

## THE ORIGIN OF THE *SJO* (時調) POETIC FORM IN RELATION TO OLD KOREAN MUSIC SCORES

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This article examines the origin of the *sjo* form based on the traditional Korean music scores such as *mandaeyöp* (慢大葉, fifteenth to sixteenth century music) and *chinjak 1* (眞勻一, twelfth to fifteenth century music) and estimates that *sjo* originated in the late fifteenth to sixteenth centuries. It is commonly believed that *sjo* originated in *hyangga* or Koryö *kayo* and has been sung and enjoyed since the late Koryö dynasty (高麗, 918–1392). However, this common perception lacks empirical evidence. *Sjo* is a sung form and its music originated from the *mandaeyöp* (慢大葉) song, so an examination of its musical background is necessary to provide solid evidence to determine its origin. Some researchers have argued that the first *sjo* song, *mandaeyöp* (慢大葉), originated from *chinjak 3*, but have not provided specific evidence of the relationship between the two compositions. This research investigates the derivation of *mandaeyöp* from *chinjak 1* (眞勻一) rather than *chinjak 3* (眞勻三) on the basis of clear similarities in form and melody between the two types of composition. Because *mandaeyöp* shows such concrete influences from *chinjak 1* in *Taeak hubo* (大樂後譜), a collection of popular songs during King Sejo's reign (世祖, r. 1455–1468), readers have inferred that the time of derivation of *mandaeyöp* is close to that of *chinjak 1*. In fact, *mandaeyöp* scores did not emerge before King Sejo's reign, during the late fifteenth century, but appeared continuously after his reign. Looking at the problem from a literary perspective, *sjo* poems initially emerged in *munjip* (文集), or literati's private collections, and their poetic form is intricately connected with the *mandaeyöp* score. This consistent evidence clearly shows that the *sjo* form originated and developed under the influence of *mandaeyöp* scores around the late fifteenth century.

Keywords: origin of *sjo* (時調), *mandaeyöp* (慢大葉), *chinjak 1* (眞勻一), music, form

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*Sijo* (時調), a traditional Korean three-line poetic form, is often regarded by scholars as having originated in the late Koryŏ dynasty (高麗, 918–1392).<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, not all scholars agree with this assumption. For instance, Sŏng Hokyŏng argues that *sijo* emerged in the fifteenth century, early in the Chosŏn dynasty (朝鮮, 1392–1910).<sup>2</sup> Other scholars have argued that it was created later, only after the sixteenth century.<sup>3</sup>

The discrepancies among scholars' opinions regarding the origin of *sijo* relate to the *sijo* collections to which they refer. *Sijo* occurs in two types of books: private collections (*munjip*, 文集) and compilations by mainly professional musicians (*kejip*, 歌集). The professional compilations, such as *Ch'ŏnggu yŏngŏn* (靑丘永言, 1728) and *Haedong kayo* (海東歌謠, 1755), ascribed many *sijo* poems to men who lived before the Chosŏn dynasty—from U T'ak (禹倬, 1263–1342) and Chŏng Mongju (鄭夢周, 1337–1392) in the late Koryŏ dynasty to Ŭlp'aso (乙巴素, d. 203) of the Koguryŏ (高句麗) Kingdom and Sŏng Ch'ung (成忠, d. 656) of the Paekche (百濟) Kingdom—leading some scholars to conclude that *sijo* emerged prior to the Chosŏn dynasty. However, the compilations by professional musicians appeared only after the eighteenth century. Thus, the attributions in these compilations, produced centuries after the fact, are somewhat dubious, especially since no materials mention *sijo* poems before the Chosŏn dynasty. Thus some scholars, skeptical of the attributions in professional compilations, value the records in private collections more highly and argue that *sijo* developed only after the foundation of the Chosŏn dynasty, around the fifteenth or the sixteenth century, when private collections containing *sijo* started to emerge.

Even those scholars who depend on the attributions in professional compilations dismiss early authors like Sŏng Ch'ung of the Paekche Kingdom and trust only the authors of the late Koryŏ period. However, they do not clarify the criteria on which they base their judgment. While we might be more skeptical of authors from ancient kingdoms as compared to those from the late Koryŏ dynasty, we cannot place our trust in the latter simply because they are more recent. In this respect, theories based on extant materials, which conclude that *sijo* were formed in the late fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, are more trustworthy. However, empirical methods relying on documentary evidence confront the challenge of

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, Cho Yunje, *Chosŏn sija sagang* [General history of Korean poetry] (Tongwangdang, 1937), 120–121; Kim Kichung, *Classical Korean Literature* (M. E. Sharpe, 1996), 76–77.

<sup>2</sup> Sŏng Hokyŏng, *Sijo munhak* [Sijo literature] (Sŏgang taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 2014), 187–192.

<sup>3</sup> See Yi Nŏngu, *Chosŏn sijo sa* [History of *sijo* in the Chosŏn dynasty] (Immundang, 1956), 10; Kim Suŏp, "Sijo ūi palsaeng sigi e taehayŏ" [Regarding the origin of *sijo*], in Cho Kyusŏl and Pak Ch'ŏlhŭi, eds. *Sijoron* [Theories of *sijo*] (Ilchogak, 1978), 16–22.

finding sufficient documentation, and it is always helpful if more evidence is found to support the theories.<sup>4</sup>

In an effort to resolve such different opinions and provide a new source of documentary evidence, this article examines old music scores, assuming that *sijo* poems originated as lyrics sung to a musical tune.<sup>5</sup> Here, we naturally focus on court music such as the *mandaeyŏp* (慢大葉) composition and the *chinjak* (眞勻) genre, which were mentioned in some traditional score books as follows:

All *kagok* (歌曲) [namely *sijo*] compositions have their origins in *mandaeyŏp*.<sup>6</sup>

The *mandaeyŏp*, *chungdaeyŏp*, and *saktaeyŏp* of the present day all came from the three-formed music genre, *chinjak*.<sup>7</sup>

When Yi Tŭgyun (李得胤, 1553–1630) refers to *kagok* (歌曲), he means an elegant style of music, performed with a variety of musical instruments, that accompanies *sijo* lyrics. He contends that *mandaeyŏp* is the earliest musical composition to accompany *sijo* in his time, an idea generally accepted by scholars today.<sup>8</sup> Thus, we can elucidate the development of the *sijo* form by exploring the development of the *mandaeyŏp* composition. However, as with *sijo* itself, neither the composer nor the period of creation of *mandaeyŏp* are certain. Here, the

<sup>4</sup> Yi Nŭngu and Kim Suŏp rely only on extant private collections containing *sijo*, while Sŏng Hokyŏng presents some poetic forms, which are roughly similar to the *sijo* form around the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries. Yi and Kim opine that *sijo* was created in the sixteenth century, while Sŏng concludes that it was formed in the late fifteenth century. Refer to footnotes 2 and 3.

<sup>5</sup> This assumption is discussed in more detail in the latter part of this article.

<sup>6</sup> “其平調慢大葉者，諸曲之祖，” in Yi Tŭgyun, *Hyŏn’gŭm tongmun yugi* (玄琴東文類記) [Records of *kŏmun’go*], 1620, included in *Han’guk ūmakhak charyo ch’ongsŏ* [Series of sourcebooks of Korean musicology], vol. 15 (Kungnip kugagwŏn, 1984), 89. Pagination of this book below is based on this set of facsimiles.

<sup>7</sup> “時用大葉慢中數，皆出於瓜亭三機曲中，” in Yang Tŏksu, *Yanggŭm sinbo* (梁琴新譜) [Yang’s new scores for *kŏmun’go*], 1610, included in *Han’guk ūmakhak charyo ch’ongsŏ*, vol. 14, 78. Pagination of this book below is based on this set of facsimiles. *Chungdaeyŏp* and *saktaeyŏp* are generic terms that include many varieties, whereas *mandaeyŏp* refers only to one specific form. All three are included in *kagok*. *Man* (慢) in *mandaeyŏp* literally means “slow”; *chung* (中) in *chungdaeyŏp* means “middle”; *sak* (數) in *saktaeyŏp* indicates “rapid.”

<sup>8</sup> The earliest score of *mandaeyŏp* appears in An Sang’s (安璫) *Kŭm hapchabo* (琴合字譜), [Score for *kŏmun’go* with fingering] (1572), included in *Han’guk ūmakhak charyo ch’ongsŏ*, vol. 22, 34. (Pagination of this book below is based on this set of facsimiles.) Later, *chungdaeyŏp* (中大葉) and *saktaeyŏp* (數大葉) were included in Yang Tŏksu’s *Yanggŭm sinbo*, 82–3 and Yi Tŭgyun’s *Hyŏn’gŭm tongmun yugi*, 101, respectively. For further information on the serial relationship among these three, see Hwang Chunyŏn, “Kagok ū hyŏngsik” [The form of *kagok*], *Han’guk ūmak yŏn’gu* 10 (1980): 87–94. Meanwhile, *sijo* was later sung in a more folk-like way, but it is estimated to have been derived from the *kagok* music later. See Chang Sahun, *Sijo ūmak ron* [Theories of *sijo* music] (Seoul taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 1986), 15. *Sijo* was originally the name of that folk-like music, but since the early twentieth century, the term has been used to indicate a poetic form. This article also uses the term *sijo* to refer to a literary genre.

second excerpt above is relevant, as Yang Töksu (梁德壽, 1567–1608) explains that *mandaeyöp* was derived from an earlier musical form, *chinjak* (眞勻). Thus, if we discover how *chinjak* influenced *mandaeyöp*, we can approach an understanding of the process of formation of *mandaeyöp*. Unfortunately, however, Yang Töksu does not indicate exactly which *chinjak* composition and which part of it developed into *mandaeyöp*, and this is yet to be established.

*Chinjak* originated in a famous Koryŏ court song, namely *Chŏng kwajŏng* (鄭瓜亭)<sup>9</sup> by Chŏng Sŏ (鄭紱, c. twelfth century), and developed into various forms such *chinjak* 1, *chinjak* 2, *chinjak* 3, and *chinjak* 4.<sup>10</sup> It is not certain when these works were composed, but they seem to have existed at least as early as the fourteenth century, based on the fact that the *chinjak* style influenced *Hujŏn chinjak* (後殿眞勻), said to have been composed in the reign of the Koryŏ King Ch'unghye (忠惠, r. 1330–1344).<sup>11</sup> Although literati officials of the Chosŏn dynasty disparaged most of the Koryŏ court songs, they highly valued *chinjak* compositions performed with *Chŏng kwajŏng* lyrics.<sup>12</sup> This influential *chinjak* also affected *mandaeyöp*, as Yang Töksu's statement above reveals, and is a key to understanding the musical and literary transition from Koryŏ to Chosŏn. However, the process by which *mandaeyöp* arose from *chinjak* is a long-standing riddle that has yet to be solved, as several Korean musicologists have observed.<sup>13</sup>

This article examines the musical relationship between *mandaeyöp* and *chinjak* to discover the period of creation of *mandaeyöp* and the *sijo* form. To this end, we first discuss which *chinjak* composition should be the focus of a valid comparison, and then we investigate in detail the structural and melodic relationships between *mandaeyöp* and the specific *chinjak* composition. Through this musical examination,

<sup>9</sup> The title of the court song and its background story are recorded in *Koryŏ sa* (高麗史), vol. 71, “*Ak* (樂)” 2, accessed November 1, 2016, [http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr\\_071r\\_0010\\_0020\\_0280](http://db.history.go.kr/id/kr_071r_0010_0020_0280). Kwajŏng is Chŏng Sŏ's pen name, and the song was named after it.

<sup>10</sup> *Chinjak* 1–4 are all contained in Sŏ Myŏnggŭng's *Taeak hubo* (大樂後譜) [The latter part of the court music score], 1759, 71.38b–39a, included in *Han'guk ūmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ*, vol. 1, 141–62. Pagination of this book below is based on this set of facsimiles.

<sup>11</sup> See *Sejong sillok* 3:1a [1419.1.1].

<sup>12</sup> In *Sejong sillok* and *Sŏngjong sillok* (成宗實錄) [The annals of King Sŏngjong], we find various assertions that *chinjak* compositions were performed in the early Chosŏn era. For example, *Sŏngjong sillok* 219:4b [1488.8.13].

<sup>13</sup> Until now, no musical relationship has been proven between *mandaeyöp* and *chinjak*. See Han Manyŏng, “Chosŏn ch'ŏgi ūi kagok e taehan yŏn'gu: *Mandaeyöp* kwa *chungdaeyöp* ūi kwan'gye [A study on early Chosŏn *kagok*: Focusing on relations between *mandaeyöp* and *chungdaeyöp*],” *Minjok ūmakhak* 5 (1982): 5. Several scholars have attempted to verify the link between them but find no adequate grounds to show that *mandaeyöp* songs were derived from *chinjak*, in particular, a piece of *taeyöp*. See Kim Sejung, *Chŏngganbo ro ingnŏn yet norae* [Reading old lyrics in *chŏngganbo*] (Yesol, 2005), 168–9.

we can determine the period when *mandaeyŏp* was formed and the *sijo* genre was created. After the musical examination, we will investigate literary evidence to consolidate our conclusions. We will look into literary materials to show that *mandaeyŏp* scores and *sijo* songs emerged around the time that *mandaeyŏp* was derived from *chinjak*. Examining the structure of the *sijo* poetry in its infancy in relation to that of *mandaeyŏp* and its lyrics, we also show the structural commonalities between the two. Such literary evidence will support the argument of this paper that the *sijo* genre was formed in conjunction with *mandaeyŏp* around the late fifteenth century.

## 1. METHODOLOGIES

### 1.1. Comparison target

Almost all studies on the origins of *mandaeyŏp* have focused on *chinjak 3*. This may have resulted from interpretations of Yang Tŏksu's assertion cited above, "The *mandaeyŏp*, *chungdaeyŏp*, and *saktaeyŏp* of the present day all came from the three-formed music genre, *chinjak*."<sup>14</sup> As mentioned above, Yang's statement led scholars to assume a relationship between the music of *sijo*—that is, the *mandaeyŏp*, *chungdaeyŏp*, and *saktaeyŏp*—and *chinjak*. Moreover, his use of the expression *samgigok* 三機曲 appears to have drawn many scholars to focus on *chinjak 3*. *Sam* in *samgigok* literally means "three" or "third," *gi* means "form," and *gok* means "tune." Scholars have thus understood the expression *samgigok* as a reference to *chinjak 3*.

However, the word *samgigok* may also indicate the entire body of *chinjak*-style work, which includes three independent pieces, namely *chinjak 1*, *chinjak 2*, and *chinjak 3*.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, the scope of the research should expand to include every *taeyŏp* section of *chinjak 1*, *2*, and *3*. Such a perspective may help elucidate what Yang Tŏksu attempted to convey in his statement. On this premise, the present paper focuses on *chinjak 1* to disclose empirical commonalities between *mandaeyŏp* and *chinjak*.

More specifically, this paper investigates the *taeyŏp* (大葉) and *puyŏp* (附葉) sections of *chinjak 1*. *Chinjak*-style music is composed of a number of *kang* (腔) and *yŏp* (葉).<sup>16</sup> *Taeyŏp* is a kind of *yŏp* and literally means "big *yŏp*." Because

<sup>14</sup> Yang Tŏksu, *Yanggŏm sinbo*, 77 (2b).

<sup>15</sup> Although *chinjak 4* also exists, it differs from the others in that it lacks lyrics. *Chinjak 4* is possibly an instrumental piece without lyrics.

<sup>16</sup> *Yŏp* is an independent section that is appended to a larger section, which is referred to as *kang*.

*mandaeyŏp* literally means “slow *taeyŏp*,” one might easily assume that the part of *chinjak* related to *mandaeyŏp* is its *taeyŏp* section. Scholars such as Hwang Chunyŏn<sup>17</sup> and Kwŏn Tuhwan<sup>18</sup> have tried to discover the musical relationship between *mandaeyŏp* and the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp*<sup>19</sup> sections of *chinjak*. However, both of them selected *chinjak 3* as their comparison target and were unable to identify a concrete musical relationship between the two compositions.<sup>20</sup> The present paper also examines the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak*, but focuses on *chinjak 1*, and not *chinjak 3*.<sup>21</sup>

The *mandaeyŏp* canon consists of thirty-seven scores with largely similar structures and melodies, the earliest of which is in An Sang’s *Kŭm hapchabo*, to which the present article refers.<sup>22</sup> For the score of *chinjak 1*, we refer to *Taeak hubo*, a compilation of court music scores performed during the reign of King Sejo (世祖, r. 1455–1468).<sup>23</sup>

(註).

<sup>17</sup> Hwang Chunyŏn, “Taeyŏp e kwanhan yŏn’gu” [A study on *taeyŏp*], *Yesul nonmunjip* 24 (1985): 125.

<sup>18</sup> Kwŏn Tuhwan, “Sijo ŭi palsaeng kwa kiwŏn” [The origins and development of *sijo*], *Kwanak ōmun yŏn’gu* 18 (1993): 21–45.

<sup>19</sup> *Puyŏp* is another type of *yŏp*, literally meaning “subordinate *yŏp*,” and is often appended to both *kaeng* and *taeyŏp*.

<sup>20</sup> Hwang Chunyŏn pointed out commonalities between the lyrics of *mandaeyŏp* and those of *chinjak 3*. However, he did not thoroughly explore the melodic relationship between the compositions although he noted the importance of such an investigation. Kwŏn Tuhwan also suggested the necessity of “a clear examination through the scores,” but he did not perform that examination. See Hwang Chunyŏn, “Kagok ŭi hyŏngsik,” 125; Kwŏn Tuhwan “Sijo ŭi palsaeng kwa kiwŏn,” 33.

<sup>21</sup> *Chinjak* is far more extensive than *mandaeyŏp* (*Chinjak 1* is composed of eighty musical phrases and is almost seven times larger than *mandaeyŏp*), so scholars have made efforts to identify the precise part or parts of *chinjak* that influenced *mandaeyŏp*. However, not all scholars examined the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak*. For example, Kim Taehaeng argues that *mandaeyŏp* had been derived from the former half of *chinjak*, while Ch’oe Chaeryun (1985) claims that the latter part of *chinjak* played a key role in forming *mandaeyŏp*. Nevertheless, neither shows a concrete melodic influence from *chinjak* to *mandaeyŏp*. See Kim Taehaeng, *Sijo yubyŏngnon* [A study of forms of *sijo*] (Ewha yŏja taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 1986), 66–7; Ch’oe Chaeryun, *Chinjak kwa mandaeyŏp* [*Chinjak* and *mandaeyŏp*] (Thesis, Seoul National University, 1985).

<sup>22</sup> An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34.

<sup>23</sup> Sŏ Myŏnggŭng, *Taeak hubo*, 141–7 (5.1a–14b). *Taeak hubo* was compiled in 1759. Although the time of publication is far later than the reign of King Sejo, the book is regarded as containing the old forms of music of the king’s time. See *Han’guk minjok munbwa taebaek kwa sajŏn*, <http://terms.naver.com/entry.nhn?docId=535126&cid=46661&categoryId=46661>.

## 1.2. Methods of musical comparison

### 1.2.1. Interpretation of *chǒngganbo* (井間譜, mensural notation)

The scores of *mandaeyŏp* and *chinjak 1* are *chǒngganbo*, a type of traditional Korean musical score. The word *chǒngganbo* consists of *chǒnggan* (井間), referring to the small squares containing notes, and *bo* (譜), referring to the score. Sixteen *chǒnggan* units comprise a musical phrase (*haeng*, 行), and two or three phrases make up a musical passage (*chi*, 旨). In the original score, the notes are expressed with signs, such as *ha 1* (下一), *kung* (宮), and *sang 1* (上一). *Kung* is the basic note, and the scale rises by one note in the order *sang 1*, *sang 2*, *sang 3*, and descends by one note in the order *ha 1*, *ha 2*, *ha 3*. The scale with these notes matches the Western scale as follows (the superscript plus or minus sign on some notes indicates that the note is played an octave higher or lower, respectively):<sup>24</sup>

Traditional Korean Scale	<i>ha 5</i> 下五	<i>ha 4</i> 下四	<i>ha 3</i> 下三	<i>ha 2</i> 下二	<i>ha 1</i> 下一	<i>kung</i> 宮	<i>sang 1</i> 上一	<i>sang 2</i> 上二	<i>sang 3</i> 上三	<i>sang 4</i> 上四	<i>sang 5</i> 上五
Western Scale	sol <sup>-</sup>	la <sup>-</sup>	do	re	mi	Sol	la	do <sup>+</sup>	re <sup>+</sup>	mi <sup>+</sup>	sol <sup>+</sup>

  

For the benefit of readers more comfortable with the Western scale, the traditional names of the notes are changed in this way in the present paper.<sup>25</sup>

### 1.2.2. Comparison of the musical structure and melody

Musical comparison between *mandaeyŏp* and the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1* is conducted in two ways: one is the comparison of musical structures between the two compositions, and the other is melodic comparison. Following is the explanation of these two methods.

<sup>24</sup> See Song Pangsong, *Han'guk ūmak t'ongsa* [History of Korean music] (Ilchogak, 1984), 309.

<sup>25</sup> The squares in *chǒngganbo* seem to indicate duration, but it has not been definitively established whether each square represents the same duration. For further information on this issue, see Yi Hyegu, *Chǒngganbo ū chǒnggan, taegang mit changdan* [*Chǒnggan, taegang, and the rhythm of chǒngganbo*] (Segwang ch'ulp'ansa, 1987). These two sources are also informative: Jonathan Condit, "A Fifteenth-century Korean Score in Mensural Notation," *Musica Asiatica* 2 (Oxford University Press, 1979), 1–87, and *Music of the Korean Renaissance* (Cambridge University Press, 2009) by the same author.

### 1.2.2.1. Comparison of the typical structure of *mandaeyŏp*

The musical structure of *mandaeyŏp* is already clear. *Mandaeyŏp* consists of five passages, each of which contains two or three musical phrases. The five passages, as Hwang Chunyŏn has indicated,<sup>26</sup> have a repetitive structure: the second and fourth passages have largely similar melodies, and the third and fifth are almost the same. Thus, the overall pattern is “A [1<sup>st</sup> passage]–B [2<sup>nd</sup> passage]–C [3<sup>rd</sup> passage]–B [4<sup>th</sup> passage]–C [5<sup>th</sup> passage],” as shown in the following score:

Score 1: Musical structure of *mandaeyŏp* in *Kŭm hapchabo*<sup>27</sup>

P	Ph	16 Chŏnggan Units															
1	1				la		sol			sol	la	sol	mi		re		
	2	sol		la	do+	la	sol		re+	do+			do+	la	sol		
2	3	sol		do+		la			sol	mi		re		mi		la	
	4	← Similar Melody Section 1 →															
3	5	do+		la	do+	la		sol	mi			re		sol	la	sol	
	6	mi	la	sol	mi	sol		la		sol	mi				re		
4	7	re								mi	sol		mi		re		
	8	sol		mi+		re+			do+	la	do+	mi+	re+	do+		la	
		← Similar Melody Section 1 →															

<sup>26</sup> Hwang Chunyŏn, “Kagok ūi hyŏngsik” [Form of *kagok*], *Han’guk ūmak yŏn’gu* 10 (1980): 89.

<sup>27</sup> An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34. The column labeled “P” refers to the musical passage, consisting of several musical phrases. Column “Ph” refers to the musical phrase, consisting of the sixteen *chŏnggan* units. Similar sections are presented in the same color. This format applies to all the scores presented in this paper.



9	sol			la do +		la	l a	sol	sol						sol		
	(Similar to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> passage) →																
10	do +			la do +		la		sol	mi		re	sol			la		sol
	← Similar Melody Section 2																
5 11	mi	la sol	mi	sol		la		sol	mi						re		
	(Similar to the 3 <sup>rd</sup> passage) →																
12	do								la-						sol	-	

This structure is the same as that of *saktaeyŏp* and *chungdaeyŏp*. Therefore, it is an essential characteristic of *taeyŏp*-style music. An important remark in Yang Tŏksu’s scorebook corroborates this: “The playing techniques between the second passage and the fourth passage and between the third and the fifth in *taeyŏp*-style music pieces are similar.”<sup>28</sup> This original structure of *taeyŏp*-style music also appears in the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* of *chinjak 1*, and it is investigated in Section 3 of the present article.

### 1.2.2.2. Melodic comparison

The structural comparison, as explained above, will suggest that *mandaeyŏp* emerged from the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1*. However, such structural similarities also exist between *mandaeyŏp* and the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak 3*, as Kim Chinhŭi has pointed out.<sup>29</sup> Only a comparison of the melodies, rather than the broad structural commonalities, can conclusively establish the derivation

<sup>28</sup> Yang Tŏksu, *Yanggŭm sinbo*, 84 (15a). At first sight, part of the second passage of this score (italicized) looks different from the corresponding part of the fourth passage, but they actually have a similar melodic flow. The “do+ la sol mi” of the second passage, transposed into a higher key, is similar to the “mi+ re+ do+ la” of the fourth passage, as set out below:

2<sup>nd</sup> passage: (do re) *mi sol la do+* (re+ mi+ sol+ la+)  
 4<sup>th</sup> passage: (do re mi sol) *la do+ re+ mi+* (sol+ la+)

<sup>29</sup> Kim Chinhŭi (Kim Jinhee), “Sijo sihyŏng ŭi chŏngnip kwajŏng e taehayŏ” [On the process of establishment of the *sijo* style], *Han’guk siga yŏn’gu* 19 (2005): 140–3.

of *mandaeyöp*. No melodic section of *chinjak 3* shows similarity with that of *mandaeyöp*, whereas the melodies of *mandaeyöp* and the *taeyöp* and *puyöp* sections of *chinjak 1* display similarities in six units, so these units are examined in the following section of this paper.<sup>30</sup>

Melodic similarities between two compositions are sometimes difficult to find when investigating the compositions as they are notated in the original scores, because adding or taking out some notes of an original work was common. Tempo or rhythm can also be changed during the process. For example, one phrase in the original score could be enlarged two times by slowing the tempo or adding some variations or ornaments. Thus, we will use a kind of diagram in the next section, which can show the melodic similarities more distinctly. The diagram does not represent the original rhythm of compositions, but we will also present *chöngganbo* scores for reference to this aspect of the compositions.

## 2. MUSICAL COMPARISON BETWEEN MANDAEYÖP AND THE TAEYÖP AND PUYÖP SECTIONS OF CHINJAK 1

### 2.1. Comparison of musical structure

The original structure of the *taeyöp*-style music discussed in the previous section<sup>31</sup> appears in the *taeyöp* and *puyöp* sections of *chinjak 1*, as shown in the following score:

Score 2: Musical structure of *taeyöp* and *puyöp* sections of *chinjak 1* in *Taeak hubo*<sup>32</sup>

	P	Ph	16 <i>Chönggan</i> Units														
<i>t</i> <i>a</i>	1	33	sol	.....	sol	.....	la sol	sol mi	.....	re	.....	sol	sol mi	.....	la sol	sol mi	.....

<sup>30</sup> To find the origins of *sijo*, scholars have referred not only to *chinjak* but also to different kinds of musical compositions. For example, Yi Hyegu's "*Yongbi öch'ön'ga* üi hyöngsik" [The form of *Yongbi öch'ön'ga*], in *Han'guk ümak sööl* (Seoul taehakkyo ch'ulp'anbu, 1975) points out the structural similarities between sections of *sijo* and those of *Yongbiöch'ön'ga* music, composed in the reign of King Sejong. Cho Hünguk later supported Yi Hyegu's idea in "*Yongbi öch'ön'ga* wa *sijo* hyöngsik üi sanggwansöng e taehayö" [The relationship between *Yongbi öch'ön'ga* and the form of *sijo*], *Hansin nonmunjip 2* (1985): 199–220. However, the coincidence between the two musical forms is only structural and partial.

<sup>31</sup> The structure of "A [1<sup>st</sup> passage]–B [2<sup>nd</sup> passage]–C [3<sup>rd</sup> passage]–B [4<sup>th</sup> passage]–C [5<sup>th</sup> passage]" is discussed in section 2.2.2.1.

<sup>32</sup> Sö Myönggüng, *Taeak hubo*, 143–4 (5.6b–9a).

$e$ $y$ $\tilde{o}$ $p$	34	sol																		
	2	35	sol			sol	la		sol	do <sup>+</sup>		la	do <sup>+</sup>	la	sol				la	sol
		← Similar Melody Section 1																		
	36	sol		mi	sol		la	sol	mi		re		sol	sol	mi		re		sol	
	(Similar to the 4 <sup>th</sup> passage) →																			
	3	37	sol			mi		la		sol	sol				sol	la	sol	sol	mi	
		← Similar Melody Section 2																		
		38	re		mi	sol		mi		re	do				la		do			mi
		(Similar to the 5 <sup>th</sup> passage's earlier part) →																		
	39	re			re					sol		la	sol	mi		re			sol	
← Similar Melody Section 3																				
40	sol			mi	re			do	do		la	sol		sol						
(Similar to the 5 <sup>th</sup> passage's latter part) →																				
$p$ $u$ $y$ $\tilde{o}$ $p$	4	41	sol			sol	la		sol	do <sup>+</sup>	la		do <sup>+</sup>	la	sol			la	sol	
		← Similar Melody Section 1																		
	42	sol		mi	sol		la		sol	mi		re	do		re				sol	
(Similar to the 2 <sup>nd</sup> passage) →																				
5	43	sol			sol					sol		la	sol	mi		re		sol		
← Similar Melody Section 2																				

44	sol	mi	re	do	do	la	sol	sol			
	(Similar to the 3 <sup>rd</sup> passage's earlier part) →										
45	sol	sol			sol		la	la		sol	
46	sol	sol	la	sol	mi	re	sol	sol	mi	re	sol
	← Similar Melody Section 3 (Similar to the 3 <sup>rd</sup> passage's latter part) →										
47	sol	la	sol		do <sup>+</sup>	la	do <sup>+</sup>	la	sol	la	sol
48	sol	sol			sol			sol			

Among the repeated melodies in the score, the most noteworthy aspect is that the second passage (lines 35–36) and the fourth passage (lines 41–42) are almost identical (Similar Melody Section 1):<sup>33</sup>

2<sup>nd</sup> passage: **sol sol la sol do<sup>+</sup> la do<sup>+</sup> la sol la sol sol mi sol la sol sol mi re sol sol mi re sol**

4<sup>th</sup> passage: **sol sol la sol do<sup>+</sup> la do<sup>+</sup> la sol la sol sol mi sol la sol mi re do re sol**

The third and fifth passages, both containing four phrases, share similar melodies as well. The melody in the first two phrases of the third passage is largely the same as that at the beginning of the fifth passage (Similar Melody Section 2):

3<sup>rd</sup> passage (phrases 37–38): **sol sol sol la sol sol mi re mi sol mi re do la**

5<sup>th</sup> passage (phrases 43–44): **sol sol sol la sol sol mi re sol sol mi re do do la**

The latter part of the third and the fifth passages are also of great importance, as their melodies are identical (Similar Melody Section 3):

<sup>33</sup> In the diagrams presented, bold characters indicate the same notes between the two compositions being compared.

3<sup>rd</sup> passage (phrases 39–40): **sol la sol sol mi re sol sol mi re**  
 5<sup>th</sup> passage (phrases 45–46): **sol la sol sol mi re sol sol mi re**

The melodic repetition in these three sections reflects a musical structure similar to that of *mandaeyŏp*: the melody of the second passage is repeated in the fourth passage, and the third passage’s melody is repeated in the fifth passage.

The *taeyŏp* and *pyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1* are divided into five passages, and these bear the structure “A [1<sup>st</sup> passage]–B [2<sup>nd</sup> passage]–C [3<sup>rd</sup> passage]–B [4<sup>th</sup> passage]–C [5<sup>th</sup> passage],”<sup>34</sup> which corresponds precisely to the structure of the *mandaeyŏp*, suggesting that *mandaeyŏp* has a close musical relationship to the *taeyŏp* and *pyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1*. A comparison of the melodies of the two works will reveal their relationship even more clearly.

### 2.2 Comparison of Melody

The melodies of *mandaeyŏp* and the *taeyŏp* and *pyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1* display similarities in six sections, as shown in the following scores:

Score 3: *Taeyŏp* and *pyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1*: melodic comparison with *mandaeyŏp*<sup>35</sup>

P		Ph	16 Chŏnggan Units																					
t a e y ŏ p	1	33	sol				sol		la	sol	mi		re		sol	sol	mi		la	sol	mi			
		Related Melody Section 1 (Related to <i>mandaeyŏp</i> phrase 1)																						
	2	34	sol				sol							sol						sol				
		35	sol				sol		la			sol	do	+		la	do	+		la	sol		la	sol
			Related Melody Section 2 (Related to <i>mandaeyŏp</i> phrase 2)																					
	36	sol			mi	sol		la	sol	mi		re		sol	sol	mi		re		sol				
Related Melody Section 3 (Related to <i>mandaeyŏp</i> phrase 3)																								
3	37	sol				mi		la			sol	sol				sol	la	sol	sol	mi				

<sup>34</sup> See fn. 31.

<sup>35</sup> Sŏ Myŏnggŭng, *Taeak hubo*, 141–147.

	38	re		mi	sol		mi		re	do		la		do		mi		
	39	re		re					sol		la sol	sol mi		re		sol		
	40	sol		mi		re		do	do		la	sol -		sol -				
4	41	sol		sol		la		sol	do +	l a		do +	la	sol		la sol		
		← Related Melody Section 4 →																
	42	sol		mi	sol		la		sol	mi		re		do		re		sol
		(Related to <i>mandaejöp</i> phrases 4–6) →																
5	43	sol		sol					sol		la sol	sol mi		re		sol		
	44	sol		mi		re		do	do		la	sol		sol -				
		← Related Melody Section 5 (Related to <i>mandaejöp</i> phrase 8) →																
	45	sol		sol						sol		la		la		sol		
		< Related Melody Section 6																
	46	sol		sol		la sol	sol mi		re		sol	sol mi		re		sol		
	(Related to <i>mandaejöp</i> phrase 9) →																	
	47	sol		la		sol			do <sup>+</sup>		la	do <sup>+</sup>	la	sol		la sol		
	48	sol		sol					sol					sol				

Score 4: *Mandaeyŏp*: Melodic comparison with the *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections of *chinjak 1*<sup>36</sup>

P	Ph	16 <i>Chŏnggan</i> Units														
1	1	la	sol	sol	la	sol	mi	re								
	Related Melody Section 1 (Related to <i>chinjak 1</i> phrase 33)															
2	2	sol	la	do+	la	sol	re+	do+	do+	la	sol					
	← Related Melody Section 2 (Related to <i>chinjak 1</i> phrase 35) →															
2	3	sol	do+	la	sol	mi	re	mi	la							
	← Related Melody Section 3 (Related to <i>chinjak 1</i> phrase 36) →															
4	4	sol	la	do+	la	la	sol	sol								
	←															
3	5	do+	la	do+	la	sol	mi	re	sol	la	sol					
	— Related Melody Section 4 (Related to <i>chinjak 1</i> phrases 41–42) —															
	6	mi	la	sol	mi	sol	la	sol	mi	re						
4	7	re	mi	sol	mi	re										
	8	sol	mi+	re+	do+	la	do+	mi+	re+	do+	la					
4	9	sol	la	do+	la	la	sol	sol	sol							
	→ Related Melody Section 6 (Related to <i>chinjak 1</i> phrases 45–46) →															

<sup>36</sup> An Sang. *Kŏm hapchabo*, 34–5.

5	10	do <sup>+</sup>			la do <sup>+</sup>	la		sol	mi		re	sol		la		sol
	← Related Melody Section 7 →															
	11	mi	la sol	mi	sol		la		sol	mi					re	
(Related to the third passage of this score) <sup>37</sup> →																
12	do								la <sup>-</sup>					sol <sup>-</sup>		

In Related Melody Section 1—phrase 33 of *chinjak 1* and phrase 1 of *mandaeyŏp*—the two melodies have a virtually identical flow. When the spaces are readjusted and schematized, we can see their close relationship, although *mandaeyŏp* drops one sol:

*Chinjak 1*, phrase 33: **sol sol la sol sol mi re**

*Mandaeyŏp*, phrase 1: **sol sol la sol mi re**

Related Melody Section 2 compares phrase 35 of *chinjak 1* and phrase 2 of *mandaeyŏp*. *Mandaeyŏp* utilizes certain variations by adding “do<sup>+</sup> la” and “re<sup>+</sup>” in the middle, but when we readjust the beats, we can see that the two are closely related melodies with the same base:

*Chinjak 1*, phrase 35: **sol la sol do<sup>+</sup> la do<sup>+</sup> la sol**

*Mandaeyŏp*, phrase 2: **sol la do<sup>+</sup> la sol re<sup>+</sup> do<sup>+</sup> do<sup>+</sup> la sol**

Related Melody Section 3 compares phrase 36 of *chinjak 1* and phrase 3 of *mandaeyŏp*. In this case, *mandaeyŏp* adds a “do<sup>+</sup>,” drops a sol in the middle, and omits a double sol near the end, but again the two are largely similar:

*Chinjak 1*, phrase 36: **sol la sol sol mi re sol sol mi**

*Mandaeyŏp*, phrase 3: **sol do<sup>+</sup> la sol mi re mi**

<sup>37</sup> We do not discuss Related Melody Section 7 in the main text, but we have marked it here to indicate that this part repeats the third passage of *mandaeyŏp* itself, which reflects the common structure of the *taeyŏp* and *pyŏp* sections in *mandaeyŏp* and *chinjak 1*: the fourth repeats the second passage, and the fifth repeats the third passage.



In Related Melody Section 4—phrases 41–42 of *chinjak 1* and phrases 4–6 of *mandaeyöp*—*mandaeyöp* omits the first “la sol” in *chinjak 1* and adds an expanded variation of the italicized “la sol” part in the middle: “mi re sol *la sol* mi la.” Overall, however, the melodies are again quite similar:

*Chinjak 1*, phrases 41–42:

**sol sol** la sol **do<sup>+</sup> la do<sup>+</sup> la sol** la sol **sol mi sol la sol mi re**

*Mandaeyöp*, phrases 4–6:

**sol sol** **do<sup>+</sup> la do<sup>+</sup> la sol** mi re sol **la sol** mi la **sol mi sol la sol mi re**

In Related Melody Section 5, the melodies of the two compositions appear unrelated in the original scores,<sup>38</sup> but the translated versions clearly show that phrase 8 of *mandaeyöp*<sup>39</sup> is an octave-raised version of phrase 44 of *chinjak 1*, with the notes “mi<sup>+</sup> re<sup>+</sup> do<sup>+</sup>” added:

*Chinjak 1*, phrase 44: **sol mi re do do** la sol sol

*Mandaeyöp*, phrase 8: **sol mi<sup>+</sup> re<sup>+</sup> do<sup>+</sup>** la **do<sup>+</sup> mi<sup>+</sup> re<sup>+</sup> do<sup>+</sup>** la sol

Related Melody Section 6 compares phrases 45–46 of *chinjak 1* and phrase 9 of *mandaeyöp*, which are identical.

*Chinjak 1*, phrase 45–46: **la la sol sol sol**

*Mandaeyöp*, phrase 9: **la la sol sol sol**

Taken together, these examples show that the majority of the melodies of *mandaeyöp* were derived from *chinjak 1*’s *taeyöp* and *puyöp* sections. Some of its melodies differ to form the “A–B–C–B–C” musical structure typical in *taeyöp*-style music, but the melodies of *mandaeyöp* as a whole show clear influence from those of *chinjak 1*’s *taeyöp* and *puyöp* sections. Returning to Yang Töksu’s statement that the *mandaeyöp*, *chungdaeyöp*, and *saktaeyöp* of his time all came from *chinjak*, we can

<sup>38</sup> Identifying the octave-raised relationship between the two cases from the original scores is not easy, as the notes are indicated as follows (notes in bold are in the octave-raised relationship):

*Chinjak 1*

phrase 44: **kung ha 1 ha 2 ha 3 ha 3 ha 4 ha 5 ha 5**

*Mandaeyöp*

phrase 8: **kung sang 4 sang 3 sang 2 sang 1 sang 2 sang 4 sang 3 sang 2 sang 1 kung**

<sup>39</sup> This Related Melody Section includes the first note of phrase 9, but to avoid confusion with the next Related Melody Section, we have not indicated that continuation.

now confidently interpret this to mean that *chungdaeyŏp* and *saktaeyŏp* were developed from *mandaeyŏp*, and that *mandaeyŏp* was derived directly from *chinjak 1*'s *taeyŏp* and *puyŏp* sections.

As demonstrated in the present section, the scores of *mandaeyŏp* and *chinjak 1* in *Taeak hubo* are very similar in their form and melody. This fact implies that *mandaeyŏp* was derived from *chinjak 1* around King Sejo's reign, when music compositions in *Taeak hubo* were performed. Next we will investigate when *mandaeyŏp* scores and *sijo* songs began to appear in literature and consider if the times match with King Sejo's reign. Then we will examine the literary structure of early *sijo* works, comparing them with the lyrics of *mandaeyŏp*. These examinations help consolidate the assumption of this paper that the *sijo* genre was formed under the influence of *mandaeyŏp* around the late fifteenth century.

### 3. LITERARY EVIDENCE

#### 3.1 The temporal distribution of *mandaeyŏp* and early *sijo*

As mentioned above, the earliest occurring written *mandaeyŏp* that exists today is that in *Kŭm hapchabo* (1572).<sup>40</sup> However, evidence indicates that *mandaeyŏp* existed earlier: *Cho Sŏng po* (趙晟譜, Cho Sŏng's score) contains the *mandaeyŏp* that Cho Sŏng (趙晟, 1492–1555) edited, and although the original version of *Cho Sŏng po* has disappeared, a copy of it is included in *Hyŏn'gŭm tongmun yugi* [The records of *kŏmun'gŏ*].<sup>41</sup> In addition, *Taeak hubo*, which contains the court music played during King Sejo's time, confirms that *mandaeyŏp* not only existed but was also sufficiently popular to be recorded in the king's reign. An Sang himself adds in the postscript to *Kŭm hapchabo* that he edited *mandaeyŏp* when he became the administrator of Changagwŏn (掌樂院), the office of court music and performance, in 1561.<sup>42</sup> This clearly indicates that *mandaeyŏp* had been performed prior to 1561.

*Mandaeyŏp* did not appear in any private or official books before King Sejo's reign, but collections continued to record it from the late fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries. *Yanggŭm sinbo* (1610), another important score that

<sup>40</sup> An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34–6.

<sup>41</sup> Yi Tŭgyun, *Hyŏn'gŭm tongmun yugi*, 95–96 (39b–41a). *Mandaeyŏp* edited by Cho Sŏng is also included in another score book, often referred to as *Hamyangdaek kŭmbo* [咸陽宅琴譜], neither the editor nor the date of publication of which is certain. See *Kŭmbo* [琴譜], in *Han'guk ūmakhak charyo ch'ongsŏ*, vol. 2, 176–78 (24b–28a).

<sup>42</sup> An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 25.

postdates *Kŭm hapchabo*, also includes *mandaeyŏp*.<sup>43</sup> Questions arise as to the meaning of these temporal issues: Why were *mandaeyŏp* not included in any books before King Sejo's reign, such as in *Sejong sillok* (世宗實錄, The annals of King Sejong, r. 1418–1450) or *Taeak chŏnbo* (大樂前譜, The former part of the court music score),<sup>44</sup> which contain numerous pieces of court music from the reign of King Sejong? Why did *mandaeyŏp* suddenly appear in King Sejo's time, and why was it continuously recorded afterward? The most plausible answer to these questions is that *mandaeyŏp* was derived from *chinjak 1* and became a popular form of court music around the time of King Sejo's reign.

*Mandaeyŏp* in *Taeak hubo* does not contain lyrics, whereas that in An Sang's score contains lyrics;<sup>45</sup> these lyrics share similar forms with *sijo*. On this basis, we might infer that *mandaeyŏp* was originally instrumental music without lyrics in King Sejo's time, but came to accompany lyrics after Sejo's reign, around the late fifteenth century, at the time when Cho Sŏng and An Sang's scores were written. This inference aligns with the temporal distribution of *sijo* works that can be reliably dated; these are concentrated in the sixteenth century, as shown in the table below.

<sup>43</sup> Yang Tŏksu, *Yanggŭm sinbo*, 79–80 (5a–8b).

<sup>44</sup> *Taeak chŏnbo* does not survive, but its table of contents is contained in *Chŭngbo munbŏn pigo* (增補文獻備考) [The revised and enlarged edition of the comparative review of records and documents] (1908), in *Han'guk ūmakbak charyo ch'ongsŏ*, vol. 27, 131 (94.19a).

<sup>45</sup> See An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34.

Early <i>Sijo</i>					
Original Title	Title in English	Author	Year of Composition	Year of Record	Source
<i>Changyuktang yukka</i> (藏六堂六歌)	Six songs in <i>Changyuktang</i> <sup>46</sup>	Yi Pyöl (李膺)	Early 16 <sup>th</sup> century	17 <sup>th</sup> century	<i>Yangsjŏjip</i> (漾西集) <sup>47</sup>
<i>Naonda</i>	Come, today	Kim Ku (金絺)	1506–1534	1659	<i>Chaamjŏp</i> (自菴集) <sup>48</sup>
<i>Öbudan'ga</i> (漁父短歌)	Fishermen's short songs	Yi Hyönbo (李賢輔)	1549	1549	<i>Nongamjŏp</i> (龔巖集) <sup>49</sup>
<i>Tosan sibigok</i> (陶山十二曲)	Twelve songs in <i>Tosan</i> <sup>50</sup>	Yi Hwang (李滉)	1565	1565	Facsimile from wood-block print edition replica <sup>51</sup>

The earliest *sijo* poet identified above is Yi Pyöl in the early sixteenth century, and the remaining poets all lived in the same century. This temporal distribution of reliably dated early *sijo* works aligns with the period in which *mandaeyöpp* was assumed to be formed and performed with lyrics. This coincidence flags the relationship between the two events, namely the creation of *mandaeyöpp* and the creation of *sijo*.

Although the periods of composition of Yi Pyöl and Kim Ku's *sijo* poems predate those of Yi Hyönbo and Yi Hwang, the latter have more significance than the former with regard to the early form of *sijo*. Yi Pyöl's *sijo* were not recorded in Korean, but translated into Chinese, so the original cannot be identified, while Kim Ku's *sijo* song was recorded only in the late seventeenth century. In contrast, Yi Hyönbo and Yi Hwang's *sijo* songs were composed and recorded at similar times and in Korean. Yi Hyönbo's *sijo* songs, the earliest published among the above-mentioned *sijo* works, are especially crucial in that they exhibit formal characteristics that correspond to the form of *mandaeyöpp* in the lyrics of *onari*, as discussed in the following section.

<sup>46</sup> *Changyuktang* is the name of the place where the author lived as a recluse.

<sup>47</sup> Yi Kwangyun, *Yangsjŏjip*, 2, in *Han'guk munjŏp ch'onggan sok* [韓國文集叢刊續, Korean literary collections supplementary volumes], vol. 13 (Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 2005), 243a.

<sup>48</sup> Kim Ku, "Tan'ga," *Chaamjŏp*, vol. 2, in *Han'guk munjŏp ch'onggan* [韓國文集叢刊, Korean literary collections], vol. 24 (Minjok munhwa ch'ujinhoe, 1992), 274a.

<sup>49</sup> Yi Hyönbo, "Öbudan'ga ojang" [漁父短歌五章, Five pieces of fishermen's short songs], *Nongamjŏp*, vol. 3, in *Han'guk munjŏp ch'onggan*, vol. 17, 416d.

<sup>50</sup> *Tosan* is the name of a place located in North Kyöngsang Province, where the author built a *söwön* (書院), which were buildings for Confucian study, lectures, and memorial services for honored Confucian scholars.

<sup>51</sup> Yi Hwang, *Toegy chönsö* [退溪全書], vol. 16 (Toegyehak yön'guwon, 2003), 181.

### 3.2. Formal correspondence between *mandaeyŏp*'s lyrics and early *sijo*

*Mandaeyŏp* in *Kŭm hapchabo*<sup>52</sup> conveys lyrics, usually called *onari* as they begin with the word *onari*, which means “today.” *Onari* differ slightly in form from the usual *sijo*, but are largely similar to Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo*, which preserve the early form of the *sijo* genre. In the postscript to “Ŏbudan'ga” (Fisherman's short songs), Yi Hyŏnbo explains his composition process and implies a relationship between his *sijo* and *mandaeyŏp*, which probably served as the foundation upon which the formal correspondence was built:

I shortened the already existing ten *sijo*<sup>53</sup> songs to create my five *sijo* songs and put these to the music called *yŏp* (葉), to be sung.<sup>54</sup>

Yi Hyŏnbo's use of the term *yŏp* deserves attention, though previous scholars have not commented upon it. This *yŏp* does not refer to a general unit, like a “piece,” but to a form of music by which Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo* poems were transformed into a form of song. Considering that no other *yŏp* music, such as *chungdaeyŏp* or *saktaeyŏp*, appeared at the time, this *yŏp* is probably *mandaeyŏp*. In terms of this musical background, the formal trait of Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo*, corresponding to the form of *mandaeyŏp* lyrics, arose. Consider *onari* in the style of *mandaeyŏp* in *Kŭm hapchabo*.<sup>55</sup>

Is today a day?	<i>o-na-ri</i>	<i>o-na-ri-na</i>	(7)
Can every day be like today?	<i>mae-i-re</i>	<i>o-na-ri-na</i>	(7)
I'm afraid if it gets dark	<i>chŏm-mŭ-di-do</i>	<i>sae-di-do</i>	(10)
or if the day breaks.	<i>sae-ri-na</i>		(3)
Wish today could be every day!	<i>mae-il-tang-sang-ŭi</i>	<i>o-na-ri o-so-sŏ</i>	(11)

The division of the five lines above is based on the form that was put to *mandaeyŏp* in the score.<sup>56</sup> This form largely resembles that of the usual form of *sijo*, but its

<sup>50</sup> See An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34–6.

<sup>53</sup> In the original, it is “*tan'ga*” (短歌), which means “short song,” not “*sijo*” (時調). However, here *tan'ga* indicates *sijo* songs. In Yi Hyŏnbo's time, *sijo* was not used as a generic term. Refer to f.n. 7.

<sup>54</sup> Yi Hyŏnbo, “Ŏbudan'ga ojang”.

<sup>55</sup> An Sang, *Kŭm hapchabo*, 34–5. The original *sijo* and the number of syllables in each line are shown to the right of the English translation.

<sup>56</sup> This five-line division, which reflects the way *sijo* is put to music, differs from the three-line division typically used to show the form of *sijo*. The first and the second lines in the five-line format match with the first line in the three-line format; the third line matches with the second line; the fourth and the fifth lines correspond to the third line. In the main text and notes here, “line” indicates the line in the five-line format.

third line slightly differs. The third line of *sijo* is usually as long as the sum of the first and second lines, having four breath groups. In contrast, the third line of the song is shorter than the sum of the first and second lines and consists of three breath groups.<sup>57</sup> Interestingly, the fifth line shows the same formal trait, consisting of three breath groups, and this coincidence seems to have relation to the structure of the *mandaeyŏp* music, in which the third passage is repeated in the fifth passage. This formal trait of the third line in *onari* also appears in Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo*, as shown in the following example:<sup>58</sup>

Free of worry,	<i>i-jung-e</i>	<i>si-rŭm-ŏp-sŭ-ni</i> (8)
That'd be a fisherman's life!	<i>ŏ-bu-ŭi</i>	<i>saeng-ae-i-ro-da</i> (8)
On a boat floating on the waves,	<i>i-ryŏp-p'yŏn-ju-rŭl</i>	<i>man-'gyŏng-p'a-e</i>
	<i>ttŭi-nŏ-du-go</i>	(13)
As I've forgotten	<i>in-se-rŭl</i>	(3)
this world, let the day pass me by!	<i>ta-i-jŏt-kŏ-ni</i>	<i>nal-ga-nŭn ju-rŭr-al-bya</i> (12)

This *sijo* by Yi Hyŏnbo demonstrates the formal *mandaeyŏp* trait by which the third line is shorter than the sum of the first and second lines. In addition, the third line contains three breath groups as in *mandaeyŏp*, rather than four as in *sijo*. Other *sijo* poems in Yi Hyŏnbo's *Fishermen's Short Songs* are similar: in the second *sijo*, the third line contains twelve syllables, in the third *sijo*, ten syllables, and in the fourth *sijo*, thirteen syllables, and each of the second lines is divided into three breath groups.<sup>59</sup> These traits suggest that Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo* reflects the formal characteristics of *sijo* in its initial stage of development, which was influenced by *mandaeyŏp* lyrics and music.<sup>60</sup> This final piece of evidence demonstrates that the origin of *sijo* lies in *mandaeyŏp*, and that the form of *sijo* emerged and developed around the late fifteenth century.

<sup>57</sup> Refer to the Korean transcription on the right. The third line is spaced twice, forming three breath groups, with relation to the syntax.

<sup>58</sup> Yi Hyŏnbo, "Ŏbudan'ga ojang", no. 1.

<sup>59</sup> For syllabic count, the original pronunciation of the lines was used: "sip-chang-bong-jin-i ŏl-ma-na ka-ryŏn-nan-gŏ" (No. 2); "no-jŏk-kwa-ch'ong-e pae-mae-ya du-gŏ" (No. 3); "mu-sim-k'e'o ta-jŏng-ha-ni i-du-gŏ-si-ro-da" (No. 4). Kim Chinhŭi (Kim Jinhee) has argued that the comparatively short length of the third line is a trait of early *sijo*. See Kim Chinhŭi, "Sijo sihyŏng ŭi chŏngnip kwajŏng e taehayŏ," 145–50.

<sup>60</sup> Even though *onari* shares a similar form with *sijo*, it is not regarded as *sijo*, due to the syntactic difference of the fourth line. The fourth line flows into the fifth line in *sijo*, but that of *onari* is semantically connected to the third line, and not to the fifth line. In Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo*, the fourth line is not semantically connected to the third, but flows into the fifth, as generally found in *sijo*. In this sense, Yi Hyŏnbo's *sijo* reflects the formal characteristics of *sijo* in its initial stage of development, which lay between the form of *mandaeyŏp* lyrics and the normal form of *sijo*.

#### 4. CONCLUSION

Yang Töksu's (1610) statement that the musical tune of *mandaeyöp* was derived from the *chinjak*-style tune has drawn the attention of scholars for decades. Because *mandaeyöp* has been accepted as the origin of musical forms that accompanied *sijo*, the time and process of the formation of *mandaeyöp* were considered as especially important. Many believed *mandaeyöp* to be derived from *chinjak 3*, but did not provide specific evidence of the relationship between the two compositions. Casting doubt on the prevailing assumption that focused on *chinjak 3*, this article investigated *chinjak 1* instead, highlighting significant similarities between *chinjak 1* and *mandaeyöp*. The article has shown that *mandaeyöp* is derived from *chinjak 1*'s *taeyöp* and *pyöp* sections, based on their shared, repetitive A–B–C–B–C structure and the similarity of the form and order of their melodic units.

The discovery of this relationship between *mandaeyöp* and *chinjak 1* resolves a long-standing dilemma, not only in the field of music but also in the field of literature, regarding the origin of *sijo*. Because *mandaeyöp* shows concrete influences from *chinjak 1* in *Taeak hubo*, which contains music compositions of King Sejo's reign, we can infer that the time of derivation of *mandaeyöp* is not far from Sejo's time. Other literary evidence also supports this inference. It shows that *mandaeyöp* scores did not emerge before King Sejo's reign but continuously appeared after that time. Moreover, *sijo* poems in *munjip*, or literati's private collections, began to emerge around that time, with formal characteristics influenced by *mandaeyöp*. This consistent evidence clearly shows that the *sijo* form originated and developed under the influence of *mandaeyöp* around the late fifteenth century.

Traditional Korean lyrical genres, such as *sijo*, *kasa* (歌辭), and Koryö *kayo* (高麗歌謠), were performed to the accompaniment of music. The emergence and development of these lyrical genres therefore relate closely to their music. Thus, interdisciplinary research between the fields of literature and music has particular relevance. Although many scholars have made great efforts in this direction, various fruitful research topics remain open, as shown by the previous lack of attention to *chinjak 1* with regard to the origin of *mandaeyöp* and *sijo*. A more detailed exploration of the relationship between traditional Korean music and literature may well result in a deeper understanding of both.

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