

Dr. phil. habil. Hermann Gottschewski
Associate Professor
The University of Tokyo, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
Department of Interdisciplinary Cultural Studies
3-8-1 Komaba, Meguro-ku, Tokyo 153-8902, Japan
Phone (+81)-3-5454-6352 — e-mail gottschewski@fusehime.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp
<http://fusehime.c.u-tokyo.ac.jp/gottschewski>

How a Sadangpae Song Became the First National Anthem of Korea: Homer B. Hulbert's Transcription of "Param i punda" (1896), its Musicological Background and Historical Significance

I. Overview

In 2012 I discovered by chance that the first official National Anthem of Korea (大韓帝國愛國歌, published 1902) was not a "free" composition by Franz Eckert, as it was thought before, but an "adaptation" of a Korean folk song. Since then I have published a number of papers and given some presentations about the matter, partly together with my Korean colleague Kyungboon Lee.¹ The most important dates related to it are listed below for the orientation of the reader. (Information given in italics is published in this paper for the first time.)

- 1880 Franz Eckert (1852–1916), invited to Japan as a teacher for military music in 1879, elected the melody of the Japanese national anthem "Kimigayo" and harmonized it.
- 1886 *Homer B. Hulbert (1863–1949), invited to Korea as an English teacher in the same year, transcribed at least two Korean songs, including a version of Arirang.*
- 1896 Hulbert publishes three notations of Korean songs, including "Arirang"², in his article "Korean Vocal Music" in the Korean Repository. *At least the transcription of "Arirang" goes back to his 1886 transcription. Another song begins with the words "param i punda".³ Because the song lacks a title we will call it "Param i punda" in this paper.*
- 1901 Franz Eckert, who had returned to Germany from Japan in 1899, was invited to Korea as a teacher for military music. In the same year he was asked **to compose a national anthem for the Korean Empire. Eckert used Hulbert's transcription of "Param i punda" for his composition**, but he made some changes to the melody. The exact

¹ (1) 이경분, 헤르만 고체프스키 공저 「프란츠 에케르트는 대한제국 애국가의 작곡가인가? —대한제국 애국가에 대한 새로운 고찰」 『역사비평』 101 호, 2012 겨울, 373–401 쪽. (2) ヘルマン・ゴチェフスキ／李京粉 共著 「〈大韓帝國愛國歌〉に隠されていた韓国民謡の発見—フランツ・エッケルトが編曲した日韓の国歌再考—」 (Hermann Gottschewski & Kyungboon Lee: "The Discovery of a Korean Folk Song Hidden in the "Daehan Jeguk Aegukga" —Franz Eckert's Arrangements of the National Anthems of Japan and Korea Reconsidered—) 『東洋音楽研究』第 78 号 (2013) pp. 1–21. (3) Hermann Gottschewski und Kyungboon Lee: „Franz Eckert und ‚seine‘ Nationallymnen. Eine Einführung“, in: *OAG-Notizen* Heft 12/2013, S. 27–30. (4) Hermann Gottschewski: „Traditionelle und westliche Musik als Identitätssymbole der Moderne: Die Nationallymnen Japans und Koreas um 1900“, in: *OAG-Notizen* Heft 12/2013, S. 39–48. (5) "Franz Eckert's Reading of a Korean Folk Song and the Korean's Reading of his Arrangement: The National Anthem of the Korean Empire (1901–1902) as a Case of Both-Way Intercultural Reception." Presentation at the Second Biennial Conference of the East Asian Regional Association of IMS, Taipei, October 22, 2013. (6) "Reconstructing transnational information flows in East Asia around 1900. Focusing on the German musician Franz Eckert." Presentation at the EMRI Conference *Keeping Music Alive: Innovative Approaches to Music Documentation and Interpretation* at Ewha University, November 9th, 2013.

² Hulbert writes "a-ra-rüŋ" or "a-ra-rung" in Latin script, but "아르랑" in *hangeul*. To avoid confusion we give the most widespread modern form. Hulbert's version of the song is much different from the versions that are popular in Korea today, however.

³ 바람이 분다, of course. Since Hulbert gives the text in Latin script his Romanization is preserved in this paper.

reason why he chose this and not another melody is not known.

1902 The national anthem, whose composition had been finished in 1901, was published and made the first official national anthem of Korea. Although *a leading French music journal had already published a notice in 1902 that the song was “basé sur une ancienne mélodie coréenne”*⁴, and Horace Allen’s Korean chronicle⁵ had called it “an adaptation” in 1903, this fact was forgotten afterwards, and the song was believed to be a free composition by Eckert until recently. Although the instrumental score and the words of the song were published together, the exact form of the vocal version of the original hymn is not known today.

1902–1925 In the first years of this period the national anthem was used in education and at several occasions in Korea, but afterwards it was forbidden by the Japanese colonial government, and thus it was used and published by members of the independency movement in places like Manchuria and Hawaii. During this process its text and melody was gradually changed. It seems that the song came out of use when the Aegukga by Ahn Eak-tai, which became later the national anthem of South Korea, got popularity.

The whole story of the first official National Anthem of Korea, from the musical viewpoint, can be divided into **five chapters**: (1) The story of an orally transmitted folk song; (2) the transcription and publication of that song; (3) the reception history of the transcription; (4) the genesis of the National Anthem; (5) its performance and reception history.

The aim of this paper is to shed more light on the **first chapter** of the story, i.e. to ask for the historical background of the song that was transcribed by Hulbert and that formed later the basis for the National Anthem of the Korean Empire.

2. Hulbert’s “three classes” of Korean vocal music and “Param i punda”

In 1896, Homer B. Hulbert, otherwise known for his engagement for the Korean script *hangeul* and as a true friend of Korea in its fight for political independency, published an article “Korean Vocal Music” in the English-language journal *Korean Repository*. The article is mainly focused on the lyrics and contains almost no technical discussion of the music⁶, but Hulbert provides transcriptions of three melodies. They belong to the earliest existing transcriptions of Korean music to Western notation. These three melodies, he explains, exemplify “three classes” of Korean vocal music, namely “the *Si Jo*, or what we might call the classical style, the *Ha Ch’i* or popular style and an intermediate grade which we might call the drawing-room style—with the drawing-room left out.”⁷

Although Hulbert tells most extensively about the “classical style”⁸, the music example relating to it is only a few bars long and thus musically not very significant. Hulbert says he does not give the whole music because “a complete song would fill this number of THE REPOSITORY”⁹, but it can be

⁴ *Le Ménestrel*, vol. 68 no. 13, March 30, 1902, p. 102.

⁵ Allen, Horace N, *Supplement to A Chronological Index Including the Years 1901 and 1902*, Seoul: Methodist Publishing House [1903], 11. The expression is repeated in Allen’s book *Korea. Fact and Fancy* (1904).

⁶ There are a few remarks on the practice of voicing and the frequency of embellishments, but none of these remarks relates to “Param i punda”.

⁷ Homer B. Hulbert: “Korean Vocal Music,” in the February issue of *The Korean Repository* vol. 3, 1896, p. 45.

⁸ A critique of this naming is beyond the scope of this paper. Of course it is awkward to treat *Si Jo* (時調) and “classical style of Korean vocal music” as equivalent categories.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 46.

read between the lines that Hulbert also thought that this kind of music would not be easily understood by a Western reader. For the “popular style”, on the other hand, he gives a full stanza of “Arirang” and still two pages of explanation. There is an explanation that the stanza contains a refrain and a verse, and there are also some remarks about the singing style. While the example for the “intermediate grade”, “Param i punda”, is twice as long as “Arirang” and thus the most extensive musical example in the article, the explanations relating specifically to this song and its style extend not beyond a few lines and relate mainly to the words and not to the melody, its performance or performers. The only comment relevant for our paper is that the intermediate style “does not rank with the *Si Jo* but is much in advance of the *Ha ch’i*”.¹⁰ In contrast to the other examples Hulbert almost lets the musical example speak for itself in this case. So maybe he thought that this example would be musically interesting to the reader, and it seems that Eckert also shared his opinion.

Unfortunately the song which became the basis for the first Korean National Anthem does not speak for itself as much as a music researcher would demand. Where and by whom was it sung? Was it a part of a longer piece? To which genre of music does the expression “intermediate grade”, used by Hulbert, belong?¹¹ How can we know more about performance practical details such as tempo and accompaniment? And is Hulbert’s transcription accurate, as far as it is possible with Western notation? Since “Param i punda” was orally transmitted¹² in an age from which no recordings exist and other musical notations of popular melodies are very rare, the sources cannot be easily traced back beyond Hulbert’s transcription. But it is possible to find independent later sources for the same melody — or what can be called so, since oral tradition always shows a great variety, and there are no definite lines between what may be called the same melody, a similar melody or a related melody.

Before we analyze some of these sources, however, I want to add some remarks on when and where Hulbert may have transcribed the song.

In “The History of Korean Independence Movement online” (한국독립운동사 정보시스템, <https://search.i815.or.kr>) scanned copies of more than 400 letters of Hulbert and his family to his relatives and Korean translations are accessible, most of them relating to his Korean time. Thanks to professor Ki-Seok “Korbil” Kim I was also able to access English transcriptions of the original letters. In these letters music is sometimes mentioned, since Hulbert was an active amateur musician singing, playing the violin and keyboard instruments at home, in church services and in chamber music and orchestral activities of the foreign community in Korea. Furthermore his wife was a music teacher and his children got music lessons. So there were enough occasions to write about music in private letters. Unfortunately, however, Korean music is very seldom mentioned in these letters.

That does not necessarily mean that Hulbert was not interested in traditional Korean music. He just may have thought that it would not be interesting to his American relatives. But it is at least significant that he writes two times about Korean music in his earliest year in Korea, i.e. in 1886. Thereafter there are only two mentions¹³ of his article “Korean Vocal Music” in 1896, before and after it was printed, and in 1906 we find a mention¹⁴ of recordings of Korean music supervised by him.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 52. The inconsistent orthography follows the original.

¹¹ Actually Hulbert himself later spoke only of two classes of vocal music, without the intermediate grade, in his book *The Passing of Korea*, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co., 1906, p. 316.

¹² At least musically. The possibility that earlier written sources for the words exist cannot be denied, but up to this date we were not able to find such a source. Furthermore, since similar words are used in several different songs, even if a source with exactly matching words would be found it could represent a song with a different melody.

¹³ Doc. no. 3-008785-159, <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-159&pid=4> and no. 3-008785-167, <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-167&pid=1>. Both mentions are in letters to his parents, written in 1896, Jan. 14 and May 10, respectively.

¹⁴ Doc. no. 3-008785-368, <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-368&pid=4>. A letter to his parents, written in 1906, Dec. 13.

Neither of these later comments are detailed about music, however. The first two mentions are all the more important for us.

In the first of the two, a letter to his sister, written in Oct. 20 of 1886¹⁵, Hulbert writes: “Yesterday as I sat on my veranda I saw two little children in the next yard & they sang this little tune so many times that I learned it.” Thereafter he gives the following transcription.



This version of “Arirang” is very similar to, but not identical with the well-known example in Hulbert’s article of 1896. That means that this transcription may have been the first step, but not the single source for the notation ten years later. This is easy to believe, since this melody was really popular, and there were perhaps many occasions for Hulbert to hear it again and to improve his transcription.¹⁶ Anyway, it is noteworthy that the letter contains perhaps the earliest known notation of “Arirang”.

The second one, a letter written one month later to his mother, contains no notation, but a detailed description of the event:

Last evening I made a call on one of the students, a man of high rank by name Kim Sun Kyu [?]. He is a nice fellow. I went at 7 o’clock.

Had a nice time. The house was but little furnished and we sat on the floor. His music teacher played to us on a Korean harp which is no harp at all but a stringed instrument like a guitar only longer & with no neck, only a long hollow box. The music was pretty good tho’. Some of his servants came in and sang. I copied one song. [...]¹⁷

An examination of the names of students in Hulbert’s school at that time reveals that the name of the student probably refers to Seung-Gyu Gim (金昇圭, born 1861), who already had the rank of a Buhogun 副護軍 when he was enrolled as the very first student of Hulbert’s school.¹⁸ Although it is not certain that the expression “I copied one song” refers to a musical transcription, it is possible that Hulbert made a first notation of “Param i punda” at that occasion. At least there are no other musical transcriptions mentioned in the letters preserved at “The History of Korean Independence Movement online”. If it was so, it would probably mean that the song was sung by servants who were not trained

¹⁵ Doc. no. 3-008785-039, <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-039&pid=13>. The whole letter is written during several days from Oct. 17 to Oct. 23, but the part we are referring to at Oct. 20.

¹⁶ On the CD *July 24, 1896: Korean First Recording* (“1896년 7월 24일 한민족 최초의 음원”, CKJCD-010), recorded 1896 in Washington, a similar melody can be heard. Hulbert also tells in his 1896 article that “to my personal knowledge this piece has had a run of three thousand five hundred and twenty odd nights and is said to have captured the public fancy about the year 1883”. That means that he had continuously the opportunity to listen to it. The number of 3520 days apparently refers to the period from Hulbert’s first arrival in Korea to the appearance of his article.

¹⁷ The letter is written during several days from Nov. 21 to Nov. 30, 1886. The part we are referring to is written at Nov. 28 and refers to an event on Nov. 27. A scanned copy of the handwritten letter is found as doc. no. 3-008785-022 at <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-022&pid=5> and a typewritten copy as doc. no. 3-008785-043 at <http://search.i815.or.kr/ImageViewer/ImageViewer.jsp?tid=oo&id=3-008785-043&pid=4>. The name of Kim Sun Kyu hardly readable on the scanned handwritten document. It is transcribed as “Kim Hun Sun [?]” on doc. 3-008785-043, but “Kim Sun Kyu” in the text file given to me by professor Ki-Seok “Korbil” Kim. A close examination of the handwritten copy makes the last version more probable.

¹⁸ 『育英公院謄錄』, signature 奎 3374 at the Kyujanggak Institute for Korean Studies.

musicians, and thus belonged to a repertory that was popular “on the street”. These are, however, no more than speculations, since it may well be that another song was copied at this occasion and “Param i punda” was transcribed at another time.

3. Comparative study with orally transmitted Korean folk songs

In an earlier study I (together with Kyungboon Lee) have already shown that “Param i punda” as transcribed by Hulbert shows considerable similarities to a number of orally transmitted regional folk



songs (향토민요) that were recorded in the second half of the 20th century. All of these examples have different texts, but a similar melody. For the present paper I have refined the method, found some new examples and located these songs in the history and geography of Korean traditional music. For this part of my study I am grateful to Bohyung Lee (이보형) and Oh-Sung Kwon (권오성) for valuable hints and In-Ea Son (손인애) for fruitful discussions and help to locate some recordings. My thanks go also to Soo-Kyung Lee (이수경), doctoral student at the Academy of Korean Studies, for her help to find and digitalize reel tapes from that Academy.

As shown in the map the locations where the melodies¹⁹ are sung and recorded are spread over a comparatively large region in the southern part of the Korean peninsula and Cheju island. The following music example shows transcriptions of these songs and the song “Param i punda” as transcribed by Hulbert (no. 6). For comparison, all transcriptions are transposed to the pitch chosen

¹⁹ No. 1 is found in 『韓國의 民俗音樂—慶尙南道民謠篇』 (調查研究報告書 85-1)、韓國精神文化研究院, 1985, p. 269, no. 386. Although the singer was Pandeok Gim of Yeongsan-myeong (Changnyeong-gun, South Geongsang Province) and recorded on 1978-04-14 according to what is written above the song, the explanations on p. 255 in the same volume locate the recording at Hamyang-gun (in the same province). This seems to result from the confusion between at least two different recordings of the same song. I found two recordings on reel tapes at the Academy of Korean Studies. One of them is without indication of a location, but with Min-Gap Moon and Soo Hong as the singers' names, recorded 1978-07-19 by Oh-Sung Kwon. This recording is so similar to the notation on p. 269 that it is probable that the recording was used for the transcription despite of the different recording date and singer's name (which thus may be wrong on either the recording or the printed edition). At least it cannot be far away. The other of the two reel tapes is labeled “Hamyang”, has 1982-07-27 as recording date and “Gye-Soon Gim and others” as the singers' names. This recording is similar as a whole, but different in many details from the transcription in the book. No. 1 and 1a in the transcription on the next page refer to these two recordings. I have assumed that no. 1 is from Changnyeong-gun and no. 1a from Hamyang-gun, although doubts remain. No. 1b is found on the CD *Jeolla-do Minyo. Folksongs of Jeolla Province* (Korean Traditional Music Collection 39, KICP 091-097), CD 2, no. 15. Songs no. 2, 3 and 4 are found at urisori.co.kr in the 《한국민요대전》자료음반, accessible online though <http://urisori.co.kr/dokuwiki-cd/doku.php?id=cd> 검색. No. 2 is at 전라남도편, CD-01, 0117, no. 3 at 제주도편, CD-04, 0413, and no. 4 at 전라북도편, CD-01, 0112. Detailed information about these songs is also found at that homepage. They were recorded around 1990. Song no. 5 was recorded around the same time. Song 5a is found on the same reel tape as 1a at the Academy of Korean Studies and is transcribed in 『韓國의 民俗音樂—慶尙南道民謠篇』 p. 271-2, no. 390. As confirmed by personal communication, In-Ea Son used the same recording for her transcription 참고악보 52, p. 330 in her book 『향토민요에 수용된 사당패소리』 (Seoul: Minsokwon, 2007), although the song is labeled 거제 매화타령 there and thus attributed to another region. Although I cannot decide which of both ascriptions is wrong I followed the older book, since the information given there is more detailed and agrees with the inscription on the reel tape.

by Hulbert, and the meter is also adapted to Hulbert’s notation, although nowadays Korean folk music researchers prefer – with good reasons – a notation in 12/8 meter. The author is responsible for every detail in all transcriptions, although he partly used existing transcriptions as basis or as reference for his own transcription.

1 ♩ = 160
 1a ♩ = 180 solo
 1b ♩ = 125 solo
 2 ♩ = 275 solo
 3 ♩ = 200 solo 1., 3., 5. verse
 4 ♩ = 208 solo
 5 ♩ = 115-130 solo
 5a ♩ = 165-175 solo
 6

1
 1a
 1b
 2
 3
 4
 5
 5a
 6

pa - ram - i pun - da pa - ram - i pun - da Yŏn - P'yung - - - - - plā - da, é - wha kaḥparam

가 - 세 에 헤 양 에 헤 양 헤 헤 양 에 헤 양 헤 에 헤 이 힉 아이고나 나부툼 거노라
 가 세 아 하 아 헤 에 헤로다 에 헤 야 헤 헤 야 헤 에 야 어 리 히 이 히 에루와 매화 로 다
 지 었 네 아 하 헤 헤 용 에 에 용 어 루 아 헤루와 매화 로 다
 웨 어 라 옛 다 요 년 돈 반 아 라 계 화 는 삼 경에 들 고 서 짐 게 화 내 돈 만 받아 라
 느 니 예 야 뒤 야 예 헤 야 예 헤 야 예 헤 야 예 에 이 어 러 히 야 라 헤 루 와 매 화 로 고 오 나
 보 르 까 아 아 아 헤 에 헤 로 야 예 헤 야 헤 헤 야 헤 헤 에 히 히 에 루 와 매 화 로 구 나
 구 나 예 헤 양 에 헤 야 예 헤 야 예 헤 야 예 헤 야 시 물 읊 었 다 에 루 와 매 화 로 구 나
 pun - da. é - ya é - ya é - ya é - - - - ya é - - - - - ya é - roa kaḥram pun - da.

It is remarkable that most of the examples bear the title or subtitle “Maewha-Taryeong”, and even one of the songs without that title, namely 1b “Non-maeneun sori (Don-Taryeong)”, ends with the words 매화로다, one of the typical endings of Maewha-Taryeong-songs. This song is again so

similar to 1 and 1a in words and melody that the common origin is apparent. Furthermore song 3, traditionally titled Gyewha-Taryeong, is essentially not different from the “Maewha-Taryeong” songs, contains also the word *maewha* and is treated as a variant of “Maewha-Taryeong” by Korean folk music researchers.²⁰ Since “Param i punda” is also very similar to these melodies — especially to 1, 1a, and 1b — it cannot be very wrong to say it is related to songs of the “Maewha-Taryeong” tradition.

It would be wrong, on the other side, to say it “is” Maewha-Taryeong, or it has “the melody of Maewha-Taryeong”. The former expression would be wrong because the labeling as Maewha-Taryeong refers to the use of words like 매화로다 or 매화로구나 in the text, and Hulbert’s song lacks these words, at least in the part cited by him. The latter expression would suggest that there exists something like “the melody of Maewha-Taryeong”. There exist a great variety of “Maewha-Taryeong”-songs, however, many of them not at all similar to Hulbert’s “Param i punda”.²¹ So it can only be said that “Param i punda” has a melody that is very similar to some melodies of songs that are called “Maewha-Taryeong” or that are closely related to melodies called so.

As the author has pointed out in earlier papers²² there are almost no musical details in the notation of “Param i punda” that are not found in any of the orally transmitted folk songs. The scale and rhythm also seem to agree with the other songs. So there is no reason to think that Hulbert was not able to make a quite reliable musical transcription. The beginning with an upbeat, however, is somewhat odd for the beginning of a Korean traditional song. Since this kind of upbeat would be very familiar for an English song it may be a listening mistake by Hulbert, and the original rhythm of the song may rather have been similar to the beginning of the songs 2 and 5a.

Furthermore the overall structure and phrasing of “Param i punda” is very clear and essentially the same as in 1, 1a, 1b and 5a (and with a few exceptions also in 4 and 5): The song is divided in two halves of 16 bars each. The second half begins with meaningless words like “eya” and consists of three four-bar phrases that ascend gradually from the lowest to the highest register, and a fourth four-bar phrase that is similar or identical to the ending of the first half of the song. The first half of the song is also (due to the melodic structure and text distribution) essentially divided into four four-bar phrases, although the breath points deviate from that structure in most examples. The first four-bar section consists of the exclamation of a meaningful text statement and is sung on one tone in “Param i punda” as well as in songs 2, 4 and 5 (and very similar in 1a and 1b). The second four-bar section is the melodically most characteristic part of the song and similar in all examples except 4.

Since examples 1 to 5a are similar to “Param i punda”, details of performing practice that are common to most of these songs may also be a hint to how the latter may have been performed at Hulbert’s time.

- The first half of “Param i punda” may be sung *solo* and the second half *tutti* as in most other examples. It can be supposed that “Param i punda” also was a strophic song where the text of the *solo* part changes and that of the *tutti* part, the refrain, remains the same.
- In bars 25–28 the falsetto technique in 1, 1a, 1b and 5 suggests that the corresponding high notes in “Param i punda”, which look similar, may also be sung *falsetto*.
- Although the tempo of the examples varies in a very wide range (2 is sung more than twice as quickly than 1b and 5), the quickest three examples (2, 3, 4) all skip or replace the *falsetto* section in bars 27–28. So a tempo between 125 and 180 for the quarter note may be appropriate for “Param i punda”.

²⁰ See for example In-Ea Son, 『향토민요에 수용된 사당패소리』, p. 48 and passim.

²¹ Ibid., p. 151–75.

²² Gottschewski & Lee: “The Discovery of a Korean Folk Song Hidden in the “Daehan Jeguk Aegukga” (2013), p. 10.

- The breath points may be generally every fourths bar. Although all other songs except 5 have a breath point in bar 10 – a remarkable coincidence, since this break is against the overall structure of the musical meter, which is four by four bars –, this exceptional break may not be appropriate for “Param i punda” due to the text distribution.
- While Eckert’s arrangement of the national anthem changes to a quicker tempo at the beginning of the second half, none of the traditional examples show such a tempo change. So it is very improbable that Eckert’s tempo change reflects an original performance practice of this song.

4. The provenience of “Param i punda”

From the previous chapter it is apparent that “Param i punda” was closely related to the “Maewha-Taryeong” tradition. This is a plausible result also because of the text of the song, since the words 바람이 분다 연평 바다 엘화 갈바람 분다 or very similar texts are also found in some “Maewha-Taryeong” sources.²³ (The text alone would not be enough, however, to identify “Maewha-Taryeong” as the possible source, since these words are very common, and very similar words also found in other folk songs like “Gunbam-Taryeong”.)

As shown in the map above, similar melodies to “Param i punda” are widespread, but today found only in the southern part of South Korea and Jeju island. Korean folk music researchers have pointed out, however, that this type of melodies shows clearly characteristics of *gyeongtori* 경토리²⁴, so that one should believe that the melody originated in the *Gyeonggi* region and spread to the southern regions afterwards. During this process the melodies retained their overall structure, but adopted also characteristics of the respective regions where they continued to be transmitted.

“Maewha-Taryeong” was very popular at Hulbert’s time, so it is well possible that also the specific melody which is seen in “Param i punda” was popular in whole Korea, perhaps with various texts. Thus it would not be surprising if the servants of Seong-Gyu Gim were able to sing the song for Hulbert. More important for us is the fact that “Maewha-Taryeong” was originally not a rural folk song, but a *Sadangpae* song, i.e. a song that was created by professional entertainers rather than by “normal” people. So Hulbert was correct to distinguish its style from songs like *Arirang*, which really originated from the folk, as well as from the more elaborated classical genres of traditional music, and to call it an “intermediate grade”.

Hulbert lived in a time when it was yet possible to attend a *Sadangpae* (or *Nam-Sadangpae*) performance. If his transcription really reflected such an experience, its historical significance would be really great, since there are almost no other sources that give us a direct access to the music of *Sadangpae* singers. It is also possible, however, that he only notated a popular song derived from *Sadangpae* music, and in this case the documentary value would be a bit less. As long as we don’t find new sources it will be difficult or impossible to answer these questions. Anyway, the fact that this song was used for the first Korean national anthem gives enough reason for these and further examinations.

²³ Lee & Gottschewski: 「프란츠 에케르트는 대한제국 애국가 의 작곡가인가?」 (2012), p. 383.

²⁴ In-Ea Son, *ibid.*, p. 155.