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Jee Young Kim                                      March 17, 2014
Changjak Gugak as a Symbol of Modern Korean Culture and Tradition

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a thesis submitted to the Faculty of Emory College of Arts and Sciences
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Abstract

*Changjak Gugak* as a Symbol of Modern Korean Culture and Tradition

By Jee Young Kim

This thesis examines how a cultural tradition can be reshaped and redefined through the processes of westernization and modernization. It considers the historical, social, and cultural context of Korea that allows for both the maintenance of some traditions while simultaneously adopting and adapting musical practices from the West. Using Korean *changjak gugak* and *gayageum* as a medium, this thesis considers how the music represents a complicated cultural fusion. *Changjak gugak* was developed in Korea in the mid-1960s when the traditional *gugak* was in decline due to the rising influx and influence of western culture. Korean musicians adopted western concepts of composition and applied them to the traditional *gugak*. The result was a fusion form. Modifications of the type of instrument, musical texture, compositional framework, and performance practices and settings are all reflected in the *changjak gugak*. In spite of these changes though, the essential identity of *gugak* has been preserved in *changjak gugak*. The adaptations found in *changjak gugak* raise important questions regarding the tension between tradition and modernity, change and continuity, authenticity and cultural identity. This thesis proposes that such tensions are inherent in the radically evolving global culture of the twentieth century and that Korean *changjak gugak* represents a fertile subject for cultural and musical analysis.
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INTRODUCTION

In South Korea, as in many other countries today, diverse cultural influences have had an impact across a broad range of society, including music. Since the rising influx of western influences in the late 19th century after the country opened its doors, continuing during the Japanese occupation, and especially after World War II, western thought and practices were highly valued by the general populace as novel, innovative and suitable for a rapidly modernizing Korea. Musical preferences shifted from Korean traditional music (gugak) to western classical and popular music, and as a result, gugak started to decline. In the mid-1960s, however, many musicians realized the importance of preserving gugak and attempted to revive and sustain it.

Their endeavors to bring traditional gugak into to modern society appeared in many different forms and one of these was the advent of a fusion gugak known as changjak gugak. According to Tamara Livingston, music revival is defined as “any social movement with the goal of restoring and preserving a musical tradition which is believed to be disappearing or completely relegated to the past.”¹ It is important to note that a music revival is described as a social movement, not simply as a musical movement. A music revival is associated with a number of social, political, economic and historical factors. In other words, musicians are not the only ones who lead this movement. Musical revival is not just meaningful in Korean music history, but is significant to the development of Korean society, in terms of maintaining and reconstructing its indigenous cultural identity. Therefore, understanding changjak gugak is an

important part of understanding Korean sociopolitical movements of the past four decades. In this thesis, using the development of the Korean gayageum (12-stringed zither) and its music, I shall focus on how gugak is “historically constructed, socially maintained and individually applied” through changjak gugak, and how changjak gugak is being shaped and historicized as “traditional” music in contemporary South Korea.

**Current State of Research**

Many studies have been done on traditional gayageum performance style and how it has developed over time. Traditional gayageum music is played mostly in sanjo (literally meaning “scattered melodies”), a form of solo instrumental music featuring a melodic instrument accompanied by the janggu (Korean hourglass shaped drum), structured and improvised through a sequence of jangdan (rhythmic cycles) changes. There are two styles of sanjo: the “early sanjo” and the “late sanjo.” Although it is believed that the early sanjo originated from the music performed at shaman rituals known as sinawi (also known as simbanggok) and pansori, a theatrical genre derived from a singing tradition, it is not clear when it was created due to the lack of written documentation.

The majority of gayageum sanjo examples performed today are derived from late sanjo that was developed in the late 19th century by master gayageum player, Kim Chang-Jo (1856-

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1919). Unlike early sanjo, his new form of sanjo had a compositional framework with several basic music elements, including jangdan, jo (musical mode), seong-eum (tonal quality), sigimsae (embellishment), and nonghyun (playing technique for pressing strings). His gayageum sanjo was so popular that it was transmitted orally and learned by many of his students who later became masters of gayageum sanjo. Kim’s gayageum sanjo developed different schools (ryupa) of gayageum sanjo in the teaching and learning of sanjo and established sanjo for other instruments.

As western cultures flowed into Korean society, however, it began to westernize, and traditional sanjo began to diminish. Three major reasons that cause westernization and modernization of Korean musical cultures are: (1) the propagation of Christianity by European and North American missionaries, (2) the establishment of a western-style military band in the late 1800s, and (3) about four decades of Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945) in Korea. Western musical influence changed the general audience’s sensibilities towards gugak and resulted in its decline. However, after Korea became independent from Japanese occupation, the Korean government put forward a concerted effort to revive gugak through various ways. In 1950, the government set up the National Gugak Center (first known as the National Classical Music Institute and later, the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) and institutionalized the Korean Intangible Cultural Heritage system to protect traditional cultures in

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the early 1960s. Under this system, gayageum sanjo was designated as No. 23 in the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage.

Musicians also took the initiative to reinstate the importance of traditional music and culture in Korea. For example, Lee Hye-Ku established the Korean music degree program in Seoul National University in 1959. In 1960, Kim Kisu established a foundation of creative traditional music called changjak gugak (meaning “creative traditional music,” and also known as shin gugak, meaning “new traditional music”). From then, changjak gugak was further developed by many composers and performers, such as Hwang Byung-Ki, Lee Sang-Kyu, and Yi Sung-Chun.

Changjak Gugak as Gugak

As changjak gugak developed, the repertoire of classical gayageum music expanded. Especially with newly modified instruments, new sounds and performance styles were created. Originally a 12-string zither, the traditional gayageum was modified to have a greater number of strings, and the 25-string gayageum became a popular instrument with its own repertoire. Changjak gugak was frequently performed by and at the National Gugak Center, the foremost cultural institution in South Korea.

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institution for the teaching and learning of gugak, and also became an important part of Gugak FM, a radio station dedicated to Korean traditional music.\(^{12}\)

Certainly, in gayageum music, the characteristics of changjak gugak are different from the traditional sanjo performance in its playing techniques, instruments used, and performance styles. For instance, in changjak gugak, the modified 25-string gayageum is often used rather than the traditional 12-string gayageum. Gayageum performance styles now also vary from solo to ensemble in changjak gugak. Due to these unique qualities, changjak gugak has been questioned and criticized for its “authenticity” in comparison to traditional gugak. The question however, should not be so much about whether changjak gugak is more or less “authentic” or “traditional” than gugak. Rather, it should be about how changjak gugak became “authentic” and “Korean” as it came to be produced and consumed as gugak in the same spaces, and often by the same people.

**Research Methodology**

Even though I was not planning to discuss the authenticity of changjak gugak, in order to understand its musical characteristics, I needed to understand the characteristics of traditional gugak as a reference. In studying changjak gugak, I chose gayageum as a medium and thought that studying gayageum sanjo would be useful in examining the features of changjak gugak. Sanjo is a traditional form of music that clearly demonstrates sound and technical skills of the instrument. With gayageum sanjo as a reference, I was able to compare and contrast sanjo with

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changing gugak regarding the use of performance techniques, performance styles, and aesthetic factors and ultimately understand the characteristics of changing gugak.

To study gayageum sanjo, I took private lessons to learn gayageum in spring 2012. I learned to play several pieces of Korean traditional folk song as well as Seong Geum-Ryeon ryu short gayageum sanjo. In summer 2012, I visited Seoul, South Korea to conduct field research. To further study gayageum sanjo, I took additional private lessons and learned to play Kim Juk-Pa ryu short gayageum sanjo. In studying changing gugak, I attended numerous traditional gugak and changing gugak concerts and became familiar with the sounds. Moreover, I personally met and talked with Kwak Sooeun, a gayageum player and composer, Jung Dong-Hee, a composer, and Lee Joo-In, a gayageum player, and attended the annual changing gugak conference hosted by the National Gugak Center. After I came back from the fieldwork, I joined the gayageum ensemble at Emory University and performed several pieces of changing gugak, including Hwang Byung-Ki’s Seok-Ryu-Jip (“The Pomegranate House”) and Chim Hyang Moo (“Dancing Among Incense”) and Kang Jonghee’s Maedup (“Knots”).

Learning the instrument and its music allowed me to build up a broad knowledge in sanjo and changing gugak from a performer’s perspective. Knowing the basic characteristics of the instrument helped me compare and contrast the two genres and understand their similarities and differences in the use of instruments, notations, performance techniques, and performance styles. Interacting with the musicians and other professionals in changing gugak indeed enhanced and deepened my understanding and learning of changing gugak. I could observe diverse perspectives and personal insights in changing gugak. Through these various ways, I was able to realize the distinctive characteristics of changing gugak and how changing gugak was modernized during its development in modern Korean society.
In this thesis, I will begin by introducing how *changjak gugak* was developed historically and socially from traditional *sanjo*. Then in Chapter II, I will discuss the musical characteristics of *gayageum sanjo* and its aesthetic factors. The information in this chapter will provide the basis for understanding the characteristics of *changjak gugak* composed for *gayageum*, which will be explained in Chapter III. Finally, in Chapter IV, I will discuss some of the traditional components that are preserved in *changjak gugak* and argue why *changjak gugak* should be viewed as a strain of *gugak* representing contemporary culture and tradition in Korea.
CHAPTER I

History of Gayageum Music from Sanjo to Changjak Gugak

During the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), gayageum was mostly used to play court music (jungak) and folk music (minsokak). Two different kinds of gayageums were used to perform these two genres of gugak (see Figure 1.1). Jungak is the formal court music performed by an ensemble of several different instruments, including jungak gayageum, for formal ceremonies among the upper class or at the royal court. On the other hand, minsokak encompasses informal folk tunes performed casually among the general population. Generally, minsokak has more diverse and faster tempo and contains more elaborate tunes compared to jungak. Sanjo is a type of minsokak performed by solo instruments, and sanjo gayageum is used to perform gayageum sanjo. However, exposure and interaction with foreign cultures caused Korean society to seek to both modernize as well as retain aspects of its traditional culture. The result was a fusion gugak known as changjak gugak. Consequently, the gayageum came to perform not only the existing traditional repertoire, but also a wide range of pieces in changjak gugak in various ways.

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Figure 1.1. *Jungak gayageum* (left) and *sanjo gayageum* (right)\textsuperscript{15}

The structures of *jungak gayageum* and *sanjo gayageum* are almost identical, but the size and register of the instruments are slightly different. The *sanjo gayageum* is smaller than the *jungak gayageum*. The strings of the *sanjo gayageum* are closer together to accommodate the fast finger work used in fast and complex passages of *sanjo*.\textsuperscript{16}

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**Development of Sanjo**

*Sanjo* is a Sino-Korean term, known as *heoten garak* in the Korean vernacular, which literally means “scattered melodies.” It is a form of solo instrumental music featuring a melodic

\textsuperscript{15} Image created by author at peopleinterview.tistory.com/22.

instrument accompanied by the Korean hourglass shaped drum called janggu. It is structured and improvised through a sequence of jangdan (rhythmic cycles) changes. Historically, there are two kinds of sanjo: the “early sanjo” and the “late sanjo.” Due to the lack of written documentation, it is not clear when the early sanjo was developed. Yet, it is believed that early sanjo was developed from simbanggok, the music performed at shaman rituals, much earlier than when the late sanjo was formed because it was performed actively during the reigns of King Sunjo (1790-1834) and Cheoljong (1831-1863).

The Joseon Dynasty was based on a strict social hierarchy and thus the practices of music-making were determined by the rigid social stratification. The upper class practiced classical songs and music called pungryu indoors or under scenic gazebos while the lower class enjoyed folk music and dance performed outdoors. However, around the mid-19th century, professional folk musicians called chang-u developed solo simbanggok in the pansori style and performed it in the inner rooms of the upper class for entertainment. The chang-u group was

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17 Yong-shik Lee, Introduction to Sanjo, ed. Yong-Shik Lee (Seoul: The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts, 2009), 1.
18 The society was divided into three basic classes: yangban (the elite), yangmin (the commoners), and chunmin (base people). Determined primarily by ancestry, the yangban had various privileges, including exemptions from a household tax, corvée, and military service, and were usually wealthier than the commoners, especially due to land ownership. Also known as sadaebu (the gentry), yangban revered Confucianism and served as the moral and cultural leaders of society. They dominated important government positions and formed the politically privileged class. Making up the majority population of society, the commoners received the legal protection of the yangmin. Yet, most of them were poor economically. Barred from becoming government officials, many of them worked as farmers and engaged in crafts to supplement their incomes. Below the commoners, the chunmin group consisted of slaves and other outcasts, including innkeepers, ferrymen, entertainers, prostitutes, and butchers. Involved in “unclean” professions, this class was often despised and lived apart from society. For additional information on the hierarchy of the Joseon society, see Michael J. Seth, “Chosón Society,” in A History of Korea: From Antiquity to the Present (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2011), 165-171.
categorized as the lowest class of the Korean society, but they were invited to perform by royal families, local government officers and landed gentries for various ceremonies and festivals to provide entertainment.  

This shows how music traversed the barriers between social classes. Musicians of the lower class performed music not only for the lower class, but also for the upper class. Then, ultimately, practicing music for the upper class provided the musicians opportunities to become important figures in the Korean musical history, not merely as entertainers, but as pioneers. The musicians came up with new styles and musical genres as they adjusted the existing repertoire to make it appropriate to the upper class. They were the ones who promoted the development of a new musical genre and disseminated the new music throughout the nation. The music was then performed not only among those in the lower class but also in the upper class. The music initially performed for the purpose of entertainment developed and became an important musical genre in the history of Korean music.

Having extensive performance repertoires, members of the chang-u group specialized in different performing art forms, and one of them was pansori. Pansori was a theatrical genre derived from a singing tradition of professional folk entertainers called gwangdae. To perform solo simbanggok in the chamber of the upper class during pungryu entertainment, the professional instrumentalists of the chang-u group with exceptional artistic skills needed to modify and elaborate the shamanic-origin music to pansori-style music. That way, the instrumental music originally intended for shaman rituals could be performed in the new chamber context, which resulted from the transformation of the functional music of the lower class into an entertainment form for the upper class.

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20 Ibid., 5.
Accordingly, this solo genre of simbanggok became to carry some traits of pansori. For instance, the rhythmic cycles used in the solo simbanggok were derived from the rhythmic cycles of pansori, such as jinyangjo, jungmori, jungjungmori, and fajinmori, rather than from the salpuri (meaning “spirit cleansing”) rhythmic cycle used in shamanistic music. As more instrumentalists engaged in performing simbanggok individually in the chamber hall for the upper class, this musically elaborated simbanggok became referred to as early sanjo and was performed popularly throughout Korea.21

At the end of the 19th century, master gayageum player Kim Chang-Jo (1856-1919) created late sanjo based on early sanjo. The way that late sanjo developed was similar to how pansori developed during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the pansori world, there were two trends: conservative and progressive. The conservative singers emphasized strong improvisatory techniques. The progressive singers, on the other hand, preferred to sing fixed melodies and texts developed by the earlier masters and accumulated in the pansori repertoire.22

Under this circumstance, Kim developed a new form of sanjo and its compositional framework, using pansori melodies and popular fixed melodies. His sanjo was different from early sanjo in several aspects. Early sanjo was strongly improvisational without any fixed melodies. It did not even have any compositional frameworks. Late sanjo, however, was improvised and based on relatively fixed melodies and structured according to certain compositional frameworks. For instance, the melodies of the late sanjo were set in the series of modes of ujo-doljang-pyeongjo-gyemyeonjo in each jangdan. Moreover, while early sanjo

21 Ibid., 5-8.
22 For additional information on pansori, see Hae-kyung Um, “Professional Music: Vocal,” in Music of Korea, ed. Byong Won Lee and Yong-Shik Lee (Seoul: The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts, 2007), 105-122.
displayed many conventional melodies of individual style, late sanjo dispersed the conventional melodies into different schools of sanjo.\(^{23}\)

The audiences of his time admired his work and Kim taught his sanjo to many of his pupils who later became masters of gayageum sanjo. His students include Oh Su-Gwan, An Gi-Ok (1905-1968), Han Seong-Gi (1899-1950), Kang Tae-Hong (1892-1968), and Kim Byeong-Ho (1910-1968). Kim’s sanjo was then transmitted to the second generation of gayageum masters, including Jeong Nam-Hui (1905-1984), Choi Ok-Sam (1905-1956), Kim Juk-Pa (1911-1989), Ham Dongjeongwol (1917-1994), Seong Geum-Ryeon (1923-1986), and Won Ok-Hwa (1929-1971), and also to the third generation. Not only did Kim’s gayageum sanjo develop different schools (ryupa) of gayageum sanjo, but also promoted the development of sanjo on other instruments. For this reason, Kim Chang-Jo is respected as the “Father of Sanjo.”\(^{24}\)

**Decline of Gugak**

Sanjo is still performed today. Yet sanjo and other genres of Korean traditional music are not as popular among the general populace. What caused gugak to decline? In 1876, the country opened its doors, and western cultures and practices began to flow into Korea. Three major factors for this flow of western influence in Korea were the propagation of Christianity, the establishment of a western-style military band, and thirty-five years of Japanese colonial occupation. Soon after Korea opened its doors, Christian missionaries from Europe and North America began to reach Korea bringing with them the translated Bible and hymns. In 1888,


\(^{24}\) Ibid., 9.
American mission hymns were duplicated at Ewha School and disseminated widely throughout Korean society mainly through educational institutions.

The propagation of Christianity served as a catalyst to introduce western music to the general populace in Korea for the first time. The Christian hymn tunes reinforced western melodic structures and practice. Disseminating a hymn was not the top priority for the missionaries, but music was a means of promoting the Christian religion. Through religious activities, western music pervaded Korean society and became familiar and perhaps considered sacred, especially among those who believed in Christianity. As more people worshipped the ideology of Christianity, the music was practiced more frequently among the populace.

Military bands established in the late 1800s played a significant role in introducing western music in Korean society. In 1888, a short-lived Korean military band known as gokhodae (Tuned Bugle Force) was newly created in the military system following the Japanese model. Gokhodae was composed of buglers and drummers and performed frequently at military parades and ceremonies. Gokhodae’s music was lowbrow yet it established the groundwork for western musical development in Korea and promoted the foundation of the first western-style

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25 The Ewha School was the first private school for women founded in Seoul in 1886. In Joseon society, education was only for men. Women were considered as shadows of men, not as independent individuals. American Presbyterian missionary, Mary F. Scranton established an educational institution for women as an important part of her missionary work in 1886. In doing so, Korean women could now obtain educational opportunities. Initially, recruiting students was challenging, but as Empress Myeongseong named the school Ewha School in 1887, the school became well known among women and more students were recruited rapidly. With the ideology of education of “Koreans better Korean’s,” Ewha School strived for education for women. Today, Ewha School is known as Ewha Womans University and contributes to cultivate woman leaders. For additional information on Ewha School, see Encyclopedia of Korean Culture, s.v. “Ewha School,” accessed April 5, 2014, http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Contents?contents_id=E0046618.

imperial band on the Russian model a few years later in 1897.

In February 1901, as Franz Eckert (1852-1916) came to Korea with additional instruments as an instructor and director of the band, western music took deeper root in Korea. In September 1901, under the Eckert’s baton, the imperial band successfully gave its first concert at King Gojong’s (1852-1919) birthday celebration. Thereafter, in addition to performing at royal ceremonies, Eckert frequently hosted music concerts for citizens, composed Korean-style western music and transposed Korean traditional notation to western five-line staff notation. Furthermore, he was actively engaged in teaching students who became the first known modern Korean composers, including Kim Inshik, Jung Sain (1881-1958), and Paek Uyong (1880-1950).

_Gokhodae_ established the foundation of the imperial band, and the imperial band ultimately played a significant role in disseminating western music and raising its status to a higher level. By performing at great ceremonies, like the King’s birthday, the band and its music probably achieved a more professional prominence. By giving frequent concerts for civilians, the band provided opportunities for audiences to encounter western music and enjoy it as well. Therefore, even if the audiences were not involved in any Christian religious activity, they could widen their musical experience with a wider choice in practicing or listening to music, in addition to existing _gugak_.

Nevertheless, it was the thirty-five years of Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945)
that brought the greatest western musical influence to the Korean society and initiated the decline of *gugak*. After the visit of U.S. Commodore Matthew Perry in 1853, Japan was forced to sign unequal commercial treaties with the U.S., England, Russia, France, and Netherlands in 1854. Realizing the superior military power of the West, Japan restored imperial rule under the Meiji Emperor in 1867. This action began to transform the country socio-politically and economically. During the process of modernization and westernization, Japan adopted western ideologies that were applied in various areas, including education, which was believed to be a fundamental basis for changing the world.\(^{29}\)

After the restoration, for further national development, Japan began invading other countries, including China, Russia, and Korea. In 1876, Japan forced Korea to sign an unequal treaty and colonized Korea by force in 1910 after winning the wars against China and Russia.\(^ {30}\) When Japan occupied Korea, they attempted to modernize Korea through westernization, like they did through Meiji Restoration, and indoctrinated Korean society to western culture. Colonial policy prohibited musical organizations and individual performers practicing all kinds of Korean traditional music. Even the traditional performance of court music completely ceased at the royal palace. Western art music was institutionalized in the school system and rapidly spread

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throughout the nation.\textsuperscript{31}

Thus, during the Japanese occupation, the general populace had no choice when practicing music. Earlier, although western music was introduced to society and frequently performed for the general populace, the audience could prefer \textit{gugak} to western music. However, during this time, only western music was available for them to learn and appreciate. The younger generation did not even have an opportunity to learn the music of their motherland. Students and citizens eventually came to favor western music. Moreover, as Japan devalued \textit{gugak}, negative perspectives on \textit{gugak} as an inferior genre to western music were formed unconsciously among the general populace.\textsuperscript{32} Under this circumstance, \textit{sanjo} and other genres of \textit{gugak} could not be consistently practiced and developed.

**Revival of Gugak and the Development of Changjak Gugak**

Even after Korea became independent from Japanese occupation in 1945, the devaluation of \textit{gugak} made it difficult for the genre to recover. The general populace favored western music over \textit{gugak}, and many musicians went abroad to study western music.\textsuperscript{33} In order to revive the fading traditional culture, considerable efforts were made both at individual and national levels. In 1950, the Korean government established the National Gugak Center (first known as the National Classical Music Institute and later, the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) in Seoul in order to promote \textit{gugak} performances. Then, from the early 1960s,

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{31} Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau, introduction to \textit{Locating East Asai in Western Art Music}, ed. Yayoi Uno Everett and Frederick Lau (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 2004), xv-xx.
  \item \textsuperscript{32} Sooeun Kwak, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 5, 2012.
\end{itemize}
the government designated many performing art genres, including sanjo, as part of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to preserve traditional cultures and recognized many famous gugak musicians who preserved the “authentic” form of music as “Human Treasures.” Under this system, gayageum sanjo and byeongchang (self-accompanied song) was designated as the No. 23 in the list of Intangible Cultural Heritage in December 1968.

At the individual level, several musicians led the initiative to reinstate the importance of traditional music and culture in Korea. In 1959, professor Lee Hye-Ku established the Department of Traditional Music in Seoul National University to promote the study of and practical experience in gugak. All instrumental music majors were required to master sanjo during their college years, but the way that they learned sanjo was different from the traditional method of learning. Traditionally tied to a learning system based on apprenticeship, students learned sanjo orally by following and memorizing their teachers’ instructions. In contrast, students in college began to learn sanjo by following a music score transcribed into western staff notation.

The next year, in 1960, Kim Kisu established a foundation of “creative traditional music” called changjak gugak (also known as shin gugak, literally meaning “new traditional music”). Kim composed various pieces of music using both western and Korean traditional musical elements and symbolized his musical ideas by giving titles to his works. His music was notated

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in western staff notation and adopted western orchestral writing and Italian tempo and expression markings while avoiding the use of harmony and preserving traditional modes, timbral elements, and soft endings. Since then, many musicians and composers, including Hwang Byung-Ki, Lee Sang-Kyu, and Yi Sung-Chun, have actively participated in the further development of *changjak gugak*. By developing *changjak gugak*, Kim Kisu made many *gugak* instruments to be heard in different musical contexts with new expressions.

Over time, Korean society went through historical and social changes, and those changes were reflected in Korean music history. Accordingly, its musical culture and practice were also modified and developed in various ways. At some point, diverse genres of Korean traditional music, including *sanjo* were thriving and being performed widely among the general populace. At other times, western art music gained more popularity while traditional Korean music slowly declined.

As a response to this situation, the Korean government and individual performers proposed solutions to revive *gugak* in the “opposite” direction. The government decided to preserve the tradition, while individual performers chose to modify the tradition and develop a fusion *gugak*. In the next three chapters, the following will be demonstrated: how *changjak gugak* has been developed, how *gugak* was revived through *changjak gugak*, and how the tradition was maintained in *changjak gugak* despite all the modifications and new characteristics.

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Basic Structure and Symbolic Meanings of Sanjo Gayageum

The traditional sanjo gayageum has 12 strings made of silk. Each string has a different thickness and represents the twelve months of a year. The first string that produces the lowest pitch is composed of the most number of silk strands, while the twelfth string that produces the highest pitch is composed of the least number of silk strands. Strings are supported by moveable bridges called anjok (wild goose feet). Anjok symbolizes happiness\textsuperscript{38} and the bridge is adjusted on the soundboard for tuning. When a bridge is moved towards the left end of the instrument (away from the performer), the pitch of the string that it supports will become lower. When a bridge is moved towards the other end of the instrument (towards the performer), the string will produce a higher pitch.

The elongated hollow soundboard of the instrument (about 142cm long and 23cm wide) enhances the resonance of the instrument and symbolizes the universe. The top of the soundboard, made of paulownia, has an arched shape. The arched top allows rapid and virtuosic performance by following the natural curved shapes of the fingers and symbolizes heaven. The rear, on the other hand, is made from chestnut wood and has a flat surface with three sound holes. The flat bottom represents the earth, and the rectangular shaped sound hole in the center of the soundboard represents the four cardinal directions. The other two sound holes in the shapes of the round sun and crescent moon represent yin and yang. Sometimes the top of the soundboard is

decorated with drawings of a phoenix, a bird that symbolizes an auspicious fortune, in gold, and this provides further symbolic representations.\(^{39}\)

The bottom of the instrument is called *bongmi* (tail of phoenix), and the feet of the instrument on the back of the soundboard are called *woonjok* (cloud feet). Located at the bottom of the instrument, *woonjok* supports the instrument when it is placed on the floor to perform. *Bongmi* pulls the strings and keeps them tightly in place. On *bongmi*, long thin rope-like strings are coiled and neatly placed. These twelve strings are made of cotton and called *boodle*. As an extension of the silk strings, *boodle* helps fix the silk strings to *bongmi*. The way that *boodle* is tied looks similar to the way women’s hair was put up in the Joseon society and gives the *gayageum* a somewhat feminine look. The part where the silk strings are wound around the free-floating pegs, looped through holes, and connected to *boodle* with colored threads is called *hak-seul* (crane leg).

The silk strings are stretched across over the top of the soundboard and fixed to the head bridge called *hyun-chim* (pillow of strings). *Hyun-chim* supports the strings tightly and connects them to small tuning pegs on the rear of the soundboard. Twelve small tuning pegs, called *tolgwae* can be adjusted for tuning, but their main role is to hold the strings firmly. For that reason, *tolgwae* is rarely touched except when a string is broken and needs to be replaced with a new one. The head of the instrument, next to *hyun-chim* is called *jwadan*. Usually, *jwadan* is decorated with a Chinese letter (囍) that represents happiness and joy or carved with shapes of the sun and moon that symbolize a good fortune and yin and yang.\(^{40}\)

\(^{39}\) Ibid., 39-40.
\(^{40}\) Ibid.
Through its twelve strings and the soundboard, *gayageum* embodies the philosophical concept of yin and yang of the universe and represents bliss and good luck by engraving patterns on other parts of the instrument. In this way, *gayageum* is a sacred instrument that symbolizes peace and tranquility of the world.

Figure 2.1. The basic structure of the *sanjo gayageum*\(^4\)

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**Gayageum Performance Techniques**

To play the *gayageum*, a performer needs to have a proper posture. Traditionally, the performer sits on the floor in lotus position and holds the instrument on the laps properly. The left leg is bended inward, while the right leg is laid outward and its knee is raised up slightly high. In placing the instrument, the *tolgwae* part needs to be placed on the right side of the lap,

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\(^{4}\) Image created by author at hanullimdrum.com.
and the *bongmi* is placed obliquely away from the performer’s body. Then, the edge of the right hand is placed on the *jwadan* along the *hyun-chim*, and the tips of the fingers are laid evenly on the strings. For the left hand, the tips of the index and middle fingers are placed on the strings a few centimeters below the *anjok*. The thumb needs to be touching the index finger, while the fourth and fifth fingers are slightly raised up (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2. Basic posture for *sanjo gayageum*\(^\text{42}\)

Basic techniques for playing *gayageum* include plucking, flicking, and pressing strings, and these techniques are commonly used in performing traditional *gayageum sanjo* as well. In performing *gayageum sanjo*, no more than one string is played at a time, which creates a monophonic texture. On the right side of the movable bridges close to the head bridge, the

\(^\text{42}\) Image from en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gayageum.
strings are plucked with the fleshy part of the fingers of the right hand, using thumb, index finger, and middle finger. When repeating a note that is previously plucked, the string is flicked outward with the fingernails. Sometimes, a note needs to be repeated more than twice, and the string is then flicked in quick succession. To the left of the movable bridges, the first three fingers of the left hand press down on the strings and create various ornaments, including the wide vibrato and pitch bending sound.

**Aesthetic Factors of Gayageum Sanjo**

Most of the gayageum sanjo pieces performed today are derived from Kim Chang-Jo’s late sanjo. Today there are about nine to ten sanjo schools for the gayageum. Each school demonstrates diverse musical styles by using different types of melodies and playing techniques that reflect lineage or regional styles.\(^4\) For instance, Choi Ok-Sam’s gayageum sanjo is considered masculine. His sanjo is played in relatively lower tones compared to others and uses restrained performing techniques without much embellishment (*nonghyun*) on the melody. In contrast, Kim Juk-Pa’s gayageum sanjo is described as feminine. Her sanjo contains diverse modes and regularly uses delicate and profound *nonghyun* (see Figure 2.3).\(^4\) Even in the same sanjo school, because every individual performer has to develop his or her own musical style, different musical styles are observed.

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Despite the distinct melodic lines and style of expressions, sanjo has some basic musical elements that construct its framework, such as jangdan, jo, seong-eum, and sigimsae. Jangdan (literally meaning “long and short”) represents a cycle of rhythmic patterns but can also refer to beat, tempo, a certain type of meter, accent, specific drumming techniques, or the name of a movement. Because the melody and rhythm depend on the jangdan, it is the most crucial element of sanjo and many other Korean music genres. Depending on the school, gayageum sanjo is usually composed of six or seven jangdan movements, including three basic sets of jangdan in slow, moderate, and fast tempos.

Jinyangjo is the slowest jangdan and represents the first movement in sanjo. Jungmori is the moderate jangdan that has a faster tempo than jinyangjo. It refers to the second movement of sanjo. The fast jangdan is called jajinmori and usually indicates the fourth movement of sanjo (see Figure 2.4). Throughout the sanjo performance, as the tempo of the jangdan sequence increases, going from the slow to the fast, the musical tension gradually increases. Moreover,

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even within the same movement, the rhythmic pattern is not played exactly the same every time.
It can be varied according to the melody and dynamics.\textsuperscript{46}

Figure 2.4. Basic patterns of \textit{jangdan}\textsuperscript{47}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Jinyangjo}</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Jungmori}</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{Jajinmori}</td>
<td><img src="image" alt="Image" /></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Since \textit{sanjo} was transmitted orally, several names of \textit{jo} were used inconsistently among masters, and understanding the meaning of \textit{jo} became more challenging. But in general, \textit{jo} refers to a mode, melodic type or pattern expressing a certain color, emotion, mood, embellishment style, and vernacular musical expression. Each movement of \textit{sanjo} based on different sets of \textit{jangdan} is divided into sections, and each section is organized around a \textit{jo}. Every \textit{jo} embodies

\textsuperscript{47} Table created by author.
distinctive melodic and rhythmic characteristics. Yet, different kinds of jo are organically connected to one another and form melodies of sanjo. ⁴⁸

Seong-eum refers to a special expressive timbre evoked and specified by a particular jo. Under different types of jo, the same tone is played with different seong-eum. For instance, the tone is expressed more sorrowfully in gyemyeonjo than in ujo. Sigimsae (idiomatically stylized embellishment), on the other hand, refers to certain shapes of microtonal shadings produced through nonghyun (literally “playing strings”), or by pressing the strings in different degrees (see Figure 2.5). ⁴⁹ As the playing technique used to elaborate melodies, nonghyun produces the idiomatic expression and stylized embellishment and determines jo in Korean music, including sanjo.

Figure 2.5. Diverse types of sigimsae produced through nonghyun on gayageum ⁵⁰

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yo-seong</td>
<td>Vibrating tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toae-seong</td>
<td>Falling tone (Allow tone to fall)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choo-seong</td>
<td>Pushing up tone (Allow tone to rise)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

⁵⁰ Table created by author.
Reflecting regional, individual, and musical differences, seong-eum and sigimsae not only demonstrate the technical aspects but also imply one of the most important aesthetic values of sanjo. In addition, the sound of rain, a horse galloping, a bird singing, and other sounds from nature are imitated and portrayed through these subtle ornaments.\(^51\) As a result, understanding these idiomatic expressions is essential to appreciate the musical language of sanjo.

**Notations for Gayageum Sanjo**

Gayageum sanjo is notated on a single western musical staff because it contains just one melodic line. But its notation is different from how western string instruments, such as violins, are normally notated because traditional gayageum does not have a standardized tuning system. Even though traditional gayageum is tuned based on a pentatonic scale system, there is no standardized pitch. Thus, on a traditional gayageum, sounding pitch and written pitch are different. Written pitch is normally a perfect fifth above the sounding pitch (see Figure 2.6). This discrepancy between sounding pitch and written pitch resulted in gayageum sanjo being commonly notated in three different ways. One way is to notate the music using a treble clef based on the written pitch (see Figure 2.7). Another way is to notate the music based on the sounding pitch (see Figure 2.8). Yet another way is to use a mezzo-soprano clef so that the sounding pitch and the written pitch become theoretically the same (see Figure 2.9).

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Figure 2.6. Written pitch (top) and sounding pitch (bottom) of *sanjo gayageum*

![Written pitch](image1)

![Sounding pitch](image2)

Figure 2.7. Transcribed Seong Geum-Ryeon *ryu short gayageum sanjo* based on the written pitch (the beginning of *jinyanjo*)

![Transcribed notation](image3)

Figure 2.8. Transcribed Kim Chang-Jo *gayageum sanjo* based on the sounding pitch (the beginning of *jinyangjo*)

![Transcribed notation](image4)

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Notations for *gayageum sanjo* also contain several symbols that indicate certain ways to perform notes. For instance, when there is a certain symbol written above a note, a performer should play the note on one string below, make a bending sound of the note, vibrate the note, accent the note, block the sound of the note, flick the string, or flick the string consecutively (see Figure 2.10).

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Figure 2.10. Notational symbols that indicate performance techniques

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Right hand</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1, 2, 3</td>
<td>Fingering numbers. Pluck with thumb, index, or third finger. (When there is no fingering indicated, pluck with index finger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>Flick with index finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Double flick with third finger and index finger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>.</td>
<td>Staccato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.s.</td>
<td>Con Sordino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.s.</td>
<td>Senza Sordino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Left hand</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>No vibrato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Light vibrato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Strong vibrato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>^</td>
<td>Bend note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Press string sharply and quickly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Allow pitch to fall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Allow pitch to rise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Slowly release to lower pitch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Play with lingering sound with no extra plucking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>—</td>
<td>Press with thumb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Play one string below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Play two strings below</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[]</td>
<td>Return to original string</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*55 Table created by author.*
Due to the use of notations, sanjo is not improvised as much as before but rather standardized today. However, the basic musical elements that comprise sanjo, such as jangdan, jo, seong-eum, and sigimsae, are still considered important and essential in expressing gayageum sanjo. Gayageum sanjo has been performed by many gayageum players and passed down through various schools. Even for those gugak performers who mainly practice changjak gugak, learning sanjo is considered basic. Compared to sanjo, changjak gugak carries very different musical characteristics. Gayageum is one of the gugak instruments that are most frequently used to perform changjak gugak. In the next chapter, I will discuss distinctive musical characteristics of changjak gugak and how they are performed on gayageum.
CHAPTER III

Distinct Features of Changjak Gugak in Gayageum Music

Why is changjak gugak called changjak gugak? What is so “creative” about this musical genre? In fact, the reason why this music is called changjak gugak, meaning creative music, is not simply because changjak gugak is more creative than the traditional gugak musically. This was named in this way because changjak gugak was established and developed based on the concept of “composition” adopted from western musical practices in Korea since Kim Kisu wrote his first piece called Hwanghwamannyaeongjogok (“Eternal Imperialism”) in 1939. The idea of composition, which was very novel for Korean traditional music, was fundamental and essential to the birth of changjak gugak and its musical practice. This idea ultimately allowed many musicians to compose music for traditional instruments, including gayageum, and include many innovative musical elements that were not used in previous gugak. In a wide repertoire of changjak gugak composed for gayageum, distinct characteristics of changjak gugak are observed in various areas, ranging from the types of gayageum used and diverse performance styles to the development of notations.


Composed during the Japanese occupation in Korea, Hwanghwamannyaeongjogok was severely criticized at that time for supporting the continuation of colonialism (mannyeon literally means 10,000 years). This piece still remains controversial as to whether it should be considered “new.” Yet, the music was notated in western staff notation rather than in the Korean traditional notation called jeongganbo. It used an Italian tempo marking, “Largo maestoso” and expression markers. On the pyeonjong, a musical instrument consisting of a set of bronze bells, the basic harmonies (I, iii, IV, and V) were created. The piece also employed a conductor. As the first composed gugak, this piece established Kim Kisu’s basic compositional style and initiated the further development of changjak gugak.
Modified Gayageum

As changjak gugak developed actively in the mid 20th century, the changing context promoted modifications in Korean traditional instruments, including sanjo gayageum. In the past, gayageum sanjo was a daily music and played for entertainment. Today, however, gayageum sanjo and other gayageum music are no longer played regularly in everyday life but are performed in a formal context, such as a large concert hall for an audience. Because gayageum requires low tension on the strings and is played with bare fingers, it produces a soft, warm, and intimate sound, and therefore, is usually intended for indoor performance. These characteristics of the instrument could not easily accommodate the new performance context. The sound of the instrument was not loud enough to fill the large space.

Moreover, as more musicians are involved in composing changjak gugak, they feel restricted in writing music for gayageum, due to its small range of pitches. Kwak Sooeun, a well-known gayageum player and composer in South Korea said:

The sanjo gayageum has a range of only two octaves with five pitches. With the twelve strings, it is very challenging to create a “good piece.” It is relatively comfortable to produce and express the sound that I want when all the twelve semitones are used. But it is hard to do so with the 12-string gayageum.57

Although the traditional gayageum has twelve strings, it is designed to produce only five pitches (see Figure 3.1), as Korean traditional music follows the pentatonic scale system. As a result, in order to supplement these limitations of the traditional instrument, the instrument was modified to have a louder volume and a wider range of pitches.

When the *sanjo gayageum* was modified, the basic structure of the instrument was kept. For instance, the modified instrument also has a head called *jwadan*, and the feet called *woonjok*. The strings are supported by movable bridges and stretched from *hyun-chim* to *bongmi* over an elongated soundboard made of paulownia. The soundboard still has an arch shaped top and a flat bottom with three sound holes embodying symbolic significations. This way, the fundamental structure of the instrument could be maintained, while some parts of the instrument were modified to accommodate the modern demands.

On the modified *gayageum*, a few more strings were added to expand the range of the instrument, and the body of the instrument was enlarged accordingly. While the traditional *gayageum* has twelve strings, the modified *gayageum* came to have 17, 18, 21, or 25 strings. In addition to installing more strings on the instrument, a new tuning system was adopted in some modified *gayageums*, including 25-string *gayageum*, as a way to expand the range of the instrument. The new tuning system was based on western equal temperament and the heptatonic scale and allowed the instrument to produce seven standardized pitches with semitones within an octave (see Figure 3.2).
In order to produce a louder sound on the instrument, the size of the soundboard was made larger. For instance, the soundboard on the 25-string modified *gayageum* is twice as big as the traditional *sanjo* gayageum (about 150cm long and 35cm wide) and also weighs twice as much. The widened soundboard not only created a space for extra strings but also helped with the production of more volume. To maximize the sound resonance, different material was used for strings as well. Unlike the strings on the traditional *gayageum*, strings used on the modified *gayageum* were typically made of polyester or some other material, including steel and nylon.

In the case of the 25-string *gayageum*, polyester strings are used, and some alterations are made to the basic structure of the instrument in order to tune these strings more effectively. Unlike the *sanjo gayageum*, the 25-string *gayageum* no longer has *boodle* and *hak-seul*. Instead, it has another *hyun-chim* at the bottom of the soundboard to support the strings. Then, this *hyun-chim* connects the strings to small tuning pegs, *tolgwaes*, on the rear of *bongmi*, instead of on the rear of the soundboard near the *jwadan*. In the place where *tolgwaes* were originally located, a foldable prop is now attached on the 25-string modified *gayageum* to support the instrument while performing (see Figure 3.3).
On the *sanjo gayageum*, movable bridges are moved and adjusted on the soundboard to tune the instrument. However, on the 25-string modified *gayageum*, the instrument is tuned more like a piano. The movable bridges are not adjusted frequently, even though they have the same shape as the ones used on the *sanjo gayageum*. Instead, the head part of the instrument, *jwadan*, can be open, and tuning pins inside of the *jwadan*, which look similar to those of the piano, are adjusted using a small tuning hammer (see Figure 3.4).

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58 Image created by author at hanullimdrum.com and kugakki.com.
By making some structural alterations and pulling the strings more tightly, the strings on the modified instrument have a lot greater tension compared to the traditional silk strings and helped the instrument produce sound in a greater volume. Even when the strings are hit lightly, the sound of the instrument could be heard clearly.

Various pieces of *changjak gugak* are composed for both traditional *sanjo gayageum* and modified *gayageum*. However, the modified *gayageum* tends to be used more often than traditional *gayageum* in a wide repertoire because of its convenience and flexibility that the traditional instrument does not have. A broader range of pitches on the modified *gayageum* provided *changjak gugak* composers great freedom and flexibility in creating their compositions. For instance, Kwak Sooeun states how challenging it is to write music for traditional *gayageum*.

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59 Image created by author at hanullimdrum.com.
“I know how to play both traditional gayageum and modified gayageum, and in fact, I have played traditional gayageum for a longer period of time. Nonetheless, I have only written music for modified gayageum so far. Some day in the future, I would like to create my gayageum sanjo. But because there are only five pitches, it is very difficult to compose music for traditional gayageum. I think I should build up more competence in gayageum in order to be able to compose music for traditional gayageum.”

Through western influence, as the concept of composition was developed and applied to gugak, new aesthetic factors were developed for changjak gugak. The pentatonic scale system, once perfectly adequate for gugak, is now considered insufficient in the new context. As the idea of composition becomes central to changjak gugak in the new context, the modified gayageum is regarded as more “suitable” than the traditional one. More available pitches within a wider range of the instrument provide composers greater opportunities to express their musical ideas in greater freedom and make the composition more convenient and diverse.

Moreover, standardized pitches on the modified gayageum brought flexibility and freedom to composers in diverse performance styles. Having standardized pitches allowed changjak gugak to be performed in various forms, including in large ensembles. When gayageum is performed in solo or in a small ensemble, not having any standardized pitches is not problematic. Within a small ensemble, for instance, it may be possible to decide arbitrarily on which pitches to use. However, when the music is to be played by a large ensemble, it becomes difficult to do so. Standardized pitches allowed large ensembles to perform together easily.

Therefore, it may be inevitable that the modified gayageum is now more frequently used than the traditional gayageum in practicing changjak gugak. As changjak gugak developed, the

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60 Sooeun Kwak, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 5, 2012.
adoption of the modified gayageum allowed the repertoire of gayageum music to expand to a great extent with new sounds and performance styles.

**Creation of Harmonies in Changjak Gugak**

Because gayageum sanjo is a solo performance, it has a monophonic texture. On the other hand, a large part of the repertoire of changjak gugak composed for gayageum has a polyphonic texture. Not all, but many pieces of changjak gugak for gayageum contain various harmonies and consist of multiple melodic and bass lines. Generally, harmonies are diatonic triads and seventh chords that are not highly chromatic or extended but rather functional and fundamental. This polyphonic texture of the music could be achieved through two different ways: by a single performer or by a group of performers.

In order for a performer to produce harmonies on a single gayageum, new performance techniques had to be developed. The performer began playing multiple strings at a time using both the right and left hands. The right hand plucks more than one string, and the left hand, which was only used in pressing down on the strings, begins to pluck the strings as well along with the right hand. The left hand plucks more than one string at a time to produce harmonies or plays the strings to accompany the main melody played with the right hand or to create another melodic line.

The new techniques brought about an extra role for the left hand in particular. The left hand would not only embellish the main melody, but also create the bass line and help form the polyphonic texture with various harmonies. This new role of the left hand is observed commonly in various pieces of changjak gugak composed for gayageum, but more clearly and frequently in
those performed on modified gayageum. Because there are more strings on the modified gayageum, the left hand is more actively involved in creating a complex melodic or bass line on the modified gayageum than on the traditional gayageum.

Another way to create harmonies is through having more than one gayageum to perform multiple layers of melodies and accompaniments together. The creation of harmonies by a group of performers developed an ensemble performance. Each player or a group of players in an ensemble would play a different part. The ensemble music is more commonly performed with modified gayageum due to its instrumental characteristics. As mentioned earlier, the modified gayageum was invented in a way that supplemented some limitations that the traditional instrument had in the current modern context. Therefore, the modified gayageum had many new characteristics that the traditional instrument did not have, and one of them was having standardized pitches. Standardized pitches on modified gayageum allowed a number of gayageums to perform together and promoted the development of various kinds of ensembles, including a gayageum orchestra like Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra in South Korea composed of 18 gayageums and a conductor.

Before pitches were standardized on the modified gayageum, it was difficult for performers to play different parts of the music in harmony using traditional gayageum. This is probably the reason why gayageum music written for the traditional instrument is mostly composed for solo performance, and it is rare to find gayageum ensembles composed of traditional gayageums. Moreover, these solo gayageum pieces written for the traditional gayageum normally are not arranged for different instrumentations or harmonized for multiple traditional gayageums.
Layers of harmonies with multiple melodic and bass lines produced by an ensemble created a thicker musical texture and added more complexity to the music. This resultant ensemble music produced more colorful and richer sounds and eventually provided changjak gugak composers some advantages in creating music as well. Multiple melodic and bass lines provided composers enough room to express their musical ideas and satisfied their musical desires. For example, Kwak Sooeun created a gayageum ensemble called Kwak Sooeun & La-on G with her students in 2010 because she thought that an ensemble would be able to convey her musical ideas more expressively than a solo gayageum.

“I have never thought to become a composer until I wrote my first piece called “Butterfly’s Dream” in 2009. Playing the music that I wrote gave me a great pleasure and wonderful experience. I wanted to compose more pieces of music, and from then, I became a gayageum player who composes as well. Initially, I wrote music for gayageum solo but soon, I felt very restricted in creating the music that I wanted just by using one 25-string gayageum. Even though it can produce notes within a range of 4 octaves, I could not use all 12 semitones by myself. I wanted to use them all to express my music. So I decided to organize a gayageum ensemble with six of my students. Now, I am very satisfied with how my music is portrayed through this ensemble. Also, using more than one gayageum gave me greater freedom and flexibility in composing music.”

In addition to forming new musical characteristics, the creation of harmonies in changjak gugak also prompted western music composers to compose changjak gugak. Because the concept of harmonies did not exist in Korean traditional music, western music theory was adopted in creating the harmonies in changjak gugak. Now well known as a changjak gugak composer, Jung Dong-Hee initially began his musical career as a western classical music composer. But having many friends who played gugak instruments around him, he got interested in changjak gugak and eventually became a changjak gugak composer. He said that even though

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61 Ibid.
he did not play any of the gugak instruments, he could still compose changjak gugak with his strong knowledge in western classical music theory.

“I believe that composing western classical music and composing changjak gugak require essentially the same skills. What makes changjak gugak compositions different from western classical music compositions is a type of musical material used in the compositions, including whether I use Korean traditional instruments or western instruments. However, it is important to notice that I do not compose changjak gugak entirely based on western music theory. I do consider the characteristics of different gugak instruments and try to reflect them properly in my compositions.”

In like manner, Kang Jonghee, an atonal music composer, wrote a piece for an ensemble of five 12-string sanjo gayageums in 2012 called Maedup (“Knots”). As a composer, she particularly has an extensive knowledge in concert music compositions and film scores music and has composed in various genres of music. She had not so much knowledge in Korean gugak or changjak gugak when she was commissioned to compose a piece for the gayageum ensemble. Nevertheless, she completed the piece for the ensemble successfully. To write Maedup, she did research on the gayageum and its music in general and studied their characteristics. Then, she applied this information to her knowledge and skills of composition.

The completed composition Maedup reflects Kang’s musical ideas and her compositional style while containing some characteristics of gayageum music. Throughout the piece, a few strands of melody are woven in different ways in various textures, representing the title of the piece, knots. In the first half of the piece, the melodic lines of each gayageum are played independently with equal importance. But in the latter half, as every gayageum plays the similar melodic line, the musical texture becomes more monophonic. The musical ideas are delivered

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63 Jonghee Kang, interviewed by author, Atlanta, GA, February 24, 2013.
through the melodic lines and elaborated with the unique sound from the instrument and the indicated dynamics and expression markings. To install the music with the unique sound of the gayageum, nonghyun (a performance technique requiring the strings to be pressed down with the left hand) is frequently employed. Moreover, the use of a few structural characteristics of traditional sanjo throughout the piece, including a gradual tempo change and triple or compound meters, highlights the unique sound of gayageum to a greater extent.

Likewise, the creation of harmonies in changjak gugak not only brought some new musical characteristics but also gave many more musicians opportunities to become part of creating changjak gugak. Unlike in traditional sanjo, in changjak gugak, even those with no previous experience or knowledge in gugak or changjak gugak could use their own musical knowledge, expand it, and eventually become changjak gugak composers.

**Changjak Gugak as Composed Music**

What makes changjak gugak composed for gayageum fundamentally different from traditional gayageum sanjo is the idea of composition in changjak gugak. Gayageum sanjo is improvisational music. The way that gayageum sanjo is originally performed is through playing various improvisations. Gayageum players do everything from creating sanjo to performing it. In other words, there is no concept of “composer” in practicing sanjo.

In contrast, changjak gugak is composed rather than improvised, and the western idea of composition becomes the central idea of changjak gugak. The appearance of the composers in changjak gugak created a clear boundary between performers and composers. Performers only perform, and composers only compose. Still, there are some instrumental players, including
gayageum players Hwang Byung-Ki and Kwak Sooeun, who dedicate themselves to compose music for their instruments. Yet, performers are predominantly no longer actively involved in creating the music like they used to do for sanjo. Instead, they are more focused on playing the music written by the composers.

The boundary that separated the roles of performers and composers brought new perspectives to performers and composers in their musical activities. As composers were dominantly in charge of creating music, great flexibility was provided for composers. Instead of being restricted to a sanjo form, composers could adopt different compositional frameworks for their compositions. For instance, western traditional rhythmic patterns and meters such as $\frac{2}{4}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, and $\frac{4}{4}$, are commonly used to structure the compositions. In another case, the compositions may be structured in a way that the western musical genre is formed. The modern gayageum player Jung Mina is a singer-songwriter. Although she composes songs that are suitable for gayageum performance and actually accompanies herself with the 25-string modified gayageum while singing, her music reflects characteristics of indie pop music rather than those of gugak. Within the boundaries of the instruments, a composer could be as creative as possible in expressing his or her musical ideas in changjak gugak compositions. On the other hand, in comparison to composers, performers became to have relatively less freedom and flexibility in producing music.

Kwak Sooeun and Jung Dong-Hee unanimously agreed that a repertoire of changjak gugak might be full of more intriguing pieces if performers could participate in creating changjak gugak. Kwak even mentioned her experience of playing changjak gugak before she herself involved in composing music.

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64 Dong-Hee Jung, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 12, 2012.
“Traditional gayageum music has clear musical characteristics. As a performer, I feel contented from playing the traditional music. But when I first played changjak gugak pieces written by some composers, I could not appreciate the music or have fun from playing it. It was impossible for me to feel sympathy from the music. So I became to have a thought to compose music for myself. From then, I compose music that reflects my own color and style. I know that not everyone can like my music, but I feel great pleasure from playing my music and composing it.”

For one thing, instrumentalists know their instruments the best. The reason why Kwak could not appreciate the music that other composers wrote was perhaps because the composers did not have a deep understanding of the instruments. Even if composers studied the instruments to compose music, they would not realize all the true characteristics of the instrument unless they actually learned to play the instrument for a long period of time. As a result, their compositions tended to be very logical and well structured based on theories but not so much appreciated by the performers.

Furthermore, as composed music, changjak gugak became to contain various musical styles. Despite the fact that sanjo is an improvised music, individuals improvise based on a certain framework. The original form of sanjo was slightly transformed through improvisations, and several schools of sanjo were developed. Different schools of sanjo demonstrate somewhat distinctive musical characteristics. However, they share many aesthetic factors in common as the general framework, or the basic structure, remains quite the same. This characteristic perhaps makes performers feel sympathy toward sanjo regardless of its school. In contrast, changjak gugak is composed based on any kind of framework. Even a single composer’s pieces may reflect different musical characteristics. Consequently, as individual pieces of changjak gugak

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display different styles, performers may show clear likes and dislikes and this makes it difficult to feel sympathy toward compositions that fall outside the usual framework.

Despite this circumstance, gugak performers are rarely involved in composing the music. Most of them receive music from composers and perform it in the way that composers want them to play. It becomes important for them to express what composers originally intended to portray in their music. Correspondingly, performers could not demonstrate their unique musical individuality in creating music. Moreover, this resulted in the development of musical notations in changjak gugak.

The development of changjak gugak did not only divide the roles of performers and composers but resulted in another major consequence. Changjak gugak brought creativity, freedom and flexibility in practicing gugak. Though traditional sanjo is improvisational music, there were some rules and frameworks that must be adhered to when performing it. However, in practicing changjak gugak, there is no specific guideline that musicians have to follow. In some way or other, musicians can embody their thoughts in the music and express anything through their music. Often times, musicians may portray something that not everyone can understand. Yet, this is what makes changjak gugak and should be seen as a characteristic of changjak gugak.

For instance, Hwang Byung-Ki premiered Migoong (“The Labyrinth”) in 1975. Composed for a sanjo gayageum and a solo vocalist, Migoong portrays the human life cycle from birth to death and is composed of three parts. The first part represents the birth. The vocalist makes sounds of laughing and crying, the primitive voice of humans before speaking any language. She then groans to overcome adversity, showing a strong will. In the second part, the vocalist reads a newspaper, which represents human civilization, and then suddenly cries out
loudly as if swirling words. The last part portrays death. The vocalist makes a sound reminiscent of waves and reads Buddhist scriptures leading everything to another world.

The music creates dramatic effects by minimizing musical and linguistic elements in the vocal part and by using instrumental props to play gayageum besides bare hands. The vocalist does not seem to be “singing” but using voice as an instrument. The vocal part is primarily melodic without words and sometimes imitates the main melody of the gayageum part with portamento. The gayageum performer does not play the instrument in a normal way using bare hands but plays it with a violin bow, a janggu stick, and a geomungo (Korean six-string black zither) plectrum. The performer plays tremolos and rubs or hits the strings with the violin bow; scratches the strings with the janggu stick; and plays glissandos with the geomungo plectrum. Playing particular pitches is not the primary concern. Instead, playing these techniques on the gayageum and singing the pure melodic line were to create sound effects. This piece of music indeed sounds novel and quite different from any other. When Migoong was premiered in 1975, one woman in the audience dashed out of the concert hall. Soon, Migoong was considered hideous and creepy and was eventually banned from performance for a while.66

Migoong challenged the dominant perspective that changjak gugak should relate to the old in a certain type of way. Some scholars even said that Migoong is neither Korean nor Western.67 Migoong uses not traditional methods of performance that approaches avant-garde sensibility. Unlike many other pieces of changjak gugak, this music was even notated in a

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Because *Migoong* is not played with traditional performance techniques of *gayageum*, it may seem that *Migoong* is not related to the old. However, innovative elements used in *Migoong* are actually taken from other Korean music. Bouncing a bow off the lowest strings is a way to imitate the *ajaeng* (8-string zither) performance. Hitting the soundboard of the *gayageum* with a *janggu* stick is in imitation of wooden temple blocks, while bouncing it along the back of the soundboard is in imitation of *uh* (a wooden tiger with a serrated back used in court ritual).

No matter how shocking or crazy this music was for some people, Hwang composed this piece of music in this way not just to surprise people or for the sake of novelty but as a means of personal expression. Hwang once acknowledged that he is familiar with Henry Cowell’s experiments. In this composition, he used his knowledge in contemporary western music and the avant-garde to convey his ideas about a human life cycle in a creative way. Being creative may mean producing or expressing something new in an original way. However, it does not necessarily mean that one must seek absolute novelty and implement novel performance practices in order to be creative. Being creative has a different connotation from being novel, and the word “novel” cannot be used interchangeably with the word “creative.” While using the most basic techniques, musicians can be creative and original. For instance, they can be creative by

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expressing the idea that is original without using any novel technique. Hence, in *changjak gugak*, novelty is the by-product of creativeness instead of the necessary and sufficient condition.

In another case, Jung Dong-Hee tries different things in his compositions and challenges performers. He said that it is a composer’s job to write music that is challenging for performers to play.

“Sometimes I compose songs that are not in the normal range of the instruments. I know that it will be very challenging for performers to play those pieces. But I also know that they are capable of performing them excellently after lots of practices. I never underestimate their musical skills. Composers should write music that is fun for performers to play. But at the same time, composers should challenge performers by writing music that requires exceptional musical skills because it would definitely be able to enhance performers’ musical skills.”

Every piece of *changjak gugak* is different from each other because every musician portrays his or her own musical style in the compositions. Simultaneously, musicians often try new things in their compositions and make the compositions distinctive. For instance, in *changjak gugak* written for *gayageum*, new techniques have been developed, and various performance styles have been adopted. As a result, some *changjak gugak* pieces may seem experimental and sound very novel, like Hwang’s *Migoong*, and some people may find these pieces difficult to appreciate or understand. Yet, this characteristic of being innovative and creative can be seen as one of the aesthetic factors in *changjak gugak*, or at least as one of the elements that form and characterize the pieces by composers, performers, and audiences. Because *changjak gugak* is composed music, *changjak gugak* has this unique peculiarity.

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71 Dong-Hee Jung, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 12, 2012.
Notations for Gayageum Music

Although various styles of gayageum sanjo were notated using a western staff notation, they were not originally intended to be notated. Notation was not necessary in creating or performing sanjo because sanjo was improvisational music and transmitted orally. The reason why sanjo was notated was to maintain its tradition and make teaching more convenient. However, in case of changjak gugak, the purpose of using notation was different.

As the roles of performers and composers were clearly divided, it was crucial to have some sort of a method of communication between these two groups. Composers had to find a way to convey their music to performers so that performers could learn and express their musical ideas effectively. Even if instrumentalists composed music, as a composed music, changjak gugak was expected to be notated. Thus, the development of changjak gugak had a significant impact on the development of notations, and western staff notation was adopted for notating changjak gugak. The notation acted not only as a bridge between performers and composers, but also as a tool for recording and performing.

In changjak gugak notation, composers notate their music in details so that their ideas can be conveyed distinctly to performers. Thus, the notation contains not only musical notes but also all other musical markings for articulations, tempos, dynamics and expressions. Especially after the modified gayageum was invented, and new techniques were developed, the way that the changjak gugak is now notated differs from how gayageum sanjo is notated, and many of the musical markings can be uniquely observed only in changjak gugak notations.

The way changjak gugak is notated depends upon which type of gayageum is used and what kinds of techniques are required by the music. When changjak gugak is composed for modified gayageum, the music is notated in grand staff as piano music is notated, because on the
modified *gayageum*, both hands are constantly used in producing the melody and bass. In this notation, unlike *gayageum sanjo* notation, no discrepancy is observed between sounding pitch and written pitch, because pitches on the modified *gayageum* are standardized based on the western equal temperament system (see Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5. An excerpt from the “Legend of Storm” composed for the 25-string modified *gayageum* by Kwak Sooeun, mm. 5-6.\(^{72}\)

For *changjak gugak* composed for the traditional *gayageum*, two different styles of notations are used based on the structure of the music. When the music contains one melodic line with no accompaniment and has a monophonic texture, the music is notated in a way that the traditional *gayageum sanjo* is notated. Because the left hand is not so much used for plucking the strings but mostly used for pressing down on the strings, it is not necessary to use a grand staff. Composed by Hwang Byung-Ki in 1964, *Seok-Ryu Jip* (“The Pomegranate House”) is a solo *gayageum* compositions in three movements written for traditional *gayageum*. Throughout all the entire movements, the music is notated on a single staff in treble clef. Although there are several places when harmonies are produced and the left hand is used for plucking the strings, a grand staff is not deemed necessary. Notating some occasional harmonies in a single staff and

representing them as chords does not cause confusion for performers in reading the notation (see Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6. An excerpt from *Seok-Ryu Jip* composed for the 12-string *sanjo gayageum* by Hwang Byung-Ki.\(^73\)

However, when the music requires frequent use of both hands in producing harmonies, the music is notated in a grand staff in the same manner as modified *gayageum* music. The only difference in the notation for modified *gayageum* music and *changjak gugak* with harmonic passage is the discrepancy between written pitch and sounding pitch. Hwang Byung-Ki’s the *Chimhyang-Moo* (“Dancing Among Incense”) is another popular solo *gayageum* composition written for traditional *gayageum* in 1974, and it contains three movements. In this music, the first movement is notated on a single staff, just as *Seok-Ryu Jip* was notated, because it does not include harmonic passages. In the next two movements, however, the music is notated on a grand staff as the use of the left hand increases for plucking the strings and creating harmonies (see Figure 3.7). If the last two movements were notated on a single staff line, both composers and performers would have trouble writing and reading the notation. It is interesting to see that different styles of notation are used for different pieces of *changjak gugak*, even if the same person composed them.

In summary, the way that *changjak gugak* is notated differs based on the use of frequent harmonies and the type of *gayageum*. Yet, there are some common characteristics that all *gayageum changjak gugak* notations exhibit. As the notation became a manual or a tool for instrumental players, the notation does not simply show what notes to play but it gives interpretive information about the music as well. In addition to the symbols that are used in *gayageum sanjo* notation, *changjak gugak* notations have many other marks and signs. For instance, *changjak gugak* notations use western musical symbols to indicate dynamics, expressions and articulations. Dynamic marks, such as *piano* (*p*) and *forte* (*f*), are commonly used in the notations to refer to the loudness and softness of a sound or note. Expression marks indicate how a passage should be performed. Articulation marks, including staccato, tenuto and fermata, specify how individual notes should be played.

Use of accidentals is also a characteristic that is not found in traditional *gayageum sanjo* notations. Sometimes, a piece of music will have a few accidentals throughout the music, and they are marked with the sharp (*♯*), flat (*♭*), and natural (*♮*) symbols. In traditional *sanjo*, there is

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no concept of a “pitch,” or a semitone. Semitones are produced naturally without any intention while pressing the strings or producing vibratos, and it does not matter whether the notes are “in tune” or not. However, in *changjak gugak*, chromatic notes are produced on purpose, and the notes must be in tune. As a result, symbols to indicate accidentals are used in *changjak gugak* notations (see Figure 3.8).

Figure 3.8. Use of expression marks and accidentals in *Seok-Ryu Jip*[^75]

![Figure 3.8](image)

*Changjak gugak* notations also indicate what types of techniques should be used in certain parts of the music. In the case of *gayageum* music in *changjak gugak*, many new techniques have been invented and developed. Because these techniques did not exist in traditional *gayageum sanjo*, they had to be notated in some way, and new musical symbols were created. For example, when harmonies are produced, the notation suggests which hand should be used to play the harmonies, and this is especially true in pieces written for traditional *gayageum* notated on a single staff (see Figure 3.6). When a glissando is produced, an arrow is notated to indicate the starting and ending pitch for the glissando (see Figure 3.7). When a scratchy sound is produced, a symbol that represents the sound is used to indicate which string should be scratched and for how long (see Figure 3.9).

Diverse Performance Styles in *Changjak Gugak*

*Changjak gugak* can be performed in various ways. It can be played in solo as traditional *sanjo* is performed or in ensembles like Kwak Sooeun & La-on G and the Sookmyung Gayageum Orchestra. What is important to notice is that diverse performance styles are achieved not just from adding more instruments but also from arranging different kinds of instruments together. For instance, a *gugak* orchestra is an orchestra composed of a conductor and various *gugak* instruments, including *gayageums*, *haegeum* (two-string fiddle), *ajaeng* (seven-string wide zither), *geomungo* (six-string black zither), *sogeum* (small bamboo transverse flute), *daegeum* (large bamboo transverse flute), *piri* (double reed bamboo wind instrument), and other percussion instruments. Because it is modeled on the western symphony orchestra, its structure and the way instruments are laid out are very similar to the western symphony orchestra (see Figure 3.10).

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There are several reasons why diverse performance styles have been developed in *changjak gugak*. As the idea of composition became a central concept in the development of *changjak gugak*, composers tried something original and novel and created new sonorities in their compositions. By doing so, they wanted to convey their messages in different ways, and one of the ways to do this was through adopting diverse performance styles. Because there is no assigned rule for instrumentation in *changjak gugak* compositions, instruments can be arranged in any way based on the desired effect indicated by composers. Sometimes, a piece of music can be arranged for different instrumentations. For example, a solo *gayageum* piece composed by Kwak Sooeun, “The View Where Gayageum Is” has been arranged for a *gayageum* ensemble and for a *gugak* orchestra. Every instrument has its unique characteristics, and these characteristics are reflected in music. But when various instruments are arranged in different ways, the music will sound distinctive and produce different impressions.

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77 Image created by author at http://blog.daum.net/smtime/717.
Another reason for diverse performance styles may be due to the development of modified instruments and standardized pitches. As mentioned earlier, standardized pitches on the modified instrument allowed for easier creation of diverse harmonies and was a major factor in the development of ensemble performance practice in *changjak gugak*. Aside from these changes, because pitches on the modified instruments were standardized based on the western equal temperament system, modified instruments could collaborate with western instruments in performing *changjak gugak*. As a result, it is quite common to find western instruments, including synthesizer, electric guitar, string instruments and drum set, added to *changjak gugak* performances (see Figure 3.11).

Figure 3.11. *Changjak gugak* performance by S.A.L.T (Sketch A Leave’s Tale)\(^78\)

This ensemble consists of a synthesizer (played by a composer for this group), a *pansori* vocalist, a *gayageum*, a *daegeum*, a *piri*, a *haegeum*, percussions, and a bass guitar (a guest member).  

\(^78\) Photo taken by author, June 9, 2012.
As western musical practices were adopted in the development of changjak gugak, changjak gugak shows characteristics that vary from traditional gugak. The modified gayageum is used more often than the traditional sanjo gayageum, and harmonies are frequently produced. Instead of being shaped and formed by many musicians through various improvisations, different pieces of changjak gugak are composed by individual composers, and the use of notation becomes crucial. Moreover, the music can be performed in numerous ways, ranging from solo to an ensemble with different instruments.

Certainly, changjak gugak has distinct characteristics compared to sanjo. However, discussing the authenticity by emphasizing only the differences between the two is not an ideal way to appreciate changjak gugak. Different approaches and standards should be used to understand changjak gugak. In the next chapter, I will discuss how changjak gugak should be viewed and why it should be considered Korean.
In most societies, there are ongoing tensions between tradition and modernity, and between modernity and identity. The relationship between *changjak gugak* and traditional *gugak* represents such an example. A wide repertoire of *gayageum* music in *changjak gugak* has distinct characteristics in the type of the instrument used, musical texture, performance styles, and musical notation, as compared to traditional *sanjo*. Because these distinguishing characteristics of *changjak gugak* have been present since the genre began to develop, the question of authenticity has been raised with regard to *changjak gugak* in comparison to traditional *gugak*. The general populace in Korea began to feel more comfortable with *changjak gugak* than with traditional *gugak* as their sensibilities changed due to western influences.

One must have enough knowledge and experience in *gugak* in order to be able to appreciate and enjoy it. Unfortunately, many Koreans do not have much experience with traditional *gugak*. During the Japanese occupation from 1910 to 1945, many Koreans lost their appreciation for *gugak*. Since this period, young students learn much about western music, but little about traditional *gugak*. Even teachers themselves have more knowledge and background in western music than traditional *gugak*. For these reasons, the general populace in Korea came to prefer western music to traditional *gugak*.

The development of *changjak gugak* did not diminish the preference for western music. Several studies have attempted to discover students’ preferences in musical taste. Such studies

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and even data from record sales reveal important information about Korean taste. In 1987, 1711 students registered to study gugak, while 16,792 registered for western music. In 1988 only 16.7 percent of total record sales were listed as Korean music but 83.3 percent as western music. In 1909, the state radio channel KBS FM1 devoted 78.6 percent of its airtime to western art and popular music but only 14.2 percent to traditional music, and traditional music was broadcasted at inconvenient times, at 5am, 5pm, and midnight. Additionally, in 1988, there were 272 traditional music concerts but 2,160 western music concerts. In 1990, there were 428 traditional music concerts but 2,719 western concerts. Then, in 1991, the number of traditional music concerts increased to 619, while the number of western music concerts decreased to 2,578.\(^80\) These figures show that an awareness of traditional music has been gradually increased over time. But still, traditional music comes second. Many Koreans prefer western music to gugak.

Korean preference for changjak gugak reflects the familiarity with western musical practices. Those practices include the use of western harmonies, standardized pitches based on equal temperament, use of the heptatonic scale system, and western instruments. Jocelyne Guilbault has stated that the conscious adoption of the musical language of the dominant traditions by the traditional music has meant greater access to the music market controlled by the dominant traditions, and this is was true for changjak gugak as well.\(^81\) Many of the musicians themselves shared the appreciation for changjak gugak, and this created a musical empathy between musicians and audiences. As more people appreciate changjak gugak, many more gugak musicians continue their musical careers in changjak gugak.


I received great insights into these matters by having interviews with three gayageum players in South Korea, Kim Hae-Sook, Kwak Sooeun, and Lee Joo-In. They all agreed that it is difficult to commune with the audience musically these days when they perform traditional gayageum sanjo, because the audience cannot understand the music nor do they know how to appreciate it. Players feel like there is a huge gap between the audience and themselves while performing sanjo. Kim Hae-Sook explains that gugak was a musical genre that could be understood and appreciated only among a few gugak enthusiasts and those who had received special education in gugak. The general populace in Korea enjoyed totally different kinds of music.82

On the other hand, when they perform changjak gugak, players can feel a lot more connected to the audience and actually have some musical communication with them relatively easily. Kim Hae-Sook said that she strongly believes that apart from an artistic purpose, changjak gugak is indispensable for the communication with the audience.83 Kwak Sooeun agrees with Kim. She said:

The audience’s response is very different between sanjo and changjak gugak. I play Kim Juk-Pa ryu gayageum sanjo. Even though it is an hour-long performance, as a performer, I feel great pleasure from the music. But I cannot force the general audience to feel the same pleasure. Jinyanjo itself is 20-30 minutes long. While I am performing, I can see that the audiences are suffering and feel very sorry for them. When the performance is over, instead of sharing their thoughts about the music, they just talk about how long the performance was and how tired a performer would be. It is difficult for the audience to sympathize with the music. Only a few enthusiasts can do so. This is one of the reasons why I began to compose. With changjak gugak, I could sympathize with the audience so

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83 Ibid.
much better and felt great pleasure. I think I can continue composing and playing *changjak gugak* for a long time.\(^8^4\)

This satisfaction of strong commune with the audience better applies to *changjak gugak* and explains why musicians prefer performing *changjak gugak* to traditional music. Even though musicians have more experience in playing traditional music, audiences do not have enough experience in *gugak* to understand it.

*Changjak gugak* itself is a fusion of western influences with Korean elements. We have already noted the use of western harmonies, standardized pitches based on equal temperament, and the heptatonic scale system. Traditional elements within *changjak gugak* are the use of *gugak* instruments, techniques, and aesthetic factors, such as *seong-eum*, *sigimsae*, and *nonghyun* in the case of *gayageum*. Interestingly, *changjak gugak* is still regarded as *gugak* despite all the changes. Martin Stokes said, “The circulation of hybrid cultural forms sometimes has the effect of strengthening rather than weakening a sense of national belonging.”\(^8^5\) *Changjak gugak*, a fusion of Korean traditional and western musical cultures, is an example that strengthens the original traditional genre and represents Korean tradition and culture.

### Use of Gugak Instruments

One of the most basic *gugak* elements that has been maintained in *changjak gugak* can be found in the use of *gugak* instruments in producing *changjak gugak*. In the case of the *gayageum*, the modified instrument is more frequently used than the original traditional instrument in a wide range.

\(^8^4\) Sooeun Kwak, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 5, 2012.

repertoire of *changjak gugak*. Yet, the purpose of using the modified *gayageum* is not just about creating a novel sound or inventing something new. Using the modified instrument is one way to resolve limitations and difficulties that the traditional instrument has in playing *changjak gugak* so that the *gayageum* can be used continuously in various pieces of *changjak gugak*.

Applying western musical practices to *gugak* was never a simple matter in creating the establishment of *changjak gugak*. Musicians had to experiment and experience numerous trials and errors. For *gayageum*, one of the challenges was the limitation of the traditional instrument. It was not practical for larger spaces or for composition. But it was important for musicians to preserve the fundamental features of the traditional instrument in modifying the instrument so that the modified *gayageum* did not lose its unique properties. Not only did the basic structure of the traditional *gayageum* remain the same, but also an attempt was made to retain the timbre of the instrument in the modified *gayageum*.

Certainly, it is not easy to apply new musical practices to the traditional ones and create a proper balance between two. However, instead of replacing the instrument with others, musicians modify the instrument as a way to stay connected to tradition. By capturing the basic structure and its sound, both visual and sonic aesthetics of traditional *gugak* are maintained in *changjak gugak*. Musicians constantly challenged themselves to bring the sound of *gugak* instruments to *changjak gugak* by modifying the instruments. Beyond the fact that *changjak gugak* uses *gugak* instruments, the fact that *changjak gugak* embodies the sound of the *gugak* instruments and that the instruments are modified while preserving their original properties is significantly meaningful. In this sense, the use of *gugak* instruments in *changjak gugak* is an element of *gugak* that makes *changjak gugak* understood as *gugak*. 
Idea of Freedom in *Changjak Gugak*

The idea of freedom in any music form is complicated, and this is certainly true for *changjak gugak*. By “freedom,” I mean the capacity to produce personal expressions and ideas musically with a high level of flexibility. Because traditional *sanjo* and *changjak gugak* are created in different ways, the idea of freedom appears in somewhat different ways. *Sanjo* originated as improvised music and was transmitted orally. In the process of learning *sanjo*, one may not be able to display much freedom, because he or she follows what the other master does. After mastering *sanjo*, however, a performer can freely demonstrate his or her musical skills through improvisation within each framework. The Russian composer Igor Stravinsky offered remarkable remarks on freedom.

“*My freedom will be so much the greater and more meaningful the more narrowly I limit my field of action and the more I surround myself with obstacles. Whatever diminishes constraint diminishes strength. The more constraints one imposes, the more one frees one’s self of the chains that shackle the spirit.*”

Performers need to be prepared in order to be able to show off their musical skills and utilize them in improvising *sanjo*. Performers can express their own interpretations of the *sanjo* and display their various renditions in great freedom once they master the basic vocabularies of *sanjo*. Due to the increased use of notated music in learning and teaching *sanjo*, the tendency to improvise the music has decreased significantly. Nevertheless, this characteristic of being improvisational is the most central aesthetic feature of *sanjo*. This improvisational character allowed for the development of different schools of *sanjo*. The freedom is literally expressed through variations of improvisation by different schools.

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Unlike traditional sanjo, changjak gugak is a composed music and transmitted through notation. The idea of freedom is often associated with improvisation as in traditional sanjo. It may seem that the central characteristic of traditional music has been lost in changjak gugak. However, we see freedom expressed in a different way in changjak gugak. Paradoxically, changjak gugak realizes the idea of freedom through composition. As the roles of performers and composers become separated, performers may not have much freedom because they follow what composers suggest in the music. However, composers can articulate any of their thoughts musically in their own styles and attempt various things in their compositions, ranging from creating harmonies to diverse performance styles. In fact, some changjak gugak composers write music through improvisation. For them, improvisation is a method to compose music. Kwak Sooeun said that she does not write down music when she is composing. Instead, she tries her ideas on gayageum first and then notates the music once it is all completed.\(^7\) Hwang Byung-Ki said that his composition, Migoong, has a general framework but is improvisational, and that it comes out differently every time he performs it.\(^8\)

The freedom in changjak gugak provided musicians opportunities to use their talents originally and thus resulted in the distinctive characteristics of changjak gugak, including the use of new performing techniques and diverse performance styles. Stravinsky’s remark is useful here. Discipline is required in the act of composition as well as in improvisation (in changjak gugak as well as in sanjo). The more composers know about the instruments, their aesthetics, and western musical practices, the greater freedom they have for writing original compositions and creating endless possibilities to produce various sonorities.

\(^7\) Sooeun Kwak, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 5, 2012.
The idea of freedom is an important factor in practicing both traditional sanjo and changjak gugak. In sanjo, freedom appears through diverse improvisations produced by instrumentalists. Although freedom appears in different forms in these musical genres, it is achieved in a similar way based on mastery of basic musical vocabularies and knowledge of the genres. This shows how the idea of freedom, which was important in traditional music, is still kept and continuously reflected in changjak gugak.

Use of Traditional Musical Elements and Techniques

Use of new musical elements, including harmonies and new performance techniques, distinguished changjak gugak from traditional gugak. Occasionally, some of the aesthetic factors of changjak gugak were comparable to those of western music, as many pieces of changjak gugak often contain western musical elements. For instance, in changjak gugak, the mood of a piece is portrayed clearly through contrasting dynamics and expressions. In the case of gayageum music, harmonies are performed frequently in numerous pieces of changjak gugak, and musical effects obtained from producing harmonies became one of the central aesthetic factors of changjak gugak. These aesthetic factors are observed more clearly and developed to a further extent as gayageum was modified and diverse performance styles were developed.

However, by including some of the traditional musical elements and techniques, changjak gugak displays gugak aesthetics as well. As discussed in the earlier chapter, the aesthetics of gayageum sanjo can be found in jangdan, jo, seong-eum, sigimsae, and nonghyun, and these elements stylize different schools of sanjo. While jangdan and jo form the overall framework, seong-eum, sigimsae, and nonghyun elaborate the melody and express the abstained and subtle emotions of sanjo. For changjak gugak compositions, composers no longer need to
structure their compositions solely based on jangdan and jo but rather implement various kinds of tempos and keys. Yet, seong-eum, sigimsae, and nonghyun, the elements that present the unique and profound sound of gayageum, are still used in many pieces of changjak gugak.

It is not surprising that techniques used to produce sound on the gayageum such as plucking and flicking the strings, are practiced in changjak gugak. But the fact that different kinds of nonghyun are used to produce diverse kinds of sigimsae and seong-eum is significant to notice. For example, in Hwang Byung-Ki’s Seok-Ryu Jip, yo-seong (vibrating tones), choo-seong (rising tones), and jeon-seong (rolling tones) are produced frequently by pressing the strings in different styles (see Figure 4.1). In the first and fourth measures, a performer needs to produce nonghyun on the D and G strings. When there is an x mark on the notation, a performer presses that string to produce the following note. This following note is a lingering tone that is not plucked, even though it is notated like any other note. Sanjo gayageum has A and E strings, but the G string and D string are intentionally pressed to produce A and E. The D string is also vibrated and rolled sharply to elaborate the melody, creating different effects.

Figure 4.1. The beginning excerpts from Hwang Byung-Ki’s Seok-Ryu Jip (mm. 1 and 4)

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Even in the pieces written for modified gayageum, those elements, which used to embellish the melody and set the mood of sanjo, are utilized to produce similar effects. On the 25-string modified gayageum, for instance, it is not necessary to perform nonghyun for pragmatic reasons because it has a wider instrumental range. Nevertheless, diverse kinds of seong-eum and sigimsae are continuously produced through nonghyun on the modified gayageum, despite the fact that pressing a string is tougher to practice on the modified gayageum due to its stronger tension. Playing nonghyun in changjak gugak compositions is a way to keep some of the aesthetic factors of gayageum sanjo alive and create the traditional sound of gayageum. Even if composers use western music theory in writing changjak gugak, they try to incorporate diverse styles of nonghyun in their compositions and achieve a balance between tradition and modernity.

For instance, Kwak Sooeun said how important it is to integrate some gugak elements into her compositions.

“My compositions are mostly based on my experience and skills I have for gayageum rather than western music theory. I do not write down music while I am composing and trying on my gayageum. I notate the music once it is all completed. As a gayageum player, I know all the unique characteristics of gayageum and try to reflect them in my compositions. It is very challenging to balance tradition and modernity. But because I do not want my changjak gugak compositions to lose the gugak identity, I open up all the possibilities to incorporate unique gugak elements, such as traditional expression, scale and mode. I believe that the traditional gugak is the matrix of my compositions. Reflecting gugak characteristics in my work is a necessary and sufficient condition for making my music gugak and Korean.”

Kwak’s compositional style shows a clear distinction compared to Jung Dong-Hee’s. As mentioned in the earlier chapter, Jung said that even though he did not know much about gugak

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instruments, he could still write *changjak gugak* by incorporating his knowledge in western music. Having different musical backgrounds, Kwak and Jung take different approaches that may look opposite in composing *changjak gugak*. Kwak writes music based on her experience in *gayageum* without using western music theory, while Jung writes music based on western music theory without having a deep knowledge of the *gugak* instrument. However, both composers pursue a goal to reflect the sound of *gugak* in *changjak gugak*. Jung Dong-Hee said:

> Even though I use western music theory in composing *changjak gugak*, I do not use western musical expressions. I use traditional *gugak* expressions, such as *sigimsae* and *mode* in order to portray *gugak* characteristics.  

Every composer probably has his or her own compositional style. Yet, it is important for them to include *gugak* elements and create a balance in *changjak gugak* between *gugak* and western music factors. In the case of two composers, Kwak Sooeun and Jung Dong-Hee, the elements that Kwak uses in her compositions may be more profound due to her deeper understanding of the instrument. Yet, it is important to note that the composers consciously and intentionally choose to apply *gugak* elements to their *changjak gugak* compositions in order to embody the aesthetics of traditional music and differentiate them from western music. For them, using traditional musical elements is not just about maintaining the sound of *gugak* but about retaining the identity of *gugak* in *changjak gugak*. This is similar to what Christopher Waterman notes in Yoruba popular music, where tradition is maintained in popular music. By embodying

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91 Dong-Hee Jung, interviewed by author, Seoul, July 12, 2012.
traditional hierarchical values in performance styles and aural structures of Yoruba popular music, Yoruba popular music can represent Yoruba identity.\textsuperscript{92}

I have demonstrated how traditional musical identity has been maintained in \textit{changjak gugak}. When western musical practices were adopted and applied in \textit{changjak gugak}, they were not blindly imitated but deliberately modified to suit local circumstances. Certain elements of western musical practices were selected and internalized in Korean traditional musical practices, and \textit{changjak gugak} was an outcome of this movement. Even though \textit{changjak gugak} utilizes western musical elements, it is regarded neither as western music nor as an output of pure westernization. Rather, through modernizing and internalizing western musical practices, \textit{changjak gugak} and even those western musical practices used in \textit{changjak gugak} can become understood as Korean.

Because music mirrors society, traditional \textit{gugak} represents the cultural identity of the past, while \textit{changjak gugak} reflects the cultural identity of currently evolving reality in Korea. As \textit{changjak gugak} is more acceptable than traditional \textit{gugak} among the general populace today, it comes to represent the current population and its tradition in Korea. “Tradition” may often be associated with the length of time and viewed as fixed in the past. But as Nathan Hasselink said, tradition is flexible, malleable, and consciously aware in a modern, urbanized world.\textsuperscript{93} It is established and created all the time in a way that embraces a new cultural identity and change. In a rapidly changing modern society, where diverse cultural influences are mingled together and

\textsuperscript{93} Nathan Hasselink, “Samul nori as Traditional: Preservation and Innovation in a South Korean Contemporary Percussion Genre,” \textit{Ethnomusicology} 48, no. 3 (2004): 432.
technology develops rapidly, musicians respond flexibly to social changes and adapted to the new context by inventing new traditions instead of arguing for cultural purity.

According to Eric Hobsbawm, “invented tradition” is tradition that is invented and constructed with a reference to the past to establish continuity with a historic past. It tends to be invented more frequently when social patterns considered as old traditions are weakened or destroyed through rapid transformations of society. The newly invented tradition then adapts to new situations by using old models for new purposes. Based on this definition, changjak gugak is invented tradition. It was established based on traditional gugak when gugak was declining due to the influx of western influences and has been properly adapted to the new settings by adopting western musical elements. Also, through the use of gugak instrument, the idea of freedom, and the use of traditional aesthetic factors, past tradition has been continued in the invented tradition. Changjak gugak is therefore an extension of traditional gugak, and this causes changjak gugak to be understood as an expansion of gugak, in spite of its many adaptations. Changjak gugak presents a snapshot of contemporary Korean culture that reflects the dynamics of westernization, modernization, and identity rooted in its tradition.

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CONCLUSION

The development of changjak gugak was initiated by the systematic influx of western culture in the early 20\textsuperscript{th} century in South Korea. As western culture was adopted, many musicians studied western music, and the audience began to prefer western music to gugak. The changing preferences for music among the general populace resulted in the decline in gugak. In the mid 20\textsuperscript{th} century, however, after Korea became independent from Japanese occupation, the Korean government and many musicians made various efforts to revive gugak. Guilbault stated that within one society, local culture and identity are directed to protection and promotion when exposed to dominant cultures.\textsuperscript{95} The government and musicians in Korea tried to restore gugak in two different ways. The government tried to protect and preserve the original forms of gugak, and musicians tried to promote gugak through modifications and adjustments. The government focused on preserving and promoting the tradition by establishing the National Gugak Center and designating many performing arts as Intangible Cultural Heritage. On the other hand, in compliance with the new social changes, musicians modified the existing gugak by integrating with western musical practices and developed a fusion form called changjak gugak.

In the development of changjak gugak, elements derived from western musical practices, such as the concept of composition, harmonies, diverse performance styles, and use of notations, were selected and applied to gugak and caused changjak gugak to have distinctive characteristics. Yet, western musical practices were never blindly adopted and applied to gugak. Although western musical practices contributed toward shaping the structure of changjak gugak, they were

modified and internalized in a way that changjak gugak could still reflect the features of traditional gugak. Despite some limitations of the original gugak instruments in the new context, gugak instruments are continuously used to perform changjak gugak and modified to overcome the limitations and suit the new setting. Encompassing traditional musical elements, such as the aesthetic factors, performance techniques, and the idea of freedom, changjak gugak allows changjak gugak to keep the sound of gugak. Therefore, changjak gugak has a greater significance than simply as a musical genre derived from traditional gugak. Changjak gugak upholds the gugak identity and by extension, represents the current Korean tradition in modern society.

The development of changjak gugak shows how gugak has been reshaped and reproduced as a reaction to social change. And by extension, it shows how traditional Korean cultural practices have been constantly shaped and redefined in response to the rapid social changes in new social settings in contemporary Korea. Because changjak gugak varies from original gugak, some people have criticized and depreciated changjak gugak as being not authentic. However, it is important to notice that tradition is evolving constantly over time. It is consciously modified and recreated in the modern world, representing the current population. Throughout history, gayageum music developed from sanjo to changjak gugak. When changjak gugak was initially composed for gayageum, it was written for solo sanjo gayageum. But as the modified gayageum was invented in the process of changjak gugak development, changjak gugak was performed in various styles, ranging from solo to ensemble. Tradition is not about the product but about the process that is flexible and malleable to the demands of the times.

Changjak gugak represents both tradition and contemporary nature. I have demonstrated how traditional gugak, and therefore traditional Korean culture, is both changed and preserved in
modern Korean society. Having both identities of the past and adaptation in modern society, *changjak gugak* is viewed as tradition that is reinvented and extends the tradition of *gugak* in modern context. It is a transformation of traditional *gugak* that stands in between tradition and modernity. *Changjak gugak* mirrors current modern Korean culture and society. It represents the development of culture and social history of South Korea in the late 20th century. I hope that this study will contribute to existing studies on *changjak gugak*. While this thesis sheds light on the how cultural aesthetics have changed in the past four decades in South Korea in particular, the analytical and comparative method to *changjak gugak* used for the research would be applicable in other multicultural settings. I hope that this study will lay groundwork for further exploration on other fusion music.
GLOSSARY

Ajaeng: Korean 7-string wide zither

Anjok: "wild goose feet"; movable bridges of the gayageum

Bongmi: "tail of phoenix"; the bottom base of the gayageum

Boodle: an extension of the twelve silk strings made of cotton on the gayageum

Chang-u: professional folk musicians

Changjak gugak: "creative traditional music"; a fusion genre developed in the mid-1960s also known as shin gugak (meaning "new traditional music")

Choo-seong: rising tone

Daegeum: Korean large bamboo transverse flute

Gayageum: Korean 12-string zither

Geomungo: Korean 6-string black zither; a plectrum is used for plucking the strings

Gokhodae: “Tuned Bugle Force”; a band composed of buglers and drummers, performing frequently at the military parades and ceremonies

Gugak: Korean traditional music

Gwangdae: professional folk entertainers

Haegeum: Korean 2-string fiddle

Hak-seul: “crane leg”; the part where the silk strings are wounded around the free-floating pegs, looped through holes, and connected to boodle with colored threads on the gayageum

Hyun-chim: “pillow of strings”; a head bridge of the gayageum
Jajinmori: the fast jangdan; indicates the fourth movement of sanjo

Jangdan: “long and short”; a rhythmic cycle

Janggu: Korean hourglass shaped drum

Jeon-seong: rolling tone, instantly strong tone

Jinyangjo: the slowest jangdan; represents the first movement in sanjo

Jo: musical mode

Jungak: Korean court music

Jungmori: the moderate jangdan; refers to the second movement of sanjo

Jwadan: the head of the gayageum

Minsokak: Korean folk music

Nonghyun: "playing strings"; performing technique for pressing the strings in different degrees

Pansori: a theatrical genre derived from a singing tradition of professional folk entertainers called chang-u

Piri: Korean double reed bamboo wind instrument

Pungryu: classical songs and music practiced by the upper class

Ryupa: a school

Sanjo: "scattered melodies"; a form of solo instrumental music featuring a melodic instrument accompanied by the janggu

Seong-eum: special expressive timbre evoked and specified by a particular jo or melodic prototype of music

Sigimsae: certain shapes of microtonal shadings produced through nonghyun
Simbanggok: the music performed at shaman rituals

Sogeum: Korean small bamboo transverse flute

Toae-seong: falling tone

Tolgwae: twelve small tuning pegs of the gayageum

Woonjok: "cloud feet"; feet of the gayageum on the back of the soundboard

Yo-seong: vibrating tone
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