed for the ritual procedure of “Welcoming the Spirits” and “Ushering Out the Spirits” in sacrificial rites,²³ and, for our current discussion, the specific musical keys of the music for the ritual procedures other than the above-mentioned two, to be performed by the alternating ensembles (i.e., the terrace ensemble and the courtyard ensemble).²⁴ To make the music appropriate, according to Pak Yŏn’s memorials, the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine needs to be performed in two keys, *muyŏk* 無射 (B^b) for the terrace ensemble and *hyŏpchong* 夾鍾 (E^b) for the courtyard ensemble. However, in one of the memorials Pak Yŏn reports that all music performed by both ensembles at the time of his writing is only in the key of *muyŏk*.²⁵

At the end of Pak Yŏn’s memorials, Sŏ Myŏngŭng inserted his own commentary (i.e., commentary number seven, with indentation level of three characters from the top) which explains and, with high regard, acknowledges Pak Yŏn’s theory on the application of scales at different pitches.

The Ritual Program Abbreviated from *Five Rites* (Chapter 40)

To give further details on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine created during the reign of Sejong, Sŏ Myŏngŭng gives supplementary information on the ritual program (with a lower indentation level of one character from

Provine examined and translated one of these memorials in his “Preliminary Translation of a Memorial by Pak Yŏn, on Music in Sacrificial Rites,” in *Articles on Asian Music: Festschrift for Dr. Chang Sa-hun* (Seoul: Korean Musicological Society, 1977), 325–337.

²³ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.17a–19a.

²⁴ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.12b, 40.13a, and 40.15ab.

²⁵ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.13a.

the top) right after the seventh commentary,²⁶ that relates to the entry in chapter 40 on Sejong's inspection in 1431 of the musical instruments of *aak* for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the same chapter mentioned above. Textual comparison suggests that Sō Myōngūng repeats the ritual program, in an abridged fashion, from the section of "Auspicious Rites" ("Killye" 吉禮, i.e., sacrificial rites) in *Five Rites (Orye ŭiju)* (1415) appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, especially on the titles of music.²⁷ A brief comparison between the excerpts from the two sources is given below:

Sejong sillok 130.4b: 禮儀使導殿下入自正門

Translation: The etiquette officer leads the king into [the shrine] via the main entrance.

"Akko" 40.21a: 殿下入 門

Translation: The king enters the gate.

Sejong sillok 130.4b: 協律郎跪俛伏 舉麾興 工鼓祝 軒架作承安之樂

Translation: The music coordinator bows and raises the banner (*hwi* 麾). The musician plays [the wooden instrument] *ch'uk* 祝 and the Courtyard Ensemble performs *Sūngan* 承安 [Obliged Peace].

"Akko" 40.21a: 軒架作承安之樂

Translation: The Courtyard Ensemble performs *Sūngan*.

Sejong sillok 130.4b: 殿下詣版位 西向立 協律郎偃麾戛敵 樂止...

Translation: The king proceeds to Position for the First Wine Offering officiant, stands and faces west. The music coordinator flattens the *hwi*, the musician plays *ō* 敵 [a wooden instrument with an appearance of a tiger], and music stops...

"Akko" 40.21a: 詣 位 樂止

Translation: [The king] proceeds to position. Music stops.

²⁶ *Tongguk Munhōn pigo* 40.21a–22a.

²⁷ This is shown by the use of music titles with the suffix "peace" (Korean: *an* 安). Furthermore, while all the music for the sacrificial rites during the reign of Sejong share more or less the same set of titles, the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine is characterized by a unique title *Kyōngan* 景安 (Luminous peace) for the "Welcoming the Spirits," provided in the *Five Rites* appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong* 130.5a (T'aebaeksan copy) and subsequently repeated in the abridged program in *Tongguk Munhōn pigo*. To the best of my knowledge, the *Five Rites*, before the republication of the ritual program in "Akko," is the only source in eighteenth-century Korea that gives exactly the same set of titles for the music performed for the sacrificial rites at Royal Ancestral Shrine. See also Robert Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 18–19.

Sejong sillok 130.4b: ...軒架作景安之樂 烈文之舞作 九成止...

Translation: ...Courtyard Ensemble performs *Kyōngan* 景安 (Luminous Peace), and the Civil Dance begins. [They] stop after nine renditions...

“Akko” 40.21a: 迎神 軒架作景安之樂 烈文之舞作 九成...

Translation: [For] Welcoming the Spirits, Courtyard Ensemble performs *Kyōngan*, and the Civil Dance begins, [in] nine renditions...

According to the eighth commentary that follows this abridged program, this program serves as a reference for “how the music coordinates with ritual procedures” (“*yongak chōlchu* 用樂節奏”) in the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (i.e., the music that was set during the reign of Sejong).²⁸

The Melody in the *Notations of Ritual Music* appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (Chapter 39)

Actual music, Sō Myōngūng realizes, is needed to support his historical narrative on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine performed during the reign of Sejong, so in the eighth commentary, he makes cross reference to a musical example in chapter 39 (see Fig VI-1)²⁹ extracted from *Notations of Ritual Music* (*Aak-po*), compiled during the reign of Sejong and appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (see Fig III-7).

This particular musical example is highly selective. Despite the fact that there are twelve tunes for sacrificial rites (*Hwangjong-gung il* 黃鍾宮一 being only one amongst

²⁸ The presentation of such an abridged program is anachronistic, as the section of “Auspicious Rites” in *Five Rites* was compiled in 1415, before reform of *aak* took place. See Provine *Essays on Sino Korean Musicology*, 34–6. Also, Sō does not seem to realize that an entry in another topical section “Yego” (“Investigation of Rites”) says in 1415 a ritual program for the Royal Ancestral Shrine was submitted to the T’aejong, which seems to be referring to that in *Five Rites*. See *Tongguk Munhōn pigo* 25.7ab.

²⁹ *Tongguk Munhōn pigo* 39.6a–13a. In addition to this particular tune from *Aak-po*, some other *aak* tunes for sacrificial rites are also given in 39.29b–30b and 39.34a–36a, and they seem to be taken from the *Guide to the Study of Music* 1.22b–23a and 2.15a–16b respectively.

<p>文獻備考 卷三十九 十二</p>											
黃鐘宮十一	○	出林	餘十一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	黃鐘宮十	○	出林	餘十
黃鐘宮九	○	出林	餘九	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	黃鐘宮八	○	出林	餘八
黃鐘宮七	○	出林	餘七	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	黃鐘宮六	○	出林	餘六
黃鐘宮五	○	出林	餘五	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	黃鐘宮四	○	出林	餘四
黃鐘宮三	○	出林	餘三	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	黃鐘宮二	○	出林	餘二
黃鐘宮一	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	祭祀	○	出林	餘一
大呂宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	林鐘宮	○	出林	餘一
太簇宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	夷則宮	○	出林	餘一
夾鐘宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	南呂宮	○	出林	餘一
姑洗宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
仲呂宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	應鐘宮	○	出林	餘一
蕤賓宮	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮十二	○	出林	餘十二	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮十一	○	出林	餘十一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮十	○	出林	餘十	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮九	○	出林	餘九	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮八	○	出林	餘八	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮七	○	出林	餘七	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮六	○	出林	餘六	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮五	○	出林	餘五	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮四	○	出林	餘四	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮三	○	出林	餘三	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮二	○	出林	餘二	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一
黃鐘宮一	○	出林	餘一	大成	樂譜	依此	而演	無射宮	○	出林	餘一

Plate VI-1: The reproduction of *Hwangjong-gung il* in the key *muyŏk* 無射 in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 39.12a

them), all in the fa mode with eleven other possible transpositions (such as *taeryŏ* 大呂 and *t'aeju* 太簇 in Plate III-7, equivalent to the keys of C[#] and D respectively) due to the orthodoxy laid down by the Chinese sources, only a single specific transposition (i.e., *muyŏk* 無射, Bb) of the first tune from *Aak-po* is reproduced (a transnotation of this particular transposition is given in Figure III-2), and for the remainder of the tunes no more than their names are listed, such as *Hwangjong-gung i* 黃鍾宮二 and *Hwangjong-gung sam* 黃鍾宮三 (see Plate VI-1). Though the reason for the selection of this particular tune is uncertain,³⁰ however, the key of this musical example resonates with

³⁰ It should be noted that a notation of this particular tune can also be found in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 39.35b, which is seemingly copied from the *Guide to the Study of Music* 2.16a. In the *Guide to the Study of Music*, it is said that this particular tune is still “being performed currently” (“*siyong* 時用,” i.e., 1493,

Pak Yŏn's report on music in one of his memorials in Chapter 40 that all music performed by both ensembles for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine at the time is only in the key of *muyŏk*.

The Illustrations of the Ensemble from *Five Rites* (Chapter 43)

There are four illustrations of the instruments and their positions in chapter 43,³¹ which is about the changes to the instrumentation of court ceremonial music ensembles. Two of them relate to banquet music, stating that they are drawn from the *Guide to the Study of Music* (*Akhak kwebŏm*) (1493),³² and the captions of the illustrations of the banquet music ensembles in the *Guide to the Study of Music* indicate that the illustrations depict the situation in the Sejong period. The other two are presented without giving their source, but textual comparison suggests that they are drawn from the *Five Rites* appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (see Fig VI-2 and VI-3).³³ All of these illustrations are graphic supplements to entries on the discussions that happened inside the court on the instrumentation of both ensembles, mainly during 1430 and 1434, because they are preceded by these entries.

Again, the two illustrations of ensembles at Chongmyo are also selective so as to highlight the musical scenes in Chongmyo during the reign of Sejong, though they are

see 2.15a). Sŏ Myŏngŭng might have been aware of this and realized that this melody might be the one that was performed before Sejo's reform, and therefore he selected it.

³¹ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 43.10b–12a.

³² *Akhak kwebŏm* 2.3b–4a.

³³ *Veritable Records of Sejong* 128.24b–25a. It should be noted that the comparison is based on the T'aebaeksan copy, as chapter 128 of *Sejong sillok* of the Chŏngjoksan copy that Sŏ Myŏngŭng actually consulted in 1770 has been damaged. Also, Sŏ Myŏngŭng may not have realized that these illustrations were created during the reign of T'aejong, as that part of the *Five Rites* was compiled in 1415. See note 28 above. It seems that Sŏ is reluctant to disclose the source of information, as he uses the term "official documents" (*poch'ŏp* 寶牒) instead of *sillok* (or indirectly mentioned repository in 44.37a), possibly due to the restriction of access to *sillok*.

六笙和各一第四行龍管二唐笛四洞簫二第五行杖鼓八第六行教坊鼓一右唐樂內在前牙箏大筚篥各一今各加一命下禮曹

二十九年議政府啓輝德殿攝行祭堂上樂第一行笙牙錚方響大錚和第三行歌工六人第三行唐琵琶洞簫唐感篳管唐笛唐琵琶第四行杖鼓教坊鼓各二堂下第一行鄉琵琶玄琴方響伽倻琴鄉琵琶第二行鄉感篳歌工二大琴二歌工二嵇琴第三行杖鼓一教坊鼓二第四行唐琵琶唐笛官方響唐感篳洞簫唐琵琶第五行杖鼓五從之

文獻備考
卷四十三
十

雅樂軒架見寶牒雅樂譜○宗廟風雲雷甫先農先蠶考祀文宣王同

三方各設編鐘三編磬三東方編鐘起北編磬間之東向西方編磬起北編鐘間之西向北方編磬起東編鐘間之北向設路鼓三在北架之北當中一在東北隅一在西北隅唯風雨設雷鼓三先農設土鼓三設祝敔於北架內祝在東敔在西管十在祝敔之南爲一行次籥十爲一行次和三笙七爲一行唯風雲雷雨和十爲一行次竿次蕭次遂次虎次缶次壎各十各爲一行俱北向

Plate VI-2: Instrumentation of courtyard ensemble, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 43.10b

[illegible]

Plate VI- 3: Instrumentation of terrace ensemble, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 43.11a

not mentioned in any Sŏ Myŏngŭng's commentaries. While the *Veritable Records of Sejong* also gives illustrations of both terrace and courtyard ensembles for other spirits, e.g., Sajik 社稷 (Altar of Land and Grain), Sŏ Myŏngŭng selects those for the Royal Ancestral Shrine and the shrines for certain other spirits. Also, even though illustrations of both ensembles that perform the two suites (i.e., *Chŏngdaeŏp* and *Pot'aep'yŏng*) are available in *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation*,³⁴ in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* only the textual description of the instrumentation is repeated.

The History of the Changes of Music (Chapter 41)

Merely providing information on the music during the reign of Sejong is not sufficient to highlight the inappropriateness of the music performed at the time when Sŏ Myŏngŭng was working and compiling the "Investigation of Music." To achieve this, it must be revealed that the music performed at the time of the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* was not the product created during the reign of Sejong, but rather that of Sejo, in particular the two dance-suites for the three Wine Offerings.

Since the history of those changes to the music has already been introduced in Chapter 3 above, here I only give a general description on that information shown in the "Investigation of Music." The first three folios of chapter 41 give the information regarding the change of music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine after Sejong's creation of the music, and they can be summarized in three parts: the first part begins with Sejo's expression of appreciation for the two dance suites created by his father, Sejong, for royal banquets, followed by a description of subsequent preparation

³⁴ The textual description is in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 43.14a–15a, and the illustration for the terrace and courtyard ensembles in *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation (Kukcho orye sŏrye)* 1.104b–6b.

for the change;³⁵ the second part describes the way that the new music, an altered version of the two dance suites, was applied in the various ritual procedures in the sacrificial rite;³⁶ the third part shows how the new music was received near the end of the fifteenth century.³⁷ Such change of music during the reign of Sejo is mentioned in commentary twelve at the end of chapter 44 without cross reference to this chapter.

The History of the Disputes on the Hymn Texts (Chapter 44)

Sŏ Myŏngŭng completes his statements about the music performed for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine by expressing in commentary twelve (a translation of which is given in Appendix Six) his opinions on the inappropriateness of the music performed at the time. That commentary is preceded by the entries on the disputes on hymn text in chapter 44, “Vocal Music: Royal Ancestral Shrine,” in particular the one dealing with the hymn text reform of 1743. I have already given the details regarding the reform in previous chapter, in which I argued that Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s father is indeed the one who initiated the reform as described by the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat*. It should be noted that while certain events after 1743 were included in other chapters,³⁸ Sŏ Myŏngŭng took the 1743 hymn text reform as the last event in Chapter 44 and added his commentary right after the event. The order to compile *Hymn Texts for National Rites* (*Kukcho akchang*) in 1765, which reaffirmed the king’s decision on the hymn texts in 1743, was not mentioned in the encyclopedia. This

³⁵ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, 41.1a–b.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 41.2a–b.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 41.3a–4a. The texts in the first and the third part correspond to the chronological narratives of fifteenth-century veritable records, and the second part is copied from the *Notations of New and Provisional Music* (*Sinje yakchŏng akpo*) appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejo* (see Chapter Three).

³⁸ Say, the king’s explanation on his decision on the restricted use of music in 1760. See *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 41.17a.

suggests, at least in Sŏ Myŏngŭng's opinion, that the dispute remained unsettled.

Conclusions

In his preface to the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, Yŏngjo, responding to the lament by intellectuals about “the lack of cogency in the documents [about government institutions] of the East Kingdom,”³⁹ makes it explicit that the work is intended to provide a reference source of precedents for various aspects of governance. Since it is on the precedents related to governance in Chosŏn, the work cites mostly documents compiled by Koreans, particularly those from the early Chosŏn period. It illustrates cultural independence from China, which was considered the center of civilization in the region and from which Chosŏn had once adopted its ruling ideology, but which after 1644 had unfortunately fallen into the hands of the Manchus, regarded as barbarians by Koreans.⁴⁰ The compilation is therefore intended to represent Yŏngjo's achievements.

By inserting commentary eight in the main text, Sŏ Myŏngŭng creates a narrative on Sejong's music complete with musical examples, despite the fact that Sŏ repeats materials from preceding sources and that such materials are scattered in different chapters of the encyclopedia. Considering the goals and political connotations of the work, the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* might seem to be an inappropriate venue for expressing one's challenge towards current policies or institutions, that is, to declare the deficiency of the current musical situation in the court.

³⁹ See Appendix Five: Translation of “The Royal Preface to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*” (Öje *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* Sŏ 御製東國文獻備考序).

⁴⁰ The contradictory reception of Qing China among eighteenth-century Chosŏn intellectuals can be briefly explained by the situation of a culturally influential and economically and militarily powerful country with illegitimate regime. A modern example that resembles such a situation is Hong Kong, a cosmopolitan city that has well-developed British legal system and embraces freedom of speech is now under the control of the Communist Party of PRC.

Nevertheless, Sŏ Myŏngŭng has taken this opportunity to publish his new findings of precedents that prove the current musical performance practices, and even the music itself, to be inappropriate, in particular the music for the nationally significant sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. While being highly informative about music, Sŏ's commentaries turn the "Investigation of Music" into a political statement rather than a neutral reference source, revealing instead a faulty musical reform under king Yŏngjo. Unlike most of the other sections of the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* that merely copy earlier materials, the "Investigation of Music" reveals how discussions at court really took place in 1743 and how ministers could state, if they were brave enough, their own well-researched opinions. Even though the information is not arranged in a way to directly support his ideas, Sŏ Myŏngŭng employed commentaries as a means to assert his perceptions of the inappropriateness of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. The significance of his interpretation needs to be understood in a context consisting of ritual practices, the styles of music from two different earlier reigns, and the last reform of the music prior to the compilation of the encyclopedia.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS

In contemporary South Korea, the annual sacrificial rite held at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, complete with a rich musical repertoire and elegant dance, is an open, public, and touristic event. The rite allows modern Koreans to immerse themselves for a time in what feels to many of them like an authentic performance of long historical heritage, while also allowing them to take photographs with their smartphones, watch the performance comfortably on a wide-screen television, and enjoy snacks. It is very important to Koreans that the sacrificial rite appears to preserve a long and valuable cultural heritage, a past that remains in the present, over a century after the demise of royal Korea in 1910.

An investigation of historical sources, however, reveals quite a different picture: a performance carried out several times every year, each lasting many hours and held mostly at night by candlelight, with a limited and highly elite audience. While a sense of authentic historicity in this rite was common to both the Chosŏn dynastic past and to the present, many other concerns expressed in the historical record contrast strongly with those of modern Korea. In the eighteenth century, the nature and program of the sacrificial rite, for example, were sacrosanct and rather unchanging, while the music was sometimes subject to major alterations; the modern performance, by contrast, is much abbreviated in ritual structure and length, performed in daylight for the general public at a comfortable time of year, and quite selective in its choice of music and its duration.

In this dissertation I have explored and described a large number of documentary sources from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Focusing on the later eighteenth century, I have explained individual agency expressed in the discourse on court

ceremonial music, particularly as revealed by the music section of an encyclopedic work (*Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*) (1770), and discussed how educated, elite eighteenth-century Koreans understood their musical past, in particular the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. I took a musical example of a ritual melody and its corresponding texts as described in the music section of that encyclopedia and explained it as part of human culture and as a product of behavior underlain with various conceptions, which needed to be understood in their bibliographic, social, and historical context.

To present such ideas to readers not familiar with the Chosŏn dynasty, I gave contextual information in Chapters Two and Three. In Chapter Two, I provided the historical and social context in which individual behavior and historical documents can be situated and understood, including the political system, social classes, the functions of national rites and music, foreign invasions, and circumstances that shaped eighteenth-century Chosŏn political dynamics. In Chapter Three I gave information that is necessary for understanding the discussions on music among the eighteenth-century Koreans at the royal court. Such information included the ritual programs, ritual and musical settings, the musical content, and the changes that occurred to such content. It is not my intention to give an evaluation of the authenticity of the fifteenth-century materials, but rather to use them as a viable way to introduce the technical terms later employed by the eighteenth-century Koreans.

I began to deal closely with the eighteenth-century historical documents in Chapter Four. Readers may notice that textual comparisons and investigations of bibliographic background are the foundational methodology for this research, which not

only develops my interpretation of materials, but also shapes the presentation of information in this dissertation. I presented and compared the information given in the two most important documentary sources, the *Veritable Records* and the *Daily Records*, on the 1743 reform of hymn texts, which in turn led to an exploration of the formative process of conceptions of ritual and music practice. In an environment of imperfect historical information, the eighteenth-century Korean minister-scholars had developed as best they could an interpretation of the musical past based on the limited material close at hand: a ritual manual from the fifteenth century (i.e., the *Five Rites of the Nation*). Given the interruptions by wars and limited accessibility of documents, the pattern of the understanding the musical past, in particular that of the fifteenth century, by the eighteenth-century Koreans was not a linear and continuous pattern, but rather random spots, sprinkled by individual and subjective interpretations of historical documents. Such random spots in turn influenced subsequent interpretations of the musical past cumulatively, and gradually became the norm. With the discovery of and fresh access to new documentary resources in 1770, new challenges to the existing discourse on the musical past emerged.

In fact, access to documentary sources of the Chosŏn dynasty is far more favorable now than it ever was during the Chosŏn period. The primary sources, such as the daily diaries written by court historians (the *Daily Records*) and subsequent concise reign-period summaries (the *Veritable Records*), were stored in several remote repositories around the country, with access forbidden to virtually everyone; the temporary granting of access in 1770 was quite exceptional. By contrast, these and countless other documentary sources, both printed and manuscript, are now readily

available to anyone with internet access. Not surprisingly, this ready availability of sources allows the modern researcher insights into what was or was not known in the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries to scholar-ministers investigating topics such as the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. It should be noted, however, that in modern Korea skills in reading texts in classical Chinese are quite rare, supplanted by writing in the efficient and effective native alphabetic system called *han'gŭl*.

The 1743 reform was not just an important event in the history of Chosŏn court ceremonial music as we see it now, but also an event experienced by individuals at the time. In Chapter Five, I shed light on Sŏ Myŏngŭng, who, under influence from his father, attempted to extend his father's legacy in his own career, focusing on involvement in court ceremonial musical activity and resulting in many writings with discussions of such music. My musical biography of Sŏ Myŏngŭng aims to explain why there was such strong emphasis on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in his later writings and compilations, in particular the section on music ("Akko") which he edited for the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*. His appreciation for the music in ritual *aak* style, his concerns in rectifying the music from a technical aspect, the bestowment of a posthumous title on the fifteenth-century music theorist Pak Yŏn, and, most importantly, his discovery of the major change to the music for the Royal Ancestral Shrine detailed in the fifteenth-century *Veritable Records*, are all important factors that must be taken into account in explaining such an emphasis.

The way that I read the "Akko" is made explicit in Chapter Six. Though the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* was modelled after a Chinese precedent, Sŏ Myŏngŭng adjusted

its organizational framework in the “Akko” to fit the circumstances in Chosŏn, and he used personal commentaries to construct his discourse without disrupting the apparent structure of the encyclopedia. The most distinctive feature in his discourse is his selection and discussion of a particular tune from the fifteenth-century source. I argue that this tune, together with the cross reference made by Sŏ Myŏngŭng (who inserted his own commentaries on the information he obtained from a formerly inaccessible and authoritative historical document, the fifteenth-century *Veritable Records*, serves as more than merely a musical example of fifteenth-century Chosŏn court ceremonial music: Sŏ presents it as an example highlighting the king’s acceptance of a faulty interpretation of the musical past and the royal decision not to rectify the inappropriateness in the performance practice. Sŏ Myŏngŭng succeeded in turning the “Akko” of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* from a standard scholarly reference work that glorifies the king’s achievement in establishing an authoritative discourse on the past, to a space for the continuation of the 1743 dispute about the music.

Lastly, the assumption that eighteenth-century scholars had only imperfect historical information in the eighteenth-century is based on my bibliographic investigation of historical documents (i.e., the history of the preservation of the *Veritable Records*, as given in Appendix One) and justified by the surviving writings of the eighteenth-century Koreans. Such bibliographic information is often overlooked or taken for granted both by indigenous scholars and foreign researchers, and I hope this dissertation can serve as an example illustrating the importance of such information, from which one can gain significant insights into the musical past and the motivations of the people who created and modified that music.

APPENDIX ONE: CRITICAL OVERVIEW OF SELECTED SOURCES

There is no direct way to listen to any music performed in eighteenth-century Korea, to participate in and observe a performance *in situ*, or to talk to any contemporaries about how they thought about their music. This appendix lists most of the documents in which I have explored information, replacing some methods more typically employed in ethnomusicology. While historical studies in ethnomusicology have used various types of evidence,¹ documents are central in this study, and therefore a critical examination of them is necessary. Apart from the content of the documents, the context in which documents were produced is important to historians, as it is to ethnomusicology, and the following questions are therefore often asked, though sometimes they may not be fully answered: Why were such documents produced? Who were the intended readers of the documents? How were the documents produced, and how were they circulated and transmitted? Most importantly, how do the answers to these questions relate to the present study?

Given that the purpose of the study of music in ethnomusicology is to understand music as a component of human life in terms of behavior, conceptions of music, and context, a historical study of Chosŏn court ceremonial music like this one inevitably needs to consider and consult documents beyond musical notations, including but not limited to official annals, ritual manuals, musical treatises, notations, collected writings of individuals, governmental documents and records, encyclopedias, chronologies, etc.²

¹ Richard Widdess suggests that documentary sources and or other evidence may be used, such as “early sound recordings, oral history, written documents and organological, iconographical and archaeological data.” See his “Historical Ethnomusicology,” in *Ethnomusicology: An Introduction*, ed. Helen Myers (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1992), 219.

² A brief description of documentary sources for historical studies of Korean music is Provine, “Korea,” in

They are all written in Chinese, the *lingua franca* for Korean officialdom at the time,³ and were produced by *yangban*, who received training to participate in civil examinations; some of them rose to hold high-ranking positions in the capital and were therefore at the core of political power. Since musical knowledge and ability were not part of the syllabus of civil examinations,⁴ the study of music was not indispensable. It is therefore reasonable to assume that the use of a foreign language in the production of knowledge on an unfamiliar subject must have been an obstacle in the process (which is similar in my case, a Cantonese native speaker from Hong Kong writing a dissertation on eighteenth-century Korean court ceremonial music in English). Writings on court ceremonial music, in particular on the technical aspects of music, might be an unpleasant task for many Chosŏn Koreans, and indeed, many documents on Chosŏn court ceremonial music encountered in this study were compiled under royal order.⁵ Most of the documents consulted in this study, in particular those that focus on court ceremonial music, were not intended to be widely disseminated when they were produced, judging

Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies, ed. Helen Myers (London: The Macmillan Press, 1993), 363–76.

³ Chinese had played an important role in manipulating the spread of knowledge and defining the boundary of the privileged ruling class. The Korean alphabet was invented and promulgated in the fifteenth century, but it did not gain much popularity until the seventeenth and eighteenth century, starting with the educated women. See Emanuel Pastreich, “Chinese Vernacular Narratives in Chosŏn Korea: Hangŭl Translations and Women’s Literature,” *Transactions of Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch* 87 (2012): 35–64.

The production of text in Chinese in the Chosŏn dynasty was privileged to educated males, and most of the population at the time had no opportunity to learn how to read and write. Females in Chosŏn, in particular those of the educated families, also received education, too, but with a strong emphasis on virtuous conduct as advanced in the Chinese Confucian classics and indoctrination of “the ideals of a male-oriented society and to motivate them for the tasks of married life.” See Martina Deuchler, *The Confucian Transformation of Korea, A Study of Society and Ideology* (Cambridge [MA]: Council On East Asian Studies, Harvard University, 1992), 257–64; also her “Propagating Female Virtues in Chosŏn,” in *Women and Confucian Cultures in Premodern China, Korea, and Japan*, ed. by Dorothy Ko, JaHyun Kim Haboush and Joan R. Piggott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 142–69.

⁴ *Kyŏngguk taejŏn* (National Code), 3.2a–5a.

⁵ An exceptional example is the two companion volumes *Taeak chŏnbo* [Great Music vol. 1] (1770 or after) and *Taeak hubo* [Great Music vol. 2] (1770 or after) by Sŏ Myŏngŭng.

from the small quantity of copies. Most of them were mostly intended for internal reference in government or intellectual circles, rather than as publications designated to be circulated to a broad readership among the population.

1. *Sillok* 實錄 (Veritable Records)⁶ of Chosŏn Dynasty Kings⁷

The *Veritable Records* (*sillok* 實錄; Chinese *shilu*), collectively known by a modern title *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (*The Veritable Records of the Chosŏn dynasty*),⁸ is a collection comprised of thirty-one individual veritable records, each of them dedicated to a particular ruler. The entire set of *Veritable Records* covers the major events during the reigns of twenty-seven kings, from the first ruler T'aejo 太祖 (r. 1392–1398) to the last ruler Sunjong 純宗 (r. 1907–1910); each king's veritable records were compiled by teams of ministers and scholars usually designated by the succeeding king.⁹

The *Veritable Records* cover various kinds of events and subjects, drawing information

⁶ In western scholarship “Annals” and “Veritable Records” are common translations of *sillok*. I adhere to “Veritable Records,” a translation suggested by Endymion Wilkinson, as “Annals” is a broader category of historical records which includes any historical records presented in chronological order, while “Veritable Records” belongs to the category of “Annals” but it is specific to each emperor (the king in Korean case). See Endymion Wilkinson, *Chinese History, A Manual*, 295–8.

⁷ Much information given in this section are from the following works. A detailed examination of the bibliographic history of the *Veritable Records* can be found in Gari Ledyard's “A Guide to the Yi Dynasty Annals,” unpublished paper, 1970. Robert Provine has also examined the portions of this source that were compiled in the fifteenth century and discussed their merits and demerits as a musical source. See his *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, p. 27–43. A detailed introduction to the compilation process of the *Veritable Records* has been given by JaHyun Kim Haboush in her *A Heritage of Kings: One Man's Monarchy in the Confucian World* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 245–7.

⁸ The set of *Veritable Records* has been published several times in modern time. The first bore the title *Richō jitsuroku* 李朝實錄 (Veritable Records of Yi Dynasty). However, due to its overtones of colonial hegemony it was republished by the KPW under the present title.

⁹ The discrepancy between the number of works and the number of kings is due to two reasons. First, in the second half of Chosŏn dynasty factionalism was significant, and several *Veritable Records* were said to be compiled by a single faction with bias and thus needed to be rectified, such as that of Sŏnjo 宣祖 (r. 1568–1608), Hyŏnjong 顯宗 (r. 1660–1674) and Kyŏngjong 景宗 (r. 1721–1724), resulting in three supplementary works to the overall collection. Second, the veritable records, or precisely the “diary” (*Ilgi* 日記) for a disreputable king not awarded a posthumous reign name (Kwanghaegun 光海君, r. 1609–1623), had never been put into print and resulted in two manuscript editions.

from a range of sources, such as departmental records and memorials from ministers, and all of them were selected and presented chronologically and often in a much abridged, concise form. The entire set of *Veritable Records* has been published several times since the fall of the dynasty,¹⁰ and in recent times it has been made available in digital format on the internet,¹¹ to which I frequently refer.

The history of the preservation and availability of the *Veritable Records* by itself had been a constituent in shaping the way in which eighteenth-century Koreans understood their music history, in particular the history of the music for the sacrificial rites at Royal Ancestral Shrine. Starting from the mid-fifteenth century, several copies of *Veritable Records* were printed to avoid loss of records: one was stored inside the palace, and the others were stored in several “royal repositories” (*sago* 史庫) scattered around the country for safety. Also, the *Veritable Records* were said to be inaccessible to everyone including the king.¹² The Japanese invasions (usually referred to as *waeran* 倭亂 by Koreans) near the end of the sixteenth century not only interrupted all routines of administration and the performance of various sacrificial rites, but also caused a disastrous loss of official records and documents, such as the administrative records of various departments, in particular the *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (*Daily Records of the Royal*

¹⁰ See Provine’s *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 30.

¹¹ KPW, ed., *Chosŏn wangjo sillok* 朝鮮王朝實錄 (The Annals of the Chosŏn dynasty). <http://sillok.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp> (accessed Apr 16, 2016).

¹² According to Haboush’s *A Heritage of Kings*, p. 247, “once the *Sillok* was completed, no one including the king was allowed to read it.” To support her statement, she then cites G.M. McCune’s article “Yi Dynasty Annals,” p. 57–8, and continues, “King Sejong set the precedent by following official advice not to ask to read the *Sillok* of his father’s reign,” followed by her conclusion that “his successors followed this rule.” According to *Veritable Records of Sejong*, Sejong himself had read the *Veritable Records* of his grandfather, T’aejo, and that of his uncle, Chŏngjong. See *Sejong Sillok* 80.17b (1438/1/27), 80.27b (1438/3/9), especially 82.25b (1438/9/25). However, the intention of having a copy stored in the palace was probably for the king’s convenience of reference. Furthermore, from the other sources which will be introduced later, we learn that during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, when an important decision was to be made or precedents were needed, historians and ministers were authorized by the king to investigate the *Veritable Records*.

Secretariat, to be discussed below) which recorded the activities of the king and court on a daily basis. What was left from earlier times as an official chronological record of past events was a single surviving copy of *Veritable Records*,¹³ which then became the primary official reference to the Koreans after the Japanese invasions.¹⁴ This surviving copy, based on which several fresh duplicates were made,¹⁵ was kept in a repository on Kanghwa 江華 Island, approximately fifty kilometers away from the palace in Seoul, the closest one among the royal repositories at the time.

The loss of records, including the *Veritable Records* and other governmental documents, during the Japanese invasions and the administrative and physical limitations on accessibility, constituted an environment of imperfect historical information before 1770, when attempts to rectify the inappropriateness of music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine were made.

¹³ The only surviving set of *Veritable Records* compiled before the Japanese invasion is the nowadays so-called “Chŏngjoksan-pon 鼎足山本” (Chŏngjoksan copy); it, too, latter suffered losses and remaining parts of it are currently kept by the Kyujanggak Research Institute of Seoul National University.

¹⁴ Another officially compiled historical reference, *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (*Mirrors of the Dynasty*), was initially compiled in the fifteenth century.

¹⁵ A total of four copies were made during 1603–1606 based on the Chŏngjoksan copy, and in this research I mainly consulted the online version, i.e., the T’aebaeksan 太白山 copy, and part of the Chŏngjoksan copy. Here is the description of various copies. One of the four duplicates was stored in the Bureau of State Records (*Ch’unch’ugwan* 春秋館) in the palace, and it was also destroyed during the Yi Kwal Rebellion (李适之亂) in 1624. After that the Bureau of State Records kept only newly compiled *Veritable Records*, such as those of Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649) and his successors. See the Preface in *Kukcho pogam*, another source that will be discussed later in this chapter. The history of the copy stored in Bureau of State Records in the Palace demands further research. The remaining three copies are Odaesan-bon 五台山本 (Odaesan copy), Chŏksangsan-bon 赤裳山本 (Chŏksangsan copy), and T’aebaeksan-bon 太白山本 (T’aebaeksan copy). The Odaesan copy was taken by the Japanese during their annexation of Korea, and unfortunately most of it was burnt during the Tokyo earthquake in 1923. The remains were returned to Korea, and, together with the Chŏngjoksan copy, has been put online and made available to the public in recent years by the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies. The Chŏksangsan copy is kept in North Korea. The T’aebaeksan copy is kept by Kukka kirogwŏn 국가기록원 (National Archives of Korea) in Busan and it has been put online by KPW. For the history regarding the different copies of *Veritable Records*, see Gari Ledyard, “A Guide to the Yi Dynasty Annals.” Unpublished paper, 1970, and KPW, “Sillok p’yŏnch’an ŭi yurae wa ch’eje” 실록편찬의유래와체제 [The Origin and Organization of the *Veritable Records*], KPW, http://sillok.history.go.kr/intro/intro_info.jsp (accessed Mar 3, 2010).

Of the other records available in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, those mainly consulted on music were a treatise on various kinds of court music (*Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範, 1493) and a pair of ritual manuals (*Kukcho oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀 [Five Rites of the Nation] and *Kukcho orye sŏrye* 國朝五禮序例 [Illustrated Rubrics for the Fives Rites of the Nation, 1474]). These paired manuals give an imprecise and possibly misleading narration (depending on when and who the readers are) on when the program and corresponding music were set, and I will return to this in the later section on these paired manuals.

The *Veritable Records* compiled in the fifteenth century, especially that of Sejong, contain much contextual information about when the various kinds of court ceremonial music were about to take shape, including that of the music for the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Such information is given in the form of discussions on the music among the kings and his ministers, memorials submitted to the king, especially those by the famous music theorist Pak Yŏn (1378–1458), programs for various sacrificial rites, and notations of music. In the case of the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, programs are recorded either in the chronological main text, suggesting their first implementation, and/or appended to the *Veritable Records* under the title *Five Rites (Orye ŭiju* 五禮儀注) (1415 and 1451),¹⁶ followed by the *Notations of Ritual Music (Aak-po* 雅樂譜) (1430).¹⁷

¹⁶ See *kwŏn* 128–135 of the *Veritable Records of Sejong*. Compilation of the ritual programs was ordered in 1410 by T'aejo's son, T'aejong. In 1410, he set up an Office for Formulation of Ceremonies (Ŭirye sangjŏngso 儀禮詳定所) to codify correct ceremonial programs for the various court rites, the first attempt to codify the code of rites for the new born dynasty. The ritual programs were classified into five categories, according to their context and meanings. The first attempt was in 1415, resulting only in the programs for one kind of rite, namely, the Auspicious Rites (*Killye* 吉禮), such as the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Another attempt was completed in 1451, producing the programs for the rest of the four categories, namely, Congratulatory Rites (*Karye* 嘉禮), Guest Rites (*Pillye* 賓禮), Military Rites (*Kullye* 軍禮) and Mourning Rites (*Hyungnye* 凶禮); these four were appended to the 1415 part and the full set was appended to the *Veritable Records*. These later four categories are outside the scope of present

The information in *Five Rites and Notations of Ritual Music* is discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

The *Veritable Records of Sejo* (covering 1455–1468) also contain information regarding subsequent changes made to music, and one of the major amendments brought major changes to the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. According to the *Notations of New and Provisional Music* (*Sinje yakchǒng akpo* 新制略定樂譜) (1463) appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejo*,¹⁸ the music created during the reign of Sejong was performed for court banquets only, and it was not until the reign of Sejo that the banquet music was adopted, arranged, and started to be performed at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Thereafter, the “new music” was performed for the Royal Ancestral Shrine. By the eighteenth century, the “new music,” on the one hand, had become a tradition of more than three hundred years’ heritage, and, on the other hand, a problem that needed to be rectified, because of its inflexibility of musical setting which had failed to fulfill the ritual needs arising from the expansion of the Royal Ancestral Shrine, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

The information regarding the origin and subsequent changes recorded in the *Veritable Records*, as mentioned above, gradually became unknown until its re-discovery in 1770. To Sŏ Myŏngŭng, the compiler of the “Akko,” the *Veritable Records*

study. See Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 34–8.

¹⁷ See *kwŏn* 136–137 of the *Veritable Records of Sejong*. The date of completion of the *Aak-po* is based on its preface and a dated entry in the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, see Provine *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 39, note 40. For the background of this source, see *ibid.*, 27–9. According to Provine (42), the *Aak-po* is “in effect, a storehouse of ritual tunes” and “only a very limited number of those tunes may have ever worked their way into the rites for which they were intended.”

¹⁸ The notation is found in *kwŏn* 48 and 49 of the *Veritable Records of Sejo*. According to the introduction to the notation, in the tenth lunar month of 1463 Sejo ordered the arrangement and re-purposing of the banquet music created during the reign of Sejong for use in the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. See *Veritable Records of Sejo* 48.5a. The new pieces were put into practice about two months later. See *ibid.*, 31.31a–33a (1463/12/11).

was a source of information explaining the origin of various kinds of court ceremonial music, especially the music for the Royal Ancestral Shrine, perfectly filling the gaps left by known musical treatises and ritual programs at that time. Portions of the *Veritable Records*, especially those regarding the music at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, were included into “Akko,” as described in Chapter Six.

2. *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty) (1451)¹⁹

The official *History of the Koryŏ Dynasty* was compiled by Chŏng Inji 鄭麟趾 (1396–1478) and Kim Chongsŏ 金宗瑞 (1390–1453) over fifty years after the fall of Koryŏ dynasty (918–1392), under order from Sejong. It is divided into four parts: a chronological account by reigns of kings (*sega* 世家) (46 *kwŏn*), essays (*chi* 志) on various topics such as music (i.e., *Akchi* 樂志, 2 *kwŏn*), chronological tables (*p'yo* 表) (2 *kwŏn*), and biographies (*yŏlchŏn* 列傳) of important figures (50 *kwŏn*).

The *Akchi* 樂志 of the *History of the Koryŏ Dynasty* served as a major source of information to the compilers of “Akko” regarding the court music history of the preceding dynasty.²⁰ The inclusion of the court music history of the preceding Koryŏ,

¹⁹ An introduction to this source has been given by Robert Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 45–8, from which I have drawn much information.

²⁰ This is based on a textual comparison between the two. From another source, *Ijae nan'go* 頤齋亂藁, we learn that other unofficially compiled histories, such as *Tongsa hoegang* 東史會綱 [An Outline of the History of the East] and *Yŏsa chaegang* 麗史提綱 [An Outline of Koryŏ History], were suggested for consultation at the early stage of compilation of “Akko.” See Appendix Four. Also, some excerpts from *Koryŏsa* quoted in the “Akko” can also be located in *Koryŏsa chŏryo* 高麗史節要 [Essentials of the History of Koryŏ] (1453), compiled by Kim Chongsŏ. Therefore, my assumption demands further investigation before reaching a solid conclusion.

according to a commentary in “Akko,” is “to illustrate the superiority of the music of Chosŏn over that of preceding dynasty.”²¹

3. *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (Mirrors of the Dynasty) (1458)²²

The *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 (Mirrors of the Dynasty, *Mirrors* hereafter) is an official history intended to record the policies and plans of preceding reigns, serving as a reference work for succeeding reigns, since the *Veritable Records* were stored in prohibited repositories and were therefore extremely difficult to access.²³ The first compilation of the *Mirrors* was conducted during the reign of Sejo in 1458, which focused on the reigns of T’aejo, T’aejong, Sejong and Munjong. In this study I focus only on that 1458 edition, because it was one of the sources of information for the eighteenth-century Koreans about the fifteenth century.

In comparison to the *Veritable Records*, *Mirrors* are also in annalistic order but even more abridged, and music is not a matter of particular concern in them. A couple of exceptions in the 1458 edition include an entry in the *Mirrors* of T’aejong in which the titles of the music used in royal banquet and their stories were given, and the second one

²¹ *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 40.8a–b. See commentary number 5 in the list of commentaries in Chapter Six. A translation of this commentary is given in Appendix Seven.

²² Additions were made intermittently in the rest of Chosŏn dynasty. Two *Mirror* were specifically compiled for two kings, namely, the *Mirror* of Sŏnjo prepared during the reign of Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720) in 1684 and the *Mirror* of Sukchong compiled during the reign of Yŏngjo (r. 1725–1776) in 1730. In 1782, Chŏngjo (r. 1776–1800) ordered an enormous and ambitious project to compile a *Mirror* of twelve other Chosŏn kings, resulting in a single work of sixty-eight *kwŏn* which included all old and new *Mirrors*. Two more additions to the 1782 edition were completed during the reign of Hyŏnjong 憲宗 (r. 1834–1849) in 1848 and finally during the reign of Sunjong 純宗 (r. 1907–1910) in 1909, covering the period from the reign of Chŏngjo to that of Ch’ŏlchong 哲宗 (r. 1849–1863). See Yi Wŏnsun 李元淳, “*Kukcho pogam* haeje” 國朝寶鑑解題 [Bibliographical Introduction to *Kukcho pogam*], in vol. 1 of *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 [Mirror of the Dynasty] (Seoul: Sejong taewang kinyŏm saŏphoe 세종대왕 기념사업회 [The Association for the Memorial of the Contributions by King Sejong], 1976), 1–6. In this study I mainly consulted the 1909 edition, which includes all preceding editions.

²³ See the preface to 1458 edition included in the preface to the 1782 edition, in *Kukcho pogam* 國朝寶鑑 [Mirror of the Dynasty], facs. rpt. of 1909 ed. (Seoul: Sejong taewang kinyŏm saŏphoe, 1976), 27–8.

is in the *Mirrors of Sejong*, which contains a description of the use of *aak* for the royal audience and sacrificial rites in the fifteenth year of his reign (1433).²⁴

The *Mirrors* did serve its intended purposes in the eighteenth century, since it served as the readings in the royal lectures (instructions for the king and crown prince) during the reign of Yŏngjo.²⁵ In relation to the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, the 1454 editions and the two additions of 1684 and 1730 were consulted, because they were accessible reference materials for the eighteenth-century Koreans compiling the *Tongguk pigo* in 1770.

4. *Kukcho oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀 [Five Rites of the Nation] and *Kukcho orye sŏrye* 國朝五禮序例 [Illustrated Rubrics for the *Five Rites of the Nation*] (1474)²⁶

The *Kukcho oryeŭi* and *Kukcho orye sŏrye* are a pair of ritual manuals expanded and revised from the previous version, the *Orye ŭiju* of 1415 and 1451, which had been preserved in *Veritable Records of Sejong*, as was explained above. Similar to the earlier version, they give instructions on which rites and ceremonies are to be performed, when, where, and how they are to be performed, and illustrations of equipment, utensils, musical instruments and their settings in these rites and ceremonies.²⁷ Both of them survived the Japanese invasions and were consulted and re-published from time to time

²⁴ See *Kukcho pogam* 4.8b–10a and 6.14b–15b.

²⁵ See JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea*, 244.

²⁶ This pair of manuals has been reprinted in facsimile several times. One of these, also including later supplements, was made by Pŏpchech'ŏ 法制處 (Government Legislation Agency), under the unified title *Kukcho oryeŭi* 國朝五禮儀. See the entries of Pŏpchech'ŏ in the Bibliography.

²⁷ For detailed bibliographic information and examination of this pair of manuals, see Provine's *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 48-54. My comments here are drawn from his work.

for the rest of the dynasty. In the eighteenth century, several supplements were made to the manuals in distinct volumes under altered titles.²⁸

The paired manuals became an important reference when the court attempted to restore the various ceremonies after the interruptions caused by the Japanese invasions. The preface to the manuals would have been the only source of information about the context of its compilation and content for the eighteenth-century Koreans, and the way they read the preface, in their temporal context, reveals how they understood the creation of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. In the preface, it is said that the paired manuals were completed in 1474, and during the reign of Sejong (r. 1418–1450) only the program and rubrics for the Auspicious Rites, including the sacrificial rites for the Royal Ancestral Shrine, had been completed, and it had never been put into practice before he died.²⁹ From hindsight we now know that the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine specified in the manual is the version created and put into practice during the reign of Sejong's son Sejo in 1463. However, lacking the opportunity to consult the official history (i.e., the *Veritable Records*) at the time, it is therefore reasonable to assume that the eighteenth-century Koreans believed that the music specified in the manuals and being performed at the time was *also* created during the reign of Sejong. To the late fifteenth-century Koreans, the information given in the preface was correct and appropriate, since they already knew the history of the

²⁸ The supplements are *Kukcho sok oryeüi* 國朝續五禮儀 (Continuation of the *Five Rites of the Nation*) (1744) and *Kukcho sok oryeüi po* 國朝續五禮儀補 (Supplement to the *Continuation of the Five Rites of the Nation*) (1751). See Provine's *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 54. While these additions are mainly about the ceremonies that were codified after the fifteenth century and the variations of circumstances and parameters of existing rites, the *Kukcho sok oryeüi sorye* 國朝續五禮儀序例 [Illustrated rubrics for the *Continuation of the Five Rites of the Nation*] (1744) allows comparison of information with that given in *Daily Records*. See Chapter Four, n.21.

²⁹ See Preface to *Kukcho oryeüi*, 1b–2a.

change to the music, and it would have seemed politically inappropriate, in the Confucian sense, to bring up the previous version of the music created during the reign of Sejong in a manual largely compiled during the reign of Sejo, when the previous version of music for the sacrificial rite of the Royal Ancestral Shrine was changed.

Despite the fact that the paired manuals were completed in 1474, the codification of the program of various ceremonies was always attributed by the eighteenth-century Koreans to Sejong rather than to any of the five succeeding kings, and he was highly reputed to be the sage king, according to both official and private documents at that time.³⁰ The strong nostalgia for the prosperous reign of Sejong played an important role in discourse on the appropriateness of the music for the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, as we saw in Chapter Four.

5. *Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範 [Guide to the Study of Music] (1493)³¹

Akhak kwebŏm is probably the most well-known source now among both indigenous and foreign musicological researchers. It was mentioned as an authoritative

³⁰ In a meeting with his minsters in 1746, King Yŏngjo said “Today is the anniversary of Sejong’s death. Sejong was the man of great virtue in our nation. He codified the code of conduct and created the music, such as that in the [*Kyŏngguk*] *Taejŏn* 經國大典 (National Code) and [*Kukcho*] *oryeŭi*...” Original text: “上曰...今日は英廟忌日也 英廟以東方聖人 制禮作樂 大典 五禮儀之屬...” See *Daily Records* vol. 54, 594 (1746/2/17).

³¹ The work has been introduced by Provine, in his *Sino-Korean Musicology*, 55–7, and the nature of the work is discussed in his “Patterns of Compilation: Thoughts on Chapter 6 of the *Akhak kwebŏm*,” in *Han’guk ūmaksa hakpo* 韓國音樂史學報 11 (1993): 511–19. The work was first published by woodblock printing in 1493, and most of the copies were destroyed during the Japanese invasion near the end of the sixteenth century. At present, only one copy of the 1493 edition is known to survive (in Japan). After the Japanese invasion, the work was again printed by woodblock in 1610–11 with minor changes, and it was subsequently reprinted in 1655 and 1742. Quite a number of modern facsimile reprints of the 1493 edition have been made (see Bibliography). The 1742 reprint is distinguished by a preface written by Yŏngjo himself; a copy is held by the National Library of Korea (Kungnip Chungang Tosŏgwan 國立中央圖書館), 조선총독부고서부분류표 古朝 85, and electronic images are available at http://www.nl.go.kr/nl/search/bookdetail/online.jsp?contents_id=CNIS-00047980651. (Last access on Apr 16, 2016).

source from time to time in numerous historical records, not merely as a theoretical but also a descriptive source reflecting the practices of fifteenth-century Korean court music. When it came to the reign of Yǒngjo (r. 1724–1776), it received extraordinary attention, since the king had exceptionally written a preface to the reprint edition in 1742.³² It was consulted during the 1743 hymn texts reform (see Chapter Four) and during the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* (1770).

6. *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* 承政院日記 (Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat) (1623–1910)

The *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi* (hereafter, *Daily Records*) is a compilation of the minutes taken during the meetings between the kings and his subjects by the recorders of the Royal Secretariat,³³ a government organ responsible for publishing the king's orders.³⁴ It

³² In the preface, again, Sejong was named as the founder of ceremonies and music. “Sejong drastically initiated the creation of the codes of conduct and music...the codes of conduct and music were prescribed in *oŭi* 五儀 [i.e., *Kukcho oryeŭi*] and [*Akhak*] *kwebŏm* respectively, and the ritual programs and *yullyŏ* are recorded in full details.” Original text: “英廟大舉禮樂...禮以五儀 樂以軌範 而儀文律呂 纖悉俱備.” See Yǒngjo's “Preface to *Akhak kwebŏm*” 1b–2a, National Library of Korea, 조선총독부고서부분류표 古朝 85, http://www.nl.go.kr/nl/search/bookdetail/online.jsp?contents_id=CNIS-00047980651. (Last access on Apr 16, 2016).

³³ Sin Sŏkho 申奭鎬 has given a detailed introduction to the source. See his “Haeje” 解題 [Bibliographical Introduction], in vol. 1 of *Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi*, ed. by KPW (Seoul: T'amgudang 探求堂, 1969), 1–16. According to Sin, the minutes, together with other materials related to administration such as memorials and records of the orders issued, were gathered and copied onto folios in the style of a diary by other low rank clerks. These folios were usually bound into volumes for every fifteen days. The original manuscripts, in which most of the characters are in cursive script (Chin.: *caoshu* 草書, “grass calligraphy”), are held in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies at Seoul National University. From 1960 to 1977, the National Institute of Korean History carried out the enormous project of transcribing the work from the original cursive style into the “standard script” (Chin.: *kaishu* 楷書, “standard calligraphy”), and the transcriptions were published in 141 volumes. In this study, the transcribed version, the so-called *t'alch'obon* 脫草本, was consulted. The text of *t'alch'obon* has also been made available on the web by the Institute at <http://sjw.history.go.kr/main/main.jsp> (last accessed Apr 16, 2016).

³⁴ The Royal Secretariat was headed by six ministers representing the “six administrative boards” (*Yukcho* 六曹 [“Six Boards”]) along with lower-rank clerical officers, and its duties included providing suggestions regarding daily administrative routines to the king and implementing king's decisions and policies. Whenever there was a meeting between the king and his ministers in official contexts such as Royal Audiences and various court ceremonies, minutes and notes were taken in Chinese by the recorder (*chusŏ* 注書) instantly, in order to guarantee theoretically that no one could talk to the king without the presence of a third-person and thus prevent political conspiracy. See Sin Sŏkho's “Haeje,” 5. However, recent

covers the meetings of various natures, ranging from royal lectures and audiences with ministers and officials to the performances of various ceremonies. Similar to a diary, the *Daily Records* presents the information day by day, and each entry begins with the date, the name of the person who was on duty that day in the Royal Secretariat, and the weather, followed by main texts that give the location of the king, his schedule for that day, and reports and requests for instructions from various departments; that was followed by the details of the king's schedule, and the conversations between the king and his subjects.

The *Daily Records* is probably the most detailed surviving official chronology among East Asian countries,³⁵ and most of its information on court music has seldom been explored by either Western or indigenous scholars.³⁶ According to Haboush, the *Daily Records* “is the records of the king's public life and his interactions with the bureaucracy [which were] entered on a daily basis...unlike the *Veritable Records*, this is an unedited source, and as such offers a closer view of the workings of the royal court.”³⁷

As was almost the case with the *Veritable Records*, the *Daily Records* prior to the Japanese invasion were destroyed, and those after the Japanese invasion suffered

publications of the letters written by Chǒngjo suggest that there were also communications between the king and his ministers by other, more secretive means.

³⁵ Some facts may give readers an idea about how detailed the *Daily Records* is regarding the Chosŏn affairs. According to the KPW, it is the biggest single historical record that covers a period of about 300 years, consisting of 243,000,000 Chinese characters. The *Veritable Records*, by comparison, covers a period of about 500 years and consists of 54,000,000 Chinese characters. See *Sŭngjǒngwŏn ilgi*, <http://sjw.history.go.kr/intro/intro.do#> (last access on Apr 16, 2016).

³⁶ Unlike the *Veritable Records*, the *Daily Records* has not yet been translated into modern Korean. Recently, a summary of each entry in Korean is provided along with the results of index search on the internet.

³⁷ See Haboush, *A Heritage of Kings*, 251.

from conflagrations in the palace.³⁸ Fortunately, most of the portion regarding Yŏngjo (r. 1724–1776), the main period relevant for this study, survives. While the *Veritable Records* plays an important, if frustratingly abbreviated, role in providing the chronological order of events in the studies of fifteenth-century Korean court music, the *Daily Records* takes over such a role in this later study. The *Daily Records* contains a substantial amount of information on the court ceremonies and music, presented in the form of conversations between the king and his ministers (and even, on some occasions, musicians).

The *Daily Records* is also a major, if not the only, source that gives descriptions of how the *actual* performances of the sacrificial rites were carried out, which also has yet to be explored by researchers.³⁹ For example, there are thirty-five entries on the occasions when the king, Yŏngjo, performed the sacrificial rite in person at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. The focus on these entries varies, as they were taken by different recorders at different times, suggesting that taking the records and compiling these

³⁸ The portion of *Daily Records* after Japanese invasion prior to 1623 were destroyed during the rebellion by Yi Kwal 李适 in 1624. Apart from wars, another kind of threat to the storage of *Daily Records* was conflagration in palace, which happened in 1744 and 1888. The one in 1744 needs more elaboration as it is related to the present study, as the other one in 1888 caused impacts only on those *Daily Records* written in the 19th century, which is outside the scope of present study. In the 1744 conflagration most of the records from 1592 to 1721 were destroyed, and only those from 1722 to 1744 and that of 1650 (one volume) and 1659/1719 (two volumes) survived as they had been taken to somewhere else for reference. From 1746 to 1748 a large scale restoration of *Daily Records* was carried out. Based on the various sources of records, such as administrative records of various bureau and privately stored gazettes, the *Daily Records* from 1623 to 1721 were restored. However, the size of that portion of records was substantially reduced from 1796 volumes to 548 volumes. See Sin Sŏkho's "Haeje," 7–8.

³⁹ Indeed, there are several sources that give the specification of the performance of sacrificial rites, such as the paired manuals *Kukcho oryeŭi* and *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, *Ch'un'gwan t'onggo* 春官通考 [Comprehensive Investigation on the Board of Rites] (1788). However, these works are usually based on previous prescriptive sources and do not describe actual performances. For information about *Ch'un'gwan t'onggo*, see Ch'ŏn Hyebong 千惠鳳, "Ch'un'gwan t'onggo haeje" 春官通考題解 [Introduction to *Ch'un'gwan t'onggo*]. In *Ch'un'gwan t'onggo* 春官通考 [Comprehensive Investigation on the Board of Rites], vol. 1 (Seoul: Sŏnggyun'gwan taehakkyo taedong munhwa yŏn'guwŏn 成均館大學校大東文化研究院 (Daedong Institute for Korean Studies of Sung Kyun Gwan University, 1975), n.p.

entries were not merely a repeat of the previous entries, but possibly subject to individual preference of the recorders, and perhaps some other circumstances at the time. While some of them only record when, where, and what the king had said, some of them account for how the music accompanied the ritual procedures,⁴⁰ and, in some entries, included the full roster of ritual roles and the names of corresponding persons.⁴¹ These entries not only provide information on how the music was actually put into practice from certain perspectives, but they are also important evidence of how the sacrificial rites were realized, though based on the personal observation and interpretation of individual recorders. They also open an opportunity to examine the performance practice of the music in relation to the ritual.

The *Daily Records* have been frequently consulted in this study, especially for the 1743 hymn text reform (Chapter Four) and the process of the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* (Appendix Four). It is also consulted for cross reference to other privately compiled sources (such collected writings of individuals) that mention the events happening in the court.

⁴⁰ The description of the process and the wordings employed by the recorder in these entries are similar to that in *Kukcho oryeŭi*, illustrating the possible influences of the work recorders.

⁴¹ An example is the entry on 1751/4/10, in which Sŏ Myŏnggŭng participated. See *Daily Records* vol. 58, 787 (1751/4/10).

7. *Agwŏn kosa* 樂院故事 [Past Affairs of the Music Bureau] (1696)⁴²

This work was compiled during the reign of Sukchong 肅宗 (1674–1720), by Yi Sep'il 李世弼 (1642–1718), one of the great-grandfathers of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng, as shown in Chapter Five. The title is apparently concerned with the history of the Music Bureau (Changagwŏn 掌樂院), but the content is all about the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. It is the first work that specifically problematizes the indecision of the past reigns on the rectification of hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, by putting the previous records of discussions into a single work, which could conceivably be an offense to the throne in Confucian dogma.

The work is divided into two sections. The “first section” (*sangp'yŏn* 上篇) provides the hymn texts for almost all ritual sections, from Welcoming the Spirits to Ushering Out the Spirits, in the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and Yi's interpretation of the hymn text, which cites mainly another source compiled during the reign of Sejong, *Yongbi ŏchŏn'ga* 龍飛御天歌 (Song of the Dragons Flying Through Heaven) (1447), so as to clarify for which king each stanza was written. The “second section” (*hap'yŏn* 下篇) puts together the previous opinions regarding the performance

⁴² There are two copies of this work: one kept in the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies, and the other kept in the Asami Library of University of California, Berkeley. A facsimile reprint of the former copy in greyscale was made available by KNKAW in 1986, and a color facsimile reprint of the same copy is appended to a translation into modern Korean published by Minsogwŏn in 2006. See the entry of Yi Sep'il 李世弼 in the Bibliography. For other bibliographical information on the work, see also Chang Sahun 張師勛, “Koaksŏ haeje” 古樂書解題 [Introduction to Old Musical Treatises], in *Agwŏn kosa* 樂院故事, *Akt'ong* 樂通, *Nan'gye yugo* 蘭溪遺藁, and *Aksŏ kojŏn* 樂書孤存 (Seoul: KNKAW, 1986), 3–12. See also Yun Hojin 尹浩鎭, “*Agwŏn kosa* haeje” 樂院故事解題 [Introduction to *Agwŏn kosa*], in *Yŏkchu Agwŏn kosa* 역주악원고사 [Annotated Translation of *Agwŏn kosa*] (Seoul: Minsogwŏn 민속원, 2006), 11–40. The copy in the United States is mentioned in Fang Chaoying, *The Asami Library, A Descriptive Catalogue* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), 110, and it is available on the internet, <https://archive.org/details/agwonkosakwichon008800> (last access on Apr 16, 2016). None of these bibliographic investigations suggest that the work had received proofreading during the reign of Yŏngjo, as mentioned in *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* 46.8a–b. It is as yet uncertain whether the existing copies in Korea and the US were the original manuscript by Yi or the proofread edition.

of hymn texts, given by different people during different reigns, in chronological order.⁴³

A short postscript is appended to his memorial, giving the reasons for compilation.

According to the postscript, the two sections were intended to be appended to his memorial in response to the discussion of the rectification of hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in 1696.

It turned out that Yi did not submit the memorial, and it seems that *Agwŏn kosa* did not gather any immediate attention. However, it was consulted by Sŏ Munjung 徐文重 (1634–1709), the elder brother of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng's grandfather, when he, as the Director (*Chejo* 提調) of the Chongmyo Department, compiled the *Chongmyo ŭigwe* in 1706 (see below), in which Yi Sep'il's interpretation of the hymn text matter was cited in the "Hymn text" (*akchang* 樂章) section of the *Chongmyo ŭigwe*. In fact, Yi Sep'il and Sŏ Munjung were in-law families (see Chapter Five).

It was not until 1737 that the grandson of Yi Sep'il, Yi Chongsŏng 李宗城 (see also Chapter Five) mentioned the work in a royal lecture to another king, Yŏngjo, and presented a revised edition to the king for reference.⁴⁴ Yi Sep'il's interpretation of the

⁴³ In the second section Yi had drawn from various kinds of sources. The opinions and their corresponding consequence are presented in chronological order, summarized as follows: a memorial, which date is not given in *Agwŏn kosa* but year 1590 according to *Sŏnjo sujŏng sillok* 宣祖修正實錄 24.1b (1590/2/1), by Hwang Chŏngguk 黃廷彧 (1532–1607) from his *Chich'ŏnjip* 芝川集, memorials by Yi Chŏnggu 李廷龜 (1564–1635) in 1626 from his corpus *Wŏlsajip* 月沙集, an excerpt apparently from an official administrative records of the discussions initiated by Kwan U 權堧 (1610–1685) in 1651, another excerpt from the similar kind of record of the discussions initiated by Song Chun'gil 宋浚吉 (1606–1672) in 1665, and the discussions initiated by Yi Pongjŏng 李鳳徵 (1640–1705) in 1696. Having the advantage in source access nowadays, we know each of these initiations had triggered subsequent intense discussions at their time, and each of them desires individual case study.

⁴⁴ See *Daily Records* vol. 47, 563 (1737/10/20). Though the work had been stored in the Music Bureau, his grandson, Yi Chongsŏng 李宗城 (1692–1759), knew the work pretty well, at least he knew where it was and when it was compiled. Either he might have seen the work in person, or he heard that from his father or even directly from his grandfather. On the next day, a revised version was submitted. See *Daily Records* vol. 47, 565 (1737/10/21), and *Yŏngjo sillok* 46.8ab (1737/10/21). The interesting point here is the transmission of information on the court affairs within a familial network, and we shall see how this is justified by Sŏ Myŏnggŭng, in many cases he mentioned how he had learned the history of certain affairs in

hymn texts was influential, not only because it was included in later sources (such as the “Hymn text” section of *Chongmyo ŭigwe*), but also because it shaped the understanding of the intended object of each stanza of hymn text among eighteenth-century Koreans, as his interpretation was taken into account by the Chief State Councilor in the 1743 hymn text rectification,⁴⁵ in which Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s father had participated.⁴⁶

8. *Chongmyo ŭigwe* 宗廟儀軌 [Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine] (1706)⁴⁷

The *ŭigwe* 儀軌 (guidelines) was a specific kind of document intended to record the details of an individual event, such as the funeral of a particular royal member, a particular royal banquet, the compilation of *Veritable Records* for a king, etc. Also, since the *ŭigwe* was intended to establish conventions for later reference, they were seldom changed or supplemented once they were compiled. This conception of the nature of

the court, such as the 1743 hymn text reform.

⁴⁵ See Chapter Four.

⁴⁶ In a memorial submitted by Sŏ Myŏngŭng in 1754 to initiate another rectification, it is clear that he had heard of the 1743 hymn text rectification from his father and understood the stream of the discussions. In the memorial, Sŏ Myŏngŭng says, “Regarding the chanting of hymn texts in relation to the ritual progression, my father, as the Minister of the Board of the Military, had joined the Royal Lecture and heard of the rectification, and I have heard a little bit about that from my father. There were already discussions on the reasons for the continuous mistake [in the chanting of hymn texts] in different times, and there is no need to look into detail here.” The Original text: “若夫樂歌之節 則昔年臣父以兵曹判書入侍筵席 與聞廟樂釐正之事故臣亦得聞其一二於臣父矣 然因循差謬之本末 但有前後議論 今不必觀縷” See *Daily Records* vol. 61, 578 (1754/7/3).

⁴⁷ There are two copies of this work. One is stored in the Kyujanggak Research Institute of Seoul National University (奎 14220, v. 1–4), and the other one in the Changsŏgak of the AKS (K2–2194, K2–2195); both are manuscripts and are unpaginated. Two facsimile reprints of the Kyujanggak copy were published by KNKAW and Kyujanggak in 1990 and 1997 respectively. In the former edition volume number and folio number are added for reference, with an bibliographic introduction by Song Hyejin 宋惠眞 as well (i.e., “*Chongmyo ŭigwe haeje*” 종묘의례해제 [Introduction to *Chongmyo ŭigwe*], in *Chongmyo ŭigwe* 宗廟儀軌 [Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine] (Seoul: KNKAW, 1990), 3–16). I have seen the original Kyujanggak copy in an exhibition held in Seoul National University, and accessed and obtained the color digital photos of the Changsŏgak copy when I visited Korea (funded by the AKS) from 2009 to 2010. The binding of the two copies resonates with what was recorded in *Daily Records* vol. 51, 120 (1741/8/12), when the first “supplement” (*songnok* 續錄) was made in 1741: “following the practice of 1706...one copy is to be stored in the Department of the Royal Ancestral Shrine, and the other one is to be furnished with handsome binding for the king’s reference.” In this study, the copy in “handsome binding” is consulted.

ũigwe was rather constant throughout the dynasty, and the intention of compilation of the *Chongmyo ũigwe* was clear: it was to provide an authoritative statement regarding matters related to the Royal Ancestral Shrine.⁴⁸ In this sense, *Chongmyo ũigwe* could be understood as a supplement to the prescriptive *Kukcho oryeŭi* and *Kukcho orye sŏrye*, and it claimed its legitimacy from being an *ũigwe*.

The entire *Chongmyo ũigwe* is divided into four volumes (*kwŏn*), providing fifteen graphic illustrations⁴⁹ and textual information regarding forty-two topics. Some of these illustrations reflect the changes and developments of various ceremonies in the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the circumstances in which the sacrificial rites were performed, and the practicality and flexibility of the people in implementing what had been written in the authoritative prescriptive manuals (i.e., *Kukcho oryeŭi* and *Kukcho orye sŏrye*).⁵⁰

⁴⁸ There is no preface or postscript attached to the work, and, at present, very few bits of information are available to trace the compilation process, as the original *Daily Records*, which usually gives the reports by the ministers on the progression of important compilations, of this period were burnt in 1744 and it might have been deemed unnecessary to be recorded in the *Veritable Records*. There are a couple of excerpts of text from the original *Daily Records* (before they were burnt in 1744), regarding the initiation of the project, which are listed in the entries of 1705/7/13 and 1705/8/23 in the “Past Events” (*kosa* 故事) section of the work. Though at the end of the work, the “Director” (*chejo* 提調) of the Royal Ancestral Shrine and three other officials are listed as the persons responsible for the compilation, Yi Imyŏng 李頤命 (1658–1722) seems to be the one who had initiated the project. According to the information in “Past Events” Yi proposed that the 1706 *Chongmyo ũigwe* was to include the following: the history of the establishment of the Royal Ancestral Shrine, specification of the settings of each chamber in which the spirit tablets were held and that of the ceremonies, the practice of the ceremonies that had been changed, and the issues upon which a conclusion could not be reached. He also suggested carrying out investigation of various records, such as *Daily Records*, *Administrative Records of the Board of Rites* (*Yejo tŭngnok* 禮曹謄錄), and the *Veritable Records*. See *Chongmyo ũigwe* 4.111a–b. Furthermore, it should be noted that Yi seems to have been a close friend of the Director of Chongmyo at that time, Sŏ Munjung 徐文重 (1634–1709), who was also the Chief State Councilor (*Yŏngŭijŏng* 領議政), and one of the granduncles of Sŏ Myŏngŭng. See Yi’s *Sojejip* 疎齋集 (Collected writings of Yi Imyŏng), Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命 (1690–1752). *Kwirokchip* 歸鹿集 [Collected Writings of Cho Hyŏnmyŏng], fasc. rpt. HMC 172 (Seoul: MMC, 1990), 72.

⁴⁹ The descriptive graphic illustrations cover a range of objects such as the structures of the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the settings of offerings, the locations of instruments and dancers during the performance of the sacrificial rites, and the instruments and costumes.

⁵⁰ The general remarks that precede the content suggest an emphasis is given to current practice. See *Chongmyo ũigwe* 1.1a–2a. For example, according to the paired manuals, the cues to start and to stop the music accompanying the Wine Offerings to the ancestors are signaled by the position of a flag called *hwi* 麾. In *Chongmyo ũigwe*, in addition to the *hwi*, illustrations of the *choch’ok* 照燭 (a lantern and its stand), which is not in the paired manuals, are given. According to its narration, we know that the sacrificial rites

In the descriptive information, the “Hymn texts” section cites Yi Sep’il’s interpretation of the hymn texts in his *Agwŏn kosa* and provides the opinions of various predecessors regarding the hymn texts. *Chongmyo ŭigwe*, unlike many other *ŭigwe*, received quite a number of supplements in the eighteenth century, and those will be mentioned below.

9. *Chongmyo ŭigwe songnok* 宗廟儀軌續錄 [Supplements to *Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine*] (1741⁵¹, 1770, 1785, 1793)⁵²

After the 1706 *Chongmyo ŭigwe*, quite a number of supplements were made, and only those in the eighteenth century are listed here. Among these supplements the 1770 *Supplement* and 1793 *Supplement* are of particular concern. The 1770 *Supplement* records the discussion of the 1743 hymn text rectification, and in this study, it is taken as a supplement to that found in the *Daily Records*. The 1793 *Supplement* is the only source that records another discussion on hymn texts initiated in 1785, in which the “Akko” is mentioned, and therefore it is one of the sources that underline the significance of “Akko” in the eighteenth century.

were performed during night time, it was hard for musicians to see the posture of the *hwi*, and therefore *choch’ok* was also used in giving the cues. In this case, the *choch’ok* not only evidences an innovative solution to the practical problem and flexibility in implementing the ritual manuals, but also the practical role of *hwi* in the actual performance of music.

⁵¹ Again, there are two copies of this supplement. The one in Kyujanggak (奎 14221, .v. 1–2) was prepared for the king, and the one in Changsŏgak (K2–2202) was for departmental reference.

⁵² All of these supplements are preserved and dated by Changsŏgak. Most of them, except K2–2195 (1706–1800), are dated with a precise year, such as K2–2196 (1785), K2–2197 (1793), K2–2198 (1793), and K2–2203 (1770), however, some of their content transcends the year indicated. Furthermore, unlike the copies stored in Kyujanggak, none of them seems to be the copy presented for the king’s reference, and thus it is also hard to tell whether they are a final draft or not. An entry in *Daily Records* has provided a possible explanation of this situation: in 1769 a supplement to the work after the 1741 edition was proposed, the king, Yŏngjo, ordered that supplements were to be made only to the copy stored in the department of the Royal Ancestral Shrine. See *Daily Records* vol. 72, 702 (1769/12/24).

10. *Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章 [Hymn Texts for National Rites] (1765)

Compilation of the *Kukcho akchang* was ordered by Yŏngjo, on the day after he, at the age of seventy, participated in a rehearsal of the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, in the fourth lunar month in 1765. According to the *Daily Records*, a total of seventeen copies of this single-volume work were printed and provided to various places and departments.⁵³ It seems that the project had been completed in a very short time, as the editors were bestowed gifts by the king just eighteen days after his order.⁵⁴ Also, it seems that the editors had relied on earlier sources such as *Agwŏn kosa* (1696) and *Chongmyo ŭigwe* (1706), because the editorial notes to the hymn text for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine repeats certain information, in particular on the worship objects of individual stanzas of hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.⁵⁵

A retrospective account by Sŏ Myŏngŭng in 1783 tells us that there had been an incorrect understanding of certain sets of hymn texts when *Kukcho akchang* was compiled. According to the preface to *Kukcho siak* 國朝詩樂 (1783), written by Sŏ Myŏngŭng, some of the editorial notes for several hymn texts in the section of “Hymn Texts for Various Reigns” (*Yŏlcho akchang* 列朝樂章) in *Kukcho akchang*,⁵⁶ which ascribe such hymn texts to the “rite of enshrinement” (*pumyo* 祔廟) to the Royal Ancestral Shrine, were found to be incorrect. From hindsight we know that such hymn

⁵³ See *Daily Records* vol. 69, 871 (1765/4/7). The copy I consulted is in Kyujanggak library, 卍 2924.

⁵⁴ *Daily Records* vol. 69, 886–7 (1765/4/19).

⁵⁵ The table of content of *Kukcho akchang* lists eleven types of rites, and the first item is the Royal Ancestral Shrine. The editors have adhered to Yŏngjo’s intention, as the work gives the hymn texts followed by editorial notes that not only explain the intended purpose and worship object of the hymn texts in a sacrificial rite and list their corresponding tunes, but also indicate explicitly the idea of “nine” *sŏng* (see Chapter Three), a technical term that bothered the king and his ministers for long time.

⁵⁶ *Kukcho akchang* 9b–10a.

texts are available in the section of “Hymn Texts for the Royal Ancestral Shrine” (*Chongmyo akchang* 宗廟樂章)” appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejong*,⁵⁷ and obviously they are for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. That is to say, at the time (1765) of the compilation of *Kukcho akchang*, the eighteenth-century Koreans apparently had obtained such hymn texts from sources other than the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (which was not easily available for consultation), resulting in such incorrect comments in the editorial notes.

11. “Akko” 樂考 [“Investigation of Music”] in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 東國文獻備考 (*Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom*) (1770)

The *Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom* is the first official encyclopedia in Korean history. The reliance on the documentary past, as a source of authority and precedents to justify one’s discourse, had long been a common practice not only observed in studies, or precisely, the annotations, of Confucian classics, but also in the daily administration of the government, as shown by the nature of various types of departmental records (such as the *Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat* and *Guidelines for the Royal Ancestral Shrine*) mentioned above. However, such departmental records are too detailed, rare, and inconvenient or impossible to look up, and, on many occasions indeed, incomplete (due to loss of records caused by wars and fire, or the record being compiled on an irregular entry-basis). A handy reference was therefore needed.

Beginning with a survey on the Chosŏn territories, the project gradually

⁵⁷ *Sejong sillok* 147.1a–2a.

developed into an encyclopedic work modeled on the Chinese encyclopedia *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (Comprehensive Investigation of Documents and Traditions) (ca. 1324?), compiled by Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (?–?), which is a work that had been known and cited by Koreans as early as the fifteenth century.⁵⁸ With the keen and frequent inspection of the progress by the king, the eighteenth-century Koreans ministers demonstrated their efficiency by completing the project within eight months.

It received three expansions during the rest of the dynasty, in 1796⁵⁹, 1809,⁶⁰ and 1908.⁶¹ The 1796 and 1809 editions did not draw much attention from indigenous historians until recent years,⁶² and so far nothing has been done on their content regarding music. The 1908 edition has long been a well-known source cited by numerous indigenous musicologists, and a complete translation from Chinese into Korean with annotations was published in 1994.⁶³ Since these editions seemed to be a

⁵⁸ See the preface to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, which translation is given Appendix Five.

⁵⁹ The year is given in an introduction to the work by Chŏngjo 正祖 (1752–1800), in his *Kunsŏ p'yogi* 羣書標記 [Reviews of Various Books], in *Hongjae chŏnsŏ* 弘齋全書 [Complete Works of Yi San], 184.13a–14b. Yi Manun 李萬運 (1723–1797) was responsible for the task.

⁶⁰ The order to revise the work was given in 1807. It was completed by Yi Yujun 李儒準 (?–), the son of Yi Manun, in 1809. The year is given in “Pu sugae ponmal 附修改本末” [Appended Explanatory Notes of Revisions] in *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* 增補文獻備考, *kwŏnsu* 卷首, 7a. The explanatory notes are also included in the *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* published in 1908.

⁶¹ A bibliographic introduction about *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* and its various modern facsimile editions has been given by Provine, *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 61–4.

⁶² Though these editions are mentioned in some publications in the mid-twentieth century, such as Yu Pongyŏng 劉鳳榮, “*Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo*,” in *Han'guk ŭi kojŏn paeksŏn* 韓國의古典百選, 317–19, etc. (see Provine's *Essays on Sino-Korean Musicology*, 61, n. 66), only a few researches on its content have been done, one of these being Chŏng Kwangsu 鄭光水 (Jeong Gwang Soo), “*Chŭngjŏng Munhŏn pigo ŭi yemun'go yŏn'gu*” 增訂文獻備考의藝文考研究 [An investigation of the Yemun'go of the *Chŭngjŏng Munhŏn pigo*], *Sŏjihak yŏn'gu* 書志學研究 5–6 (1990), 403–449.

⁶³ Kim Chongsu 金鍾洙, trans., *Yŏkchu Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo Akko* 譯註增補文獻備考樂考 [Annotated Translation of “Investigation of Music” of *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo*], 2 vols, HŬHC 3 (Seoul: KNKAW, 1994). However, some annotations in this edition ignore the context of certain content which had been included in previous editions. For example, the annotation to the content which had already been included in the 1770 edition cites the *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo*, which started to be compiled in 1778 and finished in 1781. See Kim Chongsu's *Yŏkchu Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo Akko*, 66, notes 125 to 127. For the year of compilation of the *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo*, see *Veritable Records of Chŏngjo* 5.13b (1778/2/5) and 14.28b (1782/11/24).

progressive work, the “Akko” of the 1908 edition is widely regarded as a handy encyclopedic reference for Korean court music history.⁶⁴

Including the prefaces and the content that form an independent volume, the *Encyclopedia* is divided into thirteen topical sections, and the title of each section bears the word “investigation” (*ko* 考), as in the section on music (i.e., “Akko” 樂考, “Investigation of Music”). The inclusion of the topic of music (mostly court ceremonial music) in an official encyclopedia on government institutions reflects the plausible importance of music in the political system in a Confucianist government, given that the performances of most court ceremonial music were remote and unheard by the majority of the population. It should be noted that there had already been a few non-official encyclopedic works prior to the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, but none of them rivals its scale.⁶⁵

12. *Pomanjae yŏnbo* 保晚齋年譜 [Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng] (?)

So far there is not much bibliographic information about the *Pomanjae yŏnbo* 保晚齋年譜 [Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng], but it is a common reference for scholars who

⁶⁴ It may be fruitful if their content is interpreted in their respective contexts. In recent years, Korean scholars of other disciplines became aware of the content and the context of the previous versions of *Chŭngbo pigo* (see the entries of Chŏng Kwangsu, Park Inho, Kim Munsik, Pak Kwangyong, and Chŏng Kubok in the Bibliography). Among these works Park Inho’s *Chosŏn hugi yŏksa chirihak yŏn’gu* provides a detailed investigation on the compilation process (1996, 23–48), rosters of editors (48–56), and bibliographic description of the three *Munhŏn pigo* (56–73). The information on the compilation process of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* is mainly drawn from official records like *Daily Records* and *Veritable Records*, and individual writings such as *Ijae nan’go* 頤齋亂藁 by Hwang Insok 黃胤錫 (will be discussed later). The findings by Park Inho have been cited by Kim Munsik (2007) and Pak Kwangyong (2007).

⁶⁵ Such as Ŏ Sukkwŏn 魚叔權 (?–?) *Kosa ch’waryo* 攷事撮要 [Essentials in Investigation of Events] (1554), Yi Sugwang’s 李睟光 (1563–1623) *Chibong yusŏl* 芝峰類說 [Classified accounts by Chibong] (1612), etc.

investigate the writings or events that are related to Sō Myōngŭng.⁶⁶ According to Kim Munsik, the *Chronology* was said to be compiled, without any further evidence, by Sō Myōngŭng's famous grandson Sō Yugu 徐有榘 (1764-1845),⁶⁷ while Song Chiwŏn mentioned where this source is located.⁶⁸ The surviving copy consulted in this study consists of three volumes, each containing two *kwŏn*, and it is a hand-written copy made in 1937, when Korea was under Japanese colonial rule.⁶⁹ The *Pomanjae yŏnbo* plays an important role in the present study, since it provides chronological information on the life and events of Sō Myōngŭng from a perspective different from that in official records.

⁶⁶ Such as Kim Munsik 金文植, “Sō Myōngŭng ūi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong” 徐命膺의 생애와 규장각활동 [The Life of Sō Myōngŭng and His Activities in Kyujanggak], *Chōngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 精神文化研究 22, no. 2 (1990): 151–84, Song Chiwŏn 宋芝媛 (Song Ji-won), “Sō Myōngŭng ūi ūmak kwan'gye chōsul yŏn'gu” 徐命膺의 음악관계著述研究 [A Study of Sō Myōngŭng's Musical Writings], *Han'guk ūmak yŏn'gu* 韓國音樂研究 27 (1999): 58 n. 9; for the location of *Pomanjae yŏnbo*, see n. 10; Song Chiwŏn, *Chōngjo ūi ūmak chōngch'aek* 정조의음악정책 [The Policies Towards Music by Chōngjo], *T'aehak ch'ongsŏ* 태학총서 [T'aehak Series] 22, (P'aju 파주 [Korea]: T'aehaksa 태학사, 2007), 90, note 10; and Han Minsik 韓莢燮, “Sō Myōngŭng ūi Pomanjae sajip ūi p'yŏnch'an kwajŏng kwa t'ŭkch'ing” 徐命膺의保晩齋四集의 편찬과정과특징 (The Compiling Process and Characteristics of *Pomanjae sajip*), *Han'guk sirhak yŏn'gu* 韓國實學研究 17 (2009): 128.

⁶⁷ Kim Munsik, “Sō Myōngŭng ūi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong,” 152, n. 2. In my experience, the accounts given in this *Chronology* of Sō's activities in the court, especially the conversations with the king, always find their counterparts in the *Daily Records*. Also, some information is written in quoted speech style, suggesting the compiler might probably have direct conversation with Sō (though conversations were in Korean language), and the intention to increase its authenticity in representing Sō Myōngŭng's opinions. The compiler of this work might have been close to Sō Myōngŭng and might have the opportunity to access the *Daily Records*.

⁶⁸ Song Chiwŏn, “Sō Myōngŭng ūi ūmak kwan'gye chōsul yŏn'gu,” 58, n. 10. A copy is located in the archive of KPW in Kwach'ŏn, and only a microfilm is open to access.

⁶⁹ On the back of the front cover of each volume there is an oval stamp which reads Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai 朝鮮總督府朝鮮史編修會[Korean History Compilation Committee]. The Korean History Compilation Committee was established in 1925 by the colonial government. For more information about the committee and its activities, see Nakamura Hidetaka 中村栄孝, “Chōsenshi no henshūto Chōsen shiryō no shūshū—Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai no jigyō” 朝鮮史の編修と朝鮮史料の蒐集—朝鮮總督府朝鮮史編修會の事業 [The Compilation of *History of Chosŏn* and Collection of Historical Materials and the Activities of the Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai], in *Hisenkankeishi no kenkyū (shita)* 日鮮關係史の研究 (下) [The Study of the History of the Relationship Between Japan and Korea (3rd volume)], (Tokyo: Yoshikawa koubunkan 吉川弘文館, 1969), 653–94. See also Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai 朝鮮總督府朝鮮史編修會, “Chōsenshi henshūkai jigyōgaiyō” 朝鮮史編修會事業概要 [Business Report of Chosŏn History Compilation Committee], (Keijō 京城 [Seoul]: Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai, 1938).

13. Collected Works of Individuals

While most of the sources introduced above (except *Agwŏn kosa*) are attributed to multiple authors, I have also explored a number of collected works of individuals for information on the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. The collected works of individuals in Chosŏn were usually compiled posthumously by their descendants, and their publication was usually privately funded. Also, as in Chinese practice, the titles of these collected works of individuals usually begin with or include the alternative name⁷⁰ of the author.

The *Wŏlsa-jip* 月沙集 [*Collected Writings of Yi Chŏnggu*] (1636, 1688, 1720)⁷¹ records some of Yi Chŏnggu's memorials reporting his investigations of the *Veritable Records of Sejong*, with the intention to revive the performance of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. Such memorials evidence the interruption of the performance of the music after the Japanese invasions, and they record the first attempt to interpret the history of the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, given the limited accessibility of the *Veritable Records*. These memorials were later included in other documents, such as *Agwŏn kosa*.

The collected works of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng, including such works as *Pomanjae-jip* 保晚齋集 [*Collected Writings of Sŏ Myŏnggŭng*] (compiled after 1787 and printed in

⁷⁰ Following the Chinese practice, literati in Chosŏn had a number of names for different purposes, such as literary names (*ho* 號) and studio names (*chemyŏng* 齋名).

⁷¹ According to the colophon by one of the descendants of Yi Chŏnggu, the 1636 and 1688 editions were comprised of 63 *kwŏn*, and it was not until the 1720 edition that appendices (*purok* 附錄) and other collected writings (*pyŏlchip* 別集) (1720) were added. See "Colophon to *Wŏlsajip*," in Yi Chŏnggu's *Wŏlsajip* 月沙集 [*Collected Writings of Yi Chŏnggu*], fasc. rpt. of 1720 edition HMC 70 (Seoul: MMC, 1991), 575.

1838),⁷² *Pomanjae ch'ongsŏ* 保晚齋叢書 [Collectanea by Sŏ Myŏngŭng] (in or before 1786), and *Pomanjae inggan* 保晚齋剩簡 [Literary Remains of Sŏ Myŏngŭng] (?), are a valuable source of information on Sŏ Myŏngŭng's studies on music. In this study, their main purpose is to provide Sŏ Myŏngŭng's retrospective justifying the significance of the investigation of the *Veritable Records* in 1770. While further investigation on such materials is needed, readers can obtain a general description of such musical writings in these collected works in an article by Sŏng Chiwŏn.⁷³

Some sections in Hwang Yunsŏk's 黃胤錫 (1729–1791) *Ijae nan'go* 頤齋亂藁 [Random Writings of Hwang Yunsŏk] (year not known)⁷⁴ give a unique account of several scenes in the process of the compilation of “Akko” in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, prior to Sŏ Myŏngŭng's involvement. Given the chronological organization of the work and the way events are recorded, *Ijae nan'go* looks like more a diary of Hwang than a literary work. His descriptions of his communications with one of the compilers, Chŏng Chon'gyŏm 鄭存謙 (1722–1794), in the early stages of the compilation of “Akko” (given in Appendix Four) reveal that the study of music was a difficult subject at the time, even for scholars who were competent in reading and writing Chinese.

⁷² According to a colophon by Sŏ Yugu (1764–1845), the grandson of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, the *Collected Writings of Sŏ Myŏngŭng* was compiled by the sons of Sŏ Myŏngŭng after his death in 1787, and the work was printed in 1838 “after the work had been stored in boxes for forty years.” There are also some other collected works by Sŏ Myŏngŭng, but they are outside the scope of this study.

⁷³ Song Chiwŏn, “Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi ŭmak kwan'gye chŏsul yŏn'gu,” 53–9.

⁷⁴ *Ijae nan'go* is divided into 57 *kwŏn*, from which some other collected works of Hwang (such as *Ijaejip* 頤齋集 [Collected Writings of Ijae] (1829, 12 *kwŏn* 7 volumes, also called *Ijae yugo* 頤齋遺稿 [Literary Remains of Ijae]) and *Ijae sokko* 頤齋續稿 [Some of Writings by Ijae] (1842, 14 *kwŏn* 7 volumes) were compiled. The *Ijae nan'go* records of various subjects, ranging from astronomy, ethics, politics, economics, literatures, arts, mathematics...etc. The *Ijae nan'go* was transcribed (from hand-writing in “grass calligraphy” [cursive style]) and published in 9 volumes plus an index volume by the AKS during 1994–2004.

APPENDIX TWO: THE CHRONOLOGY OF SŎ MYŎNGŬNG (UNTIL 1770)

This chronology aims to give more information on the lived experience of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, based on *Pomanjae yŏnbo* 保晩齋年譜 [Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng] (hereafter, *Chronology*), which has been discussed in Appendix One, and some other materials (mainly collected works of individuals, and information will be given in footnotes if needed). While I have given a portrait of Chosŏn society from a broad perspective in Chapter Two, here I attempt to shed light on an individual's life, in particular the case of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, ranging over familial background, education, and career.

The *Chronology* indicates that Sŏ was born somewhere near the Royal Ancestral Shrine and the Ch'angdŏk Palace (Ch'angdŏkkung 昌德宮) in the capital Seoul in 1716.¹ Also, he started to attend school at the age of seven (the school system at that time was of course different from the modern system, since the former had a strong emphasis on Confucian classics, the authoritative sources for answering questions on political issues in the civil examinations). Sŏ himself said that when he lived with his maternal family, he also received education from his maternal grandfather, Yi Chip 李堦 (1664–1733) when he was a boy.² He was competent in Chinese, the written language for educated people of

¹ The name of his birth place is given by the *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng* as Kyŏnghaengbang 慶幸坊. According to *Hanyangdo* 漢陽圖 [Map of Hanyang], a manuscript map said to be created in the 1760s, Kyŏnghaengbang was somewhere west of the Chongmyo and south of Tonhwamun 敦化門, the main entrance of the Ch'angdŏkkung 昌德宮 palace. See Yi Ch'an 李燦 and Yang Pogyŏng 楊普景, *Sŏul ūi yet chido* 서울의 옛地圖 (*Old Maps of Seoul*) (Seoul: Sŏul sirip taehakkyo pusŏl Sŏlhak yŏn'guso 서울시립대학교부설서울학연구소 [The Research Institute for the Studies of Seoul of the University of Seoul], 1995), 28–9.

² See Kim Munsik “Sŏ Myŏngŭng ūi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong” 徐命膺의 생애와 규장각활동 [The Life of Sŏ Myŏngŭng and His Activities in Kyujanggak]. *Chŏngsin munhwa yŏn'gu* 精神文化研究 22, no. 2 (1999): 162, n. 33, which cites *Pomanjaejip* 保晩齋集 [Collected Writings of Sŏ Myŏngŭng], printed in 1838, facs. rpt., HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 230. The most important move in Yi Chip's political career was his support to the designation of the king's brother, a son of a concubine and therefore ineligible

the Chosŏn dynasty; he was able to compose poems at the age of 10,³ and his father was pleased by his ability.⁴

Though his grandfather had been taken care of and taught him, after the age of twelve he followed and stayed with his father, Sŏ Chongok, in various provinces when his father was appointed as provincial governor.⁵ It is uncertain how much interruption of his studies was caused by such frequent travels, but it is sure that Sŏ Myŏngŭng was sometimes involved in his father's work. For example, when Sŏ Chongok was appointed as the Headmaster (*taesasŏng* 大司成) of the National Academy (Sŏnggyun'gwan 成均館) in 1732,⁶ studying in that National Academy (a governmental institution where potential ministers and officers were trained) was, according to Sŏ Chongok, an unpleasant experience for the *yangban* students,⁷ not to mention having the students worship Confucius. In order to set up a better model, Sŏ Chongok asked Sŏ Myŏngŭng to reside in the Academy and perform the ritual in the Confucius Shrine.⁸

to inherit the throne according to Confucian family lineage system, as the "crown brother" (*wangseje* 王世弟) in 1721, given the king at the time, Kyŏngjong (r. 1720–1724), who was on the throne only for slightly more than five years, had no heir. Yi was later promoted to Second State Councilor during reign of the king's brother, Yŏngjo.

³ See Sŏ Hyŏngsu's "Ponsaeng sŏn'go Munjŏnggong pugun haengjang" 本生先考文靖公府君行狀 [A Biography of Sŏ Myŏngŭng], in *Myŏnggo chŏnjip* 明臯全集 [Complete Works of Sŏ Hyŏngsu], facs. rpt., HMC 261 (Seoul: MMC, 2001), 312.

⁴ See *Chronology*, *kwŏn* 1, (1727).

⁵ Sŏ Chongok was appointed as the Provincial Governor of Haesŏ 海西 (i.e., Hwanghae 黃海) in 1729, Honam 湖南 (i.e., Chŏlla 全羅) in 1735, Kwanbuk 關北 (i.e., Hamgyŏng 咸鏡) in 1736, Kyŏnggi 京畿 in 1739, and Kwansŏ 關西 (i.e., P'yŏngan 平安) in 1740. See Sŏ Myŏngŭng's "Sŏn'go Munmin'gong pugun myop'yo" 先考文敏公府君墓表 [Epitaph on the Tomb of Sŏ Chongok], in *Pomanjaejip*, HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 300.

⁶ See Sŏ Myŏngŭng's "Sŏn'go Munmin'gong pugun haengjang" 先考文敏公府君行狀 [A Biography of Sŏ Chongok], in *Pomanjaejip*, HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 361.

⁷ See *Daily Records* vol. 41, 45 (1732/3/19). According to the description by Sŏ Chongok, those students in the capital, who studied Confucian classics and were studying in the four governmental schools, always found someone else to attend their classes, while they just stayed at home (original text: 京華士子之習於經工者 入於四學 則輒以他人替直 而渠則尋常在家).

⁸ "See Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命, "Yijo P'ansŏ Sŏgong sindobimyŏng" 吏曹判書徐公神道碑銘 [Epitaph on the Path Leading to the Tomb of Sŏ Chongok], in *Kwirokchip* 歸鹿集 [Collected Writings of Cho Hyŏnmyŏng], fasc. rpt. HMC 213 (Seoul: MMC, 1998), 13. The involvement in his father's work was

The experience with his father might have influenced Sŏ Myŏngŭng, and it is reflected in his own service in the court. It is not uncommon to see Sŏ Myŏngŭng mention his father during his conversations with the king (i.e., Yŏngjo), especially when he was appointed to the position that his father previously held, or when he mentions his father's opinions on similar issues.⁹ He also applied what he learned from his father when he was the Provincial Governor of P'yŏngan in 1776.¹⁰ Another important example showing his father's influence is the establishment of the Kyujanggak 奎章閣,¹¹ an important institution in the late Chosŏn dynasty, which had been basically formed in 1772 by the crown prince (later known as Chŏngjo) based on the suggestions of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, who had become a royal preceptor at that time. In an article written by Sŏ Myŏngŭng in memory of his father, a similar idea to establish an extra institution to facilitate governance had been mentioned by his father as early as in 1728.¹²

Therefore, it is quite safe to assume that Sŏ Myŏngŭng might have learned quite a lot about matters in the court from his father before his own service in the court. The 1743 hymn text reform for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, discussed in

probably because Sŏ Myŏngŭng became the eldest son of the family, after his elder brother, Sŏ Myŏngik 徐命翼, died at the age of 21 (1729) before obtaining any appointment in the court. At the time Sŏ Myŏngŭng was 14, and the youngest brother Sŏ Myŏngsŏn 徐命善, who later became the Chief State Councilor, was only 4.

⁹ See Kim Munsik "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong," 159–60. For examples, see *Daily Records*, vol. 61, 690 (1784/8/18), *Daily Records*, vol. 63, 429 (1756/10/20), *Daily Records*, vol. 65, 529 (1759/7/25), *Daily Records*, vol. 68, 44 (1762/11/17), *Daily Records*, vol. 71, 689 (1768/7/14).

¹⁰ Sŏ applied what he had learned from his father in the reformation of the training and recruitment system. See Kim Munsik "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong," 160, n. 21.

¹¹ For the background of the establishment of Kyujanggak, see Kim Munsik, et al., *Kyujanggak: Rediscovering Its History and Culture*, trans. Lee Kang Hahn and ed. Milan Hejtmanek (Seoul: Acanet, 2010), 15–8.

¹² See Sŏ Myŏngŭng's "Sŏn'go Munmin'gong pugun haengjang" 先考文敏公府君行狀 [A Biography of Sŏ Chongok], in *Pomanjaejip*, HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 360.

Chapter Four, is probably just one of the incidents that had influenced Sŏ Myŏngŭng's career, as reflected in the memorial to the Crown Prince in 1754.

Due to frequent travel and a heavy workload, Sŏ Myŏngŭng's father passed away in 1745 at the age of 58.¹³ After observing the mourning rites for the death of his father, in 1747 at the age of 31, Sŏ Myŏngŭng started to serve the court as a Guard (*sema* 洗馬) in the Security Office for the Crown Prince (Seja igwisa 世子翊衛司), a position of senior ninth rank.¹⁴ Since his maternal grandfather Yi Chip and his father Sŏ Chongok were trusted by Yŏngjo (because both of them had contributed to the centralization of power at the beginning of Yŏngjo's reign),¹⁵ the career of Sŏ Myŏngŭng went smoothly, except for a few punishments in which he was temporarily banished to places remote to the capital but quickly forgiven, followed by his return and assignment to new positions. Having encouragement from the king in 1747, he decided to take the civil examination.¹⁶ In 1754, shortly after passing the examination, he was appointed as the Fourth Censor (*chŏngŏn* 正言), a promising Senior Sixth rank position in the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn 司諫院). In 1763, he was first promoted to Second Minister (*ch'amp'an* 參判) of the Board of Rites,¹⁷ a position of Junior Second rank, which means he had been

¹³ See *Pomanjaejip*, HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 300.

¹⁴ The purpose of the Security Office for the Crown Prince is to "let the Crown Prince know the way of righteousness and act accordingly." All officials of the Office were picked from descendants of ranked ministers. See *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* 225.10a. For the ranking of the position, see *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* 236.13a.

¹⁵ Kim Munsik "Sŏ Myŏngŭng ŭi saengae wa Kyujanggak hwaltong," 163.

¹⁶ *Daily Records*, vol. 56, 206 (1747/11/12).

¹⁷ The Board of Rites was one of the six important departments responsible for various ceremonies, examinations and recruitment of officials, etc. See *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo* 218.6b–7a. There was a short discussion on who should get promoted. At last, the king said, "in the past he [Sŏ Myŏngŭng] had achieved what others could not, and this is known as 'devotion (*mangsin* 忘身).'" The king ordered promotion of "Royal Secretariat (*sŭngji* 承旨) Sŏ Myŏngŭng, the son of former Minister (*p'ansŏ* 判書) Sŏ Chongok, whom I knew personally since he started to serve as a protected official (*ŭmgwan* 蔭官). I always feel regret for his slow promotion as he is knowledgeable and has passed the civil exam. Now there is a vacancy of a

promoted to the core of the government.¹⁸

The relationship between Yŏngjo and Sŏ Myŏnggŭng (i.e., the king and a subject in the political hierarchy) was bridged by the remembrance of Sŏ Chongok by both of them. From the perspective of the king, appointing important positions to the descendants of former loyal ministers implies that the appointees have the obligation to serve with loyalty, or else they could be accused as “unfilial” (*purhyo* 不孝) to their father, regarded as unscrupulous in Confucianism. On the other hand, an appointee, according to Confucianism, has to do his best in the service, not only to be “filial” to his father, but also because of the king’s recognition of that father’s deeds and his talent. This kind of relationship is reflected in the following lively conversations:

The king said, “I had seen your father, and now I see your face and I am saddened.” Sŏ Myŏnggŭng raised his head and said, “Though I was outside the palace, I heard that your Majesty had mentioned my father from time to time in the royal lectures, and my brothers and uncles felt it deeply and wept. We are grateful to have remembrances of my father from his friends and colleagues, and even from your Majesty [...].” The king said, “You have to work hard and attend the civil examination as soon as you can, so that you can serve the country in the way your father did.”¹⁹

The king said, “Sŏ Chongok was wholehearted in serving the country, and his son is also good.” Kim Sangno 金尙魯 (1702–?) said, “Sŏ Myŏnggŭng is the person your majesty said. It would be truly great if he can inherit [the will of his father] to serve the court.”²⁰

Sŏ Myŏnggŭng came and bowed [in front of the king]. “I now see your father,” the king said, “serve me as how your father did.”²¹

The king said, “Your father had been the Provincial Governor of

position of Senior Second rank. After I have consulted other ministers and considered his virtues I assigned him as the Second Minister of the Board of Rites.” *Daily Records*, vol. 68, 973 (1763/12/11).

¹⁸ He was appointed as the governor of Hwanghae province, which was also of Junior Second rank, in 1762. However, it was a provincial position which was remote from the capital and therefore of less political significant.

¹⁹ *Daily Records*, vol. 56, 206 (1747/11/12).

²⁰ *Daily Records* vol. 61, 241 (1754/2/24).

²¹ *Daily Records* vol. 61, 388 (1754/4/11).

Hwanghae province, and now you are appointed to the same position. You must not fall short of your father's merit. [...]” Sŏ Myŏngŭng said, “This is exactly the responsibility of a Provincial Governor. I am not a person with strong character. However, having the orders and the encouragement of the words of my father from your Majesty, if I disappoint your Majesty, it is unfilial to my father. How can I not to do my best?”²²

Such scenes are quite common in the *Daily Records*, and this may help to explain why government positions were dominated by relatively few clans. To conclude, family played an important role in Sŏ Myŏngŭng's career, something that is less common, but still present, in modern Korean society.

The following is a chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng, drawn from the *Chronology*, unless indicated otherwise by a footnote.

Example: Year/month/day [age] Event.

1716/5/2 Born in the central district, Kyŏnghaeng-bang 慶幸坊, the central district of Seoul.

1722 [6] Started learning.

1725 [10] Wrote a poem on plum blossoms.

1727/9 [12] Followed his father to Yonggang 龍岡 county in P'yŏngan 平安 province. Again, wrote a poem with a rhyme assigned by his father.

1729/12/18 [14] Eldest brother, Sŏ Myŏngik 徐命翼 (1709–1729), died.²³

1730/2 [15] Followed his father to Hwanghae 黃海 province.

1730/12 [15] Married the daughter of another officer, Yi Chŏngsŏp 李廷燮 (1688–1744).

1734/8 [19] Attended the Regular (*singnyŏn* 式年) Classics Licentiate Examination (*saengwŏn-kwa* 生員科), first part (*ch'osi* 初試) of the beginners' level (*saengwŏn-si* 生員試).

²² *Daily Records* vol. 67, 402 (1762/3/11).

²³ Sŏ Hyŏngsu, “Paekpu chŭngijo p'ansŏ pugun myojimyŏng 伯父贈吏曹判書府君墓誌銘” [Epitaph of Sŏ Myŏngik], in *Myŏnggo chŏnjip*, HMC 261 (Seoul: MMC, 2001), 339.

1735/2 [20] Attended the Auxiliary (*chŭnggwang* 增廣) Classics Licentiate Examination, intermediate level (*chinsa-si* 進士試).

1735/7 Attended the Regular Classics Licentiate Examination, second part (*puksi* 覆試) of the beginner's level, obtained the 53rd place at the third level.

1735/8 Followed his father to Chŏlla 全羅 province.

1736/9 [21] His son, Sŏ Hosu 徐浩修 (1736–1799), was born.

1737/2 [22] Followed his father to Hamgyŏng 咸鏡 province.

1740 [25] Attended the first part of the *Chŭnggwang* Civil Examination (*munkwa* 文科). Accompanied his mother to P'yŏngan province.

1742/1 [27] His mother died.

1743 [28] His father, as a minister of the Board of Military, suggested the inappropriateness of the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.²⁴

1745/3 [30] His younger brother, Sŏ Myŏngsŏng 徐命誠, married the daughter of Cho Hyŏnmyŏng 趙顯命, the Third State Councilor (*uŭijŏng* 右議政) at the time.²⁵

1745/5 His father passed away.

1746 [31] Wrote *Insŏ* 仁書 [*The Book of Benevolence*].

1747/11 [32] He was appointed to a ninth rank position in the Security Office of the Crown Prince (*Seja igwisa* 世子翊衛司).

1748/1 [33] Resigned from the post and was assigned as the inspector (*kamjogwan* 監造官) of the Office of Royal Portraits (Yŏngjŏng togam 影幀都監). The chief officer position was held concurrently by Prime Minister, Kim Chero at the time. After the project was completed a banquet was held for related officers, and for the occasion an auxiliary examination was held. The king intended to have Sŏ win the title, but finally it was Kim's son who took the title.

1748/2 Promoted to the sixth rank and transferred to the Office of Royal Clothing (*Sangŭiwŏn* 尙衣院).

1749/8 [34] Second son, Sŏ Hyŏngsu 徐滢修 (1749–1824) was born.

²⁴ See Chapter Four.

²⁵ Cho Hyŏnmyŏng, "Chajŏ Kinyŏn 自著紀年" [Self-composed chronology], in *Kwirok-chip*, HMC 212 (Seoul: MMC, 1998), 193.

1749/12 He was transferred to the Security Office of the Crown Prince.

1750/9 [35] He was transferred to the Office of Royal Stables (Saboksi 司僕寺).

1751/1 [36] He was transferred to the Board of Tax while holding duty in the Security Office of the Crown Prince concurrently.

1751/4/11 Participated in the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.²⁶

1751/4 The son of the Crown Prince was assigned as royal heir and another Security Office was established. Sŏ was appointed chief of the new Security Office.

1751/10 Resigned and assigned as the county magistrate (*hyŏn'gam* 縣監) of Ŭihŭng 義興 county in Kyŏngsang 慶尙 province.

1752/1 [37] Arrived Ŭihŭng county. Compiled *Karye chiphae* 家禮集解 [Annotated Familial Rites] and *Taeak wŏllyu* 大樂源流 [The Origin and Development of Great Music]. The later was said to be lent to someone and lost during the compilation of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

1753/12 [38] Resigned from the position of county magistrate.

1754/4 [39] Passed the first part of the Auxiliary Special Examination (*chŭnggwan pyŏlsi* 增廣別試), and in the next month passed the second part of the examination with the fourth position of the second level. Then, he was assigned to a senior-sixth rank position in the Board of Military.

1754/6 He was promoted to Fourth Censor (*chŏngŏn* 正言) of the Office of the Censor-General (Saganwŏn 司諫院).

1754/7 He submitted a memorial that suggests ways of governance (see Chapter Five).

1754/10 Concurrently assigned as Fourth Tutor (*sasŏ* 司書) of Crown Prince Tutorial Office (Seja sigangwŏn 世子侍講院).

1754/10 Concurrently assigned education officer (*kyosu* 教授) of one of the academies in Seoul.

1754/11 Concurrently assigned as education officer in the Office of Translators (Sayŏgwŏn 司譯院), Junior Sixth Counselor (*pusuch'an* 副修撰) of the Office of the Special Counselors (Hongmun'gwan 弘文館), and Third Tutor (*munhak* 文學) of the

²⁶ *Daily Records* vol. 58, 786 (1751/4/10).

Crown Prince Tutorial Office. These designations were not implemented, since Sō was appointed as a Secret Inspector (*amhaeng ōsa* 暗行御史) inspecting Hamgyōng province.

1755/2 [40] Returned from duty in Hamgyōng province.

1755/5 He was ordered to take part in the compilation of *Chōnūi sogam* 闡義昭鑑 [Explanation for Clarification], a book that explains why Yōngjo was designated by his brother Kyōngjong as royal successor.

1755/10 Departed for Beijing as envoy.

1756/3 [41] Returned to Seoul. On the way he was assigned as Fifth Counselor (*kyori* 校理), a senior-fifth rank position, in the Office of the Special Counselors (Hongmun'gwan).

1756/5 Promoted to Fourth Counselor (*ūnggyo* 應教), a senior-fourth rank position.

1756/6 Resigned and compiled *Ōje hunsō* 御製訓書 [The King's Royal Instructions]. For his efforts in the compilation he was promoted to senior-third rank (T'ongjōng taebu 通政大夫). Afterwards, he worked (*sūngji* 承旨) in the Royal Secretariat (Sūngjōngwōn 承政院).

1757/3 [42] Transferred to the Office of the Censor-General and worked as Censor-General (*taesagan* 大司諫).

1757/5 Assigned as Magistrate (*pusa* 府使) of Sōngch'ōn 成川 Magistracy.

1758/1 [43] Resigned from all positions and resided in Sōgang 西江 afterwards.

1758/6–1759/9 [44–45] Assigned on and off as Censor-General, Third Minister (*ch'amūi* 參議) of Board of Punishment (Hyōngjo 刑曹), Royal Secretary (*taesagan* 大司諫), and headmaster (*taesasōng* 大司成) of the National Academy (Sōnggyun'gwan 成均館).

1759/10 [45] Appointed as the First Counselor (*pujehak* 副提學) of the Office of the Special Counselors.

1760/4 [46] Appointed as the Royal Secretary again, and then appointed as First Counselor again in the next month, but he worked only for about a month. After that he was appointed to some miscellaneous duties, mainly to prepare some writings for the king.

1760/11 Appointed as the First Counselor again. The *Chronology* records lengthy discussions on various topics occurring during the lectures participated in by the king, Sō, and other scholars.

1761/3 [47] Sŏ was appointed as the headmaster of the National Academy again. He organized the ceremony for the commencement of learning for the crown prince, who later became Chŏngjo. In the fifth month, Sŏ personally held seminars for the students at the National Academy.

1761/8 He was assigned as the Third Minister (*ch'amŭi* 參議) of the Board of Personnel.

1761/9 He submitted *Yanghan samyŏng* 兩漢詞命 [The Royal Edicts of the Two Han Dynasties], ordered by Yŏngjo when he was the First Counselor.

1761/10 In a conversation with Yŏngjo about a report by another envoy to Beijing, the king mentioned Augustin Ferdinand von Hallerstein [Chin. name: Liu Songling 劉松齡] (1703–1774), a Jesuit missionary, who worked in the Royal Observatory of Qing China from 1746 until his death.

1762/2 [47] He was assigned as the Governor (*kamsa* 監司, or *kwanch'alsa* 觀察使) of Hwanghae province, a position of junior-second rank.

1762/7 He was assigned as the Third Minister of Board of Personnel and Board of Punishment successively.

1763/1 [48] He was assigned to various positions such as the Third Minister of the Board of Punishment, Third Minister of the Board of Taxation, Second Royal Secretary of the Royal Secretariat, and again, First Counselor of the Office of the Special Counselors, etc.

1763/7 He resigned and was expelled to Chongsŏng 鍾城 in Hamgyŏng Province, for nominating an inappropriate person for a government position.

1763/10 He was assigned as Third Minister of the Board of Rites. Originally also appointed concurrently as the Second Deputy Director (*tongjisa* 同知事) of the Bureau of State Records (Ch'unch'ugwan 春秋館), which was not implemented.

1763/12 Promoted to Kasŏn taebu 嘉善大夫, a junior-second rank title, and Second Minister of the Board of Rites.

1764/1 [49] Successively appointed Deputy Commander (*puch'onggwan* 副總管) of the Five Military Commands Headquarters (Owi toch'ongbu 五衛都摠府) and Third Magistrate (*tongjisa*) of the State Tribunal (Ŭigumbu 義禁府).

1764/2 He went to Chŏnju 全州 and returned.

1764/3 Discussed with Yŏngjo the details of the Sacrificial Rites for Ming emperors.

1764/4 Successively appointed Inspector-General (*taesahŏn* 大司憲) of the Office of the Inspector-General (*Sahŏnbu* 司憲府) and Second Minister of the Board of Punishment.

1765/5 Completed *Taehak sangsŏl* 大學詳說 [Annotation to *Great Learning*] and *Chungyong miŏn* 中庸微言 [Annotation to *The Doctrine of the Mean*].

1764/10 Appointed Deputy Director (*chehak* 提學) of the Office of the Special Counselors and Director (*chejo* 提調) of the Office of Diplomatic Correspondence (*Sŭngmunwŏn* 承文院).

1764/12 Appointed Third Magistrate (*uyun* 右尹) of the Seoul Magistracy (*Hansŏngbu* 漢城府). Completed *Sangsŏ ilji* 尚書逸旨 [Essentials of the *Book of Historical Documents*] and *Siak yogyŏl* 詩樂要訣 [Rubrics for Poems and Music].

1765/1 [50] Appointed Second Minister of the Board of Personnel and Second Deputy Director (*tongjisa* 同知事) of the Office of the Royal Lectures (*Kyŏngyŏn* 經筵).

1765/3 He was promoted to the Board of Punishment and Deputy Director of the Office of the Special Counselors.

1765/4 Ordered to compile *Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章 [Hymn Texts for National Rites] (see Chapter Five).

1765/5 Again, he was appointed headmaster of the National Academy.

1765/6 Resigned from all positions, after his son Sŏ Hosu was exiled to Haenam 海南 in Chŏlla province. Re-appointed Inspector-General (*taesahŏn* 大司憲), Third Magistrate (*uyun* 右尹) of Seoul Magistracy, First Counselor of the Office of the Special Counselors, First Royal Secretary (*tosŭngji* 都承旨) of Royal Secretariat, etc., successively in the following months.

1766/1 [51] Appointed Second Minister of the Board of Personnel, and ordered to edit *Sohak chinam* 小學指南 [Guide to the *Teaching of Zhu Xi* 朱熹], said to be compiled by the king.

1766/4 The king bestowed the honor of “permanent employment” (*yŏnggan sap’an* 永刊仕版).

1766/6 Exiled to Kapsan 甲山 in Hamgyŏng province, due to his refusal to obey the king’s order to appoint an eighteen-year-old Chŏng Hugiŏm 鄭厚謙 (1749–1766) into the Office of the Special Counselors. There, he toured the mountain Paektusan 白頭山.

1766/8 He was appointed Second Minister of the Board of Works concurrently with two other positions.

1766 /11 He submitted a resignation letter, which mentioned the previous condemnation by the king in 1766/6. The king replied that it was the past and Sŏ should return and take the appointment. Sŏ returned to the capital. He completed *Isŏnch'ŏnhak* 易先天學 [The Study of the Eight Diagrams]. After that, he was appointed to various positions such as Second Minister of the Board of Personnel, etc.

1767/1 [52] Dismissed again due to disagreement on personnel arrangement, and again, assigned various positions in the next month. Since he was not in the capital, the assignments to various positions were not actually carried out. Subsequently, Sŏ submitted resignations continuously, and the king responded by mentioning the way that his father had served the king. As punishment, he was appointed Town Magistrate of Kapsan in Hamgyŏng province in 1767/9. He was ordered to return in 1767/12, but he did not return until 1768/7. When he returned, he reported his observations about the northern region. After that, though he was appointed to various positions, even under the king's pressure, he seemed to go into retirement by himself.

1768/9 [53] Submitted a poem to celebrate the king's birthday instead of meeting the king in person.

1768/11 [53] Completed *Igyŏng t'onghae* 二經通解 [Annotation to the Two Books by Laozi].

1769/5 [54] Appointed Navy Commander (*susa* 水使) of Ch'ungch'ŏng province, and he accepted the position and went to Ch'ungch'ŏng province.

1769/6 [54] Promoted to Chahŏn taebu 資憲大夫, a senior-second rank, and appointed as an envoy to Beijing.

1769/7 Appointed Third Minister (*p'ansa* 判事) of the Office of Ministers-without-Portfolio, Chief Magistrate (*p'anyun* 判尹) of Seoul Magistracy, and Director (*chejo* 提調) of the Office of Editorial Review (Kyosŏgwan 校書館).

1769/8 Completed *Kosa sinsŏ* 攷事新書 [Newly Revised Books on Institutions and Events].

1769/10 Departed for Beijing.

1770/3 [55] Appointed as the Minister of the Board of Punishment.

1770/4 Reported from duty in Beijing and was assigned as an editor of the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*. Visited the repository on Kanghwa Island and copied substantial materials from the *Veritable Records of Sejong* (see also Appendix Four).

1770/6 Appointed the Director (*chejo*) of the Music Bureau (Changagwŏn), and examined the notations of two different reigns, Sejong and Sejo.

APPENDIX THREE: TRANSLATION OF MEMORIAL (EXCERPT)¹

[...]

其制治之具 一曰正祀典 臣聞禮有五經 莫重於祭

For the tools in governance, the first one is the rectification of ritual programs for sacrificial rites. I read that there are five classics for appropriate code of conduct, and the most important thing [suggested by these classics] is the sacrificial rites.

祭祀之道 有本有末

There are fundamentals and peripherals in the way of performing sacrificial rites.

本者 人主之誠敬是也 末者 儀章之數 有司之選 樂歌之節是也

The fundamentals are the sincerity and respect from the officiant [of the First Wine Offering]; the peripherals are the design of ritual programs, the selection of the people who take roles in the rite, and the coordination of music and chanting.

本立 則末雖疎略 固不害於祖考之來格

[If] the fundamentals are accomplished, even [if] the peripherals are not precise, the ancestral spirits will still come.

故先儒曰 祭 與其敬不足而禮有餘也 不若禮不足而敬有餘也

Therefore, the preceding scholars said it is less desirable to perform sacrificial rites with precise implementation of peripherals but insufficient respect, than to perform a sacrificial rite with less satisfactory peripherals but huge respect.

然其爲末者 或不幸而甚至於乖舛吡謬 則亦豈聖王和神人之道而不思所以正之哉

However, [if] those peripherals are inappropriate and even strange and wrong, how would this become the way to put the spirit and human together by a sage king without an intention to rectify it?

[...]

昔臣父嘗從親享 而歸語於臣曰 方冬寒氣凜凜 逼人肌骨 與祭之人 皆不能安其身 而我殿下 達宵露立 禮容無怠 仰瞻玉鬚 寒氷漸漸 非聖人而能如是乎

Once upon a time, my father, after attending the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine performed by the king, told me that everyone attending the sacrificial rite was suffering from the inclement cold weather. However, your majesty, who stayed and stood outdoors through the night, displayed no inappropriate behavior at all. [My father] saw the beard of the King was frozen in ice. How could one do this if he is not a sage?

臣固已記有於心

¹ The translation is based on the text in “Chinch’i pöpsö 陳治法書” [“A Memorial Elaborating the Ways of Governance”] in the *Pomanjae-jip*, HMC 233 (Seoul: MMC, 1999), 113–27

I still remember his words.

及臣筮仕之後 亦嘗獲觀親享之儀 私竊感歎 益思臣父之言 而有以仰殿下誠敬之心 寔能致祖考之來格也

After I started to serve in the court, I also had an opportunity to attend and observe the sacrificial rite performed by the king, and I was deeply impressed by the respect from your Majesty, which made me recall the words of my father. I believe the sincerity of your Majesty definitely was conducive to the presence of the spirits of the royal ancestors.

[...]

我國四時大享 自獻官以至諸執事 諉之於天曹一郎吏 臨時苟差 請托紛紜 惟以圖免爲事 故所差祭官 多雜以罷殘昏劣之人 衣服不潔 禮儀多愆

For the four seasonal sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, [the assignment of various participants,] from Wine Offering officiant to various helpers is passed on to the low ranking officers from the Board of Personnel and done extemporarily. Many of those who are assigned to the duty make false pretenses to escape from the duty. As a result, the officiants are usually mixed with confused people, their clothes are not clean, and procedures are performed perfunctorily.

尙記昔年親祭之時 見其諸執事 或有盤坐廟庭 相與酬酢 如私室之中

I still remember last year when the king performed the sacrificial rite, various helpers were sitting on the floor in the shrine and socializing with each other, just like at their home.

臣竊慨然 以爲吾君之誠敬如此 而諸臣之慢謬如彼 誠不可使聞於人也

I am so disappointed, as my king performed the rite with such sincerity while the officials are so delinquent, and this truly should not be rumored to other people.

[...]

若夫樂歌之節 則昔年臣父 以兵曹判書 入侍筵席 與聞廟樂釐正之事 故臣亦得聞其一二於臣父矣

For setting the performance of music and chanting of hymn text [to the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine], I have also heard about the rectification from my father when he was the minister of the Board of Military at the time and therefore participated in the Royal Lecture and heard about the rectification of the music.

然因循差謬之本末 但有前後議論 今不必觀縷

The development from the beginning [of previous attempts to rectify the music], and there is no need to narrate in detail here.

臣請以三代之樂 訂之於前 我朝文昭殿之樂 參之於後 而使其理自著焉

I propose to make reference to the music of the “three dynasties” and that for the Munsojŏn, and the idea would be clear.

夫王者 功以九敘 故樂以九成 書稱簫韶九成 周禮稱九德之歌 九磬之舞是也

For rulers, their achievements have to be told in nine times, and therefore the music is performed in nine perfections. This is the so-called “nine perfections for windpipes music and dance of *Shao*” in the *Classic of Books*, and the “chanting of nine virtues and the dance of nine chimes” in the *Rites of Zhou Dynasty*.

獨詩雅頌 有祭太王之樂 有祭武王之樂 而此則乃是牷嘗之祭 各用一廟者 非統祭九廟之詩樂也

It is notable that in [the section of] “Ya” and “Song” in the *Classic of Poetry*, there are separate hymn texts for the sacrificial rite to [emperor] Taiwang 太王 and [emperor] Wuwang 武王 respectively; but this is the rite of *zhichang* 牷嘗, the hymn text [in which] is for one specific chamber, not for all chambers.

臣謹考樂學軌範 宗廟之樂註 不曰某室某曲 但列書樂章 而初獻除引入又引出繹成 統爲九章 亞獻定大業亦然

I have studied *Akhak kwebŏm* (*Guide to the Study of Music*), [in which] the annotation to the music for [the sacrificial rite at] the Royal Ancestral Shrine does not say “particular piece for particular chamber.” Instead, it writes the hymn texts, say, for First Wine Offering, consist of nine stanzas of hymn texts, excluding the hymn text [*Hūimun*, to be performed] when [the First Wine Offering officiant] walk up to the shrine and *Yŏksŏng* [for the First Wine Offering officiant returning to his starting position]. This is also true for *Chŏngdaeŏp* for the Second Wine Offering.

至於文昭殿 始曰一室某曲 二室某曲 而各室但止一曲

For Munsojŏn, it reads “certain piece of music for the first chamber, certain piece of music for the second chamber.” This is one piece of music for each chamber.

其意蓋曰 文昭之制 既用三代五廟之法 則可倣上世牷嘗之例 一室各奏一章也

The idea is: the system [in terms of allocation of the spirit tablets and structure of the shrine] for Munsojŏn had adhered to the “five chambers” system of the “three dynasties, and therefore the practice [of the performance of music] could adhere to that of *zhichang* of Koryŏ dynasty (i.e., playing one stanza of hymn text for one chamber).

宗廟之制 既遵漢唐西上之法 則四時之祭 不可各奏樂章 故但從三代禘祭之例 各室合奏一樂 至於九變而後已也

The system of [our] Royal Ancestral Shrine, however, adheres to the “starting from the west” system of the Han and Tang dynasties. Therefore, during sacrificial rites for four seasons the hymn texts could not be chanted for each chamber. Instead, [we can] only adhere to the practice in *xiaji* 禘祭 of the three dynasties, and only one single piece is performed for all chambers, until the music is performed in “nine changes.”

是以文昭之歌 五室各制八句 以其各室一獻之時 樂之長短遲速 不得不同也

Therefore, the hymn texts at Munsojŏn are comprised of eight lines in each [hymn text for each] chamber, and the music for the First Wine Offering at each chamber is the same in terms of its duration and tempo.

宗廟之歌 句有長短 字有多少 以其諸室畢獻之後 自始至終 但取其九成 而不必辨其遲速也
As for the hymn texts at the Royal Ancestral Shrine, they are comprised of lines of various length and different numbers of characters. After the wine offering at all chambers the entire piece [will have been performed] and “nine perfections” is attained, and there is no need to pay attention to its tempo.

此意明甚 本不難曉

This is quite clear and not difficult to understand.

而今乃不然 宗廟之中 割裂九成之樂 以爲逐室之奏 急則省其句 緩則益其節

But it is not the case now. For the Royal Ancestral Shrine, the music of “nine perfections” is separated and thought to be performed for each chamber. When it [i.e., the ritual procedure] is too fast, text lines are shortened; when it is too slow, sections are lengthened [or added].

此不過樂師輩因循差謬之致 而豈樂之本也哉

This is caused by the musicians who adhere to the preceding practices, and this is not the original intention of the [setting of] music.

頃年釐正之時 我殿下 以聖人謙挹之心 不欲有所更張 但別撰仁廟樂章以增入之 蓋非智有所不及也

Many years ago during the rectification [of hymn texts, in 1743] your Majesty, for the virtue of humbleness, did not want any replacement of [hymn texts] happens. It turned out that the hymn text [for Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608) written during the reign] of Injo (r. 1623–1649) was added, but this is not the problem of insufficient consideration.

故伊時臣父 亦嘗有手笥 欲陳於筵席 而退托之心 不欲拂聖上謙挹之美節 故遂不果焉

At the time my father would have liked to express his [opinion written in a] brief letter, but his heart did not want to [do anything] against your Majesty’s virtue of humbleness and therefore did not do so.

[...]

然今欲從九成之例 則必廢五禮儀樂止之節 欲從逐室之法 則又與當初九變之意相左

However, if [we] want to adhere to the practice of “nine perfections,” then the pause of music given in [*Kukcho*] *oryeŭi* must be abolished; if [we] want to adhere to the practice [of having a hymn text] for each chamber, then it will go against the intended idea of “nine changes” at the beginning [when the music was written.]

而樂章長短不協 或有餘於一獻之時 或不足於一獻之時

Also, since the hymn texts are of different lengths, they might be longer or shorter than the time needed [to perform] the Wine Offering.

今若於晨裸饋食之時 逐室製爲樂章 如唐宋之法 以節動作 而至於諸室讀祝既畢之後 合奏保太平九成 亞終獻亦然 則庶可以復先王之舊制 而得三代之遺意

If we, simulating the system of the Tang and Song dynasties, write a hymn text for each chamber, to be performed during the Early Libation and Offering of Sacrificial Food, so as to regulate the [time needed for the] performance of ritual, and perform *Pot'ae p'yǒng* in “nine perfections” after the reading of the *Prayer for Blessings* (during the First Wine Offering) at all chambers, and so do for the Middle and Final Wine Offering, then we can regain the old system [left] by the former kings while fulfilling the idea from the “three dynasties.”

此是臣父昔年講究未及上聞者 今竝附陳於此

This is what my father wanted to say, until now unheard by the king, and now I have attached that here.

[...]

APPENDIX FOUR: THE COMPILATION OF THE “AKKO” IN THE
TONGGUK MUNHŎN PIGO

This appendix gives an account on the compilation process of “Akko” based mainly on two documents, the *Daily Records* and Hwang Yunsök’s *Ijae nan’go* 頤齋亂藁 [Random Writings of Hwang Yunsök, *Nan’go* hereafter].¹

The Initiation of the Project

The compilation of the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* originated from the compilation of *Kangyŏkchi* 疆域志 [Monograph on Territory], which aimed to solve the potential conflict with the Japanese arising from disputed sovereignty over Ullŭng 鬱陵 Island, where ginseng was reputed to be found, and the project was initiated by First State Councilor Hong Ponghan 洪鳳漢 (1713–1778) in a meeting held on 1769/10/14.² The scale of the project was expanded later, again as suggested by Hong, who reported to the king that the Third State Councilor (*uŏijŏng* 右議政) Kim Sangch’öl 金尙喆 (1712–1791) had recognized that there had not been a comprehensive reference work in the country, even though compilation of such a work, *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, had been proposed in a meeting held on 1769/12/24. Instantly King Yŏngjo neither agreed to nor rejected Hong’s suggestion, but he said it would be good if there could be a record about his two policies

¹ *Ijae* is the nickname (*ho* 號) of Hwang Yunsök. The *Ijae nan’go*, which content appears more like a diary than a literary work, covers most of the life of Hwang, from the age of ten (1738) until his death in 1791. For both biographic details on Hwang and bibliographic information on the work, see the bibliographical introduction by Yi Kango 李康五, “Haeje” 解題 [Bibliographical Introduction to *Ijae nan’go*], in vol. 1 of *Ijae nan’go* [Random Writings of Hwang Yunsök], ed. by Kukhak chinhŭng yŏn’gu saŏp ch’ujin wiwŏnhoe 國學振興研究事業推進委員會 (Seongnam 城南 [Korea]: HCMY, 1997), 47–59.

² Pak Inho, *Chosŏn hugi yŏksa chirihak yŏn’gu* 朝鮮後期歷史地理學研究 [A Study on the Historical-geography in the Late Chosŏn Period] (Seoul: Ŭihoe munhwasa 以會文化社, 1996), 28–9. See also *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* 113.12b–13a (1769/10/14).

that he was proud of, namely, the reformation of military tax (*kyunyŏk* 均役) and dredging waterways (*chunch'ŏn* 濬川). On the same day an editorial board was established under the management of the Territorial Security Office (Pyŏnbisa 邊備司), employing two compiling assistants (*nangch'ŏng* 郎廳) for the *Yŏji p'yŏllam* 輿地便覽 [A Handbook for Places and Geography]; another tentative name, *Kanyŏkchi* 疆域志 was given by Yŏngjo on the same day.³ Ten days later, on 1770/1/5, a draft of the contents, of which the outline had transcended the area of geography and included items like the military system, was read to Yŏngjo.⁴ On 1770/1/6, several titles for the new compilation were proposed,⁵ and on 1770/1/9 a memorial was written saying that stationery and clerical support were to be given to the editorial board of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.⁶ On 1770/1/11, the editorial board was expanded to eight editors (*tangsang* 堂上) and eight compiling assistants, under the administration of the former and current ministers.⁷ The *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* give the official date of the order to compile the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* as 1770/1/11,⁸ though the project had already been undertaken for some time. Since the editorial board was formed as a temporary unit, there was no official document recording the details of its daily administration and communications within and outside the board.

The Compilation of “Akko” Prior to Sŏ Myŏngŭng’s Involvement

Sŏ Myŏngŭng was regarded as the major contributor of “Akko” by king Chŏngjo;⁹ however, he was not involved at the beginning of the compilation. Between

³ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 702 (1769/12/24).

⁴ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 719–20 (1770/1/5).

⁵ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 721 (1770/1/6).

⁶ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 727 (1770/1/9).

⁷ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 734 (1770/1/11).

⁸ *Veritable Records of Yŏngjo* 104.4a (1770/1/11).

1769/12 and 1770/3 he was visiting Beijing as an envoy, and he came back and reported on his duty to Yŏngjo on 1770/4/2. He was then designated as the editor, after the project had already been launched for more than two months (see Chapter Five).

Before Sŏ Myŏngŭng joined the editorial board, the editorial work on the “Akko” was undertaken by two other officials, when the editorial board was set up on 1770/1/16.¹⁰ While the official records do not give a detailed account of how the “Akko” was compiled,¹¹ there is more information to be found in another eighteenth-century document, *Nan’go*, see Appendix One). In the following paragraphs, I give the conversations between Hwang Yunsŏk and Chŏng Chŏn’gyŏm on *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* recorded in *Nan’go*.

On 1770/1/16, five days after the editorial board of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* was established, one of the tangsang 堂上, Chŏng Chŏn’gyŏm invited Hwang Yunsŏk to meet him:

⁹ *Veritable Records of Chŏngjo* 6.67b (1778/11/29).

¹⁰ They are Chŏng Chŏn’gyŏm 鄭存謙, a junior-second rank minister, and Hong Yonghan 洪龍漢, a senior-third rank minister.

¹¹ The *Daily Records* records that one of the two compilers, Hong Yonghan, read the draft, in particular that of the “Akko,” to Yŏngjo once only, and his progress in the project, including two other topical sections, was mentioned by others on some occasions. Though he read his draft of his project to the king on different dates, the *Daily Records* sometimes do not specifically mention which topical section was being read. The only exception that we clearly know that he was reading the draft of “Akko” was on 1770/3/12. See *Daily Records* vol. 72, 833. On 1770/5/21, Sŏ Myŏngŭng was asked by Yŏngjo if he had read the “Akko” and “Sŏn’gŏgo 選舉考” [Investigation of Selection and Promotion of Officials] compiled by Hong Yonghan. See *Daily Records* vol. 72, .993. On 1770/5’/16, Yŏngjo doubted the contribution of Hong Yonghan. Responding to the king’s query, Ch’ae Chegong 蔡濟恭, one of the editors of the *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*, said that “Hong started to work on ‘Akko’ after he had finished the ‘Sŏn’gŏgo,’ and had contributed much to ‘Akko’ in collecting materials and editing. Sŏ Myŏngŭng finished the project by working merely on the remaining.” See *Daily Records* vol. 73, 37 (1770/5’/16).

On 1770/3/24, the First State Councilor Hong Punghan, elder brother of Hong Yonghan, was accused for his domination in governance, and he and his family members, including Hong Yonghan and other brothers, resigned from their posts in court. Hong Yonghan’s duty was taken over by another scholar officer. See *Daily Records* vol. 72, 860–1 (1770/3/24). In a later conversation between Yŏngjo and Hong Yonghan, Hong recalled that his participation in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* started from the third lunar calendric month and that his focus had been on “Chikkwan’go” 職官考 [Investigation of Bureau]. *Daily Records* 75.305 (1773/10/1).

[...]

Chŏng also said, “Did you heard about the *Tongguk Munhŏn* [pigo]? At the beginning, due to the rumors of discovery of ginseng in Ullŭngdo the King ordered a report on territory. The scale of the work was eventually expanded [into an encyclopedia], similar to the *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 in China, and it would include everything that was important and related to our nation since the *Tan’gi* 檀箕¹² to the present. We have eight editors and eight compiling assistants, and each of us was assigned parts of the project. My parts were on selection and promotion of officers, and music. Both topics are so complicated and my ability and strength are limited. It is not a task that could be done within a short time and by a single person. The reason why I invited you to come today is not due to the trivialities of Department for Royal Genealogy (Chongbosi 宗簿寺 [a governmental department responsible for the compilation of genealogy of the royal family]), but the compilation project. Do you have any suggestions?

I [Hwang Yunsŏk] said, “No, I don’t. I do not mean to say that I am not interested in the books of various subjects such as music, bureau, meteorology and geography. It is because I have been secluded for a long time, and, recently, suffered from illnesses, so I am afraid that I cannot help much regarding this matter. However, the past and current editorship [in our nation] lacks comprehensiveness and thoroughness. Now, not just one or two ministers of literary intelligence have been appointed, and, if they are willing to extend their knowledge and broaden the area in searching for sources, almost nothing will be omitted [in their works] and their works will be excellent.”

Chŏng said, “All editors are devoted to the project. Though I have already taken the appointment of editorship, I am not competent. I earnestly expect your help. If you have read any history or informal histories [related to the subjects], please let me know. There are *Tongguk t’onggam* 東國通鑑 [A General History of the East Kingdom], *Tongguk saryak* 東國史略 [A Brief History of the East Kingdom], *Tongsa hoegang* 東史會綱 [An Outline of the History of the East], and *Yŏsa chegang* 麗史提綱 [An Outline of Koryŏ History]. Are these useful if I need to mention the history [of both topics] before our dynasty?”

I said, “It would be better to rely on official histories such as Kim Pusik’s 金富軾 *Samguksa*[gi] 三國史記 [History of Three Kingdoms] and Chŏng Inji’s 鄭麟趾 *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 [History of Koryŏ dynasty].”

¹² The term refers to two progenitors of the Korean race in myth, Tan’gun 檀君 and Kija 箕子.

Chǒng said, “Sounds good. I will borrow those books of official history, and send them to you with the intended contents [?]. Put a bookmark on those pages where information should be studied...”¹³

Hwang suggested that only official historical sources compiled by governmental decree should be used, and indeed in a later conversation between the king and the compilers, the king insisted that non-officially compiled historical materials should not be included.¹⁴

After the meeting, books were sent to Hwang Yunsök.¹⁵ Hwang placed bookmarks as requested and returned the books. About three weeks later (1770/2/10), Chǒng invited Hwang to meet again:

Chǒng said, “Apart from *Samguk[sa]* and *Koryŏsa*, the discussions of Korean music during our dynasty are only recorded in *Akhak kwebŏm* 樂學軌範 [*Guide to the Study of Music*]. However, this is the first time that I read the book, and I could not totally understand what it says. What can I do?”

Chǒng then asked questions about the contents of *Akhak kwebŏm*. I answered every question but I saw he still could not understand. Sigh! The compilation of [*Tongguk*] *Munhŏn pigo* is not a tiny project. But if the so-called eight editors and eight compiling assistants are puzzled like Chǒng, what can I do?¹⁶

The conversation illustrates that even though the *Guide to the Study of Music* had been known as an authoritative source on Chosŏn court ceremonial music, not every scholarly minister had read it or even had any interest in it. Also, even though it was written in

¹³ *Nan'go* vol. 3, 21–2.

¹⁴ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 797 (1770/2/21). However, it turned out excerpts from non-official histories are included, such as that about Pak Yŏn in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* 39.5b is from *Haedong yaŏn* 海東野言. See Kim Chongsu, *Yŏkchu Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo Akko* 譯註增補文獻備考樂考 [Annotated Translation of “Investigation of Music” of *Chŭngbo Munhŏn pigo*] (Seoul: KNKAW, 1994), 16, n. 20.

¹⁵ The books included *Koryŏsa* 高麗史 (*Nan'go* vol. 3, 22–4), *Sŏnmyo Pogam* 宣廟寶鑑 (*Nan'go* vol. 3, 25), *Samguksa* 三國史 (*Nan'go* vol. 3, 28), *Kukcho myŏngsinnok* 國朝名臣錄 (*Nan'go* vol. 3, 40), *Tongsa poyu* 東史補遺 (*Nan'go* vol. 3, 41), and a number of collected writings of individuals. See *Nan'go* vol. 3, 26, 49, 52, and 63.

¹⁶ *Nan'go* vol. 3, 48–9 (1770/2/10).

Chinese, its content was not comprehensible to all intellectuals who were well-trained in the Chinese written language.

On 1770/3/12, according to *Daily Records*, Hong Yonghan read the first draft of “Akko” to Yŏngjo,¹⁷ after he had finished the first draft of “Sŏn’gŏgo.” As mentioned above, Hong was ordered to resign from his duty on 1770/3/24, and his duty in the editorial board was taken by another editor, Yun Yanghu 尹養厚, who was originally only responsible for the “Sŏn’gŏgo.” When Hong was ordered to resign from his duty, Yŏngjo asked about the progress of his work, and Ch’ae Chegong responded that most of the works were still in first draft (*amch’o* 暗草). Yŏngjo then ordered Yun Yanghu to re-compile the first draft into a second draft (*chungch’o* 中草).¹⁸ About two weeks later, on 1770/4/5, Yŏngjo asked about the progress again, and Yun Yanghu said the second draft was not yet ready.¹⁹ It seemed that the king could not tolerate the delay of the project, so he then agreed to the suggestion two days later (i.e., 1770/4/7), by another subject that Sŏ Myŏnggŭng and his son could take over the compilation of “Akko.”²⁰

Sŏ Myŏnggŭng’s Involvement in the Compilation of “Akko”

After Sŏ Myŏnggŭng was appointed as the editor for “Akko,” according to the *Chronology*, he was “puzzled by the question of why *aak* is used in all sacrificial rites except that of Chongmyo,” and he hesitated to work on the project.²¹ While he could not help but be struck by the question, on 1770/4/17, he and his son Sŏ Hosu were called to

¹⁷ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 833 (1770/3/12).

¹⁸ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 860–1 (1770/3/24). The *Daily Records* does not mention the name of the substitute editor, but it is mentioned in *Nan’go* vol. 3, 105.

¹⁹ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 893 (1770/4/5).

²⁰ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 897 (1770/4/7).

²¹ *Chronology*, kwŏn 3 (1770/5).

an audience with Yǒngjo, in which the king confirmed with his subjects that the history of both solar and lunar eclipses before year 1592 (when the Japanese invasion began) could not be found in ordinary documents, and the king ordered Sō Hosu to investigate the *Veritable Records* on the following day (i.e. 1770/4/18). The king also ordered that this investigation not be mentioned in the daily gazette (*chobo* 朝報) on that day, keeping the investigation in a low profile. However, the mission was finally assigned to Sō Myōngūng.²² The investigation team, under the apparent mission of transporting the royal compilations to the repository, departed on 1770/4/19.²³

On 1770/4/28, Sō Myōngūng reported his findings during his trip to the Chōngjoksan repository. The report is about the change of music from *aak* to *sogak* for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine in the fifteenth century (see Chapter Three), and it tells us that the materials regarding Pak Yŏn in “Akko” are drawn from the fifteenth-century *Veritable Records* rather than other sources.²⁴

Since we now have full access to the *Veritable Records*, we are able to trace what these findings in the conversation were, though some important terms remain uncertain. To Sō Myōngūng, several *new* findings were important enough to report to the king immediately, including the history of changes to the music and Pak Yŏn’s theories on music, which were later to be included in “Akko.” After the report, no more court discussions about the content of “Akko” are found in *Daily Records*, but ten days later, on 1770/5/9, the *Daily Records* do report that Sō Myōngūng read the preface of the

²² The investigation was originally assigned to Sō Hosu. However, he had never worked in the Office of Royal Decrees (Yemun’gwan 藝文館), and therefore he could not visit the royal repository. Sō Myōngūng was finally assigned the duty. See *Daily Records* vol. 72, 921 (1770/4/18).

²³ *Veritable Records of Yǒngjo* 114.18a. See also *Daily Records* vol. 72, 922 (1770/4/19).

²⁴ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 943 (1770/4/28).

“Akko,”²⁵ and that he read it again on 1770/5/13 since there might have been some revisions.²⁶ On 1770/5/16, the compilation of “Akko” entered the final stage, as all sections had been grouped together for final proof-reading.²⁷ The entire project of *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* was finished on 1770/8/2.²⁸

²⁵ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 963 (1770/5/9).

²⁶ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 972 (1770/5/13).

²⁷ *Daily Records* vol. 72, 978 (1770/5/16).

²⁸ *Daily Records* vol. 73, 185 (1770/8/2).

APPENDIX FIVE: TRANSLATION OF YŎNGJO'S PREFACE TO THE
TONGGUK MUNHŎN PIGO

御製東國文獻備考序

Preface to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo* prepared by the king

海東文獻 本自踈濶 識者之歎 盖已久矣

The documents in Korea have long been criticized by knowledgeable people for their lack of comprehensiveness.

初因疆域誌 命纂輿地便覽

In the beginning, I ordered the compilation of the *Yŏji p'yŏllam* 輿地便覽 [Handbook for National Geography] imitating *Kangyŏkchi* 疆域誌 [Investigation of Territories].

其凡例近於文獻通考 更命其名曰東國文獻備考

Since the manner of selection and organization of content in [*Yŏji p'yŏllam*] is similar to that of *Wenxian tongkao*, I changed its name to *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

所謂輿地 即其一事也

The investigation of geography [then] became one of the topical sections.

今此衰輯 既博 [博] 且該 [賅] 於是乎海東文獻 庶可以徵

Now this work is comprehensive and inclusive, and therefore the events and discourses in the East Kingdom can, it is hoped, be proven with evidence.

然廣搜之際 多費日子

However, to carry out such broad research much time is needed.

其若速成易乎忙後錯了

It was completed hastily, and in the hurried process mistakes were made.

爰命堂郎 開局校正 而可以稟裁者 許其稟裁

Therefore [I] ordered the editors and set up an office [to carry out] revision, allowing them to report on content that needed to be reported and decided.

此亦稽古垂後之意也

There is also the intention of examining precedents for posterity.

特製其序於卷首

I prepared a preface [to be placed] at the beginning of the work.

噫 通考第一卷有皇朝御製序文 即嘉靖歲也

Wait. There is a preface prepared by the Ming emperor in the first chapter of [an edition

of *Wenxian*] *tongkao*, and it was in the period of *Jiajing* (1507–1567 [precisely, 1524]).

以此觀之 于今幾百年後 予之續成序文 豈偶然哉

Judging from this, isn't it a coincidence that I prepared this preface after several hundred years?

歲庚寅元月報春前一日即阡四十六年序

Prepared on the day before *Poch'un* 報春 [Start of Spring] [?] of the first month in year *kyōngin* 庚寅 [1770] (i.e., the forty-sixth of reign).

資憲大夫禮曹判書兼同知春秋館事 臣徐命膺奉教書

Written, as per his majesty's order, by Sō Myōngŭng, Minister of the Board of Rites and Second Deputy Director of the Bureau of State Records, Chahŏn taebu, [senior-second rank]

APPENDIX SIX: TRANSLATION OF COMMENTARIES NUMBERS 5, 8, AND 12

Commentary number 5:

臣謹按 東方自羅至麗 無所謂雅樂者

According to my conscientious investigation, there was no so-called *aak* 雅樂 in the East during the Silla (57 BC–AD 938) and Koryŏ period.

至高麗睿宗始得雅樂於宋

It was not until Yejong 睿宗 (r. 1105–112) of Koryŏ that *aak* was obtained from Song China.

然不過徽宗時蜀道士魏漢津妄引身爲度之文 而帝之中指中節爲尺度 傳會作樂 名曰大晟樂
Yet the music, named *Dashengyue* 大晟樂 (*Taesŏngak*), was made by Wei Hanjin 魏漢津 (?–?), a Daoist from Shu 蜀 province [now approximately the area of Sichuan province in China], who arrogantly cited a text that suggests using the measurement of the middle section of emperor's middle finger as a basis for the length of pitch pipes.

則其樂可知也

Therefore, one could know about such music.

恭愍時雖得皇朝之賜與 而是時皇朝草創 制度未備

Though music[al instruments] were bestowed by Ming China during the reign of Kongmin 恭愍 [a Koryŏ king, r.1351–1374], they were rough creations, and the specifications were not perfect.

國初 朴堧至以爲形制甚粗 則不可謂樂之善者也

In the early part of our dynasty, Pak Yŏn suggested that the shape and specification [of the instruments bestowed by Ming China] were rough, and it could not be said that they were good.

但無論精粗偏正 其器則雅 故載其大略于篇首 以見本朝樂制迥越前代云

Despite their quality and authenticity, they were for ritual. Therefore, a brief summary of them is given at the beginning of this chapter (Chapter 40), so as to illustrate the superiority of the specification of music of our dynasty to the preceding one.

Commentary number 8:

臣謹按 世宗朝所定宗廟雅樂譜已見律呂製造及此篇朴堧諸疏

According to my conscientious investigation, the *aak* notation for [the sacrificial rites at] the Royal Ancestral Shrine, set during the reign of Sejong, has been included in “The Creation of Pitches” [i.e., chapter 39] and in various memorials by Pak Yŏn in this chapter [i.e., chapter 40].

故今但載其用樂節奏 以備參攷云

Therefore, I include only the way in which such music was used in various ritual sections for reference purpose.

Commentary number 12:

臣謹按 太廟樂歌釐正之論 始發於宣祖朝 再發於仁祖朝 三發於孝宗朝 四發於肅宗朝 式至當寧乃復九成之舊制 不替一章之新增 損之益之 咸得其中

According to my conscientious investigation, the discussion of the rectification of the hymn texts began during the reign of Sŏnjo (r. 1567–1608), recurring during the reigns of Injo 仁祖 (r. 1623–1649), Hyojong 孝宗 (r. 1649–1659), Sukchong 肅宗 (r. 1674–1720), and even the current reign [Yŏngjo], in which the old rendition of *kusŏng* was revived without adding an extra stanza of hymn texts, and the deletions and the additions made are all appropriate.

夫禮樂必待百年而興 故包犧開作樂之理 而至黃帝然後六律始備

Since it has to take a hundred of years to develop the rite and music, therefore even Baoxi 包犧 [a legendary Chinese ruler] explored the way of creating music, it was not until Huangdi 黃帝 [another legendary Chinese ruler] that the six pitches (*yungnyul* 六律¹) were complete.

黃帝制衣裳之制 而至堯舜然後九章始備

[In the same sense] even though Huangdi created specification for ritual costumes, it was not until Yao 堯 and Xun 舜 [both were legendary Chinese rulers] that the ritual costumes (*kujang* 九章²) of the ruler were prepared.

所謂變通之宜 自有其時者 不其信乎矣

Don't you believe that the appropriate makeshift always has its timing?

臣嘗承命鏡考石室之藏 則五禮儀所載宗廟樂章 非創於 世宗朝而實作於世祖朝

I have been ordered to investigate the materials in the royal repository, and found that the hymn texts for the [sacrificial rite at the] Royal Ancestral Shrine in *Kukcho oryeŭi* were not created during the reign of Sejong but in that of Sejo.

蓋保太平定大業本世宗朝會禮之樂

Pot'aep'yŏng and *Chŏngdaeŏp* were originally music for royal audiences during the reign of Sejong.

至世祖朝以爲極其聲容之盛而不用於宗廟爲可惜 遂移此二舞用之宗廟之享而命詞臣崔恆製其詞 其通降神三獻 皆九成爲節者 即功以九成 樂以九變之義也

¹ Though *yungnyul* means "six pitches," by implication it implies the whole set of twelve pitches. The earliest record which attributes the creation of twelve pitches to the period of Huangdi is *Hanshu* 漢書 (History of the Han Dynasty).

² While *kujang* can refer to nine sections of hymn text in the discussions of music during the eighteenth century, here it refers to the ritual costume. An example of such usage is found in *Kukcho orye sŏrye* 1.101b.

It was not until the reign of Sejo that it was regretted that the brilliant sound and content of the two dance suites had not been used in the Royal Ancestral Shrine, with the lyrics written by Ch'oe Hang. [The suites] were thereafter employed in the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine. [The music] was used for the ritual procedures of Welcoming the Spirits, First Wine Offering, Middle and Final Wine Offering, all of which are set with nine perfections [*sŏng* 成], as the music has to be in nine changes [*p'yŏn* 變], representing the achievement of nine perfections [*sŏng* 成].

今以樂制篇所載保太平九成 定大業六成 及世宗朝撰定五禮中宗廟祭儀 降神奏樂九成 初獻以下遂室各奏一者推之 則世宗之樂 世祖之樂 如堯章舜韶 各異其節也

Judging from the *Pot'aep'yŏng* of nine *sŏng*, *Chŏngdaeŏp* of six *sŏng* given in the chapter on “Historical Music Systems,” and the music of nine *sŏng* for Welcoming the Spirits and the instruction of one *sŏng* for each chamber for the First Wine Offering in the *Orye ŭiju* compiled during the reign of Sejong, the music created by Sejong and that by Sejo are just like that of Yao and Shun, which are different in terms of structure from that defined by ritual procedures.

明矣 自夫黃廷彧吳允謙以後獻議諸臣 皆以五禮所載樂章爲世宗朝所定 則與石室之記有所逕庭 故臣敢附論於此 以備後考

It is clear! Since Hwang Chŏnguk (1532–1607) and O Yun'gyŏm (1559–1636), and those who subsequently expressed their opinions [regarding the hymn texts for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine], all of them realized that the hymn texts were set during the reign of Sejong. This is contradictory to what is recorded in the *Veritable Records* in the royal repository, and therefore I dare to attach my opinion here for future reference.

GLOSSARY

This glossary focuses on and defines the terms given in a language other than English in the main text, including but not limit to titles of works in the Chosŏn dynasty, people, and organizations, but excluding titles and names provided in the Bibliography.

aak 雅樂. The Chosŏn court ceremonial music of Chinese origin, as shown in the *Aak-po*.

Aak-po 雅樂譜. *Notations of Ritual Music* (1430). A collection of tunes adapted from Chinese documents.

Agwŏn kosa 樂院故事. *The Past Affairs of the Music Bureau* (1696), compiled by Yi Se-p'il.

Akhak kwebŏm 樂學軌範. *Guide to the Study of Music* (1493), a survey of Chosŏn court ceremonial music.

Akko 樂考. One of the thirteen topical sections in *Tongguk Munhŏn pigo*.

chaebŏl 財閥. Business conglomerates in modern South Korea.

chesa 祭祀. Sacrificial rites.

Changagwŏn 掌樂院. The Music Bureau, a governmental organ in Chosŏn dynasty responsible for training and recruitment of musicians and dancers.

Chang Sahun 張師勛. One of the indigenous pioneers in Korean music research in the twentieth century.

Ch'ŏlchong 哲宗. The twenty-fifth king of the Chosŏn dynasty (r. 1849–1863).

Chŏngdaeŏp 定大業. *Founding the Dynasty*. A dance suite created during the reign of Sejong and said to have been intended for the royal banquets. It was subsequently adopted by Sejo and put into practice in the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

chŏngganbo 井間譜. Squares and columns notation, a notation system aiming to record rhythm and meter precisely.

Chongmyo 宗廟. Royal Ancestral Shrine. Also refers specifically to the primary shrine of Royal Ancestral Shrine.

Chongmyo cheryeak 宗廟祭禮樂. The modern term for the music for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

Chǒngjo 正祖. The twenty-second king of the Chosŏn dynasty (r. 1776–1880).

Chŏnju Yissi taedong chongyagwŏn 全州李氏大同宗約院. Chŏnju Yi Royal Family Association, an organization for the members of the Chosŏn royal family.

Chōsen sotokufu Chōsenshi henshūkai 朝鮮總督府朝鮮史編修會. A governmental organ during the Japanese annexation period, responsible for publication of Korean history.

Chosŏn 朝鮮. The last monarchic dynastic era in the history of Korea, 1392–1910.

Chosŏn Minjujuŭi Inmin Konghwaguk 朝鮮民族主義人民共和國. Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or North Korea (1948–present).

Chosŏn wangjo sillok 朝鮮王朝實錄. The *Veritable Records of the Chosŏn dynasty*, a collection comprising thirty-one individual veritable records, each of them dedicated to particular ruler.

chungin 中人. A partly hereditary class of technical specialists in the capital.

chungsa 中祀. Medium Rites.

erhu 二胡. Chinese two-string fiddle.

hallyu 韓流. Korean wave.

Han 漢. A dynasty in Chinese history which dates from 206 B.C. to 220 A.D. Often used as a generic reference to China.

hancha 漢字. Chinese characters employed in Korean writing.

han'gŭl 한글. A Korean alphabetic writing system consisting of 24 consonant and vowel letters.

Hansŏng 韓城. Former name of the city Seoul.

Hong Kyehŭi 洪啓禧. 1703–1771. An eighteenth-century minister in the Chosŏn court, one of the compilers of *Kukcho akchang*.

hŏn'ga 軒架. The courtyard ensemble, one of the two ensembles in Chosŏn court ceremonial music.

Hŏnjong 憲宗. The twenty-fourth king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1834–1849.

Hunmin chŏngŭm 訓民正音. *Correct Sounds for the Instruction of the People* (1446), the

- original specification of the Korean alphabet now called *han'gŭl*.
- hyangak 鄉樂. The “indigenous music.”
- hyöpsil 夾室. See iksil.
- Ijae nan'go 頤齋亂藁. The *Random Writings of Hwang Yunsŏk*.
- Iki 壱岐. A Japanese island near the border of South Korea.
- iksil 翼室. Also hyöpsil 夾室. Side rooms at the both ends of the Hall of Chambers.
- kan 間. Spaces formed by wooden columns of the Hall of Chambers.
- Koguryŏ 高句麗. A period (ca. 37 B.C.–688 A.D.) said to be when the first independent political state emerged in Korea.
- Koryŏ 高麗. The dynasty preceding Chosŏn, 918–1392.
- Kukcho akchang* 國朝樂章. The *Hymn Texts for National Rites* (1765), a collection of hymn texts for various court ceremonies.
- Kukcho oryeüi* 國朝五禮儀. The *Five Rites of the Nation* (1474), a ritual manual in the Chosŏn dynasty that prescribes programs of various court ceremonies.
- Kukcho orye sŏrye* 國朝五禮儀序例. The *Illustrated Rubrics for the Five Rites of the Nation* (1474). A supplement to the *Fives Rites of the Nation* that gives illustrations and details needed for the realization of various ceremonies.
- Kungnip kugagwŏn 國立國樂院. The National Gugak Center (formerly known as the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts), a governmental organization responsible for organizing and promoting traditional Korean performing arts.
- kut kut. Korean shamanic ritual.
- kwŏn 卷. A section within a book or other publications published or printed before the modern era.
- Kyŏngguk taejŏn* 經國大典. The *National Code* (1485) of the Chosŏn dynasty.
- Kyŏngjong 景宗. The twentieth king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1720–1724.
- Lee Byong Won 李炳元. One of the students of Lee Hye-Ku and Chang Sahun, currently

teaching at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Lee Hye-Ku 李惠求. 1909–2010. One of the indigenous pioneers in Korean music research after the dynastic period.

li 禮. Ritual of appropriateness in Confucianism.

lǜlǜ 律呂. A Chinese pitch notation system comprised of twelve pitch names.

Lunyu 論語. The *Analects of Confucius*, one of the Confucian classics that records the conversations between Confucius and others.

Ming 明. Chinese dynasty, 1368–1644.

Myǒngjong 明宗. The thirteenth king of the Chosǒn dynasty, r. 1545–1567.

nongak 農樂. Korean farmers' percussion music.

Pak Yǒn 朴堧. 1378–1458. A music theorist and advisor to king Sejong.

p'ansori 판소리. Storytelling through songs with barrel drum accompaniment, unique to Korea.

Pomanjae yǒnbo 保晚齋年譜. The *Chronology of Sǒ Myǒngǔng*.

Pot'aep'yǒng 保太平. *Preserving the Peace*, a dance suite created during the reign of Sejong and said to have been intended for the royal banquets. It was subsequently adopted by Sejo and put into practice in the sacrificial rites at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

Qing 清. Chinese dynasty, 1644–1911.

sadaebu 士大夫. A unique social group in the dynastic period of Korea comprising literati and officialdom, who received education centered on Confucian classics.

Samgang haengsilto 三綱行實圖. The *Conduct of the Three Bonds* (1432), a book that preaches the core of Confucian moral teachings with text and graphics, compiled during the reign of Sejong.

sago 史庫. The royal repositories where documents were stored.

sajo 四祖. The four direct ancestors preceding T'aejo of the Chosǒn dynasty.

sanjo 散調. "Scattered melodies" for solo melody instrument with drum accompaniment.

Sejo 世祖. The seventh king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1455–1469.

Sejong 世宗. The fourth king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1418–1450.

Shujing 書經. The *Book of Historical Documents*, a collection of rhetorical prose attributed to figures of ancient China.

Siak yogyŏl 詩樂要訣. The *Rubrics for Poems and Music* (1764), Sŏ Myŏngŭng's writing on court ceremonial music mentioned in the *Chronology of Sŏ Myŏngŭng*, and it is uncertain whether the work has survived.

sijo 時調. A musical and poetic genre enjoyed by educated people in the late Chosŏn dynasty.

sillok 實錄. The veritable records. A type of historical records presented in chronological order and prepared specific to each king. See also *Chosŏn wangjo sillok*.

Sirhak 實學. Practical Learning, a term coined by modern historians describing intellectual trends in the late Chosŏn dynasty. *Sirhak* research was on the actual conditions, circumstances, and objects surrounding the scholars.

Sŏ Myŏngŭng 徐命膺. 1716–1787. Born into a *yangban* family, Sŏ attained high ranking positions at the court and was a proliferate writer on various subjects, including court ceremonial music. The compiler of “Akko.”

sogak 俗樂. “Music in popular style.” A term employed in *Kukcho oryeŭi* to label the “new” composition by Sejo for the sacrificial rite at the Royal Ancestral Shrine.

Sok oryeŭi 續五禮儀. *Supplement to the Five Rites of the Nation* (1751).

Sok taejŏn 續大典. *Supplement to the National Code* (1746).

Song 宋. Chinese dynasty, 960–1279.

Sŏng Hyŏn 成俔. 1439–1504. A major compiler of the fifteenth-century musical treatise *Akhak kwebŏm*.

Song Chiwŏn 宋芝媛 (Song Ji-won). Korean scholar. She completed her dissertation under the supervision of Chang Sahun, and is currently Head of the Gugak Research Office at the National Gugak Center.

Song Pangsŏng 宋芳松 (Song Bangsong). He obtained his bachelor and master degree at the Seoul National University and doctoral degree in the Wesleyan University. Before retirement, he taught in a number of institutions, including Chung-Ang University in Korea.

sil 室. Chambers in which the spirit tablets of royal ancestors are installed.

Sinje yakchŏng akpo 新制略定樂譜. *The Notations of New and Provisional Music* appended to the *Veritable Records of Sejo*.

Sui 隋. A Chinese dynasty, 589–617.

Sukchong 肅宗. The nineteenth king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1675–1720.

Sŭngjŏngwŏn ilgi 承政院日記. *The Daily Records of the Royal Secretariat*.

Sunjong 純宗. The twenty seventh, final ruler of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1907–1910.

Taeak hubo 大樂後譜. *Great Music, Volume 2* (1770 or after). An anthology compiled by Sŏ Myŏngŭng, aiming to notate the court ceremonial music said to be composed or adopted during the reign of Sejo.

Taejanggŭm 大長今. Korean television drama known as “Jewel in the Palace” in the USA.

Taegu Sŏ-ssi sebo 大丘徐氏世譜. *The Genealogy of the Taegu Sŏ Clan*, first compiled in 1702.

Taehan Cheguk 大韓帝國. The “imperial” period (1897–1910) when Korea claimed its total independence from other countries, near the end of Chosŏn dynasty

Taehan Min’guk 大韓民國. Republic of Korea, or South Korea (1948–present)

T’aejo 太祖. Posthumous title of the first king of Koryŏ and Chosŏn.

taesa 大祀. Great Rites.

t’aesil 太室. Hall of Chambers.

Tang 唐. Chinese dynasty, 618–1279.

tangha 堂下. The Courtyard, the empty space leveled to the ground in front of a structure and the Terrace; a typical architectural characteristic in the Chosŏn dynasty.

tangjaeng 黨爭. Factional strife, a political phenomenon in later Chosŏn.

tangsang 堂上. The Terrace, the area lifted above the ground in front of the structures, and is a typical architectural characteristic in the Chosŏn dynasty.

Tongguk Munhŏn pigo 東國文獻備考. The *Encyclopedia of Documents and Institutions of the East Kingdom* (1770), the first Korean official encyclopedia that gives a historical survey of various institutions in Chosŏn and periods preceding it.

Tsushima 対馬. An island currently belonging to Japan, near the border of South Korea.

tŭngga 登歌. The terrace ensemble, one of the two ensembles in Chosŏn court ceremonial music.

Ŭijŏngbu 議政府. The State Council, the highest administrative and decision-making organ in Chosŏn dynasty, led by the *Yŏngŭijŏng*.

waeran 倭亂. A term coined by Korean historians referring to the Japanese invasion near the end of the sixteenth century.

yangban 兩班. The “two orders,” the privileged social group in the Chosŏn dynasty.

ye 禮. Ritual of appropriateness in Confucianism.

Yi 李. The surname of the Chosŏn royal family.

Yi Hyegu, see Lee Hye-Ku.

Yi Pyŏngwŏn. See Lee Byong Won.

Yi Sep’il 李世弼. 1642–1718. The author of *Agwŏn kosa* (1696).

Yi Sŏnggye 李成桂. 1335–1408. The founder of the Chosŏn dynasty, known as T’aejo.

Yŏngjo 英祖. The twenty-first king of the Chosŏn dynasty, r. 1724–1776.

Yŏngnyŏngjŏn 永寧殿. The secondary shrine of the Royal Ancestral Shrine of Chosŏn.

Yŏngŭijŏng 領議政. The Chief State Councilor, a high-ranking position in the government of the Chosŏn dynasty, similar to a Prime Minister.

Yuan 元. Chinese dynasty, 1279–1368.

Zhou 周. Chinese dynasty, ca. 1045–256 B.C.

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KPW, see Kuksa p'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe.

¹ The Bibliography adheres to notes-bibliography style suggested in Kate Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, 7th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007). The romanization of Korean follows the McCune-Reischauer System presented in “The Romanization of Korean according to the McCune-Reischauer System,” *Transactions of the Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 38 (1961): 121–28. English translations of Korean titles given in the sources themselves and titles that had been translated in previous scholarly works are put in parentheses, my own in square brackets.

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Kukcho orye sŏrye 國朝五禮序例, see Pŏpchech'ŏ 法制處, 1982.

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