

A Study on Korea's First Contact with Western Music – With a Focus on Developments Leading to the Port-Opening Period*

Min Kyung-chan

Korea National University of Arts, South Korea

Abstract

This article is a study on the first contact of Western music in Korea before the port opening of 1876, which provided momentum for the inflow of Western music and culture into Korea. This research covers broad topological areas, starting with the question of when Koreans first encountered Western music, developing into exploring the possibility of contacting Western music before the introduction of Christianity to Joseon and the founding of the Joseon Catholic Church. Also treated in subsequent chapters are research topics as follows: the inflow of books on Western music published in China into Korea; the records on Western music in various publications of the late Joseon Dynasty; the introduction of the *Yanggeum* (Yangqin: zither); and Korea's encounter with Western music and the beginning of the Catholic Church.

본 글은 1876년 한국의 개항(開港) 이전, 한국인의 서양음악 접촉에 관한 연구를 주제로 하고 있다. 연구 내용은 크게, “우리나라 사람이 서양음악을 언제 처음 접했을까?”라는 질문으로 시작하여, ‘초기 기독교 및 한국가톨릭교회 성립 이전의 서양음악 접촉 가능성’, ‘중국에서 출판된 서양음악 관련 서적의 조선 유입’, ‘조선후기 각종 문헌에 소개된 서양음악 관련 기록’, ‘양금(洋琴)의 수용’, ‘한국천주교회의 시작과 서양음악과의 접촉’ 등으로 나누어 고찰하였다.

* This article is a translated version of “Seoyang Eumak Jeopchoge Gwanhan Yeongu - Gaehang Ijeoneul Jungsimeuro 서양음악 접촉에 관한 연구 -개항(開港) 이전을 중심으로 [A Study on Korea's First Contact with Western Music- With a Focus on Developments Leading to the Port-Opening Period], published in *Yesul Nonmunjip* [Journal of the Korea National Academy of Arts], National Academy of Arts of the Republic of Korea (ed.), vol. 56 (2017): 279-280. Translator: Yuhyun Catherine Park, Proofreader: James M. Milne.

Introduction

The Korea-Japan Treaty of 1876 (a.k.a. Treaty of Ganghwa) was a watershed moment for the inflow of Western music into Korea. The treaty led to the opening of Korea's ports to foreigners, marking an end to isolationism and the opening of the Joseon Kingdom. A torrent of foreign cultural expressions, including Western music, rushed into the Kingdom of Yi.

Researchers, however, have found considerable evidence of contact with Western music before Joseon's opening of the ports, thereby drawing the attention of musicologists. Documents written by the Joseon King's envoys, after visiting China as part of a tributary ritual, are a case in point, describing first encounters with Western music. In addition, several historical events suggest that some Koreans may have come across Western music prior to the above-mentioned, although historical documents are yet to be found to validate such claims. Examples include Koreans who converted to Catholicism after being forcefully taken to Japan during the Imjin War: Crown Prince Sohyeon (1612-1645) and his accompany, who crossed paths with the Catholics in China, and Petrus Yi Seung-hun, who was the first Korean to be baptized as a Catholic. Furthermore, the introduction of the *Yanggeum* (Yangqin: zither), which literally means a stringed instrument of the West, was made possible as Korean culture embraced Western music before the port-opening period of 1876-1910.

Regarding the origin of the history of Western music in Korea, existing literature can be distilled into five viewpoints: first, the importation of Giulio Aleni's *Jikbang Oegi* (Zhifang Waiji: Records of the Lands beyond the Imperial Administration) from China by Jeong Du-won; second, the spread of Catholicism; third, the publication of Yi Gyu-gyeong's *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango* (A Collection of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Writings on Various Topics); fourth, the spread of Protestant hymns; and fifth, the establishment of *Yangakdae* (Royal Western Band) in 1900. Of these, the first three events took place before the opening of the port, while the latter two happened after the opening. These evidence-supported viewpoints suggest that Western music had already reached Joseon quite widely before 1876.

As such, the Korean people were exposed to or embraced Western music in various forms well before the opening of the port. Only partial discussions and research have been conducted on this issue, leaving a vacuum of in-depth reviews for recognizable historical events in the history of Western music in Korea. In other words, the pre-history or the first chapter in Korea's history of Western music remains incomplete.

To trace occurrences of contact between Western music and the people of Korea before the opening of the port requires navigating the uncharted territory of the history of Western music, restoring the historical facts, and incorporating these findings into the history of Korean

music. This work also represents a meaningful and necessary study for exploring Western music's identity in Korea.

The primary goal of this study is to conduct a chronological examination of the patterns of contact for Western music before the port-opening period, assess the current status of research, and propose future research tasks. The study also aims to shed light on historical encounters that can be 'presumed' to have featured Western music before the port-opening period. Along with the objective of exploring the potential for future research subjects, the purpose of this study is to present a roadmap for writing the pre-history of, or the first chapter of, the history of Western music in Korea.

This research covers broad topological areas, starting with the question of when Koreans first encountered Western music, developing into exploring the possibility of contacting Western music before the introduction of Christianity to Joseon and the founding of the Joseon Catholic Church. Then the study examines the importation of *Jikbang Oegi* (Zhifang Waiji: Records of the Lands beyond the Imperial Administration) and *Yulleo Jeongui* (Lulu Zhengyi: The Correct Meaning of the Pitchpipes), which are records relating to the introduction of Western music into the various literary currents of the late Joseon period, the acceptance of *Yanggeum* in Korean society, and the beginning of the Korean Catholic Church and Korea's contact with Western music.

In areas where research has already been conducted at a substantive level, the results will be introduced to derive follow-up tasks and in-depth research topics for the future. In new research areas, the content will be presented to promote related research in new fields and the restoration of historical facts. In areas where conjectures or assumptions are made, the leads and reasonable grounds will be given to promote further research in such directions.

Question Redux: When did Koreans First Encounter Western Music?

Different people inevitably have different opinions on when Koreans first encountered Western music and when Western music first arrived in Korea. In all likelihood, contact with Western music has been around for a longer period than is generally thought; however, there is not yet enough data to support this postulation. Instead, there are many conjectures and assumptions. However, new facts and historical materials are continuously being discovered. In addition, meaningful research outcomes in related fields are more often than not reflected into the musicology literature. Differing historical perspectives held by different researchers lead to a variety of theories and speculations for the same question.

The truth may or may not be unveiled anytime soon. Still, new questions will have to be raised in the process of seeking meaningful research inquiries. Such questions could be articulated as follows:

“When did Koreans first encounter music?”

“What is the first historical event related to Western music?”

“How did this first encounter take place and develop?”

Regarding the questions above, many would conclude that the first exposures were through encounters with Catholicism. It is because the Catholic liturgy is closely related to music. Therefore, meaningful answers regarding how Western music was introduced and embraced in Korean society will be sought by examining Catholicism’s importation and dissemination process.

Possible Encounters between Korea and Western Music in the Early Christianity Period and Establishment of the Catholic Church

A. The Imjin War of 1592 and Western Music

Questions and answers regarding when Koreans first encountered Christianity and when Christianity was first introduced in Korea differ from researcher to researcher in the social sciences, as well as in the field of musicology. Some claim that Thomas the Apostle (1-72) came to the Gaya confederacy (42-562) to preach the gospel in first century CE. Some assert that Roman Catholicism was introduced to Koreans during the Goryeo Kingdom (918–1392) through the Yuan Dynasty (1271–1368). It will require more research to verify those arguments, as bringing to light meaningful records related to musicology is not an easy task.¹

It is presumed that a significant encounter related to Western music occurred during the Imjin War (1592-1598). Agostinho Konishi Yukinaga (1558–1600), the commanding general of the Japanese advance army, was a baptized Catholic, and many of the members of the Konishi clan were also Catholics. Konishi asked the Catholic bishop in Japan to send a military priest-chaplain for their religious life. Accordingly, Jesuit priest Gregorio de Céspedes (1551-1611) was seconded to Joseon for about a year. Céspedes did missionary work in Joseon, baptizing some 200 abandoned Korean children at the Japanese military base. Some scholars consider this to be the origin of the Korean Catholic Church. At that time, as many as 100,000 Koreans were taken prisoner and forcefully settled in Japan. Céspedes rescued and baptized some 2,000 Korean men and women who were to be sold as slaves to buyers in the South Sea countries. Some were martyred in Japan,² while others were repatriated to Joseon.³

Whether or not they continued their religious life in Joseon is an issue of controversy among Catholicism researchers. Still, the fact that they accepted faith indicates that they were exposed to Catholic music, which is Western music. In Japan, Catholic priests started missionary

activities in 1547 while also disseminating the music necessary for liturgy.⁴ Some music pieces are preserved to this day under the title of *Sumeun Girisitanui Orasiyo* (Kakure Kirisitan No Orashio: Christian Prayer Songs Chanted by Hidden Christians).⁵

At the time, Korean Catholics must have been exposed to such music, which was probably Catholic music exported to Japan. However, no records or historical materials have been found. Neither have meaningful research inquiries or discussions been made on this point. This point may now only consist of conjectures and assumptions, but there exists a high likelihood that these Korean Catholics came across Western music in their lifetime. This research topic in the Korean history of Western music needs to be addressed in the future.

B. Heo Gyun and Western Music

Several Korean researchers discuss the relationship of Heo Gyun (1569-1618), author of the first Korean novel *Hong Gildong Jeon* (Tale of Hong Gildong), with Catholicism. A researcher argued that Korea's Catholicism originated from Heo, while another researcher discussed Heo's possible encounter with Gregorian chant. Such arguments are all based on the following description, which Yu Mong-in (1559-1623) wrote in his 1621 essay, *Eou Yadam* (Unofficial Stories of Eou):

Heo Gyun returned with a map and *Ge Sibiyjang* (twelve verses) from his China trip.

Researchers differ in their interpretations of the *Ge Sibiyjang*, but some argue that it is highly probable that they refer to "music of some kind." First, Kim Dong-wook published a paper suggesting that *Ge* (verse) was a type of hymn.⁶ Moreover, *Ge Sibiyjang* may be the *Chanmiga Sibiyjang* (twelve hymns) according to Ha Seong-rae, whose main argument reads as follows:

To say that one has obtained *Ge Sibiyjang* in China is different from saying that one has made a simple purchase in a Chinese bookstore. *Ge* is a Buddhist term for the Sanskrit Gāthā and has the meanings of *Seongga* (sacred verse), *Songdeukga* (praise song), *Chanmiga* (hymns), and *Beompae* (Buddhist chant). *Ge* is composed of four lines, and a line is composed of three to eight words each. Then, what does *Ge* mean here? It goes without saying that this is not a Buddhist term.

(...) Considering that when Catholicism entered China, it borrowed from Buddhist terms such as *Jabi* (loving-kindness) and *Yeomju* (prayer beads), *Ge* may not refer to Catholic prayers but rather *Chanmiga*

Sibyijang? The possibility is further strengthened by Matteo Ricci's *Seogeum Gokeui Paljang* (Xiqin Quyi Bazhang: The Eight Songs for Western Harpsichord). It was included in *Cheonhak Choham* (First Steps in Catholic Doctrine), where the author uses the term *Jang* (chapter) instead of *Ge*. In 1600, upon arrival in Beijing, Matteo Ricci was taken to Emperor Shenzong (1563-1620), who showed interest in Western music. Ricci had *Chanmiga Paljang* (eight hymns) translated into Chinese and presented them to the emperor under the title *Seogeum Gokeui Pal Jang* (Xiqin Quyi Bazhang: The Eight Songs for Western Harpsichord). As such, it seems that *Ge Sibyijang* (twelve verses) should be understood as *Chanmiga Sibyijang* (twelve hymns).⁷

Next, Choi Pil-seon saw that "it is highly probable that *Ge* refers to the hymn, i.e., Gregorian chant."⁸ Jeon Jeong-im likewise agrees.⁹

By all means, it will be a difficult task to trace Heo Gyun's footsteps in music. Heo was a frequent visitor to China. Did he attend Mass and thus experience Catholic music in China? Did he return with a Gregorian chant book in his luggage? If so, did he 'simply' bring it into Joseon, or did he distribute it to his peers? The possibility of Heo Gyun's encounter with Western music cannot be completely ruled out.

C. Crown Prince Sohyeon, His Accompany, and Catholicism

The contact with Western music can also be inferred from the experience of Crown Prince Sohyeon's group in Qing China. Crown Prince Sohyeon (1612-1645) was the son of King Injo (reign: 1623-1649) and lived as a hostage in China for eight years. During his 70-day stay in Beijing before being repatriated to Joseon, the crown prince met Johann Adam Shall von Bell, a German priest of the Society of Jesus who oversaw the Beijing cathedral. The crown prince learned a great deal about Western academic disciplines and Catholicism from the priest.¹⁰ Crown Prince Sohyeon returned to Joseon with various astronomy and science books and a world globe received from Shall von Bell, who wanted to instill a good impression of Catholicism with the future king, in preparation for Catholic missionary work in Joseon. As for the crown prince, he wanted to learn about the advanced science and technology of the West through Shall von Bell.

Although the truth is yet to be known, Crown Prince Sohyeon allegedly requested Shall von Bell to recommend a Western priest for accompaniment as he returned to Joseon. The crown prince had to accept five Chinese eunuchs who were Catholic instead, as there were only a few Western priests in China.¹¹ In a turn of events, the crown prince died suddenly two months after returning home, and all the Catholic eunuchs returned to Qing China. As a result, Catholic evangelism through foreign missionaries in Joseon had to wait another 150 years. Here, some musicological questions arise, as follows:

First, Crown Prince Sohyeon and Shall von Bell are known to have met frequently at the Beijing Catholic Cathedral. Did the crown prince ever go to Mass? And if he did, was he accompanied by other Koreans in his group? If the crown prince attended Mass, it likely means that he also had exposure to Western music.

Second, did the five eunuchs who were both Chinese and Catholic take part in religious activities in Joseon? If they did, they would have sung songs from the West, although they were in Joseon only for a short while.

Third, was there a chant book among the Catholic-related documents brought by Crown Prince Sohyeon and his entourage? A case in point is Yi Gyeong-sang, the great-great-grandfather of John Yi Byeok (1754-1785), who pioneered Catholic evangelism in Korea. Yi Gyeong-sang accompanied Crown Prince Sohyeon to Beijing and returned to Joseon with books related to the Western academic disciplines and Catholicism. It is said that he opted to learn Catholicism on his own volition. It cannot be ruled out that there was a chant book among the Catholic documents that Yi Gyeong-sang brought. This possibility increases upon considering that Yi Byeok was the first person to write a Catholic verse in the Korean language.

There is no existing literature on Crown Prince Sohyeon's contribution to the spread of Western music in Joseon. Still, this is an open possibility and remains a research task for the future.

Joseon's Importation of *Jikbang Oegi* and *Yulleo Jeongui*

A. Joseon's Importation of *Jikbang Oegi*

In addition to Catholicism, significant historical events in which Koreans encountered Western music include the spread of *Jikbang Oegi* (Zhifang Waiji: Records of the Lands beyond the Imperial Administration) and *Yulleo Jeongui* (Lulu Zhengyi: The Correct Meaning of the Pitchpipes) to Joseon.

In 1631, King Injo sent scholar Jeong Du-won (1581-1642) as his envoy to Ming China. Jeong returned home with a book called *Jikbang Oegi*, which was written by Giulio Aleni (1582-1649), an Italian Jesuit missionary based in Beijing. Upon the order of the Emperor, Aleni wrote about the history, culture, geography, climate, and lifestyle of countries around the world. The three descriptions of Western music in the book read as follows:

Measuring has to do with the field of creating melodies as it makes sounds in music harmonize with each other.¹²

The above appears when introducing subjects that are taught in uni-

versities in Europe.

There are 36 altars for Mass inside the house.¹³ Two sets of *Punggeum* (organ) stand to the left and right of the altar. They have 32 ranks of 100 pipes each, producing their tones. With three thousand pipes in total, the *Punggeum* can imitate any sound, including wind, rain, waves, animals, aria, and even battle clashes.¹⁴

The above article depicts pipe organs installed in a Spanish cathedral.

Pyeonso (pipe-organ) of Western music produces a subtle sound, with power often borrowed from the man-made wind. This villa has a *Pyeonso* installed in the water, unlike others. As soon as the mechanical device moves, the hydraulic organ creates a sound that can only be described as peculiar. Furthermore, this villa has a tall, large, round, and perfect-shaped stone column. The outer periphery is engraved with the images of ancient kings and legends. The column is hollow, giving space for a few people to climb up and down. It takes the shape of a tower.¹⁵

The above is a part of an introductory essay on Italy and describes a musical instrument presumed to be a pipe organ.

Noh Dong-eun was the first researcher to argue that *Jikbang Oegi* was used as a medium for Joseon's encounter with Western music. According to Noh, "the history of Western music goes back over 360 years and gives pride to Koreans for being 'self-driven' in making contacts and embracing music from the West."¹⁶ Noh refers to *Jikbang Oegi* in indicating that Joseon's intellectuals "found out that Western music belonged to the department of philosophy at universities and appreciated highly-developed culture from countries other than China."¹⁷

Since Noh's writings were published 24 years ago in 1993, the history of Western music in Korea can be said to go back over 380 years. This proposition provides a meaningful alternative to the conventional view that regards the opening of the ports as the starting point. Although *Jikbang Oegi* was not intended for Korean readers, many scholars came to know and develop an interest in the West after its introduction to the Joseon Kingdom. However, more in-depth research, debate, and discussion are needed to recognize this development as the origin of Western music history in Korea. The importation of a book is not sufficient in itself. Furthermore, it is yet to be proven that *Jikbang Oegi* generated the thrust to move Koreans closer to full cultural acceptance of Western music. Another weakness in setting this timeline is that too few records related to Western music survive today.

Arrival of China's First Publication on Western Music Theory in Joseon

a) Overview of *Yulleo Jeongui*

In 1713, China published *Yulleo Jeongui* (Lulu Zhengyi: The Correct Meaning of the Pitchpipes), the first book series that includes a volume on Western music theory. Of the five books in this series, Volumes I to IV deal with traditional Chinese music theory, while Volume V, which came out as a sequel, covers Western music theory.

Portuguese Jesuit Tomás Pereira (1645-1708) and Italian Lazarist Teodorico Pedrini (1671-1746) compiled the series on the imperial order of Emperor Kangxi (reign: 1662-1722). Of the two, Pereira was an organist, music theorist, and organ maker, and Pedrini was a musical instrument maker and composer. Both were highly trusted by the emperor, having worked as music teachers in the imperial court. The missionaries were not fluent in Mandarin at the time, and it is said that the text was translated into Chinese by Emperor Kangxi's third son and unidentified scholars. It is possible that Chinese intellectuals made an arbitrary interpretation, being unfamiliar with the Western tuning system.¹⁸

Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon (Lulu Zhengyi Xubian: Exact Meaning of Pitches or Music Theory, a Continuation) is an eighteenth-century publication from China. Two Korean researchers, Lee Ki-jung and Lee Seo-hyeon, translated and studied the book in the contemporary period. Lee Ki-jung translated most of the text into Korean and attached the entire original text as an appendix to his master's thesis.¹⁹ Lee Seo-hyeon focused on the Chinese interpretation of Western music theory in *Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon*, as indicated in the title of his article.²⁰

According to the above, *Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon* comprises 18 chapters. Chapter I provides an overview of the book and explains the origin and purpose of the twelve rules and seven notes. Chapter II describes the notation method of the five-stave system with extra lines. Chapter III is about the temporary signs used in *Gangak* and *Yuak* music. Chapter IV explains the six signs that determine position, which are the solfège *Oh* (Wu: Ut), *Reuk* (Le: Re), *Myung* (Ming: Mi), *Pip* (Fa: Fa), *Sak* (Shuo: Sol), *Rap* (La: La), and *Seo* (Si: Ti). Chapter V features C, F, and G clef, while Chapter VI explains the seven-grade notation methods for Chinese string instruments and the user manual for temporary signs. Chapter VII explores the registers used for C, F, and G clef of seven grades.

Chapter VIII describes the register, notation, and reading of ascending and descending notes. Chapter IX depicts the reason for adding Si (Si) to the existing six notes and their composition (C, D, Eb, F, G, A, and Bb). Chapter X describes the rules for the long and short length of notes and the hand movement for beating. Chapter XI records eight notes, notation, and the order of speed, while Chapter XII explains the speed and usage of the eight notes. Chapter XIII depicts the three types of time signatures, notation, and long and short length of notes per the

time signatures. Chapter XIV describes the notes used in time signature and time within a bar. Chapter XV explains the length of notes used in triple meter and beating. Chapter XVI deals with using simple meter and compound meter (including notes for odd meter) and dotted notes. Chapter XVII covers eight rests (simple rest), dotted rest, and double dotted rest. Lastly, Chapter XVIII summarizes the Western music theory and describes beat-based notation.²¹ In sum, *Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon* can be said to be an equivalent of a musical grammar that deals with the basic theory of Western music.

According to Lee Seo-hyeon, who studied how this book was interpreted in China, the translators worked with the music theory terms to reflect the characteristics of Chinese characters. The meaning of a character can be understood through shape, being both pictographic and ideographic. Often, they phonetically transcribed foreign terms according to the similarity of pronunciation and form. In some cases, the word choice symbolically reflects China's societal aspects; while in other cases, word choice reflects the Chinese dualistic tradition.²² Some examples read as follows:

Dualism was applied when translating “#” as *Gang* (Gang: hard) and “b” as *Yu* (Rou: soft). The former sounds *Cheong* (Qing: clear) and the latter *Tak* (Zhuo: thick). Under dualism, *Gang* and *Cheong* correspond to *Yang* (Yang: positive), and *Yu* and *Tak* to *Eum* (yin: negative). The characteristics of Western music are understood through the concept of two contrasting tones: ‘hard vs. soft’ and ‘clear vs. thick.’ These features are said to have originated from the traditional Chinese concept of yin-yang dualism, which interprets various elements of music through a broad principle of understanding ‘harmony by using contrasting concepts.’²³

Phonetic transcription was used to translate syllable names, which read *Oh* (Wu: Ut),²⁴ *Reuk* (Le: Re), *Myung* (Ming: Mi), *Pip* (Fa: Fa), *Sak* (Shuo: Sol), *Rap* (La: La), and *Seo* (Si: Ti).

The shape of the alphabet in each scale was also the motivation for translated words such as *Jeong Jo* (Zheng Diao: C major), *Eulja Jo* (Yizi Diao: D major), *Sangja Jo* (Shangzi Diao: E b major), *Cheokja Jo* (Chizi Diao: F major), *Gongja Jo* (Gongzi Diao: G major), *Beomja Jo* (Fanzi Diao: A major), and *Yukja Jo* (Liuzi Diao: B b major). According to Lee Seo-hyeon, the choice of words is based on the shape of the alphabet in each scale. One can easily associate *Eul* (Yi) with “D,” *Sang* (Shang) with “E,” *Cheok* (Chi) with “F,” *Gong* (Gong) with “G,” and *Beom* (Fan) with “A.” As for “B b,” *Yuk* (Liu) seems to have been chosen because of its similarity in pronunciation with *Yu* (Rou), the translated word for “b.”²⁵

China's societal aspects were also reflected in the translation of clefs, namely *Sangpum* (Shangpin: G clef), *Jungpum* (Zhongpin: C clef), and *Hapum* (Xiapin: F clef). Lee Seo-hyeon explains that *Pum* (Pin: grade) is a term that indicates office hierarchy, from superiors to sub-

ordinates, and reflects the aristocratic bureaucracy side of Chinese society.²⁶

On the other hand, the book introduces the eight types of notes, translated as *Jungbun* (Zhongfen: whole note), *Banbun* (Banfen: half note), *Sobun* (Xiaofen: quarter note), *Sokbun* (Sufen: eighth note), *Choesokbun* (Zuisufen: sixteenth note). The notes are explained in speed, not length. In other words, there seems to be confusion in terms of differentiating length and speed, as seen in the description of *Sobun* (Xiaofen) being twice faster than *Banbun* (Banfen), which in turn is twice faster than *Jungbun* (Zhongfen).²⁷ The Western music theory of *Yulleo Jeongui* is significant in that Joseon's scholars introduced it to Joseon afterward.

b) Introduction of *Yulleo Jeongui* into Joseon

In Joseon, Hong Dae-yong (1731-1783) was the first scholar to introduce Western music theory in *Yulleo Jeongui*, although not in full. Bak Ji-won (1737-1805), Yi Deok-mu (1741-1793), Bak Je-ga (1750-1805), and Jeong Yak-yong (1762-1836) followed suit to disseminate the theory further.²⁸ Other notable publications on this topic include *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango* (A Collection of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Writings on Various Topics) and *Gura Cheolsageum Jabo* (A Score for Iron-Stringed Zither from Europe) by Yi Gyu-gyeong (1788-?).

Furthermore, discussion and research on the importation of *Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon* into Korea were initiated by Choi Nam-seon (1890-1957) in the early 20th century and were followed by La Un-yung (1922-1993), Jang Sa-hun (1916-1991), Noh Dong-eun, and notably Lee Ki-jeong in the contemporary period. Choe wrote about Yi Gyu-gyeong's *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango*, describing the names, pronunciation, and meaning of Western music terms, including staff, clef, accidental signature, and notes.²⁹

In the more contemporary period, La looked at the starting point of the history of Korean Western music as *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango*. La tried to compile a 150-year history of Western music in Korea, picking up from 1810 when Yi ended his study to 1960.³⁰ This manuscript did not see the light of day during his lifetime but was released posthumously through annotation by Hong Jung-soo.³¹ How far La's research went regarding the importation of *Yulleo Jeongui* into Joseon is unknown today. However, the fact that La set the publication year for *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango* as the starting point indicates how important this book is in the history of Western music in Korea.

In 1974, Jang Sa-hun shed light on the accidental signature, note, clef, syllable name, and rhythmic mode mentioned in *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango*.³² Jang's research is significant because it approached the previously discussed topic from an academic perspective. On April 24th, 1988, Noh Dong-eun drew the attention of the academia through his presentation at a monthly colloquium of the *Eumak Yeonguhoe* (Music Research Society), where he described the importation of *Yulleo Jeongui* into Joseon and the content of *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango*

in more detail. Noh Dong-eun's research has added more breadth and depth to the study and facilitated follow-up research on a topic that had only been partially mentioned or studied.

Afterward, Lee Ki-jeong published a comparative study of Yi Gyu-gyeong's writings with *Yulleo Jeongui*. Lee focused on Western music theories as they appear in *Yulleo Jeongui*, *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango*, and *Gura Cheolsageum Jabo*. From a comparative perspective, Lee Ki-jeong studied the inflow of *Yulleo Jeongui* into the Joseon Kingdom. His conclusion has a significant implication:

The study has its limitations in introducing only a part of the Western music theories Joseon imported from China. Still, its importance lies in drawing attention to Joseon's efforts to embrace Western music from an instrumental perspective as an alternative to the absence of official theory in China's music scale of *Hwangjong* (Huangzhong: Yellow Bell).³³

(...) These publications contain historical facts to prove the establishment of a foundation for Joseon's acceptance of Western music.³⁴

(...) It also asserts that recognizing the starting point of Western music as Western missionary's introductory work from as late as the 1880s is ill-founded and should be revised.³⁵

As such, many researchers have shown interest in the importation of *Yulleo Jeongui* into Joseon. Substantive research results and achievements have accumulated, from which future research tasks are derived. In the future, a study on how the Western music theory contained in *Yulleo Jeongui* affected Joseon's music culture will be needed. In the case of China, the practice of Western music came first, and *Yulleo Jeongui* served as a foundational theoretical book for application in practice. This pattern may have been the case in Joseon. It could also be that the theory was introduced without musicians practicing it. A study would be needed to identify the actual situation. If such a study enters the discussion, a rich layer of the history of Western music in Korea will be added.

Records of Western Music in the Late Joseon Dynasty Period

During the late Joseon Dynasty period, scholars who visited China as envoys and accompanies often left records related to Western music. It has been long known that they encountered Western music in China and recorded their impressions in writing. However, these texts are only partially disclosed and rarely studied in academia. A large share of them remain uncharted territory despite their good potential for becoming a

treasure trove for the history of Western music in Korea.

Choe Nam-seon (1890-1957) was the first to introduce texts on the experiences of Joseon envoys in China in 1929. To name a few: Kim Nogaje (1658-1721),³⁶ who recorded his impressions of Western music in his *Yeongyeonggi* (Yanjing Travel Diary); Hong Dae-yong (1731-1783), who broadened his knowledge of Western culture through dialogue with Chinese scholars and Western missionaries and described the image of the pipe organs installed within a Beijing catholic church in *Damheonseo* (The Collected Works of Damheon); Bak Ji-won (1737-1805), who wrote about his listening experience of Western music in *Yeolha Ilgi* (Jehol Diary); as mentioned earlier, Yi Deok-mu (1741-1793), who explored the basic theory of Western music through *Cheongjanggwon Jeonseo* (Complete Works of Cheongjanggwon). Yi Gyu-gyeong's *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango* featured the pronunciation and meaning of Western music terms such as staff, clef, accidental signature, and note.³⁷

Since then, Noh Dong-eun and Lee Ki-jeong have added more concrete details, such as Hong Dae-yong's visit to Qing China in 1765 when he played the organ for the first time as a Korean.³⁸ Also revealed through these researchers are the roles of Hong Dae-yong, Bak Ji-won, and Bak Je-ga, on top of Yi Deok-mu and Yi Gyu-gyeong, in spreading Western music theory in Joseon, and the importation and dissemination of Western music books by Yi Deok-mu, Bak Je-ga, and Jeong Yak-yong.³⁹

These records indicate that Korea's contact with Western music progressed in an expansive fashion, calling for in-depth research for more specific content. A case in point is a story from *Punggeum*, as introduced in Bak Ji-won's *Yeolha Ilgi*. In this story, Bak Ji-won exchanged dialogue with Hong Dae-yong as they examined Kim Ga-je's records.

There were two layers of red doors on the room's eastern wall. The two doors were on the above layer, and four were below. The doors opened consecutively. Inside, there were standing pipes that looked like columns or rafters. They came in different sizes and were painted in gold and silver. An iron plate was placed horizontally over the silos, which had countless holes drilled on one side and were placed to take a fan's shape on the other side. The names of Azimuth and Twelve Hours were engraved on them. They looked for a moment and noticed when the sun's shadow reached a bearing point, the large and small bells on the pedestal sounded four times each, while the great bell on the northern plate struck six times. When the bells stopped ringing for a short while, the sound of wind blew from the *Hongyemun* (Arched Gate) in the eastern periphery. The wind pushed several wheels to turn, creating sounds of *Kwan*, *Hyun*, *Sa*, and *Juk*, among many others. They had no idea where the sounds were coming from. The interpreter said, "This is Chinese music." After a while, the sound stopped, and a new sound began. It sounded

like the music I heard in a congregation. The interpreter said, “This is Manchurian music.” After a while, the sound stopped, and another tune began. This time it was fast music. The interpreter said, “This is Mongolian music.” The music stopped and the six doors closed by themselves. The saying goes that this was made by the Portuguese missionary Ferdinand Verbiest.⁴⁰

Although Bak does not mention the story’s source in *Yeolha Ilgi*, it seems that he was quoting an article introduced in Kim Ga-je’s *Yeongyeonggi*. Bak continued with Hong Dae-yong’s story on *Punggeum*.

This is to say that I will talk but can’t say much. The pipes inside, which looked like columns or rafters, were made of organic material. The largest pipe was as large as a column or rafter, and big and small pipes filled the space. The large pipe was intended to make the sound of a *Saenghwang* (reed). The pipes in different sizes represent different tunes, doubled in numbers and separated by eight tunes. When the sounds come together, they change by eighth chords to become 64 chords in total. The manufacturer mixed gold and silver colors to make the appearance look soft. A sudden wind blew to make several sounds of turning wheels. The underground paths of the *Punggeum* (organ) crossed each other, so winds were blown as if the operator were using their mouth to push out the wind. “There was music from everywhere” because when the wind enters from the hole on the floor, turning the wheels quickly and opening the front of the *Saenghwang* to make sounds. The manufacturer used cowskins to make a bellowing wind component. Five cowskins were glued together and made soft like a silk belt. It was placed over a beam with a thick rope hanging like a big bell. When two people hold the bar and jump to hang on to the instrument that looks like a boat mast, they step on the bellowing belt with their feet. The bellowing component will slowly sink to fill the air and inflate the airbag. It drives the air into the underground path of the *Punggeum*. If the operator closes a hole in line with the tunes, the wind cannot escape and subsequently hits a *Geumseol* (Iron Tongue), which will tremble and open up to make various sounds. Now, I can give only a rough explanation, but there is no way of telling the subtleness of this instrument. If the state would allocate a fund with instructions to make this instrument, perhaps we can manage to comply.⁴¹

Bak ends the essay with the following remarks:

Having returned to Beijing from Jehol, I went straight away to a chapel inside the *Seonmunun* (Xuanwumen: Gate of Military Might). A roof-head looks like a bell and rises above the private houses to the east. It is a Catholic cathedral. There is one within the four

corners of the city wall. This building in the West has a *Punggeum*. (….) In the Year of Ox, during the reign of Qianlong Emperor (1769), the cathedral was torn down. The so-called *Punggeum* also disappeared from the public eye.⁴²

With the above text, readers can surmise how many different records of Western music existed in the diverse literature of the late Joseon Dynasty period. Until recently, academic musicology did not show much interest in these records, and ample records were hard to come by even when researchers showed interest. Even if they succeeded in securing documents, they had difficulties understanding the texts primarily written in Chinese characters. However, many of them have been recently translated into the contemporary Korean language, and data is now readily available, making it possible for interested researchers to study these documents. As more of these texts are explored, researchers will add depth and rich detail to the history of Western music in Korea.

Introduction of *Yanggeum*

Western musicology in Korea tends to neglect the story of how the *Yanggeum* (zither) took root in Korean society. Many reasons could have contributed to this, but it seems to be the case that the *Yanggeum* was incorporated immediately into Korean culture, was classified as a traditional *Gugak* (Korean Music) instrument, and used only for *Gugak* performances. However, it turned out to be a historical fact, instead of a mere assertion or theory, that the *Yanggeum* was a Western musical instrument purchased directly from China by *Silhak* (Practical Learning School) scholars of the late Joseon Dynasty period. Furthermore, this development played an important role in Korea's acceptance of Western music.⁴³ The acceptance process of *Yanggeum* should therefore be included in the study of Western music in Korea.

Yanggeum literally means 'Western string instrument.' It has other names with the same meaning, such as *Seoyanggeum* (Western zither from the West) and *Seogum* (zither from the West). More details of being a 'stringed instrument from Europe' were given in the name *Gurageum* (European zither). Sometimes, the origin and characteristics were put together to the title, such as *Gura Cheol Hyeongeum* (iron-stringed instrument from Europe), *Gura Cheolsageum* (iron-wired instrument from Europe), *Seoyang Cheolsageum* (iron-wired instrument from the West), and *Gura Donghyeon Sogeum* (copper-stringed small zither from Europe). Other times it was just called by its metal components, in names such as *Donghyeongeum* (copper-stringed instrument), *Cheolsageum* (iron-wired instrument), *Cheolhyeon Sogum* (iron-stringed small zither). Lastly, it was known as *Samhyeongeum* (three-stringed instrument) and *Yanggeum* (willow

wood instrument), which is a homonym. In contemporary times, the instrument is known as *Yanggeum*.⁴⁴

There are no records of when *Yanggeum* was introduced into Korea. Based on historical circumstances and related documents, it is assumed that the *Silhak* scholars of Joseon imported *Yanggeum* from China. Records on the importation of *Yanggeum* into Joseon are found in *Yeolha Ilgi* by Bak Ji-won, *Pyoam Yugo* (Posthumous Manuscripts of Pyoam) by Gang Se-hwang (1713-1791), *Haeamgo* (Manuscripts of Haeam) of Yu Gyeong-jong (1714-1784), *Gura Cheolsageum Jabo* (A Score for Iron-Stringed Zither from Europe) by Yi Gyu-gyeong, and *Damheonseo* (Writings of Damheon) by Hong Dae-yong. The execution technique and music scores remained unknown until Hong Dae-yong learned to play the instrument around 1772. Bak Ji-won wrote about Hong's learning process in Volume XVII of *Yeolha Ilgi*, titled *Dongran Seoppil* (Essays from Dongranjae House).

Cheolhyeongeum (iron-stringed instrument) from Europe is called *Seoyanggeum* (Western zither from the West) by Koreans, *Cheongeum* (heavenly zither) by Westerners, and *Beongeum* (Fanqin) or *Cheongeum* (Tianqin) by Chinese. When this instrument appeared in Korea is unknown, but the person who started it was Hong Dae-yong. He played Korean music on this instrument. I sat opposite Hong and watched him playing this instrument at 6 p.m. on June 18th, in the Year of Dragon, during the reign of Qianlong Emperor (1772). I could see right away that Hong Dae-yong was well-versed in music, and although it was a modest skill, I decided to record the date and time as a starting point. It became so widespread that nine years later, every *Geumsa* (zither teacher) knew how to play it.⁴⁵

According to Volume I of *Gura Cheolsageum Jabo* titled *Changrae* (The Origin), which Yi Gyu-gyeong wrote in 1779, Bak Bo-an learned how to play the *Yanggeum* in Beijing, adapting it to the conventions of Korean music. Thirty-eight years later, Mun Myeong-shin created the first musical score sheet for the *Yanggeum* in 1817.

In an unspecified year, during the reign of King Jeongjong (1775-1800), a man named Park Bo-an, a *Jeonak* (court musician of the sixth rank) at *Jangakwon* (Royal Academy of Music) accompanied the Joseon king's envoy to *Yeongyeong* (Yanjing: Beijing) to learn *Yanggeum* for the first time. He then played Korean music on it. Afterward, the instrument playing technique was handed down, but only orally. Therefore, musicians had great difficulty remembering the method without sheet music. It was only in the mid-spring of the Year of Ox (1817) that Mun Myung-shin, a *Jeonak* at *Jangakwon*, wrote the first music sheet for *Yanggeum*.⁴⁶

There exist only a handful of records on how the *Yanggeum* was imported and took root in Korean society. Relatively active research has been conducted on this topic. The study of acceptance of the *Yanggeum* is significant in the history of not only *Gugak* but also Western music, for the instrument exists as a historical artifact and still exists today, exerting considerable influence. Moreover, it is a musical instrument of Western origin incorporated into Korean music by Koreans, which increases the historical implications of this research. Western music theory, working principles, manufacturing skills, and performance methods were imported along with the instrument. There are many areas to be studied in the future. Was Western music by Westerner composers also imported along with the *Yanggeum*? If it was, what kind of music was it? How did it take root in Korean society? How did it affect Korean music and music culture? If it did not, why was it not accepted in Joseon? How should the acceptance of the *Yanggeum* be recognized in the history of Western music in Korea? These are some of the areas that require further research.

The Beginning of the Korean Catholic Church and Joseon's Contact with Western Music

A. Petrus Yi Seung-hun's Encounter with Western Music

In historical scholarship, the year 1784 marks the beginning of the Korean Catholic Church. It was when Petrus Yi Seung-hun (1756-1801) became the first Korean to be baptized and returned to Korea to establish a traditional religious community with John Yi Byeok and others. One year earlier, Yi followed his father to Beijing. His father was a *Seojanggwan* (document officer) of the *Dongjisa* (Joseon King's envoy in winter solstice) for the seventh year of King Jeongjo's reign (1783). Yi stayed there for about 40 days in the following year, learning Catholic doctrine from foreign missionaries. Yi became the first Catholic to be baptized and returned to Korea with dozens of Catholic books and sacred objects in 1784. Yi Seung-hun then baptized Yi Byeok and others, holding regular religious meetings with them. His practices officially mark the beginning of the Catholic Church in Joseon.

When Yi Seung-hun returned to Korea, he brought with him *Cheonhak Choham* (First Steps in Catholic Doctrine). It is said that the book had an appendix on Western music under the title *Seogeum Gokeui Paljang* (Xiqin Quy Bazhang: The Eight Songs for Western Harpsichord). A series of new tasks arise here. Did Yi Seung-hun participate in mass around the time he converted to Catholicism? What is the content of *Seogeum Gokeui Paljang*? Did *Seogeum Gokeui Paljang* have any influence on Joseon society? Korea's Western musicology researchers need

to address these new tasks.

B. The Arrival of Two Catholic Priests and the Spread of Western Music in Joseon

In 1795, the first foreign missionary was dispatched to Joseon. From a historical point of view, his arrival meant that foreigners would soon begin disseminating Western music in Korea. From this point forward, all Catholic priests started receiving formal music education and used Western music in rituals. Before the arrival of missionaries, Western music was mainly experienced in China or imported through translated Chinese documents. Since then, the history of foreigners' dissemination of Western music in Joseon also took place.

The first Catholic missionary to evangelize in Joseon was the Chinese priest Jacob Zhou Wenmo (1752-1801). Zhou entered Joseon in 1795, turned himself in six years later, and was beheaded in Saenamteo. However, when Zhou was active, he had to hide and engage in secret missionary work due to harsh persecution and oppression against Catholics. Therefore, Zhou was not likely to have used liturgical music. Even if he did, he would have removed or hidden all relevant records. Thus, it is difficult to reveal the relationship between Zhou and Western music in Joseon. Choi Pil-seon, who studied Catholic church music in the early days of Korean Catholicism, believes that Zhou may have introduced Gregorian chant. Choi states that "Zhou may not have used it in a liturgical ceremony in fear of being found out. Even if he did, it would have been only on a limited scale."⁴⁷

However, it should be noted that the number of Catholics increased from only 3,000 at the time of Zhou's arrival to 10,000 in just six years and that there was relatively little oppression in the first six months of Zhou's stay in Joseon. Such a situation makes it possible that Koreans had directly experienced Western music. Considering that new historical materials on Korean Catholicism have been discovered in recent years, the need for further research is being raised. From the point of view of the Korean history of Western music, this event cannot be easily overlooked, as it marks the first case of a foreigner disseminating Western music in Joseon.

Another Catholic Priest from overseas, Pierre Philibert Maubant (1804-1839), is known for spreading Gregorian chants in Joseon.⁴⁸ Maubant was a member of the Foreign Missions Society of Paris, entered Joseon in 1836, and was active for three years until he was executed at Saenamteo in 1839. Maubant was the first Western priest to spread Christianity in Korea; and in terms of the history of Western music in Korea, he was the first Westerner to disseminate Western music in Korea. However, other than his involvement in promoting Gregorian chant, nothing more is known about his activities related to Western music. This is another area that requires more research in the future.

C. The First Korean Recipient of Western Music Education

The first three Koreans to receive Western music education were Xavier Choe Bang-je (?-1839), Thomas Choe Yang-eop (1821-1861), and Andreas Kim Tae-gon (1822-1846). Maubant selected the three men to study as seminarians in Macau. Among them, Choe Bang-je died of disease in 1839, while Choe Yang-eop and Kim Tae-gon continued their studies and received ordination to the priesthood in 1842.

They studied at a seminary in Macau and received systematic training on Gregorian chant. The Catholic Church established Joseon Theological Seminary under the Far East Division of the Foreign Missions Society of Paris in Macau. The three Koreans received education in Latin, French, Gregorian chant, Catholic doctrine, philosophy, and theology. The chant was taught by Catholic priest Joseph Marie Callery (1810-1862).⁴⁹ It is said that they could not sing at the right pitch in the beginning, but thanks to Callery's training, they were eventually able to cultivate harmony and refinement in voice.⁵⁰ The three seminarians became the first Koreans to receive Western music education.

Upon graduation from seminary in 1845, Kim Tae-gon became the first Korean to be ordained a priest and returned to Korea to actively engage in evangelical work. He was arrested and beheaded at Senamteo one year after. His activities as a priest had ended abruptly in just one year. Perhaps due to this short tenure, there exists no record of Kim's musical activities.

In 1849, Choe Yang-eop was ordained as a priest for the second time as a Korean Catholic, following Kim Tae-gon. Choe led the Catholic movement in Korea for 12 years until his death from overwork in 1861. He was known as a "martyr of sweat." Not much is known about Choe Yang-eop's musical activities, except that he created and distributed Catholic hymns and sent a letter to a foreign clergy asking for a musical instrument, which is now believed to be an organ, to be sent to Joseon.⁵¹ However, his activities related to Western music are yet to be studied.

D. Western Music Records in Charles Dallet's *Histoire de l'Église de Corée*

Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoesa (*Histoire de l'Église de Corée: History of Korean Church*, 1874) by French priest Claude Charles Dallet (1829-1878) contains several meaningful records related to Western music in Korea. A case in point is the following paragraph:

When Bishop Antonius Daveluy, Father Petrus Aumaitre, Father Lucas Huin, Lucas Hwang Seok-tu, and Ioseph Chang Chu-gi were taken to the execution site to be martyred in 1866, there was joy in their heart. They called upon the Holy Spirit, sang chants, and offered fervent prayers of gratitude to God.⁵²

Regarding the same incident, Seo Woo-seok gives the following interpretation:

According to his writings about the Catholic Persecution of 1866,⁵³ foreign priest martyrs sang chants and called upon the Holy Spirit as they were taken to the execution site. It would be challenging to prove that they indeed sang songs. However, given the circumstances at the time, they would have sung any song. They were all French priests and thus educated in Gregorian chant. So, it seems that the chants they sang and the Holy Spirit that they called out for were the recital of hymns and psalm tunes.⁵⁴

Dallet's book suggests that Western songs were already being sung in Joseon before 1866 and provides another clue to the study of Western music in Korea. In addition, various documents related to Catholicism suggest other records of Western music that spread in Korea.

Conclusion

As described throughout this article, Koreans came into contact with Western music in diverse ways even before the opening of the port. Until now, it has been known that Koreans first learned about Western music through *Jikbang Oegi*, imported from China in 1631. However, in all likelihood, some of the Koreans that forcefully settled in Japan during the Imjin War of 1592 became Catholics and experienced Western music. It is also possible that Heo Gyun came into contact with Western music when he returned to Korea with large volumes of Catholic literature from China. Moreover, Prince Sohyeon and his accompany may also have encountered Western music at the Beijing Catholic Cathedral, although this encounter occurred after the importation of *Jikbang Oegi* into Joseon timewise.

Furthermore, many scholar envoys or accompany left records of their encounters with Western music in China. Some of those records have been studied. One of the scholars imported and introduced *Yulleo Jeongui*, the first Western music theory book in China. The scholars also incorporated the *Yanggeum* into Korean culture through these contacts. Even though the accumulation of such experiences point to the rich history of Western music in Korea, this topic of study remains uncharted territory.

With the establishment of the Korean Catholic Church in 1784, contact with Western music became more active. Koreans mainly encountered Western music in China before that period. However, as Catholicism spread in Joseon, foreigners came to Korea and disseminated Western music. Koreans also went abroad to study and learn Western music as well. In this, Zhou Wenmo should be recognized as the first foreigner to introduce Western music to Koreans. Equal in importance, Pierre Philibert

Maubant should be recorded as the first Westerner to expose Koreans to Western music. Also, it should be noted that Xavier Choe Bang-je, Thomas Choe Yang-eop, and Andreas Kim Tae-gon were the first Koreans to receive Western music education. In 1837, they entered a seminary in Macau that included a Western music curriculum. French priest Joseph Marie Callery taught them Gregorian chants. Around this time, Western songs are believed to have been imported into Joseon and sung by Koreans.

Some of the characteristics related to Koreans' encounters with Western music before the opening of the port are as follows: first, Koreans initially experienced Western music in China, not in the West; second, Western music was brought to Joseon by Koreans, not by Westerners; third, Koreans showed more interest in theory than in acoustics; fourth, the first movers were mainly the king's envoys or accompanying scholars; fifth, the popularity for pipe organ and *Yanggeum* outweighed all other Western music instruments; and sixth, the encounters took place over a long period and expanded into many different areas.

The establishment of the Catholic Church in Joseon was a trigger in the diversification of contacts. Some Koreans started studying Western music, some foreigners came to Joseon and promoted Western music in person, and some Western songs were widely distributed and accepted by the Korean audience.

The various aspects and characteristics that have been explored so far are only the tip of the iceberg. Much remains unknown to researchers. It is unclear what is hidden from contemporary researchers and what is yet to be revealed. What is clear is that more has to be studied. Several future research topics are presented in this article. However, the highest priority should be given to identifying, categorizing, and translating historical materials in the ancient Korean language. With that task as a steppingstone, further research will follow in the form of new topics for scholarship.

Notes

1. The proponents of the Thomas the Apostle story also argue that hymns were sung at the time. *Gujiga* (Turtle's Song) recorded in *Samguk Yusa* (Legends and History of the Three Kingdom) is presented as evidence. They argue that the lyrics of *Gujiga*, which read “*Geobuga Geobuga Meoireul Naeora. Meoireul Naeji Annumyeon Guweoseo Meoguri*” (“Turtle, turtle, put out your head. If you do not raise your head, we will roast and eat you”) is similar to the lyrics of a hymn that says “Save me. Save me. The Holy Spirit who is the head, please appear before us. If you do not come, the enemy will burn us and take us hostage.”

2. Among Korean abductee Catholics, Ota Julia is a well-known figure to contemporary Koreans. Ota lost her parents at the young age of three during the Imjin War of 1592. Konishi adopted and took her to Japan, where she converted to Catholicism. After her adoptive parents died in 1600, she was exiled to Oshima and then Kozushima. Ota was martyred after Tokugawa Ieyasu seized power and banned Catholicism. She is revered as the patron saint of Oshima and Kozushima. Besides Ota Julia, there are several Koreans who were declared saints among the Korean abductees of the Imjin War.

3. Paul Mun Kyu-hyun, *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoesa I* (The History of Catholic Church in Korea, Vol. I) (Seoul: Bitdure Publishing House, 1999), 18.

4. See “Geunse Ihueui Waerae Eumak” (Kinsei Ikono Gaira Ongaku: Foreign Music after the Modern Period) and “Geundae, Hyundae Eumak” (Gindai, Gendai Ongaku: Music of the Modern and Contemporary Period) in Heibonsha (ed.), *Ilbon Eumak Daesajeon* (Nihon Ongaku Daijiten :Dictionary of Japanese Music) (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992). The latter was published in Korea through trans. Min Kyung-chan, “Ilbon Geundae Yangakeui Heurum” (The Trend of Western Music in Modern Japan), *Hanguk Eumak Sahakbo* (Journal of the Society for Korean Historico-Musicology), vol. 15 (1995)

5. This text refers to hymns and prayers whispered by Catholics hiding away from suppression and persecution. *Kirishitan* is the Portuguese word for Christian, and *Orashiyo* is the Japanese pronunciation of the Latin word *Oratio*, which means ‘prayer’.

6. Kim Dong-wook, “Seogyo Jeonrae Huui Cheonju Changa” (The History of the Catholic Verses after the Transmission of the Western Religion), *Inmun Gwahak* (Humanities), vol. 21 (1969), 172.

7. Ha Seong-rae, *Cheonju Gasa Yeongu* (A Study on Catholic Verses) (Incheon: Saint Luke Hwang Seok-du Seowon, 1985), 46.

8. Choi Pil-seon, “Chogi Hanguk Catholic Gyooe Eumake Daehan Yeongu” (A Study on Early Korean Catholic Church Music) (Master's Thesis, Dong-A University, 1989), 39.

9. Jeon Jeong-im, *Chogi Hanguk Cheonju Gyuhoje Eumak* (Early Korean Catholic Church Music) (Seoul: Korea National University of Arts, 2001), 91.

10. Of the many presents received, it is said that Crown Prince Sohyeon returned books on Catholicism and a statue image of the Heavenly Lord to Shall von Bell.

11. Ha Seong-rae, *Cheonju Gasa Yeongu*, 65.

12. Giulio Aleni, *Jikbang Oegi* (Zhifang Waiji: Records of the Lands beyond the Imperial Administration), trans. Cheon Ki-cheol (Seoul: Iljogak, 2005), 140. *Jikbang*

Oegi quotations in this article are the modern Korean version by Cheon Ki-cheol. Although this book is an important historical material for the study of Korean Western music, access to the original version was limited; therefore, it was difficult to understand the content written in 17th century Chinese. Translation of the contemporary Korean version in 2005 made it easy to access for anyone interested in the subject.

13. The 'house' in Aleni's writing refers to the 'cathedral.'
14. Aleni, *Jikbang Oegi*, 156.
15. Aleni, *ibid.*, 168.
16. Noh, Dong-eun, "Hanguk Yangaksa, 100 Nyeonsainga? 360 Nyeonsainga?" (The History of Western Music in Korea: A 100-year or 360-year History?), *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and People), vol. 5 (1993), 58.
17. Aleni, *Jikbang Oegi*, 58-59.
18. Lee Seo-hyeon, "Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeone Natana Seoyang Eumak Ironui Junggukjeok Haeseok" (The Chinese Interpretation of Western Music Theory in the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), *Eumaksa Yeongu* (The Study of Music History), vol. 2 (2013), 76-77.
19. Lee Ki-jeong, *Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Irongwa Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon*, 1990
20. Lee Seo-hyeon, "Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeone Natana Seoyang Eumak Ironui Junggukjeok Haeseok" (The Chinese Interpretation of Western Music Theory in the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). *Eumaksa Yeongu* (The Study of Music History), vol. 2 (2013), 73-95.
21. Lee Ki-jeong, "Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Irongwa Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon" (A Comparative Study of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music and the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), (Master's thesis, Dong-A University, 1990), 17-18.
22. Lee Seo-hyeon, "Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeone Natana Seoyang Eumak Ironui Junggukjeok Haeseok," 78, 92-93.
23. Lee Seo-hyeon, *ibid.*, 89.
24. 'Wu' is a transliteration of 'Ut,' not 'Do.' The Western name of the system was originally 'Ut,' not 'Do,' and was changed to 'Tu,' and again to 'Do' due to euphony in pronunciation with the next syllable name 'Re.' Today, many countries including Korea use 'Do,' but there are still other countries that use 'Ut.'
25. Lee Seo-hyeon, "Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon Natana Seoyang Eumak Ironui Junggukjeok Haeseok," 84.
26. Lee, *ibid.*, 92.
27. Lee, *ibid.*, 86.
28. Lee Ki-jeong, "Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Iron" (Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music), *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and Korea), vol. 1 (1991), 51.
29. Choe Nam-seon, "Seoyang Eumaki Eonjebuteo Ottoke Joseoninege Alyeojotneunga" (When and how Western music became known to Koreans), *Goegi* (Mystery), (May 1929).
30. *Oju Yeonmun Jangjeon Sango* was published between 1834 to 1839, and not 1810, as written erroneously in La Un-young's manuscript.
31. Hong Jung-soo (ed. and annotated), "Yangak Baek Osip Nyeonsa Memo (1)" (A Bibliographical Notes on Un-Young La's Musical Sources (1)), *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and Korea), vol. 17 (1999), 196.

32. Jang Sa-hun, *Yeomyeongui Dongseo Eumak* (Eastern and Western Music of Dawn) (Seoul: Bojinje Publishing House, 1974), 171-175.
33. Lee Ki-jeong, *Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Irongwa Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon* (A Comparative Study of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music and the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), 70.
34. Lee, *ibid.*, 71.
35. Lee, *ibid.*, 72.
36. Kim Nogaje was also known as Kim Nogaje, Kim Ga-je, or by his real name Kim Chang-eup.
37. Choe Nam-seon, "Seoyang Eumaki Eonjebuteo Ottoke Joseoninege Alyeojotneunga."
38. Lee Ki-Jeong, *Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Irongwa Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon* (A Comparative Study of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music and the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes), 14.
39. Lee, *ibid.*, 14-15.
40. Bak Ji-won, *Yeolha Ilgi* (Jehol Diary), trans. with annotation Kim Dong-hwan, (Paju: Hakyoung Publishing House, 2011), 235-236.
41. Bak, *ibid.*, 236-237.
42. Bak, *ibid.*, 237-239.
43. Cho Yu-hoe, "Joseon Hugi Silhakjaui Eumakgwang Yeongu - Hong Daeyonggwa Yi Gyugyeongui Jungsimuro" (A Study on the View of Music of Silhak in the Late Joseon Dynasty Period with a Focus on Hong Dae-yong and Yi Gyu-gyeong), (Ph.D. diss., Sungkyunkwan University, 2009), 24.
44. Cho, *ibid.*, 27.
45. Bak Ji-won, *Gugyeok Yeolha Ilgi II: Gojeon Gugyeok Chongseo 19* (Jehol Diary Vol. II: Modern Korean Translation Series Vol. 19) (Seoul: National Culture Promotion Association, 1989), 252-253, in Cho, *ibid.*, 37.
46. Lee Dong-bok, "Gura Cheolsageum Jabowa Yuyeji Jung Yanggeum Jaboeui Bigyo Yeongu" (A Comparative Study on Yanggeum Music Score Descriptions in A Score for Iron-Stringed Zither from Europe Chapter on Artistic Amusement), *Gyeongbukdae Nonmunjip* (Kyungpook National University Dissertations) (Daegu: Kyungpook National University, 1989), 123, in Cho, *ibid.*, 30.
47. Choi Pil-seon, *Chogi Hanguk Catholic Gyooe Eumake Daehan Yeongu*, 41.
48. Cha In-hyeon, *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoewa Seongga*, 55.
49. Kang Jong-Min, *Seong Kim Tae-gon* (St. Andreas Kim Tae-gon) (Seoul: Good News, 2011), 19.
50. Kang, *ibid.*, 20.
51. Cha In-hyeon, *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoewa Seongga*, 107.
52. Charles Dallet, *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoesa Ha* (Histoire de l'Église de Corée, Tome Second: History of Korean Churches, Vol. II), trans. Ahn Eung-ryeol and Choi Seok-woo, (Waegwan: Bundo Publishing House, 1979), 434.
53. 'His' writings refer to the writings of 'Charles Dallet.'
54. Seo Woo-seok, "Seoyang Eumakui Suyong Gwajeong" (The Process of Korea's Acceptance of Western Music), in *Jeontong Munhwawa Seoyang Munhwa 1* (Traditional Culture and Western Culture Vol. I.), ed. Institute of Humanities, (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 1985), 180.

References

1. Books

- Aleni, Giulio. 2005. *Jikbang Oegi* (Zhifang Waiji: Records of the Lands beyond the Imperial Administration), trans. Cheon Ki-cheol. Seoul: Iljogak.
- Bak, Ji-won. 2011. *Yeolha Ilgi* (Jehol Diary), trans. with annotation Kim Dong-hwan, Paju: Hakyoung Publishing House.
- Cha, In-hyeon. 1991. *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoewa Seongga* (Korean Catholic Church and Hymns). Seoul: Catholic Publishing House.
- Christian Culture Institute of Korea. 2000. *Hangukui Geundaehwawa Gidokgyo* (Modernization and Christianity in Korea). Seoul: Soongsil University Press.
- Dallet, Charles. 1979. *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoesa Ha* (Histoire de l'Église de Corée, Tome Second: History of Korean Churches, Vol. II), trans. Ahn Eung-ryeol and Choi Seok-woo. Waegwan: Bundo Publishing House.
- Ha, Seong-rae. 1985. *Cheonju Gasa Yeongu* (A Study on Catholic Verses). Incheon: Saint Hwang Seok-du Luke Seowon.
- Jang, Sa-hun. 1974. *Yeomyeongui Dongseo Eumak* (Eastern and Western Music of Dawn). Seoul: Bojinje Publishing House.
- Jeon, Jeong-im. 2001. *Chogi Hanguk Cheonju Gyuhoe Eumak* ("Early Korean Catholic Church Music"). Seoul: Korea National University of Arts.
- Kang, Jong-Min. 2011. *Seong Kim Tae-gon* (St. Andreas Kim Tae-gon). Seoul: Good News.
- Korean Academy of Arts (ed.). 1985. *Hanguk Eumaksa* (The History of Korean Music). Seoul: Korea Academy of Arts.
- Min, Kyung-chan. 2006. *Cheongsongyeoneul Uihan Hanguk Eumaksa, Yangak Pyeon* (The History of Korean Music for Youth: Western Music). Seoul: Douri Media.
- Min, Kyung-chan. 2017. *Soongsilgwa Hangukui Geundae Eumak* (Soongsil and Modern Music of Korea). Seoul: Korea Institute of Christian Culture.
- Mun, Kyu-hyun Paul. 1999. *Hanguk Cheonju Gyohoesa I* (The History of Catholic Church in Korea, Vol. I). Seoul: Bitdure Publishing House.
- Lee, Jung-tae. 1979. *Hanguk Gyohoe Eumaksa* (The History of Church Music in Korea). Seoul: Christian Music Company.
- Lee, Yoo-sun. 1985. *Hanguk Yangak Baeknyeonsa* (The Centennial History of Western Music in Korea). Seoul: Eumak Chunchusa.
- Sekwang Publishing House (ed.). 1966. *Eumak Yeongam* (Music Yearbook). Seoul: Sekwang Publishing House.
- Shin, So-seop. 2001. *Hanguk Gyohoe Eumaksa* (The History of Church Music in Korea). Seoul: Agape Munhwasa.

2. Academic Journals and Dissertations

- Cho, Yu-hoe. 2009. "Joseon Hugi Silhakjaui Eumakgwon Yeongu – Hong Daeyonggwa Yi Gyugyeonggeul Jungsimeuro" (A Study on the View of Music of Silhak in the Late Joseon Dynasty Period with a Focus on Hong Dae-yong and Yi Gyu-gyeong). PhD diss., Sungkyunkwan University.

- Choe, Nam-seon. 1929. "Seoyang Eumaki Eonjebuteo Ottoke Joseoninege Alyeojjeotneunga" (When and how Western music became known to Koreans). *Goegi* (Mystery), no.5.
- Choi, Pil-seon. 1989. *Chogi Hanguk Catholic Gyoee Eumake Daehan Yeongu* ("A Study on Early Korean Catholic Church Music"). Dong-A University Master's Thesis.
- Kim, Dong-wook. 1969. "Seogyo Jeonrae Huui Cheonju Changa" (The History of the Catholic Verses after the Transmission of the Western Religion). *Inmun Gwahak* (Humanities), no. 21: 171-208.
- Lee, Ki-jeong. 1991. "Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Iron" (Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music). *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and Korea), no.1: 42-83.
- Lee, Ki-jeong. 1990. "Yi Gyugyeongui Seoak Irongwa Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeon" (A Comparative Study of Yi Gyu-gyeong's Theory of Western Music and the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). Master's thesis, Dong-A University.
- Lee, Seo-hyeon. 2013. "Yulleo Jeongui Sokpyeone Natana Seoyang Eumak Ironui Junggukjeok Haeseok" (The Chinese Interpretation of Western Music Theory in the Last Chapter of Correct Meaning of the Pitch Pipes). *Eumaksa Yeongu* (The Study of Music History), no.2: 73-95.
- Noh, Dong-eun. 1993. "Hanguk Yangaksa, 100 Nyeonsainga? 360 Nyeonsainga?" (The History of Western Music in Korea: A 100-year or 360-year History?). *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and People), no.5: 57-61.
- Seo, Woo-seok. 1985. "Seoyang Eumakui Suyong Gwajeong" (The Process of Korea's Acceptance of Western Music). In *Jeontong Munhwawa Seoyang Munhwa 1* (Traditional Culture and Western Culture Vol. I.). ed. Institute of Humanities. Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press.
- So, Jae-young. 1989. "Gidokgyoui Jeonraewa Hanguk Munhak" (Transmission of Christianity and Korean Literature). *Inmunhak Yeongu* (Humanities Studies), no.19: 143-173.

3. Others

- Heibonsha (ed.). 1992. *Ilbon Eumak Daesajeon* (Nihon Ongaku Daijiten: Dictionary of Japanese Music). Tokyo: Heibonsha.
- Hong, Jung-soo. 1999. "Yangak Baek Osip Nyeonsa Memo (1)" (A Bibliographical Notes on Un-Young La's Musical Sources (1)). *Eumakgwa Minjok* (Music and Korea), no.17: 196-220.