

## THE ACCEPTANCE OF DASHENG YAYUE IN KORYŎ

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### Introduction

*Dasheng yayue*, ritual music of late Northern Song China, was the source of the Korean *aak* ("elegant music") tradition. *Dasheng yayue* was prepared by the Dasheng Institute and was performed in China from 1105 to 1127. The eighth emperor of Song, Huizong, attempted to rectify the accumulated errors in *yayue* ritual music early in his reign. He "supported the founding and development of the Ta-sheng [Dasheng] Institute, a musical bureau masterminded by a Taoist named Wei Han-chin [Wei Hanjin]" (Provine 1980: 19). By 1105, then, *Dasheng yayue* was finally completed, based on the theories of Wei Hanjin.

*Dasheng yayue* had some particular features. First, its pitch standard:

The Institute set about constructing a pitch pipe for the fundamental pitch from which all others would be derived. The correct traditional procedure, attested in ancient sources, is to line up grains of a particular kind of millet, ninety grains constituting the length of the pitch pipe. Obviously, the length of the pipe and the pitch obtained are functions of the quality of the grain crop. The Ta-sheng [Dasheng] Institute proposed instead that part of one of the emperor's fingers be used as the unit measure. The emperor

agreed to this, and the measurement was taken and used (Provine 1988: 133).

Second, a system of two basic tone sets—*zhengsheng* and *zhongsheng*, in Korean *chōngsōng* and *chungsoṅ*. All musical instruments and the vocal melodies in *Dasheng yayue* used this system which, as far as I know, had never been used before. When the music was performed at sacrificial rites relating to the cosmic forces of *ūm* (Ch: *yīn*) and *yang* and the twenty-four solar terms, the *chōngsōng* set was considered *yang* and the *chungsoṅ ūm/yīn*. The scheme of keys varied according to the season. The two tone sets had identical intervallic relationships, but the *chōngsōng* set itself was one half tone higher than the *chungsoṅ* set (Song 1985: 8-9). Third, one-, three-, five-, seven-, and nine-string zithers (Kor: *kūm*/Ch: *qín*) were constructed by the Dasheng Institute. Traditionally, the *qín* zither had been constructed with only seven strings.

In later periods these particular features were to be considered unusual in Chinese musical history, and they cannot therefore be considered either an ancient or mainstream development. But the music and the instruments were adopted by the Jin and Yuan courts, and on the other hand, *Dasheng yayue* became the basis of the Korean *aak* tradition after it was introduced to the Koryō court.

According to the *Koryōsa* (History of the Koryō Dynasty; 1452), *Dasheng yayue* was introduced as a musical gift from the emperor Huizong in 1116. The gift included a total of 428 *aak* instruments, together with costumes and ritual dance properties to be used in *aak* (Pratt 1976: 209). The *Dasheng yayue* instruments were divided into two ensembles: the terrace ensemble (*tūngga*) and the courtyard ensemble (*hōn'ga*). In comparison with the music as performed in Song, the Korean ensembles were

smaller. For example, more sets of chimes and bells were needed for the emperor than for any feudal lord.

In October 1116, King Yejong of Koryō watched the first performance of the music at Kōndōkchōn, the royal audience hall, together with his government officials. He dedicated the music at the Shrine to Royal Ancestors (*Taemyo*) along with nine new hymn texts that honoured the ancestors' spirits. Following this, *Dasheng yayue* began to be played at various sacrificial rites. Until 1392, during the remainder of the Koryō dynasty, *Dasheng yayue* was gradually Koreanised. Eventually, a changed *aak* performing tradition was passed down to the Chosōn dynasty (1392-1910).

Research on *Dasheng yayue* in Koryō has been published by Lee Hye-Ku [Yi Hyegu] (1967), Keith Pratt (1976, 1977, 1981), Robert Provine (1980, 1988) and myself (1985). In an important study, Pratt investigated the arrival of *Dasheng yayue* in Korea in respect to the diplomatic relations between Song and Koryō. In the remainder of this paper I will survey some aspects of the acceptance of *Dasheng yayue* in Koryō, which have already been discussed by others, and suggest a possible further view.

#### Scholars' views on the acceptance of *Dasheng yayue* in Koryō

Pratt, who has researched the political and diplomatic situation in the early 12th century, has posed a number of questions regarding the transfer of this musical tradition. Why would the emperor of Song send such imposing and

expensive gifts to Korea? Why do the voluminous Chinese historical sources make no mention of these gifts? Provine agrees with Pratt's answers, and re-explains the background to the transfer. The two state their conclusions as follows:

The political situation in China during the Northern Sung [Song] was one of the most complicated that any imperial government had ever had to meet. Not only were politicians bitterly divided on how to deal with profound social and economic problems, but in foreign relations too the crises that beset the administration caused a re-evaluation of the power of Chinese *wen* and *teh* [de] to control the barbarians. In 1114 and 1116 it was still thought worthwhile to try and influence the Korean King Yejong with Confucian ritual music, but the more threatening Khitan and Jurchen had already begun to force the eventual, though vain, development of a more realistic attitude towards defence

...In 1114 and 1116 Emperor Hui-tsung [Huizong] sent [Koryŏ] two substantial gifts of music and instruments, the first of *tang-ak* and the second of *aak*. The purpose of these very expensive presents was partly political, to emphasise the cultural and religious ties which were supposed to bind Korea to China, and to dissuade King Yejong from switching his allegiance to the advancing Aguda, who assumed an imperial title in 1115 (Pratt 1977: 313-315).

The enormous 1116 gift of music which set the long-lived Korean *aak* tradition on its way was, in short, an unsuccessful political bribe. Such a colossal diplomatic failure was not likely to find its way into official Chinese dynastic histories, and readers of Chinese history, therefore, have been unaware of Emperor Hui-tsung's [Huizong's] ill-contrived scheme to purchase Korea's loyalty.

In sum, the Korean *aak* tradition began as a political bribe, and its musical content derived from a peculiar, albeit colorful, period in Chinese musical history. It would appear that *aak*, at its inception, was simply Chinese music transferred to Korea. In succeeding centuries, Koreans continued to perform and modify the imported Sung [Song] music (Provine 1980: 19-20).

The views of Pratt and Provine are very persuasive from the standpoint of the contemporary Chinese diplomatic and political situation. Their conclusions, however, say little about the cultural situation of Koryŏ and their views seem therefore biased towards China. For example, they regard *Dasheng yayue* as an unsuccessful political bribe. But if we consider the cultural background of the Korean court, and the Korean desire to import ritual music during the early Koryŏ dynasty, we may reach other conclusions. In my opinion, if we are to study cultural exchange, we must consider the viewpoints of both parties.

Relations with Song China from Korea's perspective have been summarized by Lee Ki-baik [Yi Kibaek]. He states:

From the beginning Koryŏ admired the advanced civilization of Sung [Song] China and so sought to satisfy its material and cultural wants by maintaining a harmonious relationship with Sung. Thus, through the visits of official embassies and the travels of private merchants, Koryŏ exported such raw materials as gold, silver, copper, ginseng, and pine nuts, and handcrafted items favored by the Sung people such as paper, brushes, ink, and fans, in return importing silk, books, porcelain, medicines, spices, and musical instruments. These imports had a significant impact on Koryŏ's culture. For example, Sung woodblock editions contributed to the development of Koryŏ woodblock printing and Sung porcelain to the development of Koryŏ celadon ware. Thus the relationship between the two countries rested on a peaceful foundation of cultural and economic exchange, and this was precisely in conformity with the desires of the Koryŏ aristocracy (Lee 1984: 128).

During the first century of Koryŏ's power, Confucianism had gradually established itself as the guiding political principle of the Korean regime. Also, Confucian schools existed in Kaesŏng and P'yŏngyang by the time of T'aejo, but the foundation of Koryŏ's educational system can be said to have been laid with the establishment of a national university, the *Kukchagam*, under Sŏngjong in 992. King Yejong (r. 1105-1122), "established lectures in

seven specialized fields: *Classic of Changes, Book of History, Classic of Songs, Rituals of Chou, Book of Rites, Spring and Autumn Annals*, and a new field of military studies." He also founded "academic institutes on the palace grounds, the *Ch'öngyön* Pavilion and the *Pomun* Pavilion, recruiting scholars and collecting books for study of the classics and history" (Lee 1984: 130). So, from the early Koryö dynasty onwards, national political philosophy could be closely articulated with the growth of the intellectual class.

In short, Koryö was already significantly oriented toward Confucian culture, and she wished to attempt to import advanced aspects of the Confucian system. During King Söngjong's reign, supporting this statement, the observation of Confucian rites began. According to *Koryösa* (59.1a/b), the new ceremonies, all based on Confucian style rites, included sacrificial rites to heaven (*Wön'gu*), agriculture (*Chökchön*), land and grain (*Sajik*) and that given at the Royal Ancestral Shrine (*Chongmyo*). Koryö keenly felt the need for suitable ritual music, for the rites were considered incomplete without it.

There are more convincing historical references which reflect the necessity felt for ritual music by Koryö. According to *Koryösa*, and as reported by Pratt (1976), Song sent some musical gifts in 1114. On the fourth day of the seventh month, the Korean ambassador An Chiksung arrived back in Koryö in charge of Huizong's gift of *Dasheng xinyue*, music for banquets (*Koryösa* 13.33b). This gift comprised 167 instruments, scores, illustrated instructions on performing the music, and a message from the emperor himself (*Koryösa* 70.28a-29b). Immediately after this, King Yejong sent ambassadors Wang Chaji and Mun Kongön to China to express thanks to Huizong (*Koryösa* 13.33b).

The text of Yejong's message was not recorded by the *Koryösa* compiler and is apparently unknown to both Pratt and Provine. Fortunately, the message was recorded by a minister, Pak Kyöngjak (1055-1121) and is preserved in the *Tongmunsön* (Collection of Eastern Literature) first compiled in 1478. The message is very informative:

On the second day of the sixth month, the Koryö ambassador An Chiksung brought the official instructions of the Song Emperor and delivered ten additional records that described the Emperor's gift of *Dasheng xinyue*, scores, and illustrations of how to play the music in Koryö.

The Emperor made music through a marvellous scheme, and He has sent His new music to the nation on His Empire's border in order to share it with His people. Your gracious proclamation impressed and astonished us greatly.

We respectfully think that the Emperor could have been a sage because of such wisdom and, due to revelations about His sincerity, He could refute the wrong pitch theory based on millet by accepting the proposal of a hermit scholar. By reporting the principles of pitch structure handed down from His ancestors, He was able to gain the correct pitch for the Emperor's tone, *hwangjong*.

As a result He can control all five tones, played by instruments made from all eight kinds of material.<sup>1</sup> So, when the music is presented in the shrine for sacrifice to heaven, the spirits descend. And when the music is performed in the courtyard, all the government officials are in accord. Therefore, the Emperor could make manifest the success of His era by reconstructing the model musical system which had been lost in the remoteness of antiquity.

Some time ago, Koryö sent a message with a special envoy to request the new music. The Emperor has listened to Koryö's desires and has been sympathetic to Koryö's sincerity. And, unexpectedly, he has bestowed the new music, not only musical instruments but also illustrations. Thus, even if our musicians do not know the details of how to play the music, they can learn by referring to the accompanying illustrations (*Kugyök tongmunsön* 1969: vol.4, 34-35).

Points of particular interest in the message are the brief background offered to *Dasheng xinyue*, the desire of the Koryŏ court to have access to the music, and Song China's compliance with Koryŏ's wishes.

According to a second letter, written by Minister Im Chon (fl. 1120-1130), after 1114 Koryŏ sent envoys and musicians to Song in order to learn *Dasheng xinyue* and, if possible, also the ritual music *Dasheng yayue*. This is supported by Xu Jing's comments in the *Gaoli tujing* (chapter 40) and the *Song shi* (80.19b2-3). So, the Korean court could not have been completely satisfied by the 1114 gift; they wanted most to learn real ritual music, not simply the new banquet music. The Koryŏ court accordingly applied to the emperor once more for *Dasheng yayue*. Huizong not only acceded to their wish for representatives to study in China, but sent a second huge musical gift, which this time would support the entire *Dasheng yayue*. Im Chon writes:

While staying at my lodgings after I had paid a formal visit to the Song court's Audience Hall, I met an official who brought me the emperor's instructions. Minister Cai Jing delivered a message that gave permission for Koryŏ's musicians to learn *Dasheng yayue*. Usually, if the people of the higher social classes love something, those of the lower class will follow their taste. Everybody, then, will want to listen to the orthodox sound of *Dasheng yayue*. Now, given your warm official compliance, I am deeply grateful to you.

King Yejong is edified by the advanced culture of Song. He respects etiquette (*li*), music (*yue*), the odes (*shi*) and the histories (*shu*). He recognizes the Song government as both a great civilisation and as the cultural model for other nations. Indeed, he has wanted to listen to *Dasheng yayue* ever since he heard of its completion. When I departed from Koryŏ, King Yejong made a special pronouncement. He told me: "If you have the opportunity of an audience with the Song Emperor, you must deliver my earnest request. Even though we have gratefully received the new banquet music from Song, I have not yet seen or heard *Dasheng yayue*. I wish to appreciate its elegant sounds. I know there are hierarchical

differences of degree, but I think there is no reason to prohibit both the nobility and the peasantry learning the real meaning of something so distinctive. The beautiful accomplishment which is *Dasheng yayue* is symbolised by the successes of Song. The contents of *Dasheng yayue* have been handed down from the Emperor's ancestors. The development of the new music brings heaven and earth together. As heaven covers everything, earth cannot act in private. How can there be any limitations on listening to the orthodox and elegant sounds? Even though my desire is very sincere, I cannot voice them well. But, if you are granted a suitable opportunity, please deliver my earnest request to the Emperor."

Now the Emperor has clearly seen our loyalty, and has allowed by His imperial order Koryŏ musicians to learn and practice *Dasheng yayue*. His order brings great glory and fortune to our nation, and it will be impossible for us to compensate Him for His kindness (*Kugyŏk tongmunson* 1969: vol.4, 87-90; Song 1985: 17-20).

Huizong replied to Yejong in 1116 with the following message (the translation is by Pratt):

Since the Three Dynasties [of Xia, Shang and Zhou], ritual has been scattered and music destroyed. If we search out ancient [sources], explain and elucidate them, [we see that rites and music] reach their greatest splendour after developing for a hundred years. A thousand years later we, reflecting upon the pitches and tunes of the Former Kings, have arrived at notes with such style and refinement as to fill the whole country, making visitors feel settled and giving pleasure to strangers. From far away in your country, expressing compassion from the Eastern Sea, you have asked permission to send officials, and these are now at court. In olden days when the teachings of feudal lords were honourable and their virtue outstanding they were rewarded with music, having instruments bestowed on them for the performance of sacrificial music. For "changing the evil customs of a place" (*shih*) there is nothing like this. Now we answer your request, and are sending [this gift] to your country. Though our borders are different and our lands separated, fundamentally there is great harmony [between us]. Is this not good? We are now presenting you with *Ta-sheng ya-yueh* [*Dasheng yayue*] (*Koryŏsa* 70.5a/b, cited in Pratt 1976: 209).

The messages reflect the motivations of the two nations. Koryō's letters were recorded only in private, not official publications such as *Koryōsa*, *Song shi*, and so on. Until now, scholars have not been aware of King Yejong's message and Im Chon's letter. This is why they have erroneously interpreted the gifts of Huizong solely in terms of Song's political and diplomatic aims.

### Conclusion

In summary, the above references and the general cultural background of the time indicate Koryō's desire to receive *Dasheng yayue*. If we regard the geo-political background from the viewpoint of Song, and agree upon its implications, we should not ignore Koryō's position. It is not difficult to perceive a very different perspective, that of the Koryō court. The acceptance of *Dasheng yayue* was not accomplished only because of the diplomatic policy of Song China, but it resulted also from the positive policy of Koryō towards the advanced Confucian culture of its mentor.

### NOTE

1. The eight materials in Chinese thought are gourd, earth, skin, wood, stone, metal, silk and bamboo. The five tones comprise the fundamental pentatonic scale, named in respect to a central tone on *hwangjong*.

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### GLOSSARY

An Chiksung	安稷崇	Chōkchōn	籍田
Chongmyo	宗廟	Ch'ōngyōn	清燕
Chosōn	朝鮮	Dasheng	大晟
Dasheng xinyue	大晟新樂	Dasheng yayue	大晟雅樂
de	德	hōn'ga	軒架
hwangjong	黃鐘	Hulzong	徽宗
Im Chon	林存	Jin	金
Kaesōng	開城	Kōndōkchōn	乾德殿
Koryō	高麗	kukchagam	國子監
kūm/qin	琴	Mun Kongōn	文公彦
Pak Kyōngjak	朴景緯	Pomun	寶文
P'yōngyang	平壤	Sajik	社稷
Song	宋	Sōngjong	成宗
T'aejo	太祖	T'aemyo	太廟
tangak	唐樂	tūngga	登歌
ūm/yin	陰	Wang Chaji	王字之
wen	文	Wōn'gu	圓丘
yang	陽	Yejong	睿宗
Yuan	元	zhengsheng/chōngsōng	正聲
zhongsheng/chungsōng	中聲		

## MUMUNT'OGI AND MEGALITHIC MONUMENTS: A Reconsideration of the Dating

SARAH M. NELSON

### Preamble

The category of *mumunt'ogi*, plain pottery, in Korean archaeology needs to be deconstructed. It is traditionally associated with the Bronze Age, but C<sub>14</sub> dates show that some types predate bronze by a considerable period, while other types are found in the later *Wōnsamguk* period. More important than bronze is the construction of megaliths; therefore I prefer to consider the time period of *mumun* to be the Megalithic. In this paper I look at the C<sub>14</sub> dates along with the timing and distribution of various types of *mumun*, megalithic monuments, rice agriculture, and bronze. I conclude with some hypotheses about interpreting the Megalithic period.

### Introduction

The category of *mumunt'ogi* has a long history in Korean archaeology. Early discussions of village settlements involved some sites on river banks where