

GIRAFFES, FERRIS WHEELS AND ROYAL RE-ENACTMENTS:
HITS AND MISSES IN THE REINVENTION OF A JOSEON PALACE

David Kendall

Submitted to the faculty of the University Graduate School
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Arts

in the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures,

Indiana University

June 2015

Accepted by the Graduate Faculty, Indiana University, in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Master's Thesis Committee

Michael E. Robinson, Ph.D.

Sue Tuohy, Ph.D.

Hyo Sang Lee, Ph.D.

Copyright © 2015

David Kendall

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My parents, Jack and Rita Kendall, sacrificed a lot to foster my interest in foreign cultures. My siblings and their spouses deserve recognition as well: Mark Kendall, Jack and Karen Kendall, Jean and Daryl McCleary, Anita and Lennie Snyder, and Veronica Stull.

Two gifted advisors steered me to pertinent resources and a more manageable focus, Professor Heon Joo Jung (now at Yonsei University) and Professor Michael Robinson, who graciously took on one more advisee atop his numerous other concerns prior to retiring from Indiana. His observations gave my prose much-needed infusions of style and logic. Professors Hyo Sang Lee and Sue Tuohy also generously provided valuable and appreciated feedback.

Wen-ling Liu and other librarians at IU, UIUC, ISU and WorldCat in the U.S. and the Goethe Institute and Namsan libraries in Seoul, as well as Changgyeong Palace Heritage Guide Ko Geonhee, kindly answered many obscure requests, and the East Asian Studies Center provided a much appreciated two-year Grant Assistantship and travel grant.

Incredible friends on three continents endured more talk about a Korean palace and prince than any reasonable person could be expected to tolerate and helped me neatly put away pieces of Changgyeong that I had grabbed out of books, interviews and the Internet and left scattered in my mind: Deokkyu Kim, Yoo Sung-jin, Seoyoung Kim, Tatsuhiko Niwa, Minsoo Kang, Sang-joon Lee, Lee In-hee, Susy McCarthy and Trevor Reynolds, Yoon Sojung, Nam Young Kim, Yoon Young Kim, Lee Ji-sook, Kim Tae Eung, Eun-jin Song, Sandip Mishra, Jae-Woon Yoo, Nicki Dabney, Blair Williams, Jack Chih-Hsiung Hsu, Annette Nickelson, Jody Alston, Matthew Watterson, Pam Cox, Kerry Barnett, Valerie Sanders, Amy Klouse Fuentes, Ann Wuertemberger, Daniel Idziak, and Tiphani Dixon, thank you all.

David Kendall

GIRAFFES, FERRIS WHEELS AND ROYAL RE-ENACTMENTS:
HITS AND MISSES IN THE REINVENTION OF A JOSEON PALACE

Tourist sites, like national identities, are selectively promoted depictions often made from highly contested perspectives. A site is a self-perpetuating scene created by host and visitors swapping the same images. Olivia Jenkins has described spiraling circles of representation linked to Australia's iconic symbols, and Herbert Bix, Carol Gluck and Kosaku Yoshino have applied a similar logic to processes facilitating much greater shifts in the image of the entire nation of Japan. Success in both cases requires cropping pieces that do not fit into the newly evolved, prevalent narrative. The speed at which scenes have shifted at one palace in Seoul has meant entire buildings, a park full of fun rides, and one of Korea's great works of literature – great at least from a Western-trained perspective -- are vanishing from collective memory. Such “a focus on small-scale or localized change can illustrate or embody much broader processes of political transformation,” as Katherine Verdery says, “the Macro is in the Micro.”

Consequently this thesis examines manifestations of major changes in Korea's governing and social structures reflected in the grounds of Changgyeonggung. Discourse and content analysis of guide books, brochures, and websites show how visitors come to absorb the conveniently condensed narratives and imagery as successive administrators place new monuments atop or alongside those of their predecessors to rewrite the geographic scenes.

KEYWORDS: heritage, performance, literature and film tourism; palimpsest, circle of representation; Changgyeonggung; Sado, Jeongjo, Yeongjo, Lady Hyegyeong

Table of Contents

Acknowledgments	iv
Abstract	v
Supplemental Materials	vii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Chapter Two: Late Joseon/Colonial Period (1895-1945)	9
Korea’s First Modern Display Case	10
Joseon Maidens and Decrepit Rulers	16
Selling and Buying Ancient Korean-Japanese Ties	18
Manipulating the Best of Joseon	23
Implanting Painful Memories in the Garden and Zoo	27
Chapter Three: Authoritarian Period (1945-1992)	32
Salvaging Imperial Japan’s Korean Treasures	33
The Miracle on the –won (K. 원, Ch. 園)	37
Steering Tourists to Created Spectacles	40
Losing Colonial Identities	44
Refocusing on Maidens and the Heroes of Joseon	46
Reinforcing Past Failings and Spicing Up Sado	50
Detouring around Complicated Legacies	54
People-Powered Re-Interpretations	57
Cautiously Rediscovering Palatial Heritage	61
Chapter Four: Civilian Period (1993-2015)	63
From Global Showplace to Microcosm of Korea	63
Reordering Culture / Realigning Geography	67
Rise of the Service and Entertainment Sectors	68
Marketing Sado	69
Popular Asian Narratives Outweigh Western Interests	77
Reconnecting Departed Royalty to Changgyeong	81
Conclusion	83
Appendix	88
Bibliography	94
CV	

Supplemental Materials

Chapter Two: Late Joseon/Colonial Period (1895-1945)

Figure 1: Prince Yi Museum (Iwangga Bangmulgwan) / Yi Royal Archive (Jangseogak).....	12
Figure 2: Yi Royal Archive (Jangseogak) / Biological Specimen Hall (Pyobongwan)	13
Figure 3: Changgyeong Zoo	14
Figure 4: Crystal Palace (Sujeonggung) / Grand Greenhouse (Daeonsil)	15
Figure 5: Changgyeong Cherry Blossoms	15
Figure 6: Colonial Period Postcard of Seoul (Keijo).....	17
Figure 7: “Personification of Thunder”	22
Figure 8: “Kwannon 12 th Century”	23
Figure 9: “Dog on a Chain”	24
Figure 10: Changgyeong Attendance 1909-2013	27
Figure 11: Changgyeong Zoo Animal Population 1908-1983.....	30
Figure 12: Evidence of Changgyeongwon’s Post-War Popularity 1960-1995.....	31

Chapter Three: Authoritarian Period (1945-1992)

Figure 13: Changgyeong’s Hwangap (60 th Anniversary) Expansion	44
Figure 14: 1968 <i>Pictorial Korea</i> Lauds Enlarged Changgyeongwon	45
Figure 15: Korea’s Rapid Economic Growth	47
Figure 16: Women in Palace Photos	48
Figure 17: Suwon Fortress circa 1969	55
Figure 18: Closing of Changgyeong Zoo 1983.....	58

Chapter Four: CIVILIAN PERIOD (1993-2015)

Figure 19: Sado-related Theater.....	70-71
Figure 20: Language-Flavored Sado Narratives in Changgyeong Brochure.....	76
Figure 21: Special Night Viewing of Changgyeonggung.....	87

Appendix

Table 1: Sado-inspired Literature and Visual Art.....	88
Table 2: Five Civilian Period Must-See Sites Linked to Sado and Changgyeong	89
Table 3: Content Analysis of Travel/Cultural Guides	90-92
Table 4: Online Photo Sources	93

Chapter One: INTRODUCTION

What if you could visit one palace in Seoul and experience a century of national suffering, shame and pride? I examine the ways that various agents in different periods of time over roughly the last 100 years have reconstructed and reframed a site in relation to their varying goals. Hong-Key Yoon, Todd Henry, Jong-Heon Jin and Timothy Tangherlini have analyzed the semiotics and politics behind, colonial Japanese administrators' positioning of the colossal Government-General Building in front of the throne hall of Seoul's largest palace Gyeongbokgung. This study, however, looks less at what the Japanese did to the Yi Dynasty, rulers of Korea's last kingdom Joseon (1392-1897) and nascent Korean Empire (1897-1910) and more at how image makers, Japanese and Korean, have used the grounds of one lesser-known palace in Seoul to create the Korea that they wish to be seen by means of displaying or concealing artifacts, modern spectacles and history.

Many spots in South Korea's capital have been used to project starkly different impressions over time. Michael Kim believes that "no other urban location in Korea has been the focus of constant reconstruction and public controversy like Kyōngbok Palace, because no other site underwent so many attempts to reinterpret political and social significance."¹ The palace chosen for analysis in this study may offer less in terms of public controversy but as much – if not more – in terms of the physical and mental reconstructions occurring beyond its aptly named entrance *Honghwa-mun* (Gate of Vast Transformation).² The representation of the identity of the

¹Kim, "Collective Memory and Commemorative Space," 76. The official ROK Revised Romanization system (eg, "Gyeongbok," rather than "Kyōngbok") is used in all cases except quotes and proper names already established in English. In the Acknowledgements and throughout the text, family names follow given names, unless personal preference or standard usage follows normal Korean order.

²Nilsen, *South Korea Handbook*, 176.

grounds beyond this gate has switched back and forth in tandem with the immense destruction, construction, demolition and reconstruction that have accompanied the change in its one-syllable suffix: Changgyeong**gung** (palace) to Changgyeong**won** (park) and back again.³ I will use the name Changgyeong hereafter to refer to the site in all periods. Reflected in its transformations are also glimpses of the social upheavals experienced following the abdication of Korea's first and last emperors (Gojong in 1907 and Sunjong in 1910) for as Duncan Light has noted, governing powers like to remake heritage sites in their own image.⁴

Using discourse and content analyses of travel and guide books, brochures, and websites – similar to studies by Alan Lew (guidebooks), Olivia Jenkins (photographs) and Craig Thompson and Kelly Tian (discourse) – this study traces the changes in the representation of Changgyeong to show how recorded impressions tend to pick up the conveniently condensed official narratives, reproducing and strengthening them despite the existence of counter narratives. Observers, especially travel guide writers and tourists from foreign cultures, often rely upon provided blurbs and views to form an impression. Shifting portrayals of Changgyeong are defined by three periods: the End of Joseon/Colonial (1895 to 1945), Authoritarian (1945-1993) and Civilian (1993-2014). I argue that initially, books, photographs and articles showcased Japanese-engineered modernity counterpoised to alleged Korean backwardness. After independence, personal cameras and video recordings accelerated post-colonial authoritarian regimes' efforts to prove South Korea's rising status and affluence via carefully constructed displays of modern life and traditional customs. By the 1990s, Changgyeong reappears as a

³ Changgyeong-gung (K. 창경궁, Ch. 昌慶宮) -won (K. 원, Ch. 園)

⁴ Light, "Facing the Future," 1070.

palace, one populated since the new millennium with digitized, social media-spread re-enactments and pop-cultural linkages designed to put a pleasing face on a dynasty and culture long denigrated as corrupt, hermitic and ineffectual.

Officials in charge of these grounds have successively written over their predecessors' work by constructing stories and sights calculated to inspire ever more awe, enjoyment and/or reverence through what Hong-Key Yoon calls "the art of palimpsest" – that is writing over the landscape of the recently defeated with their own expressions of opulence.⁵ In response, often verbatim replication of each successive official narrative occurs in concomitant descriptions recorded by observers. Yet, it is important to remember that these grounds remain a contested public memory site more than a simple "encoding station" designed to forge like-minded visitors.⁶ Official imagery has always been drawn out of focus at times by the simultaneous presence of counter narratives. Still, unmistakable, recurring patterns of social change, physical manifestation and psychological absorption emerge. The following brief background will help readers unfamiliar with Korean history understand the motivations and interests of both official administrators and some of those holding alternative views in each period covered.

In the Joseon Kingdom, Changgyeong was the natal chamber for crown princes and a residence for dowager queens. Its main hall and gate are oriented to the east, very uncharacteristic for a kingdom strongly grounded in Confucian ideology and geomancy.⁷ This odd layout hints at Changgyeong's earlier incarnation as a summer palace for the rulers of Goryeo (918-1392), Korea's preceding Buddhist-centered kingdom, or it is out of deference to a

⁵ Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 281.

⁶ Rowe et al., "Linking Little Narratives to Big Ones," 99.

⁷ Joseon palaces are typically oriented toward the south as prescribed by the tenants of geomancy.

Joseon shrine to past rulers lying to the south or to the natural lay of the land.⁸ Accounts also vary regarding who built what is now called Changgyeong and when, but the consensus is that for nearly all of Joseon's history (1392-1910), this palace housed abdicated kings, dowager queens and crown princes – in short those whom a king might like to keep close to the throne but not so close as to jeopardize his rule.⁹

Historically, Changgyeonggung was a secret world behind high walls and guarded gates; a place only ever seen by the royal family, select members of the court and the servants that attended to their needs. This deceptive tranquility changed dramatically starting in 1907. How and for what reason the palace was transformed into a public space all depends on whom you choose to read: some say Sunjong, the last Korean emperor (or king or prince; his title again dependent on the source) ordered the destruction of the palace to build a grand public park for his subjects.¹⁰ Others say Japanese officials, in particular the vice minister of the Korean Imperial Household, Komiya Mihomatsu, engineered the transformation, ostensibly to entertain the king but “subtly” to diminish the Korean royal family's stature in the eyes of their subjects.¹¹ This new space, with its zoo, museum and botanical garden was unmistakably modeled after Tokyo's Ueno Park, itself having emerged upon land fought over between the forces of the past and modernity.

⁸ See Appendix, Table 3, Column B.

⁹ Common timelines: late Goryeo (918-1392) summer palace; 1418, King Sejong expands palace to house his father (King Taejong) after the latter's abdication; 1483, King Seonjong expands it further to house three dowager queens and renames it Changgyeong, translated most commonly as “Flourishing Gladness” or “Bright Rejoicing.”

¹⁰ Horlyck, “Desirable Commodities,” 486, footnote 88. Horlyck cites p. 38 of the National Museum's 2009 book *Korean Museum: 100 Years in Remembrance* as the source for a Koyima Mihomatsu quote from the museum's first official catalogue (1912). Koyima claims in this entry that Korean ministers asked him to devise entertainments for Gojong who had decided to move from Deoksugung to Changdeokgung, the palace neighboring the new amusement complex at Changgyeong. The few pages of English text in the same 329-page Korean museum centennial celebration publication, however, emphasize eight times (pp. 009, 3 times; 011, 1; 205, 2; 210, 1; 211, 1) that the (Prince) Yi Royal Family Museum came about from Emperor Sunjong's desire to “share pleasure with people.”

¹¹ Appendix, Table 3, Columns D-H show to whom the studied travel guides have attributed creation of the park. Also, Komiya Mihomatsu 小宮三保松 (1859–1935) appears as Komiya Sabomatsu in Mok's article.

Ueno's zoological and botanical gardens were, according to Ian Miller, "indexes of an abstract and universal 'civilization'" that raised the government and academic entities in Japan to that rarified level of a society that had the resources to collect, study and classify life on earth by 1900.¹² Similarly, those in charge of collecting and classifying exhibits in Changgyeong since 1907 have used its structures and stories to frame Korea in a way that they understand to be correct and worthy of showing the public for educational purposes. In the case of the Japanese, the goal was, according to Henry, "to foster the establishment of civic morality (*kōtoku*), and thus bring about harmonious co-operative life (*enman naru kyōdō seikatsu*)."¹³

Komiya Mihomatsu and others appointed by Japan's then-Governor General Ito Hirobumi set towering edifices of modern architecture and engineering beside dilapidated palace structures. This process, in effect, covered over Joseon's efforts to develop a modern nation state as evident by the trams, power stations and mines uncovered in Henry's study of the modernity grasped at by King Gojong's concessions to foreign business interests.¹⁴ Several, mostly U.S.-Joseon, partnerships were in full operation by 1900, generating the type of revenue streams needed to sustain a nation state as conceived along the lines previously drawn in London, Washington, Berlin and Tokyo.¹⁵

Over a half century later, President Park Chung-Hee, leader of South Korea's 1961 coup, commissioned the second set of noteworthy palimpsest artists to touch up Changgyeong. The changes undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s were designed to outdo, rather than undo, Colonial Japan's broad strokes. Grandiose additions to the zoo and botanical garden dwarfed or replaced

¹² Miller, *Nature of the Beasts*, 39.

¹³ Song, "Moving Gyeongseong," 24; Henry, "Keijo: Japanese and Korean Constructions of Colonial Seoul," 81.

¹⁴ Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*, 2014; Lautensach, "*Koreas Hauptstadt und Ihre Umwelt*," 11, says that "At the turn of the century, Keijo (Seoul)... was the only East Asian city simultaneously possessing telegraph and telephone, water lines, electric trolleys and electric lights."

¹⁵ Allen, *Things Korean*, 135 (railroads) and 215 (mines).

some colonial-era structures. Crowds swarmed in for the new amusement park rides and annual cherry blossom festivals. Visitors were told that the park was originally a gift from the last Joseon king and its carnival-like atmosphere seemed to exemplify Korea's growing wealth and status.¹⁶ Kept out of view were chronicles of the past and present ties to Japan that had been instrumental to the construction of both the original and new park.¹⁷

In 1983, Chun Doo Hwan, South Korea's second coup leader-turned president, carried out Park's plan to relocate the zoo and amusement park and to start reclaiming Changgyeong's noble past. This move was inspired by the need to burnish Korea's cultural legacy prior to the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. Every subsequent elected administration has allocated funds for the demolition of 20th-century structures and/or the reconstruction of Joseon-era features. Sympathy for the suffering caused by Japanese desecration of the palace would be more difficult to elicit if the vestiges of garish amusements built by Koreans for Koreans in the 1960s and 70s still stood there. Hence, nearly everything built and planted to create a modern spectacle on the grounds between 1907 and 1979 has been removed with the exception of the now quaint Grand Greenhouse, once the largest in Asia. The post-liberation Korean structures have been removed from consciousness almost as thoroughly as their physical presence has been from the grounds.

Changgyeong today likely has far fewer tourists than it had in the 1970s and definitely far fewer palace structures than in the 19th century, but Joseon's Imperial House of Yi is again firmly ensconced there. Their dwellings have perhaps never looked so well maintained and are unquestionably more secure than they have been in centuries. Restoration has now shifted toward

¹⁶ *Korea 20 Years in Pictures*, 347.

¹⁷ No Changgyeong-related Authoritarian Period government publication covered here mentions any Japanese as the creators of the park. *Korea Annual* from 1972-1984 credits King Sunjong. Only in 1987 does *KA* change and mention the Japanese as creators and label it a "disgrace." (93) Also see Table 3, Columns D-H in the Appendix.

rehabilitating the reputations of its previous inhabitants. Visitors are once again being hurriedly retrained to focus as directed. Keen interest now is paid to three-generations of royals tied to the life and macabre death of a prince who in 1762 followed the order of his father, King Yeongjo, and stepped inside a rice chest where he slowly succumbed to starvation over the course of eight sweltering summer days. “Crown prince” is *seja* in Korean, and, depending on the source, this particular heir has been called Crown Prince Sado, Sado Seja, Emperor Changjo and the Rice Chest King. 21st-century print, film, television shows and on-site re-enactments of court celebrations have provided him a handsome makeover. Decades after his death, however, his old widow, who had been cloistered in the palace with him from the time they were both nine years old, remembered him as a loving and sagacious husband and father “who seemed to be not one person but two.”¹⁸ The murderous rages she attributes to Sado’s darker side are now sometimes described as lies intended to conceal her family’s role in his death – when her words are mentioned at all.

How one depicts a book, a man, a kingdom, an empire clearly impacts perception. Cultural and heritage promoters from each period studied here have never succeeded in having everyone see and recall the same image, but a majority of viewers recording visits in the material uncovered in this study do pick up and carry the narrative dominant at the time of their visit. For instance, two starkly divergent descriptions of the same garden illustrate the relation between the representation and production of a site and its reception. The quotes also prove that the “way in which people see the landscape depends only in part on what is actually there.”¹⁹

¹⁸ Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 265.

¹⁹ Zaring, "The Romantic Face of Wales," 417.

Percival Lowell came to Korea in 1883 after studying in Japan where he was “fascinated by ... its people, their customs, their tea-houses, gardens, and their art.”²⁰ He no doubt often read and heard the common American and Japanese reports of Joseon being a strange, backward kingdom. While his writing elsewhere indicates fond familiarity with the gardens of Japanese men: “His garden is more human, even, than his house. Not only is everything exquisitely in keeping with man, but natural features are actually changed, plastic to the imprint of their lord and master’s mind.”²¹ He appears to have been unaware of the philosophy behind the ideal Korean landscape, ie, the desire to live in harmony with nature and draw from rather than dominate it.²² Coincidentally, his account from the journal *Science* of a visit to King Gojong reveals unmasked disdain for Korean gardens vis-à-vis the meticulously ordered flora showcases in Paris, London and Tokyo:

Nothing would strike [Koreans] as more inartistic than a collection of plants, however beautiful individually, arranged in a manner so wholly unnatural. ... Throw over the greater part of the scene the artistic touch of neglect and incipient ruin, and you have some idea of the grounds of the New Palace of Söul.²³

That patch of land described so sarcastically by Lowell and seemingly neglected by Koreans is now called Biwon or Secret Garden. It sits in the back of what was once (together with Changgyeong) known as the East Palace.²⁴ It has been one of Seoul’s most popular tourist attractions since Japanese authorities opened it upon an invitation-only basis in 1907 and added “special aromatic tea accompanied by cakes ... served on spotless linen spread upon a Western

²⁰ Lowell, *Biography of Percival Lowell*, 9.

²¹ Lowell, *The Soul of the Far East*, 128.

²² “Rather than contradicting nature, Koreans immersed themselves in it, assimilating its powerful forces. This sense of oneness or unity with nature runs throughout Korean landscaping...” Chung-Sik Joung, “Traditional Landscape Architecture,” *Koreana: Korean Cultural Heritage, Vol. 1 Fine Arts* (Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1994) 248.

²³ Lowell, “The New Palace at Söul,” 252.

²⁴ “The East Palace” is now the two separate palaces of Changdeok- and Changgyeong-gung.

table.”²⁵ Another Westerner viewing the same Korean garden a few years after it and its attached Changdeok Palace were named a UNESCO World Heritage site in 2004, wrote this review for Lonely Planet’s online guide to Seoul:

Walk through the dense woodland and suddenly you come across a serene glade among the large, ancient trees. This is the highlight, Biwon (Huwon), the Secret or Hidden Garden. Here are pavilions on the edge of a square lily pond, with other halls and a two-storey library. The board out the front, written by King Jeongjo, means ‘Gather the Universe’. Joseon kings relaxed, studied and wrote poems in this tranquil setting. ²⁶

Changgyeong, its royal inhabitants, and the treasures once housed there have also undergone remarkable metamorphoses – created not so much by physical transformations as by the rewriting of narratives, labels, and other promotional materials that provide the thoughts and images left to be picked up and replicated by current observers.

Chapter Two: LATE JOSEON/COLONIAL PERIOD (1895-1945)

At the beginning of the 20th century, Imperial Japanese authorities were out to prove their high ranking on the Social Darwinian scale to their own subjects and Western observers.²⁷ On the Korean Peninsula one manifestation of this desire took place on the grounds of what was the residence of Joseon’s crown prince. The race was on to classify knowledge and solidify one’s place at the apex of civilization. In Changgyeong and other institutions that they built in Joseon

²⁵ Terry, *Terry’s Japanese Empire*, 745.

²⁶ “Changdeokgung.” *Lonely Planet*. Lonely Planet responded via e-mail that the author is unknown as this online article is a composite of submitted material.

²⁷ Bix, *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*; Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths*; Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*.

palaces, administrators from Imperial Japan often sought to display the best that Japan currently and Korea (before Joseon) had to offer.

Korea's First Modern Display Case

In the 1860s, Japanese scholar officials were traveling through Europe, Russia and America collecting observations about the way the Western barbarian world worked.²⁸ That seemed to entail, in part, the collection and presentation of historical, artistic and industrial achievements in museums and exhibitions.²⁹ Since the late 1880s, Japanese authorities had also been bringing Western scholars, such as Percival Lowell and George Trumbull Ladd to Japan and Korea to teach science and art and to study and classify Asian culture in turn. The descriptions of Korea and its palaces that I will be analyzing for this period come from concurrent observations published in books and articles that likely drew on these early authoritative studies.

Social Darwinist Lowell's 612-page tome *Chosön, The Land of the Morning Calm: A Sketch of Korea* was published three years after his posting as the U.S. envoy to Korea started. Journalists, scholars, travel book publishers and tourists in this era often share his image of Korea.³⁰ It begins by describing the adventurous spirit of the Japanese who migrate across Asia, see islands on the horizon and keep going until they reach and settle their archipelago.³¹ In contrast, the once-nomadic Koreans do not happen upon the scene until page six where they proceed to simply coagulate on the peninsula: "The drowsy quiet of the spot lulled them to rest,

²⁸ Aso, *Public Properties*, 49; Miller, *Nature of the Beasts*, 39; Pai, "Constructing 'Korean' Origins," 42.

²⁹ Jensen et al., *Free Access to the Past*, 46.

³⁰ One review of the Ladd hagiography *In Korea with Marquis Ito* reads, "The book, filled with facts and judgments of the most important quality and significance, must be read by all who wish to have intelligent views as to the momentous drama that is now being enacted in Korea." in *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, 40, No. 8 (1908) 502.

³¹ Lowell, *Chosön, the Land of the Morning Calm*, 5. "Chosön" is "Joseon" in the revised Romanization system.

and they fell asleep. They were in the world, yet it was to them as if it had passed away. And so they slept on for ages.”³²

This is not to imply that everyone in the Colonial Period received and transmitted the same message about Korea and Japan. Henry describes the depictions of that time as being marked by “multivocal agency.”³³ For him and Noriko Aso, colonial administrators were groping for the best policy to produce loyal subjects while coping with destabilizing waves of modernity sweeping across the empire. Authorities were working out how to instruct subjects everywhere in regard to the proper thinking and behavior. Replicating Tokyo’s Ueno Park was one strategy Japanese administrators applied to Seoul. According to Miller, Ueno’s museum was a chance for the government to craft a national narrative, and the zoo embodied the power to harness nature to serve the state.³⁴ Non-Korean scholars (Aso, Miller, Henry) recognize that an assertion of dominance was clearly intended, but they tend to see Ueno and Changgyeong as designed to unify all social sectors inwardly while outwardly projecting the image of a cultured, wealthy, powerful empire. For Korean scholars (Yoon, Jong-Heon Jin, Michael Kim), however, the towering Japanese edifices casting shadows on the few dilapidated Joseon palace structures left standing were a calculated humiliation “to demystify and desacralize a space that had long been off limits to the public during Chosŏn.”³⁵

The concept of palimpsest is useful for analyzing the physical layout, attractions, and discourse surrounding Changgyeong during this first period. As Yoon explains, “when conquering groups erect their icons, they deliberately build their monument juxtaposed to the icon of the

³² Lowell, *Chosŏn, the Land of the Morning Calm*, 7.

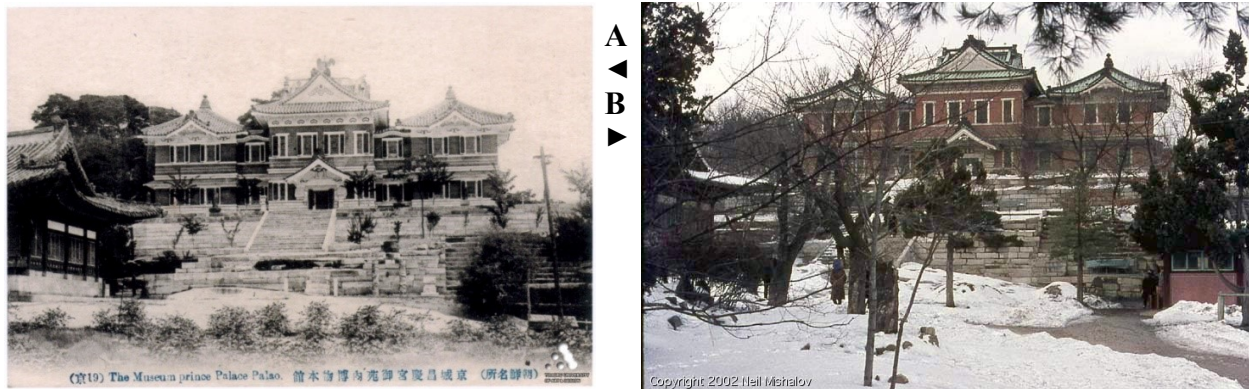
³³ Henry, *Assimilating Seoul*, 3.

³⁴ Miller, *Nature of the Beasts*, 38.

³⁵ Kim, “Collective Memory and Commemorative Space,” 82. “Chosŏn” is the McCune-Reischauer spelling of Joseon.

conquered group to contrast their ‘superior’ icon with the ‘poor’ one of the conquered people.”³⁶ The largest icons of Imperial Japan on display dominated the middle of Changgyeong’s grounds: the four-story Yi Royal Archive (장서각, Figure 2) and perched 1000 ft (300 m) away on the highest spot in the park, capped with the steep gables that epitomize Japanese castles, the two-story Prince Yi Museum (이왕가 박물관, Figure 1).³⁷ Between these edifices squatted the main hall and about six other once-palatial 17th-century structures. The recently added zoo lay to the south (Figure 3), the state-of-the art Grand Greenhouse (대온실) and lake-side pavilion, the Crystal Palace (수정궁, Figure 4) to the north. Hundreds of newly planted cherry trees (Figure 5) embraced them all.

Figure 1: Prince Yi Museum (Iwangga Bangmulgwan) 1911-1937 / Yi Royal Archive (Jangseogak) 1938-demolition 1992



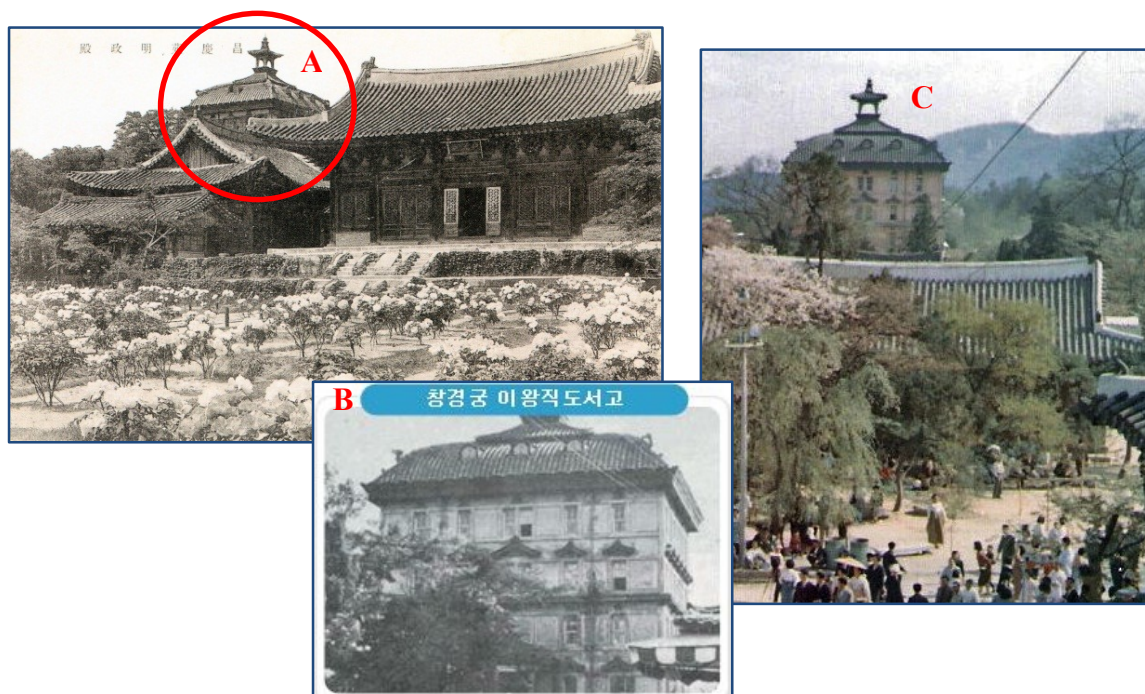
A: JTB postcard, circa 1915, from Tohoku University Archives. **B:** Personal photograph, 1969, from the blog of U.S. Veteran Neil Mishalov. See Appendix, Table 4 for further information.

³⁶ Yoon, *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*, 281.

³⁷ Since the wall separating Changdeok and Changgyeong had not been built at the time of the new archive’s construction, some websites and books state that Jangseogak was in Changdeok. However, when the wall was completed, Jangseogak sat inside Changgyeong’s zoo. Originally the Prince Yi was the Imperial Museum, referring to the Korean Empire. The name changed several times and was known as *Shōkeikyū Hakubutsukan* and *Ri Ōke Hakubtsukan shozōhin shashinchō* in Japanese. Most Colonial Period English materials refer to it as the Prince Yi Museum. I use this name within all periods to assist the reader. The National Museum of Korea’s website refers to Changgyeong’s former museum as the Yi Royal Family Museum of Art. Reverse Google Image searching shows most of the photos posted in this thesis have been uploaded to over 30 blog sites. It is therefore impossible to tell proper ownership, dates or other details. Table 4 in the Appendix lists specific URLs for all sources of photographs and articles not cited in the Bibliography.

Construction of the new park began in 1907 ostensibly at the behest of then Korean Crown Prince Sunjong.³⁸ Before construction ended in 1911, Sunjong's father King Gojong (1907) and Sunjong himself (1910) would be forced to abdicate their thrones, and Japan would annex these grounds and their entire kingdom. For Tong-seon U and Aso, Japanese officials reporting that they were acting on the orders of the new king were disingenuous since Korean monarchs likely could not have engineered such a major undertaking without the consent and guidance of Japanese administrators who controlled state affairs and finances by that time.³⁹

Figure 2: Yi Royal Archive (Jangseogak) 1915-1938 / Biological Specimen Hall (Pyobongwan) 1938-demolition 1983

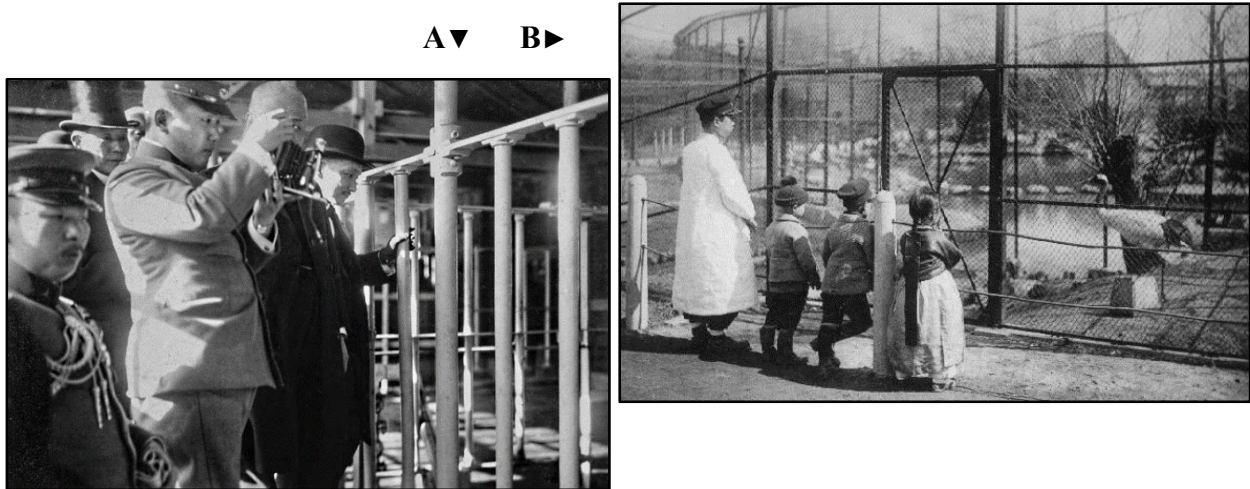


A: New archive circled behind and to the left of Myeongjeongjeon, Changgyeong's main palace hall. **B:** Close-up of the same building, circa 1915, as identified on the website of Jangseogak Archives. **C:** View from the steps leading to the Prince Yi Museum, taken by Dick Scheedel, U.S. Veteran, circa 1966, when the building was a hall for storing specimens from the zoo and botanical gardens. See Appendix, Table 4 for further information.

³⁸ Accounts vary (see Footnotes 11 & 17).

³⁹ U et al., *궁궐의눈물* (Tears of the Palace), 203-4; Aso, *Public Properties*, 111-112.

Figure 3: Changgyeong Zoo (1909-demolition 1983)



A: King Sunjong's half-brother Crown Prince Yeong takes a photo while visiting in 1918 during a break from studies in Japan. **B:** Korean children by one of the many bird cages, circa 1930. Source: Korean blogs. See Appendix, Table 4 for further information.

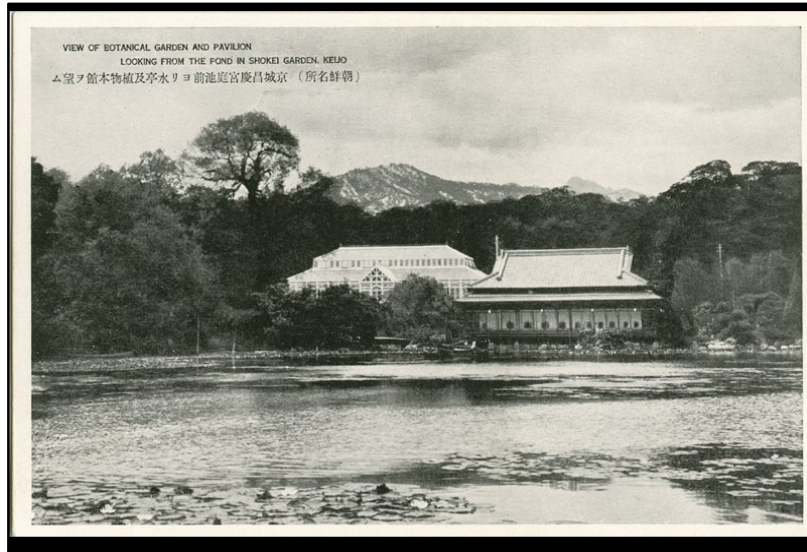
The transformation of Changgyeong was a small part of a much larger picture, according to Hyung Il Pai. Japan's imperial treasury had been severely drained as a result of the numerous military campaigns from 1894 to 1905. The Japanese were increasingly portrayed as bellicose and savage in the Western press, and tourism offered a way to soften this image and generate revenue.⁴⁰ The Japan Tourism Bureau (JTB) partnering with Japan's newspapers and railroad concerns began publishing tourist guides to imperial lands as soon as they were acquired. Seoul's palaces received barely a mention in a 1910 guide released by the Welcome Society of Japan.⁴¹ A year later, Changgyeong was a well-trodden part of a recommended day tour of Seoul for those en route to Manchuria.⁴²

⁴⁰ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 145.

⁴¹ *Guide-Book for Tourist in Japan*, 219.

⁴² Pai, *Heritage Management*, 151.

Figure 4: Crystal Palace (Sujeonggung) 1909 - demolition 1966 (foreground) and Grand Greenhouse (Daeonsil) 1912 -present



JTB postcard from the Lafayette College Digital Archive The small lake, Chundangji, was previously royal rice paddies to gauge the success of the nation’s harvest. See Appendix, Table 4 for further source information.

Figure 5: Changgyeong Cherry Blossoms



◀A: JTB postcard of Shokeien (Changgyeong) grounds in Keijo (Seoul) circa late 1920s, judging by tree size and clothing styles. Source: Korean blog.

▶B: From the school uniforms, it appears to be late 1940s or early 1950s. Source: City of Seoul online photo archive.

See Appendix, Table 4 for further information.



Joseon Maidens and Decrepit Rulers

JTB photographers often attempted to entice tourists by showing young Korean women in traditional Hanbok posing among Changgyeong's wooden columns to create an image of a more exotic destination.⁴³ Fujushima Takeji, a Japanese illustrator dispatched to capture the "essence" of early 20th-century Korea, came away mesmerized by the colorful clothes reminiscent of those worn by women in 12th century Japanese paintings. "Subsuming Korean culture in Japan's historical past had become a trope for justifying imperialism."⁴⁴

The JTB also staged photo shoots with members of the Korean royal family in another attempt to stir Japanese emotions and interest in the peninsula through postcards. Koreans were "understandably upset" by such strategies, according to Aso, but she points out that the Japanese emperor's image was also on postcards as part of a campaign of "ocular domination." She contends that in this instance, just as with the creation of a Ueno-like park in Changgyeong, Japanese officials were replicating policies being carried out in Tokyo.⁴⁵

Both Japanese and Korean royal personages appear on JTB postcards, it is true, but Emperor Taishō and Crown Prince Hirohito are always confidently posed, facing forward, and often in full military dress. Korea's last rulers Gojong and Sunjong are never identified by their official title "Emperor" and are not always shown in a flattering light. One colonial-era postcard in particular (Figure 6) demonstrates the still lingering multivocal agency and "competing discourses" being generated within Korea.⁴⁶ The postcard resembles those put out by the JTB and is a composite of four scenes contrasting Seoul's present and past.⁴⁷ The lowest image

⁴³ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 153

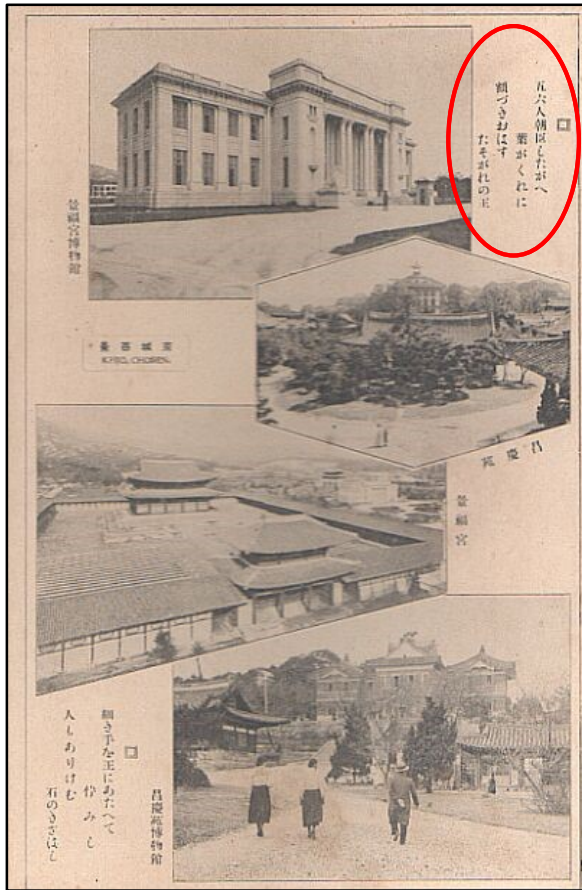
⁴⁴ Wong, *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*, 104.

⁴⁵ Aso, *Public Properties*, 113-114.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 109, citing Henry Em from *Colonial Modernity in Korea*.

⁴⁷ E-mails to the card owner were unanswered. Japanese acquaintances provided the tonka translation.

Figure 6: Colonial Period Postcard of Seoul (Keijo)



Apparent JTB postcard, circa 1915. From top: Government-General Museum, Gyeongbok; Royal Archive, Changgyeong; Changdeok-gung (Palace); Korean King and Prince Yi Museum, Changgyeong. Source: Japanese postcard seller. See Table 4.

shows an old man walking through the grounds of Changgyeong flanked by some women in modern Hanbok uniforms. The *tonka* (short song) lyrics circled in red in the upper right hand corner reads:

In the twilight of his kingdom
The king walks
With four or five servants
Looking downward

The king shown is most likely the abdicated Gojong, given the apparent year (circa 1915) and the ruler's age (over 50). He is heading away from the viewer and toward the new Prince Yi Museum. Above him are photos of the Yi Royal Archive in Changgyeong and the

Government-General Museum in Gyeongbokgung. Herein lies the discordant beauty of this card: Korean nationalists can point

to its depiction of a forlorn monarch eulogized in song as proof of officially sanctioned Japanese derision, yet Japanese nationalists can point to the museums and archive as proof of their imperial agents' efforts to collect, preserve and promote indigenous Korean culture.

The postcard in Figure 6 was likely made during the Period of Military Rule, *budanseiji*, from 1910-1919 when policies adopted as far back as the late-Tokugawa/early-Meiji transition period were still the norm. These policies included portraying Japanese culture as more evolved

than that found in Korea and throughout the Asian mainland – partly out of hubris but also as a way to validate growing official claims to the right to colonize, civilize and modernize Korea by virtue of Japan’s superior development.⁴⁸

Selling and Buying Ancient Korean-Japanese Ties

Japanese delegations to world expositions had begun distributing guides to Japanese culture in English and other languages back in the mid to late 19th century.⁴⁹ But during the *budanseiji*, asserting Japanese dominance was still a major concern, and Prince Yi Museum curators, whom incidentally included no Koreans among them, were primarily focused on collecting indigenous Korean artefacts to display.⁵⁰ Charlotte Horlyck quotes Sir Godfrey Gompertz as describing Korea between 1905 and 1916 as a “veritable orgy of pillaging.”⁵¹ Grave robbing and illicit sales to museums and private collectors were commonplace. “Japanese surveyors in the peninsula had the power to excavate where they wished.” This included royal tombs, whereas on the main islands, “the Imperial Household Ministry expressly forbade disruption of the sacred space of imperial tombs.”⁵² A 1916 law also kept Koreans from employment on archeological survey teams.⁵³

Horlyck describes the looting and subsequent crack down as a way to corner a newly manipulated Korean antiquities market.⁵⁴ As for the reaction to the Prince Yi Museum collection assembled by the Japanese teams as of 1914, the writer covering the new museum for *Terry’s*

⁴⁸ Yoshino, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan*, 20; Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins*, 39.

⁴⁹ Aso, *Public Properties*, 91-92; Pai, *Heritage Management*, 70.

⁵⁰ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 119.

⁵¹ Horlyck, “Desirable Commodities,” 483.

⁵² Aso, *Public Properties*, 119.

⁵³ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 175.

⁵⁴ Horlyck, “Desirable Commodities,” 484.

Japanese Empire was unimpressed:

It is decidedly inferior to the customary splendid ancient and modern art objects one usually sees in the museums of Japan. There are strangely few antiquities of artistic or intrinsic worth, despite the oft-repeated assertion that Korea was the fountainhead whence the wonderful artisans of Old Japan drew their inspiration.⁵⁵

Japanese promoters of culture and national identity started to apply their proven sales techniques to their Korean finds during the Cultural Rule Period, *bunkaseiji* (1920-39) with a subsequent marked difference in the quantity, quality and description of Korean artifacts put on display in Changgyeong.⁵⁶ The Governor General's office produced, published and distributed handsome Prince Yi Museum catalogues, one volume for sculpture and artifacts and one for painting. This strategy ties back into promotion of Japan as a growing empire possessing cultural heights and destinations well worth the attention of academics and tourists. Sales to foreign museums were often arranged at international exhibitions through such catalogues.⁵⁷ Japanese- and English-language editions of this two-volume set ran from 1912 to 1943 and are still reference resources at 18 universities and five museums in the United States, according to a June 23, 2015, WorldCat title search.⁵⁸

Once Japan started using the Prince Yi Museum's collection to advertise the cultural legacy of Korea, accounts similar to their scholars' analyses began to appear abroad. Andreas Eckardt published *Geschichte der Koreanischen Kunst* in 1929.⁵⁹ This Korean art history book makes several references to items held in the "Prince I Museum" of Seoul. Eckardt explains that

⁵⁵ Terry, *Terry's Japanese Empire*, 745. A considerable part of the collection was displayed within the palace's main hall and the corridors flanking the courtyard in the early 20th century.

⁵⁶ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 93.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 91.

⁵⁸ Japanese title: 李王家博物館所藏品寫真帖 (Prince Yi Museum Catalogue). Worldcat.org also showed Germany, the UK, France and Canada each having one institution with copies. The Indiana University Fine Arts Library's 1929 version contains wax-paper dividers between every page and will be discussed in more detail below.

⁵⁹ The same year an English-language version, *History of Korean Art*, was released.

his book is a product of German and Japanese universities' efforts to fill the void in Korean art-related literature that exists in Western languages.⁶⁰ He then goes on to repeat verbatim the common conclusions of Japanese scholars that Korean art in the pre-Joseon periods, especially Goryeo, was of exceptional quality, but "due to weak governance in the last century, the people had lost their artistic abilities. However, under Japanese and European-American influence, they can regain their previous stature."⁶¹

Colonial Period scholars in Australia and America also draw heavily on Japanese sources and, like Eckardt, repeat and praise Japanese findings. Writing from Sydney in 1941 about Japanese architecture, Arthur Sadler explains that Korean craftsmen carried over the knowledge and skills required to build Japan's 7th century Hōryūji monastery, and in the United States in the same year, the Toledo Museum exhibited *The Art of Korea (chosen) Manchuria (manchukuo) Mongolia and Tibet*, noting in the accompanying publication that "Korea has maintained a splendid national type of art. From the beginning of the Christian era to about the fourteenth century there is material from early tombs – only recently excavated – which is of astounding excellence; and from the successive period to about 1800A.D., there is a quantity of art, fine pottery especially, which materially augments our survey."⁶² Japanese officials during the 1920s and 1930s successfully spread awareness of the Korean art that they wanted appreciated worldwide through the Prince Yi Museum exhibitions and publications.

⁶⁰ Eckardt, *Geschichte Der Koreanischen Kunst*, 5. A review of this book carried the line "only one monograph on Korean art has hitherto been published in a European language, a little book by Prof. Ernst Zimmermann issued as long ago as 1895." Rackham, "A History of Korean Art ...Reviewed," 144-145, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/864498>. In conclusion, Rackham draws attention to "minor flaws in an otherwise admirable book in the hope that they may receive attention if a new edition is ever published." It should be noted, however, that Eckardt correctly identified Figure 8 as coming from the "12th century," ie, Goryeo, whereas the Prince Yi catalogue incorrectly lists the piece as being from Joseon.

⁶¹ Author's translation of Eckardt, *Geschichte*, 5; Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins*, 50, quotes Sekino Tadashi, the Japanese professor who surveyed Joseon relics, as publishing practically these exact words in 1904.

⁶² *Art of Korea (chosen) Manchuria (manchukuo)*, Foreword.

According to Aso, Goryeo relics constituted two thirds of the Prince Yi Museum's collection, and Joseon relics were clearly dwarfed by those from Goryeo and earlier dynasties in the sculpture/pottery volume of the 1929 Prince Yi Museum catalogue.⁶³ The Eckardt book contains 506 illustrations, of the 30 attributed to the Prince Yi Museum collection, 13 are Goryeo celadon and seven are identified as bronze mirrors from "Goryeo graves."⁶⁴ Only two of the 30 were from Joseon. None of the paintings Eckardt displays were attributed to the Prince Yi Museum collection although many of his selections are also carried in its 1929 catalogue, and, like in the catalogue, many if not most of Eckardt's collection seem to comprise Joseon works -- not because these paintings were deemed superior but because few paintings from earlier dynasties were still intact.⁶⁵

Aso, Henry, Yoon and others contend that Imperial Japanese officials wanted to persuade both Japanese and Korean subjects that the two peoples shared the same lineage, albeit with the Korean line being less evolved. Goryeo artwork accentuates a pan-empire Buddhist legacy and sustains the narrative of Joseon as having failed to carry on this noble heritage.⁶⁶ Pai contends the museum holdings naturally appealed to the taste of Japanese visitors since the purchasers and curators were all Japanese.⁶⁷ Two works in the 1929 Japanese-language catalogue, a drawing and carved Bodhisattva, struck me as more Japanese than Korean in style. Japanese speakers described the text as staid and said the pieces were attributed to anonymous Joseon (1392-1910) artists (see Figures 7 and 8). Art Historian Judy Stubbs, however, believes that they were likely included because of their clear pan-East Asian heritage; not because they looked Japanese.⁶⁸

⁶³ Aso, *Public Properties*, 115.

⁶⁴ Eckardt, *Geschichte Der Koreanischen Kunst (History of Korean Art)*, 47.

⁶⁵ *Arts: Korea Background Series*, 9-11.

⁶⁶ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 137, 141.

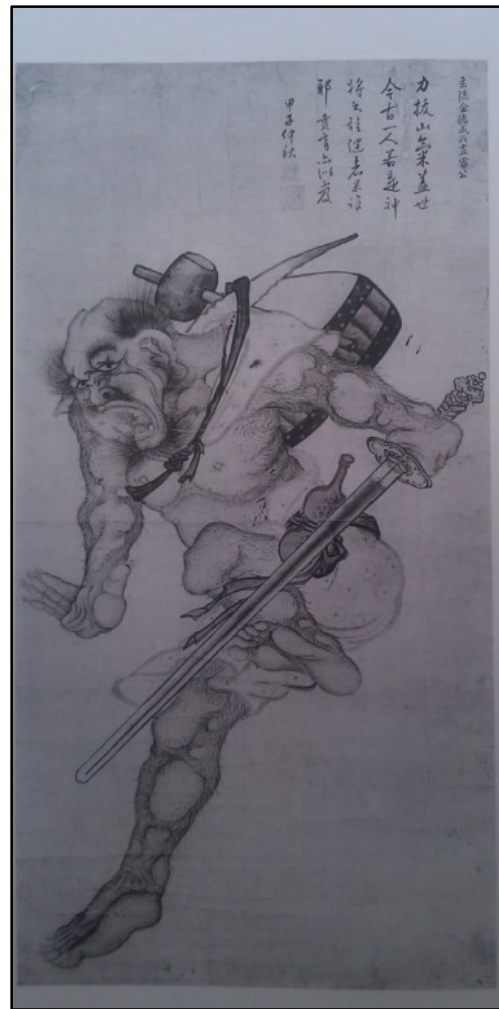
⁶⁷ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 178.

⁶⁸ Stubbs, Pamela Buell Curator of Asian Art at the Indiana University Art Museum, kindly agreed to inspect the

For Soo-hyun Mok, the Prince Yi Museum was “set up purely for the display of old objects rather than functioning with culturally informative intentions. This was mainly due to incompetence and ignorance on the part of the management of the museum.”⁶⁹ And yet, the catalogue also includes the 19th-century Portrait of Yi Jae and the 7th-century pensive Maitreya; works now prominently housed in Seoul’s National Museum.⁷⁰ While these two iconic Korean pieces of art resurface in catalogues produced during the Rhee, Park and subsequent administrations, those in Figures 7 and 8 have largely been kept out of sight since 1945.⁷¹

Uncovering the actual motivations and intended appeal behind the selection of the Prince Yi Museum’s collection is beyond the scope of this study. However, several concurrent Western

Figure 7: “Personification of Thunder”



Eckardt (p. XC) lists the artist as “Kim Tök-Sōng = Hyōn-un,” circa 1400, ie, early Joseon. Source: *Ri Ōke Hakubtsukan (Prince Yi Museum Catalogue)*, folio 51, volume 2.

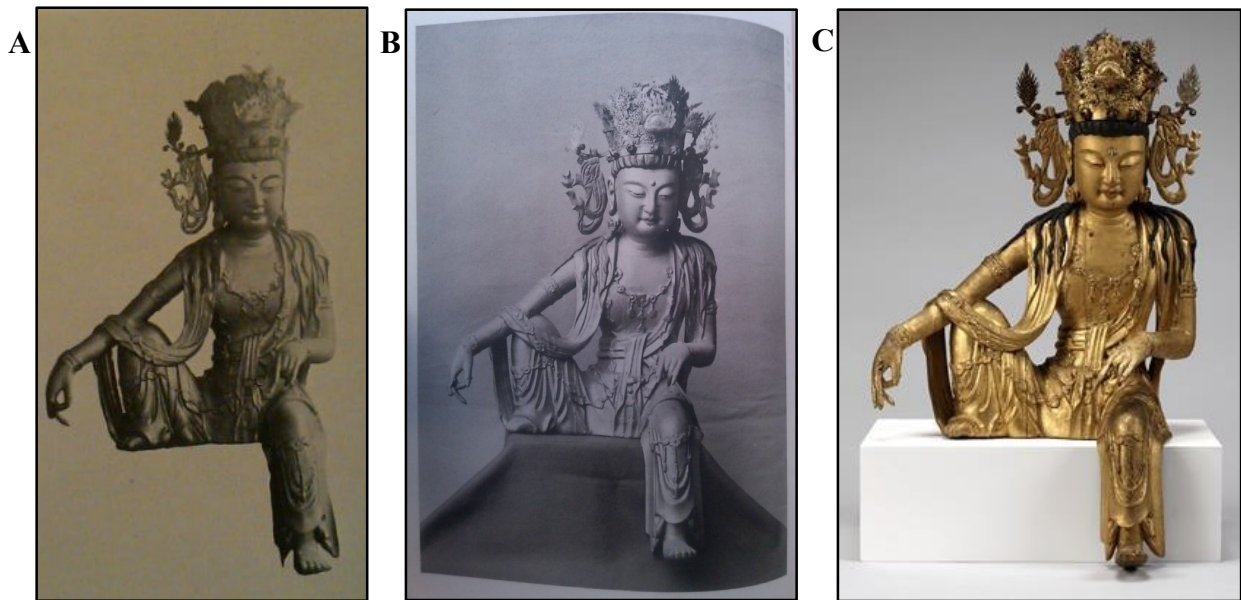
relevant pages from the 1929 Prince Yi Museum catalogue at my request in the summer of 2014.

⁶⁹ Mok, “The Colonial Construct of the Yi Royal-Family Museum,” 103.

⁷⁰ The massive six-story National Museum of Korea symbolically sits on land successively used to house occupying troops from China, Japan and the United States in Seoul’s Yongsan-gu.

⁷¹ In a fall 2014 trip to Seoul, only a young woman at the National Museum’s Information desk was willing to answer questions about Figures 7, 8 and 9. She said 7 (“Personification of Thunder”) looked to be of Japanese origin and consequently was likely not in the collection. A Google Chrome image search led to Korean blogs that listed the artist as either Noe Gong-Do (K. 뇌공도, Ch. 雷公圖) or Kim Deok-Seong (K. 김덕성, Ch. 金德成) and the owner as the National Museum of Korea. The National Museum’s website as of June 17, 2015, shows holdings by these artists but not the drawing in Fig. 7, (see Appendix, Table 4). Eckardt, *Geschichte*, XC, attributes Fig. 7 to “Kim Tök-Sōng.” Figure 8C made the cover of a new National Museum book on Buddhist art in 2014 and was included in a special exhibition in 2015 (see Appendix, Table 4 for further information).

Figure 8: “Kwannon 12th Century”



Bodhisattva carving from **A**: Eckardt, *Geschichte*, LXXX; **B**: *Prince Yi Museum Catalogue*, folio 51, volume 1; **C**: Kim, “중앙박물관.” The latter online Yonhap article identifies the sculpture as Registered Artifact No. 953 from the old Deoksu (including Prince Yi Museum) collection. Recent carbon-dating and x-rays date the piece as being from Goryeo as Eckardt’s Kwannon title above suggests. See Footnote 71 and Appendix, Table 4 for more about this figure.

publications inspired in part by the collection gathered and narrated by Imperial Japanese curators clearly show that the recurrent tropes of lauding Silla, Baekje and especially Goryeo art and lamenting Korea’s creative decline under Joseon were picked up and carried overseas.⁷²

Manipulating the Best of Joseon

Eckardt’s *History of Korean Art* does feature several examples of Joseon architecture and painting, but it sets up the artists from this period as deficient in comparison to their predecessors

⁷² Besides Eckardt’s book, other examples include *The Art of Korea (chosen) Manchuria (manchukuo) Mongolia and Tibet*; Sadler, *A Short History of Japanese Architecture*.

(see pages 19 and 20). When he does depict Joseon Art, eg, the paintings of Joseon master Kim Hong-do, Eckardt makes his selection entirely from the works displayed in the Prince Yi Museum catalogue.

Kim Hong-do's "genre paintings" are vivid depictions of Joseon life from quotidian practices like visiting the market to lavish court ceremonies. Eckardt displays two examples of Kim's most highly praised style in photos that are too small and dimly lit to properly discern. Both photos sit under one large example of what appears to be Kim's uninspiring attempt to paint in a Western style (see Figure 9).⁷³

Figure 9: "Dog on a Chain"



Painting attributed to mid- to late-18th century Joseon artist Kim Hong-do in both Eckardt's *History of Korean Art* and the 1929 Prince Yi Museum catalogue (folio 58, volume 2). Source: see Footnote 73.

Kim's body of work yields far more impressive examples. His talent was so exceptional and evident even in his day that he was commissioned to paint a portrait of King Jeongjo. Official City of Seoul website VisitSeoul.net credits him for guidance in the completion of the Joseon masterpiece: *The Uigwe of King Jeongjo's Procession to His Father's Tomb in the Eulmyo Year* (園幸乙卯整理儀軌).⁷⁴ Uigwe is a court commissioned chronicle, and refers here to

⁷³ Eckardt, *Geschichte (History of Korean Art)*, LXXXIX.

⁷⁴ VisitSeoul.net, "Cheonggye Prominent Landmark No. 3: Banchado of King Jeongjo," Accessed May 18, 2015.

Jeongjo's 1795 eight-day visit to his father (Crown Prince Sado)'s grave.⁷⁵ Nearly 1,800 courtiers, soldiers and servants on foot, riding atop one of 779 horses or carried in palanquins crossed the Han River upon a bridge laid atop specially prepared floating pontoons. This depiction of monarchical power, wealth, engineering and scholastic prowess is also exceptional for something even rarer among most depictions of Joseon – subjects, rulers and slaves communing all together and smiling.⁷⁶

Eckardt's book contains one similar *uigwe* image: "Parade before the King," which he describes as a page from an undated "Ceremony Book" held in the Royal Library.⁷⁷

The 1795 Procession *uigwe* or at least a few of the numerous copies made from it must have been in the possession of the Japanese authorities overseeing the affairs of the House of Yi.⁷⁸ These men claimed to be tasked with building a museum to display the taste of Joseon rulers, yet they chose "Dog on a Chain" (Figure 9) over all of the panels from Jeongjo's Procession chronicle. And in turn, Eckardt chose to follow suit. Mok questions Prince Yi Museum Curator Suematsu Kumahiko's qualifications, labeling him a former tax official.⁷⁹ Eckardt's faintly recorded background shows a hint of Catholic priest and explorer, but his knowledge of art is highly regarded (with at least one caveat; see Footnote 59).⁸⁰ It seems odd then, given his appreciation of Asian art, that he would not question why Kim Hong-do, an artist

http://www.visitseoul.net/en/m/article/article.do?_method=view&m=&p=&menu=0004003002016&art_id=422.

⁷⁵ His mother, author of *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, accompanied him on the trip and was also feted for her auspicious 60th birthday in a temporary palace within the newly built Suwon Fortress.

⁷⁶ This series of paintings on paper have been reproduced in a color tile mural that stretches 192 meters along the reclaimed stream Cheonggyecheon in downtown Seoul (Table 2 in Appendix).

⁷⁷ Eckardt, *Geschichte Der Koreanischen Kunst*, CI. The Royal Library mentioned is most likely the archive at Changgyeong (see Figure 2).

⁷⁸ One of the original copies was admitted into the "Imperial Household Museum" (Jesil Bangmulgwan) in 1908 according to 한국 박물관 개관 100주년 (*Korean Museum: 100 Years*), 82.

⁷⁹ Mok, "일제하 이왕가 박물관" (Colonial Construct of the Yi Royal-Family Museum), 103.

⁸⁰ Olša and Schirmer, "An Unsung Korean Hero in Central Europe," 17.

clearly adept at portraying active, vibrant and/or lofty people, would choose a reclining dog as a subject. Perhaps Eckardt had already been conditioned to see Joseon artists as unremarkable.

Pai has uncovered records showing that objects were purchased for and donated to the Prince Yi Museum from the Prince Yi Household Agency overseen by Governor General Ito.⁸¹ It would appear then that in the purchase of “Dog on a Chain,” Ito (or one of the Japanese curators employed by his office) was fooled by an obvious fake or intentionally allowed a subpar painting to be attributed to one of Joseon’s greatest painters. Still, even if the selection of this painting were a conscious attempt to discredit Joseon and its artists, it was but one of a number of competing narratives and imagery produced about Korea at this time. The Prince Yi Museum’s depictions of the heights of Korean art were never universally replicated: *Terry’s Japanese Empire* ridicules “[t]he fictitious value placed upon some of these old Korean bits by Japanese enthusiasts,” adding that a celadon mound bowl that went for ¥90,000 was actually worth only ¥15.⁸²

Nevertheless, the impact from the Prince Yi Museum’s depictions of Korean art and heritage continues to reverberate through official efforts to establish an image of Korea and will resurface in the Authoritarian and Civilian periods. The museum’s legacy is an integral part of this study. Its collection remains largely intact but the interpretations and values placed on its Joseon and Goryeo pieces have changed markedly since liberation. In addition, the failure of Korean administrators to mention the museum in most post-1945 palace promotional material has left the building itself largely forgotten.

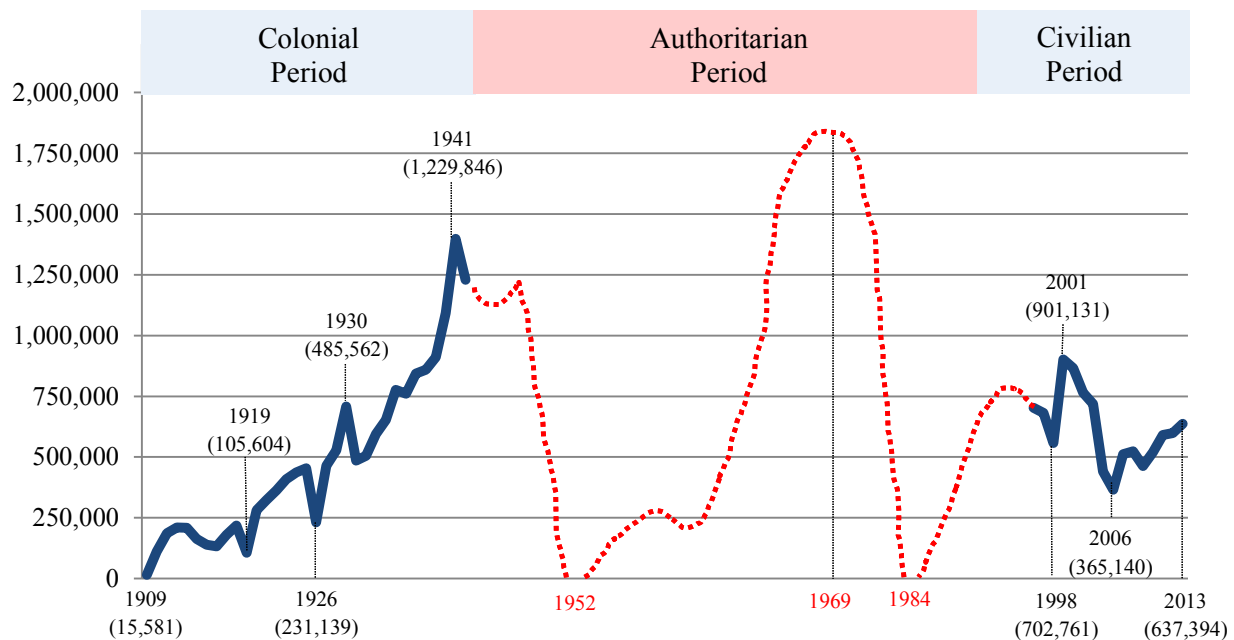
⁸¹ Pai, *Heritage Management*, 178.

⁸² Terry, *Terry’s Japanese Empire*, 746.

Implanting Painful Memories in the Garden and Zoo

Conversely, Changgyeong’s zoo and botanical garden are prominently featured in 21st-century tourist literature and consequently well remembered today. Exotic animals stocked in formerly royal dwellings are Changgyeong’s most salient markers of transformation and worthy of study. However, most of the brief accounts neglect two undisputable facts: 1) citizens of Seoul – Japanese and Koreans alike – enjoyed seeing the animals; and 2) some of the artifacts first amassed there are now among the most highly rated national treasures. If the transformation of the palace into a park was a calculated strategy to humiliate the nation, that sense did not seem to keep Korea’s “modern boys and girls” in the 1920s from making frequent visits.⁸³

Figure 10: Changgyeong Attendance 1909-2013



Sources: **1909-1941**, Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea’s Zoo), 404; **1998-2013**, 문화재청 주요업무 통계자료집 (CHA Primary Statistics); **1942-1988** author’s estimate based on information in Figure 12. Note that during the 1950-1953 Korean War and 1983-1986 reconstruction attendance fell to zero.

⁸³ Aso, *Public Properties*, 112, citing Park Sohyun.

The idea that the denigration of Joseon rulers was the overarching plan behind the Governor General's placement of the zoo, Grand Greenhouse and Crystal Palace in Changgyeong loses credibility when considering the huge numbers of Koreans lured to the attractions (see Figures 12). Coaxing visitors to enjoy being part of a powerful, modern empire seems to have been the primary goal of park planners during the Colonial Period.

Still, the image of modernity brought to Changgyeong had a Japanese touch that was far from subtle. Hundreds of cherry trees were planted on the grounds in 1907.⁸⁴ By the end of the Colonial Period, the trees were fully grown and the intensity of their blooms became synonymous with the warmth of spring in the minds of Seoulites of all backgrounds.⁸⁵ Attendance for just the 10-day Cherry Blossom Festival in 1937 is over half of the total 2013 attendance reported for Changgyeong via the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA).⁸⁶

In her 2008 article about Changgyeong's Cherry Blossom culture, Hyun Sook Kim emphasizes that -- while many Colonial Period Koreans discussing the blossoms adopted the Japanese term *sakura* for the Korean *beotggot*— the flower never came to convey the same bittersweet sense of fleeting transience that it does for the Japanese: “[T]o Koreans, cherry blossoms were never far removed from being a seasonal interest, a ‘brightly blossoming splendid spring flower.’” She goes on to say that while the Japanese prefer to sit under the trees for long times with dear ones, Koreans prefer to file pass the blossoms among large crowds that take in a

⁸⁴ *Seoul City Tour*, 196, says “thousands of cherry trees planted.” Photo comparisons make it clear that hundreds, if not thousands, of cherry trees must have been planted around 1910.

⁸⁵ Kim, “창경원 밤 벚꽃놀이와 夜櫻” (Night Cherry Blossoms Festival and Yojakura at Changgyeong Garden), 139.

⁸⁶ Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea's Zoo), 405, puts April 18 to April 27, 1937, Cherry Blossom Festival attendance at 333,396 visitors. Total Changgyeong attendance in 2013: 637,394, according to 문화재청 주요업무 통계자료집 (CHA Primary Statistics, 2013), 52. The comparison is far starker when considering that as a percentage of the concurrent population of Seoul: around 70% of all inhabitants visited Changgyeong over 10 days in 1937 and less than 0.07% of the inhabitants visited Changgyeong all year in 2013.

stream of branches rather than bask under the canopy of a few.

The Korean cherry blossom tradition described by Kim extends only as far back as the mid-1980s. Photos and memories posted on blogs show that Koreans had adopted more than the former colonizers' word for cherry blossom. They incorporated the style of celebrating the season well into the 1950s and 60s (see Figure 12). Re-training Koreans to view cherry blossoms differently took considerable time and logistics. Only after the Chun Doo-Hwan administration ripped out and replanted Changgyeong's cherry trees in long rows along pathways around the National Assembly on Youido and on the campus of Seoul National University in the 1980s did Koreans apparently start to follow the tradition that Kim describes.⁸⁷

Nearly 1.5 million visited Changgyeong in 1940, according to the records listed in Oh Chang-Yeong's book on the zoo.⁸⁸ The zoo clearly remained a major draw well into the Authoritarian Period. It seems likely then that associating the zoo with colonial subjugation did not reach a level of critical Korean collective memory mass until the late 1980s. Had it always been a widely shared sentiment, closing the zoo would have been an easy undertaking at the time of liberation when the keys to the grounds were returned to Koreans.

Miller devotes an entire chapter of his book on Ueno Park Zoo to the mass murder of its animals at the end of World War II. Japanese authorities, eager to turn zoo keepers into soldiers, melt iron bars into weapons, and set an equally harrowing example of sacrifice for the empire in Seoul as in Tokyo, ordered Korean zookeepers to secretly poison all of Changgyeong's animals. By the time Koreans took over management of the grounds in 1945, far less than half of the 670

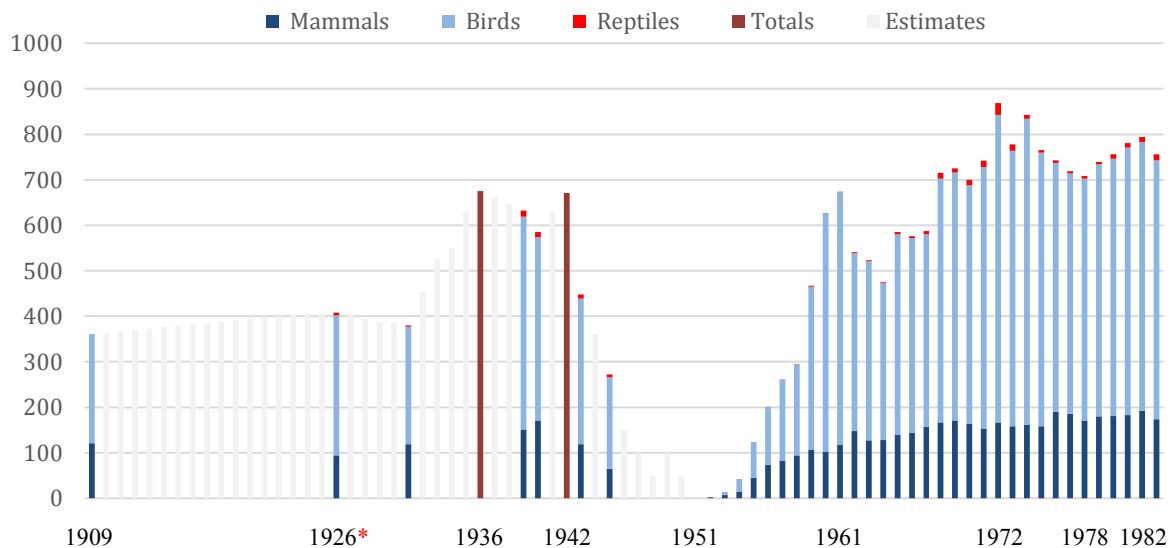
⁸⁷ My Changgyeong guide in 2014 said the government transplanted the trees to these places. I have not found the information in other sources.

⁸⁸ Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea's Zoo), 132.

animals housed there in 1939 remained (see Figure 11).

Decades of bright lights and exotic images funneled into Changgyeong by the Japanese from 1907 to 1945 seem to have fused an image of modernity onto the grounds within the minds of Seoul’s citizenry and their visiting country cousins. After more than a decade of neglect, Korea’s authoritarian governments in the following period chose to resuscitate Changgyeong’s notoriety to prove Korea’s standing as a prosperous economic dynamo.

Figure 11: Changgyeong Zoo Animal Population 1908-1983



Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea’s Zoo), 432-433. Only totals are given for 1936 and 1942. Simple average annual changes between the data provided were added for a better sense of the entire 73-year span. Oh mentions the animal population rising slightly before the 1950-53 Korean War.

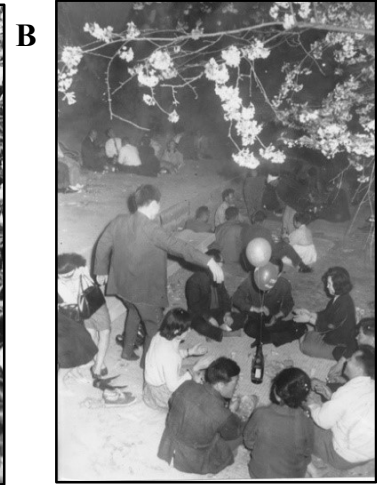
*+ 2 amphibians

Figure 12: Evidence of Changgyeongwon’s Post-War Popularity 1960-1995

A: Would-be celebrants struggle to buy Cherry Blossom Festival tickets, circa 1976.



B: Visitors celebrate under the blossoms with loved ones or co-workers. One blogger wrote, “창경궁에선 상춘객들이 밤가는 줄도 모르고 봄꽃에 흠뻑 취했다.” (Picnickers would go to Changgyeonggung and lose track of time, relishing spring flowers on into the night.) Source listed at bottom of this page.



C: Travel Guide Quotes

“In springtime ... huge numbers of people visit the place even at nighttime for cherry-blossom viewing. ...The zoo and the conservatory at the Botanical Gardens draw large crowds ... interested in flora and fauna of native and foreign origin. During the Korean War rare varieties of plants and animals were lost. New specimens are continually being collected to add more charm...” Ha, **1960**, 12-13.

“During the Japanese period, the zoo was a very fine one. Since the Korean War it has been revived and improved, and it is now approaching the previous standard. It is well worth a visit, though in the warmer months it is quite crowded, especially in the afternoons.” Clark, **1969**, 99.

“Now a delightful park containing Seoul City’s zoo and an amusement facility, only a few buildings remain which suggest that this area served as a detached palace during the Yi Dynasty. ... A botanical garden was established on the grounds in 1907 by order of the king. The title was changed from *kung* (palace) to *won* (garden) at this time. The Japanese authorities developed Ch’anggyong-won into a zoo with the subtle intent to weaken the influence of the king. ... However, ... [it] was greatly expanded after the war years. This park and zoo are well worth a visit especially in the spring as the many paths are lined with Japanese flowering cherry. Adams, **1976**, 62-63.

“The most popular palace is Ch’angkyōngung Palace or, as is most commonly called, Ch’angkyōngwon... From every corner of the country, Ch’angkyōngwon is visited year round by young and old alike. During the spring months of April and May, the park is especially beautiful and open in the evening hours for cherry blossom viewing.” Kim, **1983**, 10.

“The Japanese authorities developed Changgyong-won into a zoo with the subtle intent to weaken the influence of the king ...However, it became one of the finer zoos in Asia. With the increasing problems of pollution, Seoul City moved the zoo...reconstructed Ch’anggyong Palace ...is now a popular tourist site in spring during the cherry blossom season.” Adams, **1995**, 88:

Photo/quote Source: “창경궁이야기 1” 조인기의 산과 여행이야기 1,” (Korean travel story blog) accessed June 25, 2015. http://m.blog.daum.net/_blog/_m/articleView.do?blogid=08s3Q&articleno=15964300 .

Chapter Three: AUTHORITARIAN PERIOD (1945-1993)

“The Miracle on the Han” – the popular moniker for the Park Chung Hee Administration’s reliance on a highly educated, productive workforce and an infusion of Vietnam War-related U.S. government funds added to Japanese capital and business models to rapidly develop South Korea’s economy – has been well documented. Pai and Sang Mi Park in their separate studies focus instead on the utilization of Japanese templates to design Korea’s post-colonial cultural and tourism policies.⁸⁹ These policies are manifest in concurrent changes that occur in Changgyeong through independence; civil war; and the intense political, economic and social restructuring under Park Chung Hee and Chun Doo-hwan (1961-1988). The imperative of Korea’s military dictators was to make Korea an industrial power house. Only when that objective was secure and the opposition’s calls for a national cultural resurgence began to resonate with the populace was an effort made to reclaim Changgyeong for Joseon and by extension South Korea today and in the future.

Varutti’s study of Chinese museums applies to the analysis of the palimpsest process in this chapter and the next. “Memories are not monolithic but layered, and as such they can be overwritten: the memory of one event, for instance, can easily be displaced through the superscription of the memory of another event.”⁹⁰ Shawn Rowe et al. write that museum exhibits are a way to link individual citizens’ lives to an overarching narrative of a desired state-sponsored and –envisioned collective through an “intersection of [competing] official and vernacular expressions.”⁹¹ The displaying and concealment of the old Prince Yi Museum

⁸⁹ Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins*; Park, “The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism.”

⁹⁰ Varutti, “The Politics of Imagining and Forgetting in Chinese Ethnic Minorities’ Museums,” 71.

⁹¹ Rowe et al., “Linking Little Narratives to Big Ones,” 97. Quote appears on p. 99 and is from John E. Bodnar,

building and its former collection corroborate Marzia Varutti's theories of collective memory associated with museums: "Through a sapient juxtaposition of objects, images and words, museum displays create meanings that are likely to shape collective memory and imagery."⁹²

Varutti goes on to quote Susan Crane who argues that "being collected means being valued and remembered institutionally; being displayed means being incorporated into the extra-institutional memory of the museum visitors."⁹³

Salvaging Imperial Japan's Korean Treasures

The physical structures and official depictions of Changgyeong changed little in the first two decades after independence – apart from Korean War-related damage and repair. Gunfire, bombs, starving humans and neglect during the 1950-53 conflict, however, decimated the zoo's animal population, bringing it to zero in 1951 (Figure 11).⁹⁴ Changgyeong's Korean overseers could have used this opportunity to remove the zoo from the palace grounds had there been strong public sentiment or political will to do so. Syngman Rhee, South Korea's first president, considered the zoo and garden's creation an affront to the dignity of the Joseon monarchy, according to Oh, the overseer who wrote a history of the zoo. He recalls the Rhee Administration providing little financial support or oversight.⁹⁵ Foreign zoos and wealthy Korean businesspeople donated animals and funds to restock the cages.⁹⁶ With this help, Changgyeong

Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century (Princeton UP, 1994) 14.

⁹² Varutti, "The Politics of Imagining and Forgetting," 70.

⁹³ Ibid., 71, citing Susan A. Crane, ed. *Museums and Memory* (Stanford Univ Press, 2000), 2.

⁹⁴ Berton, "Pierre Berton's Korea: Fifty Years after the War's End," 26; Mun, "창경궁" (Changgyeonggung), 45.

⁹⁵ Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사, 204-208.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 217.

slowly re-emerged as a thriving place of leisure, education and entertainment where citizens came to escape the routine of work and school.

The Rhee and subsequent Park administrations in the 1950 and early 1960s had little resources with which to re-craft Korea's identity inside Changgyeong and elsewhere. National treasures and modern art serve as centerpieces in the only two publications uncovered that reveal Rhee Administration efforts to promote a national image abroad.⁹⁷ Prominent within these are pieces from the art collection first assembled by the Japanese within the confines of Changgyeong's Prince Yi Museum.

The Prince Yi Museum had stopped being part of Changgyeong's projected image of Korea when Japanese administrators moved its contents in 1938 to a new museum.⁹⁸ The collection was still housed in the Duksoo Palace Museum of Fine Arts when the North Korean army swooped down onto Seoul. The initial June 25, 1950, invasion was so rapid that museum staff could not crate, let alone ship the collection out of the city in time. Similarly, the speed of the September 15, 1950, Incheon landing forced the North to abandon the pieces during their retreat. Advancing UN forces found the old Prince Yi collection crated in the basement of the museum at Deoksu.⁹⁹ Its subsequent incorporation into the National Museum of Korea (1955) and the way its presentation changed when the power to describe it passed from Japanese to

⁹⁷ *Pictorial Korea 1956-1957*, Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea 1957; Robert Paine, jr., ed., *Masterpieces of Korean Art: An Exhibition under the Auspices of the Government of the Republic of Korea* (Boston: T. O. Metcalf, 1957).

⁹⁸ Oh, 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea's Zoo), 630. The imposing museum building (Figure 1) became the publicly restricted Royal Archive (Jangseogak). The former four-story, wood-frame Royal Archive (Figure 2), built in 1915 became a hall for biological and zoological specimens. The Royal Archive did not open to the public until 1961, according to Adams, *Palaces of Seoul* (1972), 152.

⁹⁹ Steinberg, "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea," 32-39.

Korean hands “embody much broader processes of political transformation” – to employ the words of Light.¹⁰⁰

During the First Republic (1948-60), Rhee enacted measures that simply changed names while reaffirming the existing functions of preexisting cultural institutions constructed under Japanese colonial rule.¹⁰¹ Official publications produced by his administration fully utilized methods and contents deployed by Japanese curators previously charged with creating Korea’s projected cultural image. Government control was asserted by new cultural preservation laws that assigned hierarchical numerical rankings that shuffled the official value placed on cultural treasures.¹⁰² Newly appointed curators and art historians began shining up old treasures, questioning the rankings first promulgated by the Japanese in 1916 and removing some previously prominent items from sight entirely.¹⁰³

The exhibition catalogue *Masterpieces of Korea* (1957) depicts “the essence of Korean culture” as selected by a committee of 16 Korean officials and art experts and two U.S. curators.¹⁰⁴ The exhibit and resulting book are indicative of these image makers’ heavy reliance on U.S. aid and pieces excavated, catalogued and first displayed in the Prince Yi Museum. The U.S. Army packed the 187 treasures, and the U.S. Navy shipped them over to tour eight U.S. museums in 1957.¹⁰⁵ John Walker, director of the U.S. National Gallery of Art, explains in the accompanying book’s foreword that “if it were not for excavations in the 20th century, little would be known of [Korea’s] great artistic history...”

¹⁰⁰ Light, "Facing the Future," 1070, citing Katherine Verdery.

¹⁰¹ Park, “The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism,” 71.

¹⁰² Pai, *Constructing “Korean” Origins*, 13.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, 427 (see Figs. 7 and 8).

¹⁰⁴ Paine, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Foreword by John Walker, Director of the (U.S.) National Gallery of Art.

The Duksoo Palace Museum of Fine Arts contributed 77 items, 41% of the *Masterpieces of Korea* collection displayed in America.¹⁰⁶ The plurality of 79 pieces (71 of these celadon) had been crafted by Goryeo artisans. Artifacts from the Yi Dynasty constituted the second largest number of items (54), followed by Silla with 42. All 34 paintings date back to the Yi Dynasty and are in large part from the original Prince Yi Museum collection. Only one of the *Masterpieces* is attributed to a modern artist: “Dog” carries a shorter title in this period and this caveat “the painting was formerly attributed to Danwon [Kim Hong-do]. The seal is regarded now as a later interpolation.”¹⁰⁷

“Dog” makes an appearance in *Pictorial Korea* 1956, but the artist is listed as “unknown.”¹⁰⁸ No English-language books promoting Korean art that I have examined feature the painting after 1957.¹⁰⁹ Its slow vanishing from official listings symbolizes the initially hesitant manner in which Korean officials rearranged the Japanese-ordained ranking of their culture. As “Dog” faded from exhibitions so did the paramount stature of Goryeo pieces; works by Joseon and modern Korean artists began to rise to the fore.

Where Colonial Japanese curators had greatly curtailed the display of modern works by Korean artists, modern Korean painters and photographers fill the pages of *Pictorial Korea*.¹¹⁰ This original series was published annually after the 1945 liberation by The International Publicity League of Korea, a group that in the same manner as the Welcome Society of Japan adamantly denies any connection to the government but whose advertisers comprise many

¹⁰⁶ “Ducksoo” was the official English spelling at that time. However it is known as “Deoksu” today.

¹⁰⁷ Paine, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, 187.

¹⁰⁸ *Pictorial Korea* (1956), 162.

¹⁰⁹ Gwan, *조선미술사* (History of Joseon Art), 241. This book shows “Dog” as an important example of the influence of Western painting styles in late Joseon, but the artist is listed as unknown.

¹¹⁰ Aso, *Public Properties*, 121.

government institutions and major business concerns then on the receiving end of government largesse.¹¹¹

Masterpieces of Korean Art, Pictorial Korea, Facts about Korea and similar publications produced in the Authoritarian Period continue to laud the artistry of pre-Joseon dynasties, assigning the heights of national art to Goryeo and Silla and of architecture to Baekje – just as the Japanese before them had, but Joseon creations, particularly paintings, begin to receive praise: “Compared to Koryŏ and Silla, the Yi was austere, almost puritanical, in taste.”¹¹² The difference, we come to learn a few years later, is in the Yi’s Confucian bent: “Art as a whole gradually declined under the Yi Dynasty. Strong advocacy of Confucianism (which replaces Buddhism) caused the neglect of architectural and sculptural art. The Japanese invasion between 1592 and 1598 destroyed countless monuments. However, painting and calligraphy flourished in this period among the aristocratic classes.”¹¹³ Though Goryeo was praised for moveable type and other novel inventions, the same publication claimed that “in the scientific field ... few advances were made” during that earlier dynasty¹¹⁴

The Miracle on the *-won* (K. 원, Ch. 園)

The United States and the People’s Republic of China normalizing relations in 1973 brought an urgent need for Korean parity with its neighbors’ cultural legacies. A decade of robust growth had also hastened the fading of Colonial Period memories, strengthened the confidence of

¹¹¹ The Korean Overseas Information Service published *Pictorial Korea* monthly from 1999 to 2005, but carried only two stories about Joseon palaces. The December 1999 issue features a six-page story about Suwon Fortress and the re-enactment of Jeongjo’s 1795 procession, 38-42.

¹¹² Paine, *Masterpieces of Korean Art*, 20.

¹¹³ *Facts about Korea* (1963), 120.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 87.

Korean leaders and tightened resolve to push growth more forcefully through the Yusin reforms.

Depictions of Korean art followed suit:

Koryo (936-1392) art was generally behind that of Silla, but its artists produced excellent pieces such as celadon ware. Compared with contemporary Chinese celadon, Koryo pottery was more refined, similar to the Buddhist images of Silla. Yi dynasty (1392-1910) art was not so artificial or elegant as Koryo art, but rather bold and dynamic. It was a new style that appealed to reason rather than to emotions. Accordingly, Yi artists were free to work without currying favor with their customers – that is, they had neither restrictions nor inhibitions.¹¹⁵

Coverage of Korean art by foreign observers began to pick up this same reasoning as the 1988

Seoul Olympics drew closer:

[Celadon]’s place was taken by a more austere tradition that evolved to meet the needs and tastes of the neo-Confucian order introduced by the Yi dynasty. *Punch’ŏng* ware ... is very different in appearance to the earlier ware, showing a more robust, even abstract, style of decoration and muted colouring. This type of pottery, with its frequent slight irregularities, was much prized by the Japanese, who incorporated some of its characteristics into their own work. It was indeed the Japanese who ended production of *punch’ŏng* in Korea when they destroyed the kilns and took the potters to Japan to continue their art there, and thus to provide the basis of Japan’s famed porcelain production. In Korea itself ceramic production turned to the tradition of Koryŏ white celadon to develop a plain style of pottery for use by all classes.¹¹⁶

By the time the people-powered administrations take full control in the Civilian Period, celadon is relegated to “Handicrafts” in the *Fine Arts* volume of the Korea Foundation-sponsored *Koreana: Korean Cultural Heritage* series with Joseon ceramics receiving an equal eight pages of coverage.¹¹⁷ Scholars and officials from all three periods covered here employ the works first exhibited at the Prince Yi Museum to attempt to shift perceptions of Korean culture, especially the perceived merits of Joseon heritage, within the minds of their fellow citizens and inquisitive

¹¹⁵ *Arts of Korea*, 7. “Koryo” is “Goryeo” in the Revised Romanization.

¹¹⁶ Hoare and Pares, *Korea an Introduction*, 142-143.

¹¹⁷ *Koreana: Korean Cultural Heritage, Vol. 1 Fine Arts*, 110-125.

foreigners. While the old Prince Yi Museum collection helps solidify evolving representations of Korean cultural heritage, the old museum building itself seems to have had little impact on the way Koreans view Changgyeong, let alone Korea. Few Koreans alive could have personal memories of visiting the Prince Yi Museum; a child of age 10 who gazed upon its exhibits in 1937 (the last year of operation) would be 90 in 2015. Most Koreans with whom I have discussed Changgyeong are unaware that a museum ever existed there. Of the 60 travel/cultural guides used in this analysis of Changgyeong's representation: a "museum" is mentioned in 50% of the Colonial Period texts, in 12% of the Authoritarian and in only 3% of the Civilian Period texts (see Appendix, Table 3, Column D). While it may seem logical for an institution no longer housed there to be forgotten, 60% of Civilian Period descriptions of Changgyeong still remember its zoo (see Table 3, Column E). Only 69% of Authoritarian texts mention the zoo, and it was in operation for most of that period. What is unmistakable from the mid-Authoritarian Period tourist descriptions, however, is that Changgyeong's zoo and other attractions were wildly popular destinations back then (see Figure 12).

"Localized changes to a tourist site is a way of telling the world 'who we are – and are not – now' and 'what we aspire to be.'"¹¹⁸ Internally, the intent is to build a communal identity.¹¹⁹ Changgyeong was from the Colonial through the Authoritarian periods a place for socializing with family, love interests or friends in the same manner as folks in other modern nations. Content analysis and tourism studies provide useful options for analyzing how the site's usage, representation and interpretation evolve from a place of entertainment into a cultural heritage preserve during and after the Authoritarian Period.

¹¹⁸ Light, "Facing the Future," 1070.

¹¹⁹ Knudsen et al., "Landscape Perspectives on Tourism Geographies," 26.

Attendance records from the Colonial Period show Changgyeong's growing popularity (see Figure 10). The CHA resumed government tracking of palace attendance only in 1998, leaving a 57-year gap in the obtainable records. Yet, travel guides from the 1960s to 1980s detail the park's expanding appeal (see Figure 12C). Edward Adams describes the park this way in 1972: "Since the Korean War it has been revived and further developed. It is now, without a doubt, one of the most popular places to visit with a family during pleasant weather."¹²⁰ Enormous crowds pictured in old photos posted online further corroborate the mass appeal of Changgyeong's Cherry Blossom Festival (see Figure 12A and B). The descriptions and photos make it reasonable to assume that peak attendance occurred within the span of missing data in Figure 10.

Steering Tourists to Created Spectacles

Changgyeong's popularity, albeit muted, is also chronicled in the pages of *Korea Annual (KA)*, an English-language, government- and commercially-backed record of the previous year's top news stories. Government efforts to develop the park and Korean tourism more broadly fill a few pages of all but one of the 1964-2003 *KAs*. This publication is indicative of Park Chung Hee in the 1970s and later Chun Doo Hwan in the 1980s' reliance on a tightly controlled media to legitimize their seizure of the government and disseminate favored policies, according to Pai and Park.¹²¹ The rulers did this in part by promoting the country and its attractions using the methods of Colonial Japan and the financial support of post-war Japanese business concerns.

¹²⁰ Adams, *Palaces of Seoul* (1972), 108.

¹²¹ Pai, *Constructing "Korean" Origins*, 3; Park, "Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism," 77.

KA reflects Japanese influence in Korea's tourism campaigns and Changgyeong's role in it. The average 650-page report makes its debut in 1963. The first five volumes held in Indiana University's Wells Library (1964-1968) are stamped "with compliments of the Ministry of Public Information."¹²² *KA* contains on average six pages on "Tourism." Such condensed coverage of the items deemed most important year-by-year pinpoint government policy regarding promotion of Joseon palaces.

Changgyeong ranks low among the attractions deemed "a 'must' to every tourist" in *KA* 1964. The best sites in the editor's opinion are post-colonial facilities created expressly for the eyes of foreign tourists: No. 1 the Walker Hill Resort (611 words) and No. 2 Korea House (286 words).¹²³ The palaces emerge later among recommended tours that include "major industrial plants" and receive much shorter pitches: "Duksoo" (43 words), "Kyongbok" (37), "Changdok" (30) and "Changkyong" (34). The latter is also referred to as "Changkyongwon Playground" and "the favorite playground for Seoul citizens. Famous for its ancient trees, a zoo and botanical gardens, and cherry blossoms in spring, it is always interesting."¹²⁴

"Tourism" merits a mere half page in *KA* 1965, amid disappointment with efforts to lure tourists from the 1964 Tokyo Summer Olympics.¹²⁵ Three years later, the five-year Seoul Tourism Plan "to develop 10 tourist attractions such as Walker Hill, Ttuksom and Mt. Kwanak" helps bring "Tourism" back up to three pages. Construction of elevated cable car lines is part of

¹²² *Korea Annual* was published by Seoul's Hapdong News Agency (1964-1980) and Yonhap News Agency (1981-2003). As with *Pictorial Korea* advertisements show the sudden post-1965 influence of Japanese conglomerates and trading companies. Their advertisements are concentrated around the "Tourism" section.

¹²³ The hotel/casino Walker Hill Resort (currently on the Sheraton W Hotel site) opened in 1961, primarily serving U.S. military and foreign travelers. Kim Young Jong, "Corruption in South and North Korea" *8th International Anti-Corruption Conference*, Lima (1997), 3, alleges government slush funds built the complex as a way to generate revenue. Nilsen, *South Korea Handbook*, 208, calls Korea House "a showplace of performing arts and food" that opened in 1957 and was expanded in 1978-81.

¹²⁴ *Korea Annual* (1964), 397. Modern spellings respectively: Deoksu, Gyeongbok, Changdeok, Changgyeong.

¹²⁵ *Korea Annual* (1965), 169.

this plan. A National Archives of Korea newsreel posted on Facebook shows the joyous opening of Changgyeong's cable car in 1962 -- accompanied by streamers, an effusive announcer and a circus-like soundtrack.¹²⁶ The addition of the cable car might have been part of the disappointing attempt to divert a portion of the Tokyo Olympics tourist stream. Hence, "Build more cable cars!" apparently became one handed-down answer to the problem of Korea's inbound tourist shortage.

Major repopulation and renovation of the zoo and new facility construction at Changgyeong occurred shortly after the Park Administration secured reparations and investment deals from the 1965 ROK-Japan Normalization Treaty. The construction tied into the park's 60th Anniversary.¹²⁷ To counter the Korean public's strong opposition to the resumption of ties with Japan, Park Chung Hee stressed that "to work to overcome one's sense of inferiority or antipathy toward Japan was to 'truly love' the South Korean nation because Koreans, as the argument went, would skillfully use Japanese assistance to strengthen South Korea and make it impervious to further outside influence."¹²⁸

Similar to Imperial Japan's campaign to impress the historic links between Korea and Japan upon its subjects and the world, a 10-page expose in *Pictorial Korea* 1967-68 emphasizes Korea and Japan's ties, albeit with extensive proof of technology and art transfer to Japan from Korea.¹²⁹ Tucked inside the article stands a full-page advertisement for the "New Datsun 1600

¹²⁶ National Archives of Korea. "1962년 창경원 케이블카 등장" (1962 Namsan Cable Car Opens), accessed January 12, 2014. <https://www.facebook.com/video/video.php?v=323593497697842>.

¹²⁷ I found no evidence that reparations went to Changgyeong construction, but receipt of the funds from Japan had to have freed up domestic resources for various ministerial plans. A map in Oh's 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea's Zoo), 343, displays the significant 60th Anniversary expansions (see Footnote 133). A Japanese blog has a newsreel clip of "the big news of new animals" with scenes of the park in the late 1960s <http://blog.goo.ne.jp/dalpaengi/c/06a07217ba281a2cf5568ee3bf9109ce/2>, accessed 01/12/2014.

¹²⁸ Park, "Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism," 72.

¹²⁹ Limb, *Pictorial Korea* (1967-68), 125-137.

Luxury Sedan”.¹³⁰ Advertisements for Mitsubishi, JAL and other Japanese concerns flood *Pictorial Korea* and *Korea Annual* pages from 1965 to the early 1970s.¹³¹

With official publications and travel guides erasing Changgyeong’s colonial taint, it could better become a place intended to make Koreans from all backgrounds feel a part of the country’s modern identity.¹³² “It was *the* place to go for fun,” a Korean in her late 50s told me in 2013 after learning about my thesis topic. “It was the only place to go,” she added upon further reflection. For the first time since liberation and the Korean War, authorities in Seoul had sufficient funds to refashion Changgyeong in their own image, and their new 20th-century Korean additions set out to crush or surpass all remnants of modernity left by the colonial Japanese (see Figures 1 to 4).

Caretakers under Park Chung Hee imprinted Republic of Korea modernity over colonial Changgyeong palimpsest by 1) expanding the zoo, replacing many of the old iron cages with cement encircled open-air holding pens (1967); 2) dwarfing the original Victorian greenhouse with two huge glass domed greenhouses (1967); 3) razing the Japanese tea house-inspired Crystal Palace and replacing it with a four-story tiled tower of the same name (1966) -- but now more reminiscent of the Temple of Heaven in Beijing and Seoul. A Ferris wheel, twirling kiddie planes and other amusement park rides sprung up as well as part of the makeover for the all-important 60th Anniversary.¹³³ All of these sights could be taken in from the vantage of the cable cars suspended 300 meters over the rides and lake (see Figures 13D).

¹³⁰ *Pictorial Korea* (1967-68), 127.

¹³¹ Korean jaebeol nudge Japanese firms entirely out of *Korea Annual*’s advertising after the mid-1970s.

¹³² Appendix, Table 3, Columns D-H show the prevalence among these publications to downplay Japan’s hand in the creation of the zoo and park.

¹³³ In East Asia, the 60th Birthday denotes the completion of a traditional lunar calendar cycle. The 60th anniversary (*Hwangap* in Korean) is also key to King Jeongjo’s 1795 procession to Suwon to honor his parents (see pages 25 and 69).

Losing Colonial Identities

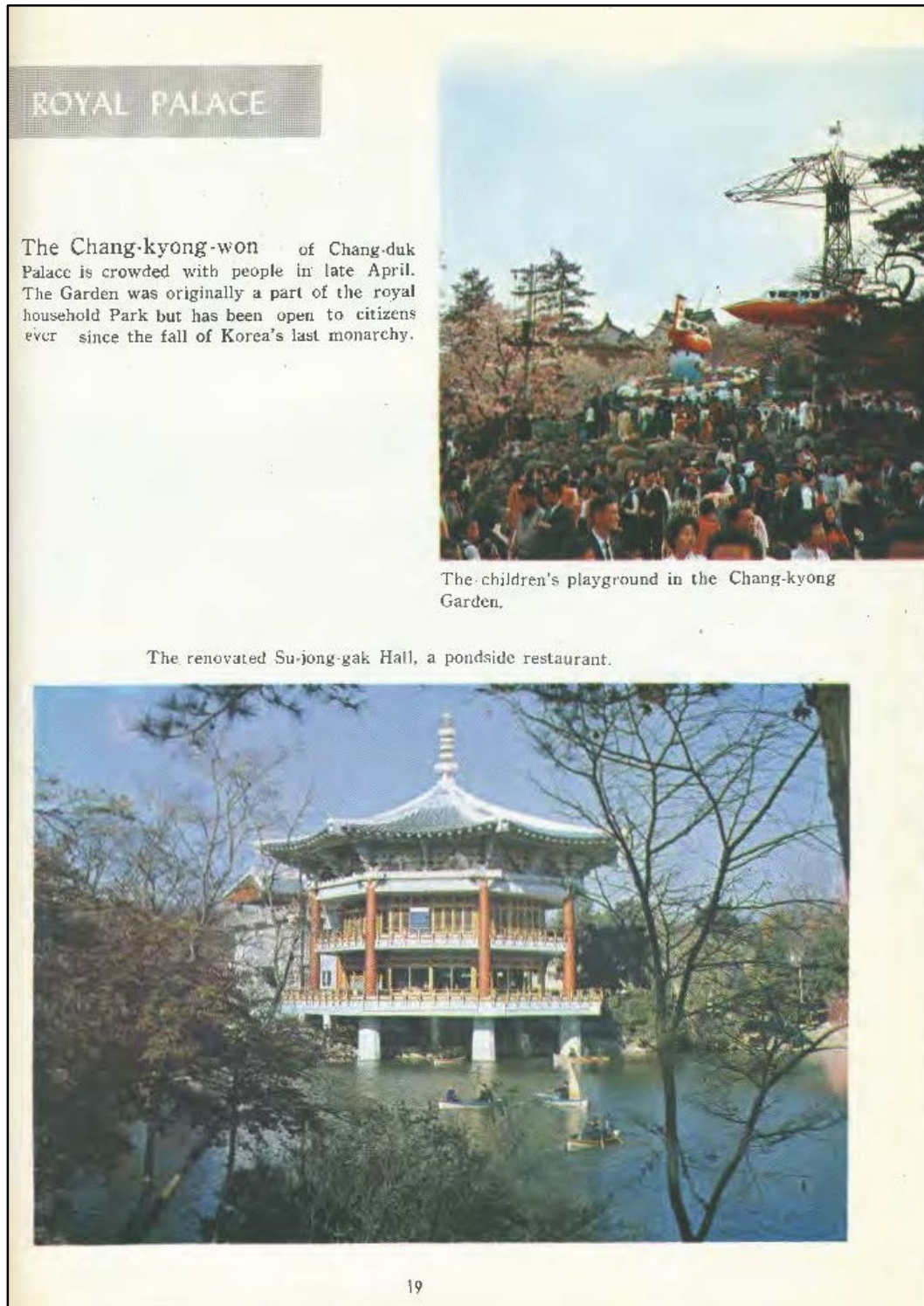
Depictions of Changgyeong during this time downplay Japan's initial input, often crediting King Sunjong, the last sitting Joseon monarch, for creation of the zoo and botanical garden. If not by Sunjong's decree, the pleasure garden of Changgyeongwon anonymously materializes via the passive tense. Such depictions are picked up and replicated in concurrent travel books while references to the museum become fewer and fewer, slowly erasing the once-formidable structure from the scene and collective memory.

Figure 13: Changgyeong's Hwangap (60th Anniversary) Expansion



A: Expanded Zoo, photo from March 9, 2013, *Seoul Sinmun* article about the history of Changgyeong; **B:** Grand Greenhouse with additions; **C:** Completely rebuilt and enlarged Crystal Palace; **D:** Amusement Park. All photos circa 1970. Sources: different Korean blogs for B, C and D. See Appendix, Table 4 for URLs.

Figure 14: 1968 *Pictorial Korea* Lauds Enlarged Changgyeongwon



Source: *Pictorial Korea* (1968), 19.

As noted above, attendance at Changgyeong swelled in the Authoritarian Period as Koreans slowly began to scrape enough disposable income and time off to do something other than work or look for food and shelter. Changgyeong was for a long time one of the few venues within the reach of residents with little time or money to escape life's drudgery for more than a day. The grounds and its various venues were an epicenter between the new push for tourism from residents looking to go somewhere and do something and the pull or lure of attractive, reachable sites.

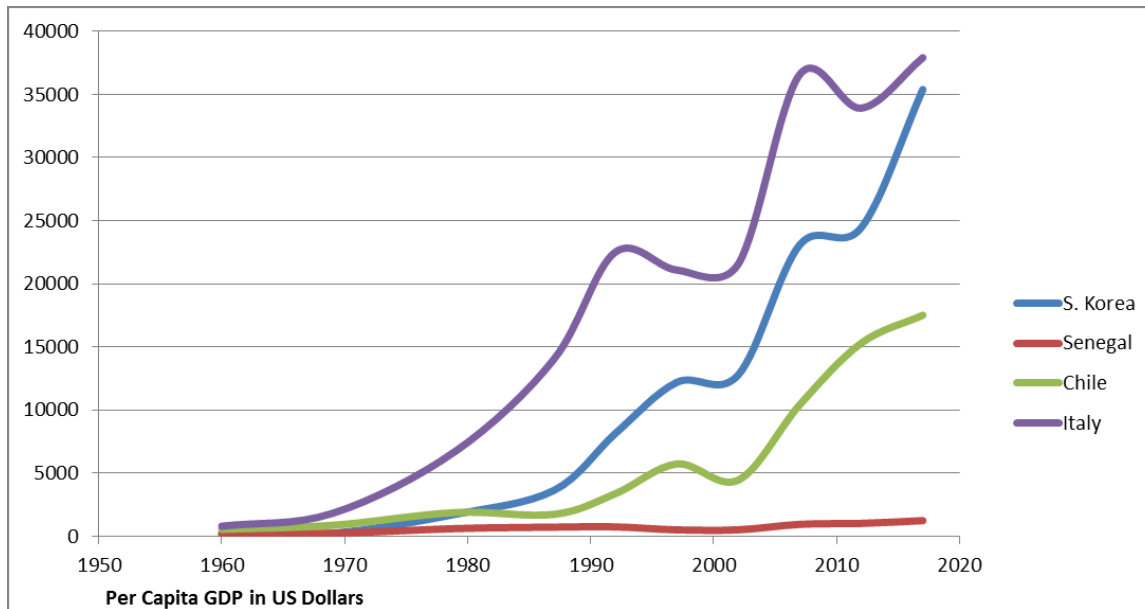
In 1960, South Korea's per capita GDP was \$155; much poorer than other countries in Europe (Italy, \$804), South America (Chile, \$550), even Africa (Senegal, \$260) (see Figure 15). By the time the of the 60th Anniversary celebration for the renovated Changgyeong in 1969, workers had clawed their way up to a \$239 per capita GDP. Still soundly Third World levels of poverty for most, but even the rapidly expanding millions among the middle and upper classes faced severely limited choices. Up until 1989, only citizens leaving on approved business or educational trips were issued passports.¹³⁴ Security, protection against abduction by North Korean agents was one reason given, but staunching the outflow of hard currency reserves was likely a welcomed side effect. Rising expectations and limited choices necessitated the mid-Authoritarian Period scenes of men literally climbing over one another for tickets to Changgyeong (Figure 12A) and the inevitable opening of new facilities elsewhere.

Refocusing on Maidens and the Heroes of Joseon

Before reaching the dismantling and wide diffusion of Changgyeong's immediate post-colonial entertainment complex, two other cultural policies practiced by the Park Chung Hee

¹³⁴ Waitt, "Marketing Korea as an International Tourist Destination," 113-121.

Figure 15: Korea's Rapid Economic Growth



Source: 1960-69 World Bank, 1961-2000 IMF. See Appendix, Table 4 for web link.

Administration and covered by Pai and Shin, respectively, are worth noting as both accent Changgyeong's shifting narratives. The first is the continuation of the old colonial JTB use of attractive young women in Hanbok to sell the exotic allure of Korea and its palaces. The second is the campaign to revere national heroes who personify the struggle to improve and protect Korean society.¹³⁵

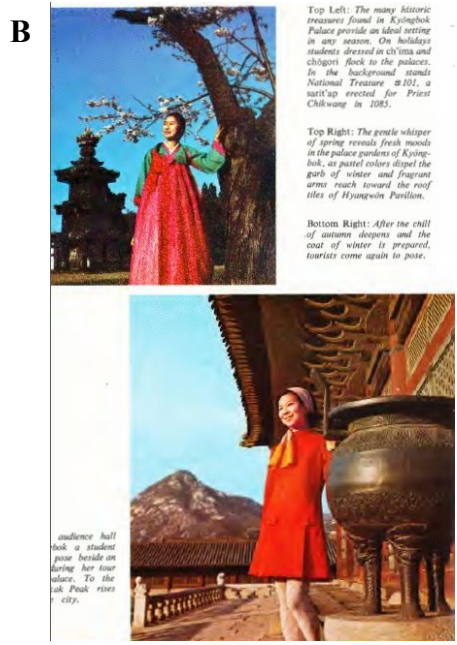
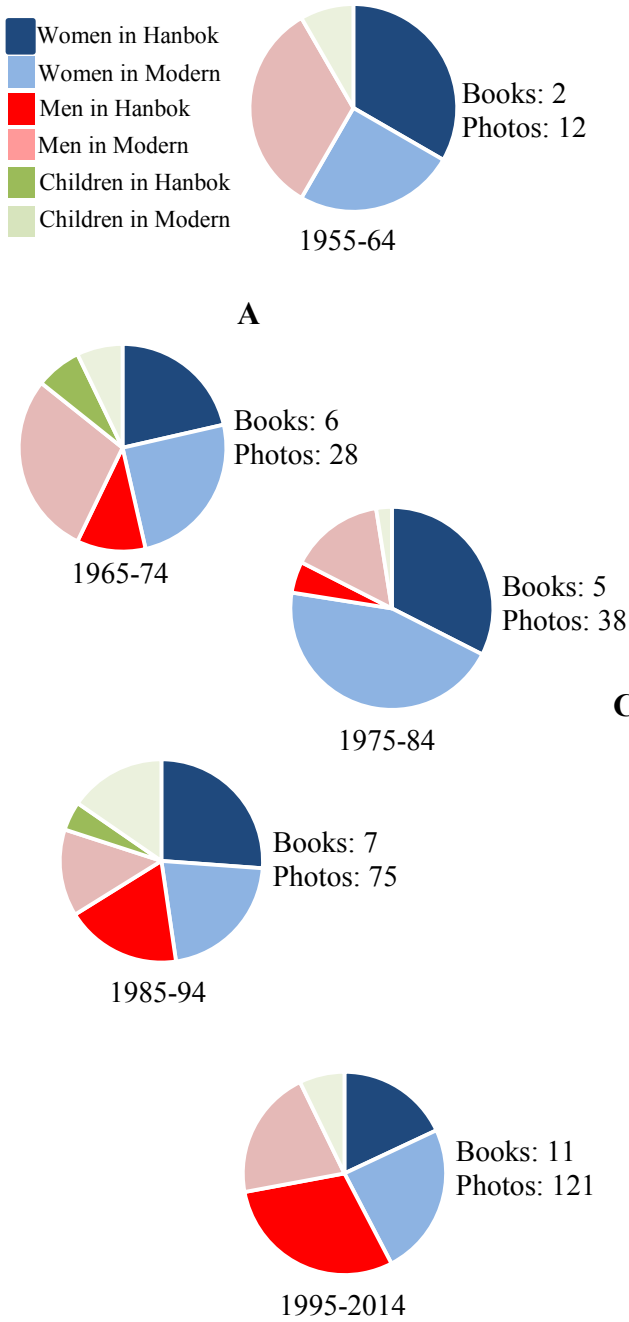
Figure 16 shows the changing breakdown of Hanbok- vs, modern-attired women, men and children in officially endorsed publications promoting the palaces.¹³⁶ *Pictorial Korea* features Hanbok-wearing cover girls in 1967 and 1968, but men in Hanbok appear much more frequently in palace shots than do young women in Hanbok post 1995.¹³⁷ Even when looking at

¹³⁵ Shin, "Nation, History and Politics," 154.

¹³⁶ Untracked but noteworthy is the depopulating of palace photos – perhaps from falling attendance in Changgyeong's case but possibly also sensitivity to public and scholastic criticism. I worked for Korea.net in the mid-2000s and was cautioned not to include photos showing non-Korean logos, lest "netizens" complain.

¹³⁷ The large number of photos of men in Hanbok in 1995-2014 has to do with Changing-of-the-Guard and other re-enactment photos that tend to have more male roles. Women often appear in the male attire of court musicians or

Figure 16: Women in Palace Photos



A: "Hanbok" refers to all pre-colonial indigenous clothing styles. "Modern" equals post-colonial attire that follows Western styles. Subjects were counted only when intended gender and styles were obvious. To make the trends more apparent, each photo was counted as one shot regardless of its size. Source: only government-affiliated publications were counted (see Appendix, Table 3, Column C). B: Adams, *Palaces of Seoul*, (1972), Foreword. C: *Pictorial Korea* (1970), 33. Caption reads "Three girls and the Ulsan Oil Refinery in the background. The refinery is symbolic of the nation's industrialization endeavor."

royal officials but were still counted as males since they appear as such.

the young maidens that do appear in Authoritarian Period guidebooks, there is a marked difference from the colonial JTB's exploitation of the beautiful, fossilized, Korean female form. Images of women in tight-fitting global fashion trends of the day edge out those clad in Hanbok between 1954 and 1994 (see Figure 16 B and C).

Pictorial Korea, *Korea Annual* and *Facts about Korea* also reflect another Park Chung Hee-initiated policy: adulation of national heroes, ie, men who strengthened the country despite strong opposition from those with interests vested in the status quo. Statues of the two paramount figures from these campaigns now stand immortalized before the main gate to Seoul's largest palace Gyeongbokgung. Admiral Yi Sun Shin was called back from banishment to save Korea from the Japanese-launched 16th-century Imjin invasions, and King Sejong the Great pushed development of Korea's indigenous, easily learned alphabet Hangeul against the wishes of Chinese-character trained literati and officials.

Prior to the Park Administration encouraging reverence for these heroes, guidebooks in this study do not mention the life and death of Changgyeong's most controversial resident Crown Prince Sado. He makes his first appears in: Ha Tae-Hung's *Guide to Korean Culture* (1968) and *Seoul: Past and Present* (Allen Clark and Donald Clark, 1969). Other figures connected to Changgyeong appear in these and later guidebooks, but only the kings who founded and periodically restored the palace are mentioned more than this ill-fated prince.¹³⁸ These first narratives nearly always trace the favored heroic storyline: strong, intelligent reformer eager to employ scientific reasoning to better the people's lives and strengthen the nation, persecuted by an evil conflux, comprising a self-centered faction, devious sister, and assortment of conniving

¹³⁸ The story of the alleged hexed-to-death "Queen Min" (Queen Inhyeon, 1667-1701) appears in a few guidebooks, eg, Adams, *Palaces of Seoul* (1972), 148; Hanna Her, *서울에 취하다 (Mad for Seoul)*, 279.

in-laws and palace courtiers (see Appendix, Table 3, Column H).

The Clarks' 1969 account of Sado is a bare-bones retelling of the version first published in 1905 in *Hulbert's History of Korea*.¹³⁹ Ha and Adams's versions are very similar to the Clarks' account but are unattributed. None match Homer Hulbert's attention to detail when recounting Sado's son King Jeongjo's thirst for revenge: "high-handed Hong In-han who had worked so hard to prevent his accession was first banished to Yŏsan and enclosed in a thorn hedge and then was poisoned by royal edict."¹⁴⁰

Reinforcing Past Failings and Spicing Up Sado

Court infighting is often depicted as the root cause of Joseon's decline. James Hoare and Susan Pares use the hindsight of post-colonialism to attribute this to "back projection from what is seen as the shameful end of the dynasty at the hands of the Japanese. This 'failure' is seen as present in the Yi Dynasty from the beginning. ... In the past Japanese historians and many early western writers have tended to produce variations on this theme."¹⁴¹ *Facts about Korea* (1963) offers a particularly stinging domestic indictment that happens to fall between sections praising King Sejong and Admiral Shin:

The teaching centers of Korean Confucianism were hotbeds of abnormal thinking which respected classical literature, and was contemptuous of the military; esteemed officials, but despised the people; found no value in any study other than Confucianism; detested commercial and industrial traders; and branded all other teachings as heretical – this self-righteous thinking developed into chronic factionalism which plagued state politics. (p. 88)

¹³⁹ Hulbert and Norwood Weems, *Hulbert's History of Korea Vol. II*, 176-183; Clark and Clark, *Seoul Past and Present*, 97-98.

¹⁴⁰ Hulbert, *The History of Korea*, 28.

¹⁴¹ Hoare et al., *Korea an Introduction*, 31.

Clark perfectly conflates Sado's death with this overarching Korean failure. "The entire episode is a dramatic example of the useless damage done by the constant factional fighting in the Yi court through three centuries of its history."¹⁴²

The Authoritarian Period authors studied here who write the most about Sado tend to be recipients of favor from the Rhee and Park administrations, reminiscent of the JTB-selected authors who wrote guides to and for Imperial Japan.¹⁴³ Ha wrote part of the *Korean Cultural Series* for the state-run Korea Information Service, Inc. in the late 1950s to early 1960s.¹⁴⁴ His 1968 *Guide to Korean Culture* is an abridged one-volume set of this earlier series. Edward B. Adams is the Korean-born grandson of an American family that landed in Busan in 1895.¹⁴⁵ A teacher, principal, prolific travel guide writer and photographer, he also received the first license from the Republic of Korea to open a foreign school in 1973.¹⁴⁶ Copies of two of his books in the Indiana University Library bear a stamp "With the Compliments of the Korea Foundation."¹⁴⁷

Adams only mentions Sado as the "coffin king" and father of King Jeongjo in his *Korea Guide: A Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy*.¹⁴⁸ He elaborates further in *Palaces of Seoul* (1972, 1987): "The reason for this tragic murder is difficult to explain," – a proper lead-in for the

¹⁴² Clark and Clark, *Seoul Past and Present*, 98.

¹⁴³ In addition to the Welcome Society of Japan guides (see page 14), the JTB started publishing a "Tourist Library" collection in 1932 that had 16 volumes by 1953. Hideto Kishida, *Tourist Library 6: Japanese Architecture*, Foreword.

¹⁴⁴ Ha published *A Trip through Historic Korea* with Yonsei Univ Pr in 1960, a large portion was recycled eight years later in the more-detailed *Guide to Korean Culture*.

¹⁴⁵ Adams, *Korea Guide: A Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy* (1983), Foreword.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁷ At the time of writing this thesis, Adams was 82 and living in Arizona. Efforts to contact him and the authors of four other travel guides studied were unsuccessful.

¹⁴⁸ Some Western writers refer to Sado as "coffin king, Twiji Tae-wang" (뒤지 대왕) (Clark, 98), "coffin king" (Adams, 1976 and 1980, 71; 1983, 101) or "rice box king" (Nilsen, 2003, 289) and imply that these are common monikers. Han, *The History of Korea*, 337, explains that "Korean historians have called him the 'Coffin King'" because Jeongjo gave him the posthumous title of King Changjo. However, a January 14, 2015, "뒤지 대왕" search in Korea's largest search engine Naver.com and in Google Scholar revealed only one blog linking the name to Sado. The nickname has clearly fallen out of favor – if ever popular among average Koreans – as his stature has risen.

story of a king commanding his only living son to remove his royal robes and enter a roughly 4x4x4ft wooden box where he was forced to remain without food or water until he starved to death eight days later.¹⁴⁹ Among the possible explanations, however, Adams proffers only one: “a senile father encumbered with poor judgment.”¹⁵⁰

Adams was in the then-very-difficult business of selling Korea to inbound English-speaking tourists; he tends to embellish. Sado’s unwillingness to meet his father’s desire for “the obliteration of all party lines” (Hulbert, vol. 1, 176) becomes “Prince Sado, a member of neither party, disagreed with his father who thought that all Soron members should be killed (Adams, 1972, 152). And Hulbert’s (183) careful list of executions meted out to Jeongjo’s opponents, including one of his mother (Lady Hyegyong)’s uncles and “the whole [immediate] family” of another, unrelated, Hong becomes “On the day that Prince Sado's son became king, he ... killed all Norons and the house of Hong (father of his mother). His mother pleaded with him to spare one person to care for the family tomb, so he did not kill her father, by then an old man” (Adams, 153).¹⁵¹

Uncovering the truth behind Sado’s death is irrelevant since tourists to historical and cultural sights “tend to rely more on historical verisimilitude and symbolic authenticity” over “originality or genuineness.”¹⁵² But the representations analyzed here are clearest when contrasted against consciously excluded details and counter narratives.¹⁵³ Many South Koreans

¹⁴⁹ Adams’s *Palaces of Seoul* is the only guidebook to include Gungmo, the shrine to Sado built by his son King Jeongjo. It now sits on the grounds of Seoul National Hospital across from Changgyeong. Adams is also one of the few Authoritarian Period authors to cover Yongjusa, the temple near Suwon linked to the Sado story. For description of death: Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong*, 194

¹⁵⁰ Adams, *Palaces of Seoul* (1972), 152.

¹⁵¹ Collective punishment was common in Joseon and still is practiced in North Korea. Kim Haboush explains in the Introduction to *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong* (p. 2) that Sado’s death by starvation was in part a way to avoid a criminal trial that would have ensnared his wife and son.

¹⁵² Knudsen et al., “Landscape Perspectives on Tourism Geographies,” 204.

¹⁵³ Ateljevic et al., “Representing New Zealand: Tourism, Imagery and Ideology,” 649.

read a strikingly different account of Sado's death in middle school: *Hanjungnok* (*Records Written in Silence*) or (... *in Sorrow*) is a chronological, simplified, condensed compilation of four separate memoirs written by Sado's widow, Lady Hyegyong.¹⁵⁴

The competing versions of the Sado tragedy will be taken up in much greater detail in the Civilian Period when a new English-language-translation raises awareness of Lady Hyegyong's account among Western travel guide writers. In the Authoritarian Period, however, her story is referenced in only one guide analyzed:

[T]he Princess Consort of Sado Seja (...whom Young-jo, his aged father locked up in a grass-covered box to die of hunger and suffocation for his wild deportment and false accusation by enemies at the court of an attempt to usurp the throne,) wrote a story, "*Hanjoongnoh*" (Resenting Heart), describing her husband's tragic death and her own broken heart.¹⁵⁵

Ha questions Sado's character but already clearly has a low opinion of most Joseon princes:

"Moreover, the nobles at the helm of government loved leisure and forsook the stern duties of national defense against the alien foes coming from the east and west while continually engaged in destructive quarrels by tyrants and weak-minded princes, who led the country to ruin."¹⁵⁶

Readers are left with the disingenuous impression that "false accusations" played a key role and that Lady Hyegyong would agree.¹⁵⁷

Few people outside of Korea had knowledge of or access to information about Changgyeong, let alone Sado, in the Authoritarian Period. Daniel Knudsen et al.'s study of Copenhagen's Amalienborg Palace highlights the inability of foreign tourists to properly read a

¹⁵⁴ Doseo Publishing puts out one such *한중록* (*Hanjungnok*) school text. The difficulty translating this Hangeul title is covered in McCann, "Review of Kim Haboush's *Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*," 1116.

¹⁵⁵ Ha, *Guide to Korean Culture*, 110.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹⁵⁷ Lee, *World Heritage in Korea*, 131-132 states that "Lady Hyegyong contends that the fateful incident was motivated by ... factional strife... and conflict between the dogmatic reigning king and his introverted son." The exact text is also on a Cultural Heritage Administration webpage about Unesco World Heritage: http://jikimi.cha.go.kr/english/world_heritage_new/culture_treasure_05.jsp?mc=EN_04_01

site and grasp its layers of mythology and history.¹⁵⁸ Quoting Catherine Palmer, they contend that “domestic tourists are making the connection between themselves and the nation, [w]hile overseas visitors see them [heritage sites] as the distinctive mark of the nation.” To find the “must see” spots, inbound tourists rely on “over-generalized blurbs on tourism websites and in guidebooks.”¹⁵⁹

Detouring around Complicated Legacies

As mentioned above on page 41, *KA* expends much more text on pet projects than on cultural heritage per se during the Authoritarian Period. Both *KA* and *Pictorial Korea* suggest nine tour routes that skirt the palaces, especially Changgyeong, and both drive home the sought appeal of Walker Hill and Korea House. Changgyeong appears in one of the nine tours. Deoksugung and the National Museum (then on its grounds and housing the old Prince Yi collection) is mentioned in six of nine, as is Walker Hill. But Walker Hill actually appears twice within two of the multi-day tours. Changdeok and Korea House appear in four tours, and the main palace Gyeongbok is in only two of them. Suwon’s fortress (a Civilian Period must-see and key Sado tie-in) appears in none of these government-backed tours.¹⁶⁰

Content analysis cannot explain the reason for steering foreigners away from the expensive expansions at Changgyeong (1962-69) and renovations at Suwon (1974-79).¹⁶¹

Possible answers may be, as noted above, that Changgyeong facilities were already overtaxed by visits from Koreans. In contrast, having tourists visit the Korean Folk Village rather than Suwon

¹⁵⁸ Knudsen et al., "Myth, National Identity, and the Contemporary Tourism Site," 53-70.

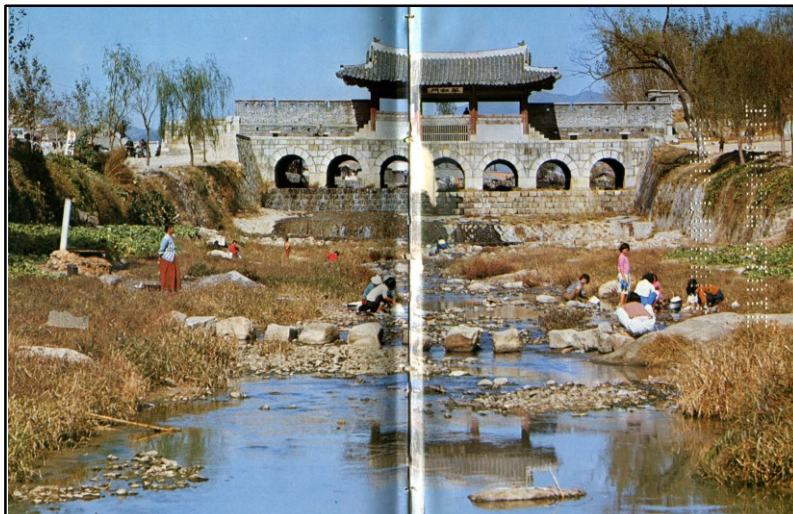
¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 65.

¹⁶⁰ *Pictorial Korea* (1967-68), 32-36. Similar tour courses also appear in *Korea Annual* (1964), 397-398.

¹⁶¹ Nilsen, *Moon Handbooks: South Korea* (2003), 284.

would have offered numerous benefits, including: 1) hastening recovery of funds spent on the project, 2) providing means to deliver a carefully crafted message, 3) reducing chances of foreigners encountering Korea unrehearsed and backstage among the ruins of Suwon. That city was still a backwater in the 1970s with all-too-natural Korean scenes. One of the few non-official tourist publications from the Authoritarian Period shows why Suwon Fortress, despite the expenditures on renovation, may have been deemed not still ready for prime time exposure. Chewon Kim's 1969 book shows farmers with ox-drawn carts on the road near the fortress and shots of women washing clothes in the stream in front of the picturesque Hwahongmun Gate with its tiled pavilion atop a bridge with seven arches (see Figure 17).¹⁶²

Figure 17: Suwon Fortress circa 1969



Women doing laundry in front of Suwon Fortress's Hwahongmun. A caption above a similar photograph explains that "Korean women prefer to do their washing in running streams" (Kim, *This Beautiful World*, 137).

The United States Department of Defense followed the Korean government's lead away from Suwon's heritage, advising the thousands of personnel and dependents stationed in Korea that "This [the Korean Folk Village] is where you can see the vitality of a culture that has

¹⁶² Kim, *This Beautiful World: Seoul*, 144-145.

survived foreign domination and wars.”¹⁶³

Many Authoritarian Period publications discount actual Joseon art and architecture vis-à-vis earlier dynasties (see page 37 above). Those books that do promote palaces, correspondingly, often praises their 20th century additions, eg, within Gyeongbokgung: 1) the former Government-General Building (demolished in 1994) is “a magnificent white building, with the old North Palace as a background ... one of the largest government edifices in the Orient... The inside decorations are in Korean marble, rich in a variety of grain and color” and 2) the 1972-built, pagoda-topped National Museum (now the Korean Folk Museum) “... with a multi-tiered tile roof patterned after a Buddhist edifice, is itself a sort of ‘treasure.’”¹⁶⁴ Deoksusu’s Seokjojeon housed the National Museum from 1955 to 1972.¹⁶⁵ This “Stone Hall” (King Gojong’s neoclassical mansion completed in 1910) is also where the Prince Yi Museum collection moved in 1938. That building and its successive museums often receive more attention than the old palace halls and gardens of Changdeok and Changgyeong in early- to mid-Authoritarian Period tourism guides.

Appreciation for the value of accurately identifying palace treasures was notably lacking in a 1970 *Pictorial Korea* photo caption for “a typical Korean pagoda” (p. 20), which is in fact the extraordinary 1348 ten-story (44.3ft, 13.5 m) marble pagoda from the Goryeo temple Gyeongcheonsa, (National Treasure #86) prominently displayed and labeled at one end of the cavernous “Path to History,” the main corridor of the present National Museum. The old *Pictorial Korea* caption is an example of small oversights, not complete disregard. The Park

¹⁶³ A *Pocket Guide to the Republic of Korea*, (1982, 34) and again (1987, 49). Folk Village coverage is double the 21 words spent on Suwon, and this publication does not mention Changgyeong at all.

¹⁶⁴ Government-General Building quote from HA, *A Trip through Historic Korea*, 10; former National Museum quote from Kim, *Seoul: Host City of the '88 Olympics*, 334.

¹⁶⁵ “National Museum Deoksugung Palace Period,” National Museum of Korea, accessed May 3, 2005, <http://www.museum.go.kr/site/homepage/menu/viewMenu?menuid=002005002005>.

Chung Hee Administration was keenly interested in developing an awareness of and appreciation for Joseon history.

The first five-year cultural plan 1974-78, according to Sang Mi Park, demonstrates a departure from Japanese cultural promotion methods. The large investment of state funds, she contends, was necessitated by the South's need to compete against the North to prove its standing as the legitimate representative of the nation.¹⁶⁶ Along with this compelling need was the long-standing desire to make the Republic "impervious to further outside influence" (see page 42).

People-Powered Re-Interpretations

External and internal developments in the 1970s convinced the Park Administration that the time had come to ensure that Korea could stand proud and independent. The Yusin (post-1973) push for heavy, rapid industrialization triggered calls to honor the merits and sacrifices of the common people of Joseon and their descendants the modern laborers. In the late 1970s and into the early 1990s, university students, intellectuals and laborers began uniting behind the concept of *minjung*.¹⁶⁷ The movement shifted praise away from great men and placed it on all the people who had suffered through the Colonial Period and the current industrialization. It is telling that *KA* 1989's photos of the Olympic celebrations contain few officials but one of "three ordinary people" lighting the Olympic torch.¹⁶⁸

All of these forces were already in play when the Park Chung Hee Administration drew up the second five-year cultural plan 1979-83. It called for relocating Changgyeong's zoo,

¹⁶⁶ Park, "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism," 72.

¹⁶⁷ Lee, *The Making of Minjung*, 189,191; Lee, "The Drumming of Dissent," 190.

¹⁶⁸ 1989 *Korea Annual*, "Newsmakers" photo section in Foreword.

amusement park and botanical garden to a sprawling complex south of Seoul and restoring demolished palace structures.¹⁶⁹ The groundbreaking ceremony for the new zoo/museum/amusement park complex Seoul Grand Park was held on October 30, 1978. Almost exactly one year later, Park Chung Hee was assassinated.¹⁷⁰

The Changgyeong that the Park Administration created carried on largely unchanged until 1983. That year his successor coup leader-turned president Chun Doo Hwan’s administration implemented Park’s plan to relocate the animals to Seoul Grand Park and renovate the palace grounds. It is worth noting that among the imagery conjured by the numerous Civilian Period accounts of the Japanese turning the natal chambers of Joseon kings into a zoo, the only photographs found of animals actually in palatial structures come from this 1983 exodus when they were extricated through

Figure 18: Closing of Changgyeong Zoo 1983



Giraffe passes under Honghwamun during the relocation to the new Seoul Zoo. Source: Korean blog (see Appendix, Table 4.)

Changgyeong’s ever fortuitously named Gate of Vast Transformation (see Figure 18).

¹⁶⁹ Adams, *Korea Guide* (1995), 88, says the zoo was moved because of pollution. A 2009 book -- 서울 도시계획이야기 (The Story of Seoul’s City Planning) – claims the park relocation filled a huge expanse of land originally purchased to facilitate the Park Chung Hee Administration’s later-aborted nuclear weapons program. Lee, “70년대 서울시 도시계획국장 지낸 손정목씨 책 펴내, (Former Seoul City Planner Son Jeong-mok Publishes Book),” accessed June 20, 2015. <http://news.donga.com/3/all/20030818/7974633/1>.

¹⁷⁰ Shot on October 26, 1979, by his national security chief at a private party in a resort “exclusively for state guests from friendly nations” prominently featured as a “New Scene of Seoul” in *Pictorial Korea* (1967-68), 9.

When the Japanese arranged for the construction of the zoo, the most up-to-date enclosures were ordered. It “was made into one of the finer zoos of Asia.”¹⁷¹ The zoo renovations and expansion in the late 1960s likewise utilized the most modern designs, and the animals were once again moved into state-of-the-art facilities in 1983-84.¹⁷² The zoo’s purpose seems to have been primarily to show first Imperial Japan and later the Republic of Korea’s high ranking amid the standards believed to gauge social development.

Seoul Grand Park, like Changgyeong in 1907, was clearly based on Tokyo’s Ueno Park with zoo, museum and botanical garden, albeit with roses replacing cherry blossoms as the garden favorite. However, Fifth Republic planners made Seoul Grand Park 15 times larger than Ueno with considerably more spectacles. Today it has an aquatic theater for dolphin performances, a zoo with around 2,700 animals, a huge modern art museum, natural green belt, amusement park, and a Joseon-style “forest bathing area.” As if in homage to Changgyeong’s cable car, a “sky lift” whisks visitors above the sprawling compound over a mile-long line.¹⁷³

In addition to realizing Park Chung Hee’s ambitious cultural plans, the Chun Administration accelerated the athletic component of his predecessor’s community building plan by securing the 1986 Asian Games and 1988 Summer Olympics. According to Sang Mi Park,

Chun pursued a policy of enriching the nation by sports and made sure funds from the government and large Korean conglomerates would go toward the construction of a number of stadium events. Using the Japanese-coined term ‘cultural citizens,’ South Korean leaders initiated a nationwide campaign to transform Koreans into good *munhwa simin*, representatives of the nation who would greet foreigners visiting the Republic of Korea. In preparation for the games, educational programs increased. Korean history took a more significant place in the school curriculum.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷¹ Adams, *Korea Guide* (1976), 63.

¹⁷² This is not to imply the animals were always kept in comfort (see Kim, “Cleaning up the Zoos”).

¹⁷³ Kim, *Seoul: Host City of the '88 Olympics*, 40, says 5,000,000 m², but VisitKorea.or.kr says 9.2 million m². accessed January 25, 2015, http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=264199

¹⁷⁴ Park, “The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism,” 84.

Not surprisingly, “Sport” nearly always received more pages of coverage in both *KA* and *Facts about Korea* during the Authoritarian Period.

John (Jong-ki) Kim’s *Seoul Host City of the 1988 Olympics* was published in 1983 and marks the high-water mark, or perhaps better-said nadir, of that old-time selling of Korea. Park’s 1969 Crystal Palace and Honghwamun symbolize “Changgyonggung Palace” on the city map lining its cover. The tourist pitch hails it as “the most popular palace ... or as [it] is more commonly called Ch’anggyōngwŏn” (p. 10). This is the last of the books analyzed that attaches the suffix “-won” to Changgyeong. It is also one of the last times the female form is blatantly used as official bait. The reader finds “a bevy of beauties” from the 1980 Miss Universe Pageant clad in swimsuits along Gyeongbok’s Hangweon Pavilion bridge (p. 4) and young women in Hanbok boarding the subway (p. 14) and bouncing high on a traditional seesaw (p. 42). Should prospective tourists yearn to get in touch with such locals, the author elaborates on “Kisaeng House” and “Cocktail Lounge” culture:

Under the principles of Confucianism, all women were required to never exert themselves and to always assist, obey and follow men. And it is from this teaching that the *kisaeng* emerges as a recreational creature anxious to serve and please males. ... *Kisaeng* parties are quite a bit more expensive than other forms of evening entertainment ... However, if you think you might enjoy being the center of attention for a group of beautiful, talented women whose only purpose is to totally serve you, then make it a point to visit a *kisaeng* house. (p. 150)

Cocktail Lounges → Enchanting Hostesses

For a really out-of-the-ordinary evening, providing your [sic] willing to pay the extra fare, most cocktail lounges are equipped with small, private party rooms, where you can past the time in the company of a bevy of beautiful hostesses. (p. 150)

Names and phone numbers for 14 “Korean Style Banquet Houses” follow.

Official English language publications after *Seoul Host City* tend to only show people in Hanbok if they are in a re-enactment, a concert or on a family outing to a palace during a holiday

when visitors in Hanbok may enter for free. By the time the mid-1980s approach, the Republic's sports, industrial and technical accomplishments have bolstered the resolve of government officials to project a proud national identity in preparation for the Olympics.

Cautiously Rediscovering Palatial Heritage

Extensive restoration went on in Changgyeong from 1983 to 1986. The Biological Specimen Hall (Figure 2) and Park-era structures: the two domed greenhouses (Figure 13B), the Crystal Palace (Figure 13C), the entire zoo, the outdoor stage, amusement park rides and cable car (Figure 13D); everything was demolished and hauled away. But not "all traces of Japanese influences" were removed as Hills reports in 1988.¹⁷⁵ The Chun Doo Hwan and later Roh Tae Woo administrations preserved the old Prince Yi Museum building (Figure 1) until 1992, and the original 1909 Greenhouse and large pond that bordered the Crystal Palace (Figure 4) remain to this day.

The Civilian Period should technically start with the 1988 inauguration of the democratically elected Roh Tae Woo. He, however, was a transitional figure more closely tied to the Authoritarian Period by his support for the 1979 coup that brought Chun Doo Hwan to power. Roh presided over policies that facilitate heritage restoration in the Civilian Period, but (apart from the huge concession of direct presidential elections) his administration did little to break from the tourism policies of his predecessors. The reconstruction of the porticos linking Changgyeong's Honghwamun to Myeongjeongjeon and the rebuilding of the adjacent Munjeongjun had already been budgeted in the Park and Chun administrations.

¹⁷⁵ Hills, "Revaluing South Korea's Heritage," 3.

During Roh's term, the CHA became part of the Ministry of Culture, and in 1991 the Korea Foundation was founded – one more example, Sang Mi Park cites, of readily adopting Japanese means of cultural production. The foundation replicated many Japan Foundation practices, such as subsidizing the dispersion of media promoting national culture. Several travel and cultural guides used in this study are clearly marked with Korea Foundation insignia.

To further underscore how Roh launched a new era but remained tethered to the preceding one, Gordon Waitt contends that “Roh Tae Woo's frugality campaigns led to curfew and austerity that hampered inbound tourism.” His administration employed many who held to the old view of tourism, ie, the one exemplified in *Seoul: Host City*, as something tied to prostitution and undermining social values. Even as late as 1996, 68% of Korea's inbound foreign tourists were Japanese, 77% of these males.¹⁷⁶

Sang Mi Park calls heritage a symbolic mechanism through which national belonging can be reconstructed. Changgyeong under Park Chung Hee became a showplace for modern Korea; one built entirely by Koreans in their collective consciousness. The movement to reconstruct and repackaging its Joseon palace begins in the final years of the Authoritarian Period, however, it is not until former opposition leaders Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung gain control in 1993 and 1998, respectively, that Changgyeong and its tourists take a noticeable turn away from universal concepts like modernity and liminality and toward the promotion of a national identity.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁶ Waitt, "Marketing Korea as an International Tourist Destination," 114-116.

¹⁷⁷ Selanne, "On Holiday in the Liminoid Playground," 19-31.

Chapter Four: CIVILIAN PERIOD (1993-2015)

No democratically elected administration changes the physical appearance of Changgyeong to any noticeable degree prior to 2014. Neither conservative nor liberal governments seem interested in proving their social superiority via direct comparison to the icons of 20th-century rulers. Rather than write new narratives over the few vestiges of the previous eras left on Changgyeong's grounds, Civilian Period leaders since 1993 increasingly opt to emphasize the Joseon Dynasty's unique attributes. This has been done by reinterpreting history, stressing Joseon's accomplishments and utilizing re-enactments and pop-cultural tie-ins that give visitors a more tangible, colorful sense of life in the Joseon court.

From Global Showplace to Microcosm of Korea

Chundangji, the small lake on which Authoritarian Period visitors boated and skated, and the nearby Daeonsil (the Grand Greenhouse) are the only 20th-century remnants to survive Changgyeong's 1983-87 restoration. The former was somewhat Koreanized in 1984 by placing a round island in the middle of what long ago had been royal rice paddies. "But during the Japanese Occupation the rice field was changed to a pond with little ships floating on it," according to one of Seoul's official websites.¹⁷⁸ The now boat-less pond is still popular with visitors as evident from numerous photos posted on Google Images and Flickr, especially of the autumn foliage and periodic night showings.¹⁷⁹ One popular tourist-related blogger labels "the

¹⁷⁸ "Changgyeong Palace," Korea Tourism Organization, accessed May 4, 2015, http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=264350. Judging by personal photos posted on blogs, the lake was used by even more people fishing and skating during the Authoritarian Period when it was "crowded with tourists in bright colored rowboats." Adams, *Palaces of Seoul* (1972), 154.

¹⁷⁹ "A Night at Changgyeong Palace" ran from September 20-28, 2015, with the CHA as "host" and "supervision" provided by the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation. Figure 19E shows a scene from one of the

obnoxious pond and insufferable botanical garden” as palace detractions, but all other 21st-century guide writers analyzed here embrace the greenhouse as pure Korean heritage.¹⁸⁰

In 2007, the Roh Moo-hyun Administration oversaw renovation of the 1909 structure. Restoring a Colonial Period building conflicts with Yoon’s palimpsest theory; ie, conquering forces contrasting their new (or in Changgyeong’s case restored) icons against the dilapidated structures of the vanquished. However, there has always been a strong sentiment that the last Joseon monarch commissioned the greenhouse. While many Civilian Period guidebooks have come to echo the official chastising of Imperial Japan for “degrading” Joseon by building the zoo, they often credit King Sunjong with construction of the greenhouse.¹⁸¹ It was the first phase of the “de-sacralization” of the grounds and came one year before his abdication.¹⁸² It was, and is still, decorated with the plum blossom motif indicative of Joseon’s Imperial Yi line and was designated Historical Treasure #83 in 2004 for its significance as the first greenhouse in Korea and an architectural marvel on a global scale at the time of its completion.¹⁸³

For government officials in the nation’s democratic era “eliminating all vestiges of Japan” – and by extension those of the old “collaborative” juntas – has long been a primary objective.¹⁸⁴ Hyper Joseonification, beyond the Korean nationalist sentiment of the late 1980s to

performances listed on the official brochure.

¹⁸⁰ Keith Kim. “Korea Tourism: 50 Seoul Attractions and How to Get There, 6. Changgyeonggung (창경궁),” *Seoulistic*, accessed June 11, 2015. <http://seoulistic.com/travel-to-korea/korea-tourism-50-seoul-attractions-and-how-to-get-there/>.

¹⁸¹ Table 3, Column F in the appendix shows how creation of the greenhouse was described in the various periods.

¹⁸² Kim, “Collective Memory and Commemorative Space,” 82.

¹⁸³ This CHA Korean-language Changgyeong site “창경궁 미리보기,” *문화재청*, accessed May 11, 2015.

http://cgg.cha.go.kr/depart/n_cgg/knowledge/virtual/virtual_01.jsp?mc=CG_06_01 lists information about the greenhouse (#18 on the map). However the English-language page provides no information. The same site and KTO-published *Seoul City Tour*, 200, both mention rare tropical plants originally on display but indigenous plants and flowers added during the 1986 restoration; Visitseoul.net has photos of the greenhouse plum blossom carvings and Hangeul-inscribed foundation stone. “Changgyeonggung Palace,” Visit Seoul, accessed June 11, 2015.

http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?_method=view&m=0004003002001&p=03&art_id=618&lang=en

¹⁸⁴ De Ceuster, “Changing Nature of National Icons in Seoul Landscapes,” 75; *Seoul City Tour*, 196.

mid-90s, begins to sweep over the grounds with the 1998 inauguration of the Kim Dae Jung Administration. Government and Korean-language guidebooks in the 2000s start to stress the removal of non-Korean plants from the botanical collection and the de-nipponification of its nearby pond.¹⁸⁵ Earlier guidebooks lauded the diversity of “exotic” plants, commenting on the splendid orchids when describing the collection.¹⁸⁶ This underscores Regina Bendix’s discovery in Switzerland that cultural heritage is meant foremost to build a sense of national identity and pride and secondarily to set the country’s unique features apart from those of other nations.¹⁸⁷

Korean tourism officials fully grasp the developed world’s transition from modern to post-modern states and the importance of branding. This is evident in the explosion of what are framed as uniquely Korean cultural and travel experiences highlighted on imagineyourkorea.com, official site of the Korea Tourism Organization. Clicking “Brand Story” leads to the following passage:

Known as little more than a typical tourist site until recently, Korea is now recognized as a ‘leader of popular culture’ and a ‘trendy and innovative’ travel destination. A new brand for Korea tourism has been developed in order to better express today’s Korea to enthusiasts around the world and use this momentum to usher in a new era of Korea tourism with the vision of reaching 20 million visitors.¹⁸⁸

The intense textual cleansing of all non-Korean identity from Changgyeong’s past and present has been similarly extended to the “History” pages of the websites for the Seoul Zoo and National Museum. Both institutions published glossy 80th (1991) and 100th (2007) Anniversary Korean-language editions, respectively, that transfer the memories of Changgyeong’s Colonial

¹⁸⁵ *Joseon’s Royal Heritage*, 48; *Seoul City Tour*, 200; end of Footnote 180.

¹⁸⁶ “The Botanical Garden is laid out in the formal Japanese style, with lakelets, artistic bridges, etc., and is being stocked gradually with rare plants.” *Terry’s Japanese Empire, Including Korea*, 746; “Changkyung Palace features exotic trees, a botanical garden and a zoo.” *Facts about Korea* (1963), 158.

¹⁸⁷ Bendix, “Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions,” 132.

¹⁸⁸ “Imagine Your Korea,” Korea Tourism Organization, accessed May 12, 2015. <http://www.imagineyourkorea.com/>

structures into their present legacies. However, official National Museum and Seoul Zoo webpages in 2015 now list a founding year of 1945 and 1983, respectively.¹⁸⁹

The National Museum is not ignoring the previous existence of the Japanese-administered collections. It held an impressive exhibition “Collecting Asian Objects in Colonial Korea” October 28 to November 11, 2014, and former contents as well as photos of and from the Prince Yi, Government-General, and Duksoo Palace Fine Art museums were all prominently on display and well documented in Korean and English.¹⁹⁰

The Authoritarian Period practice of inducing collective-amnesia by ignoring Imperial Japan’s hand in the creation of the zoo or the existence of the Prince Yi Museum entirely has been shifted in the Civilian Period. Japanese additions to Changgyeong are not only discussed in tourism-related texts beginning in the late 1980s, they are well documented as “degrading” or “humiliating.” Interestingly, it is the changes and expansions made during the Authoritarian Period that are now conveniently forgotten.¹⁹¹ This “forgetting” has to do with the same fast forwarding through uncomfortable periods that Light documents in his study of post-Communist Romania. Like the tourist promoters and new nation builders in the former Soviet Bloc, South Korean officials have nipped and tucked away the excesses of their military dictators, and the promoters of Changgyeong have picked up and carried this preferred message as well.

These developments taken together reveal a break from the past. Darwinian- and Confucian-based boasting about being among the first nations with a zoo and national museum

¹⁸⁹ “National Museum Gyeongbokgung Palace: the First Period,” National Museum of Korea, accessed May 6, 2015. <http://www.museum.go.kr/site/homepage/menu/viewMenu?menuid=002005002003> ; “Welcoming Message,” Seoul Zoo, accessed May 6, 2015. http://grandpark.seoul.go.kr/eng_grand/animal/info/info01.jsp.

¹⁹⁰ From official brochure saved from personal visit.

¹⁹¹ Table 3, Columns E and H in Appendix show 19 Civilian Period works mention the zoo while the Korean-language *World City Book Seoul* (2011), 150, blames Imperial Japan for building something “like an amusement park (놀이공원처럼) in Changgyeong.

has declined with the rise of tangible confidence in the nation's own 20th- and 21st-century accomplishments. Material produced to foster collective identity now portrays Korean heritage much more clearly as noble and its modern advances as exemplary. Within the last few years, some government publications have even begun reporting the Japanese changes to Changgyeong in strikingly neutral terms compared to the early Civilian Period. This change could hint at the current administration of Park Geun-hye, Park Chung Hee's daughter, restoring part of her father's Korean tourism weltanschauung, but it could also show Korean society approaching the point her father was steering the country toward; a time when Joseon's old nemesis lacks even enough power to hurt Korea's national pride let alone threaten its territory.¹⁹²

Reordering Culture / Realigning Geography

Content analysis of 60 tourist-related publications spanning the three periods covered in this study reveal growing confidence among the Korean writers of promotional material; an insistence on defining Korea themselves. The Authoritarian reliance on Colonial Period facades crumbles in the Civilian Period. Deoksu, with its Western-style mansions and museums, is first among all palaces in every Park-era (1962-1979) government publication covered, it holds the honor in one Chun Administration publication (1980-1988), and is never more than second after 1983. More often than not, it is listed last or penultimate among Seoul's palaces, and it is the only one to register 4 out of 5, rather than 4.5 out of 5 in TripAdvisor rankings as of 2015.¹⁹³

¹⁹² "Changgyeongung Palace," Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, accessed April 28, 2015. <http://www.mct.go.kr/english/culture/palace/palace.jsp?pMenuCD=3101010300>.

¹⁹³ TripAdvisor reviews are included in this study since some government websites link to them, and the site popped up among the top six results in a Google "Seoul tourist attractions" search. At present the National Historic Site palace rankings are Gyeongbok #117, Changdeok #122, Changgyeong #123 and Deoksu #124. They usually follow this order in post-1990 travel books (see Appendix, Table 3, Column J).

Changgyeong is typically the third palace listed in every period and also receives about half the text length expended on Gyeongbok or Deoksu. Its English name in these texts, however, reflects the growing importance placed on it and the Korean government's new Romanization system.¹⁹⁴ Changgyeong went from being part of "the East Palace" in Colonial and early Authoritarian Period publications to various McCune-Reischauer-based versions of Ch'anggyŏng Wŏn (eg, Ch'anggyungwon, Ch'anggyongwon) in the 1970s and 80s. All official and private tourist publications after 2001 refer to it consistently as Changgyeonggung, albeit with the new South Korean official Romanization appearing italicized a few times before being accepted as legitimate English even in ROK publications. Standardizing spellings and removing diacritic marks has been an important part of government attempts to make Korean culture and places more accessible to tourists and online searchers.

Rise of the Service and Entertainment Sectors

When all the heavy lifting of Authoritarian Period demolition and construction subsides, the promotion of Changgyeong, in tandem with the Korean economy, transitions to a reliance on the service sector. Bureaucrats in the 1990s begin to take a more measured, professional approach to developing tourism attractions as evident by *KA*'s new emphasis on statistical measurement. By 1993, detailed plans for hitting specified targets of millions of inbound tourists consistently consume the few *KA* pages dedicated to tourism. Most plans are anchored to major events: 1993 Daejeon Expo; Visit Korea Year 1994; Seoul 600, 1994; 2002 World Cup.

These plans coincide with the introduction of colorful, government-funded re-enactments

¹⁹⁴ Government websites for Gyeongbok, Changdeok and Deoksu are elaborate, interactive and multi-lingual. The official Korean-language Changgyeong site is as well. However, the "English" language tab leads to a much simpler Cultural Heritage Administration webpage with outdated graphics and incomplete information (see Footnote 180).

designed to breathe new life into the formerly barren palaces. Changing-of-the-Guard ceremonies and other photo-friendly re-enactments begin in the mid-1990s and accelerate around the 2002 World Cup co-hosted by Japan and South Korea.¹⁹⁵ Elaborate performances with a large cast of actors and musicians wearing Joseon-period costumes and playing traditional court instruments are now staged periodically at all the palaces.

Actors playing Crown Prince Sado's father and son often star in the Changgyeong performances. In 2009, the CHA put on an elaborate display of King Yeongjo's 50th Birthday celebration with a boy playing then eight-year-old Sado serving his father rice wine. The 90-minute event featured four musical performances with accompanying dancers (see Figure 19A). The largest outlay, however, involves Jeongjo's 1795 departure from adjacent Changdeok Palace to visit Sado's tomb near Suwon Fortress. This procession requires over 1,000 actors and 500 horses. It reincarnates Jeongjo's royal procession to pay homage to his parents on the 60th anniversary of their birth year. It is the subject of the *uigwe* archival painting immortalized in tile along the restored stream Cheonggyecheon in downtown Seoul; the same painting Japanese curators left out of Joseon's royal museum in the Colonial Period (see pages 24-25 above).

Marketing Sado

In addition to the original *uigwe* and modern mosaic, Sado's tragedy is linked directly to numerous works of literature, art and scholarship. Appendix Table 1 includes a select list. The story also led to the creation of Joseon architectural marvels. Five sites are identified as "must

¹⁹⁵ TripAdvisor reviews frequently praise Changgyeong's free guided tours and the Changing-of-the-Guard ceremony, but no re-enactments were mentioned as of April 9, 2015. This is likely due to insufficient advertising (see Footnote 180). Inbound tourists presumably find out about Changgyeong re-enactments only after purchasing a ticket and seeing the on-site advertising. Few likely come back to witness these events.

see” or “major tourist attractions” on government webpages, as of April 2015, and two are registered as UNESCO World Heritage.

Colonial Period tourist books briefly mention the scenic beauty of Suigen (Suwon) since most inbound tourists then would have been taking the Busan-Seoul railway that rolled right by the area.¹⁹⁶ However, in the Authoritarian Period, inbound tourists could arrive in Seoul directly by air via Yeouido or Gimpo. The gaze of these tourists were focused instead on controlled spectacles built close at hand by the Rhee and Park administrations (see page 41 above).

The emergence of the five 21st century hot spots listed in Table 2 has been augmented by the success of Korean pop culture – the state-engineered Korean Wave or Hallyu – which helps attract fans to sites which are connected to popular bands, movies and dramas.¹⁹⁷ As noted in Table 1, several dramas and films touch on the story of Sado. The intertwined themes of filial piety and revenge have been embraced strongly by three of the five Sado-related Hot Spots.

Figure 19: Sado-related Theater



A: Re-enactment of King Yeongjo’s 50th Birthday Celebration in 1743. A minister of rites escorts Crown Prince Sado (age 8) up the stairs of Myeongjeongjeon to serve his father rice wine.

Source: personal photo from September 20, 2009.

¹⁹⁶ Terry, *Terry's Japanese Empire*, 731; *Guide-Book for Tourist in Japan*, 217.

¹⁹⁷ “Recommended Hallyu Itineraries,” Visit Seoul, accessed May 11, 2015.

http://www.visitseoul.net/en/subindex.do?_method=kwave2&m=0003001030001&p=02.) Most places recommended are cafes, restaurants and obscure museums with a specified connection to a film or TV show. A search for “Yisan” produced “0” links. “Changgyeong” brought up “Hyundai Wonseo Park” which is “west of Changgyeonggung” and a separate link to Gyeongbokgung.

B▶: Scene from MBC Drama *Yisan*, Grand Heir Jeongjo (age 10) visits the rice chest entombing his father Crown Prince Sado (age 27). According to the *Memoirs of Lady Hyegyöng* (pp. 321-322) she and Jeongjo were granted permission to leave for her parent's home shortly after Sado was locked inside the chest during the day.



C▼: Suwon Hwaseong (Fortress) Festival climax: King Jeongjo (age 43) and Lady Hyegyeng arrive at the temporary palace Haenggung (rebuilt 2002) for the Hwangap, celebration marking completion of a 60-year cycle since his parents' birth year. Source: personal photos from October 11, 2009.



D▲: Guide explains that Yeongjo has received news of the birth of Crown Prince Sado's son Jeongjo and has come to Gyeongchunjeon to congratulate the mother, Lady Hyegyeng. Source: personal photo from September 28, 2014, "Daily Walk in the Palace" tour.

E▲: Shadow Show at Tongmyeongjeon Hall "A tale based on the history of Changgyeonggung Palace is performed through body shadows and beautiful movements." Source: event brochure from September 24, 2014, performance attended.

Signs at Yongjusa and the twin tombs of Jeongjo and Sado perpetuate the Sado-as-pious-victim trope carried in popular fiction:

Yongjoosa is unique among temples in Korea. It *was built* by King Jeongjo of the Joseon Dynasty to commemorate his father Prince Sado, who was wrongly accused of a crime *and paid for* it with his death. (Source: personal photo taken June 5, 2010. Italicized portions not visible in photo and added from memory.)

Yungneung and Geolleung Historic Site No. 206

[Sado] fell victim to a plot by Yeongjo's concubine and vassals, and he was locked in a rice chest in the palace Changgyeonggung by royal order, whereupon he died. (Source: personal photo taken October 11, 2009)

According to Korea.net, 12.2 million inbound tourists visited Korea in 2013. Mainland China, 3.92 million (32%); Japan, 2.71 million (22%); and Taiwan, 560,000 (4%) comprised the top three groups.¹⁹⁸ Add in Southeast Asian tourists and domestic Koreans, and the vast majority of tourists to Changgyeong and related Sado sites come from cultures where examples of extreme filial piety could help sacralize the sites. Yongjusa monks clearly value the potential:

[T]he 256th service to commemorate Prince Sado was held in 2008 after a century-long stoppage. Concurrently, the Hongsalmun was restored its [sic] former glory, while the Hosungjeon shrine's tablet was newly unveiled. Such restoration aims to both exalt the Korean tradition of filial piety through bringing back the original form of Hyochal-daebonsan Yongjoosa, meaning Yongjoosa is the temple most closely equated with filial piety in people's minds, as well as honor King Jengjo's love for his father, which continued long after his passing. (Source: personal photo taken October 11, 2009.)

Jeongjo's reconstructed palace within Suwon Fortress now contains a rice box of the approximate dimensions of the one that sealed Sado's fate. Tourists are invited to crawl in and experience the sensation of being confined within such a cramped space.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ Limb, "China Becomes Biggest Source of Tourists."

¹⁹⁹ Information could not be found on any official site. However, bloggers are uploading their experiences: Alex Fahey, "Suwon Hwaseong Haenggung (Palace)," *Our Lives Are an Open Blog*, August 31, 2013, accessed June 11, 2015. <http://alexfahey.blogspot.com/2013/08/suwon-hwaseong-haenggung-palace.html>; Philip Gowman, "The LKL Trip 2009 pt 2 Suwon and Prince Sado's Tomb" *London Korean Links*, July 23, 2009, accessed June 11, 2015. <http://londonkoreanlinks.net/2Phi009/07/23/the-lkl-korea-trip-2009-part-2/>.

Changgyeong officials have never marketed Sado's death as directly as the aforementioned cases in Suwon. However, Cho Song-rae, the CHA official in charge of Changgyeong in 2012 clearly had film tourism – or more accurately K-drama tourism – on his mind when he collaborated with the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation to design an “event to reveal everyday life rather than concentrating on a special occasion or ritual ceremony.”²⁰⁰ According to the Korea.net report, participants start this tour with an interactive, typical-Joseon court experience; showing guards their *hopae* (wooden identification tag). Once permitted through the gate, a guide leads them to two- to four-minute re-enactments scattered around various palace locales. Two of these re-enactments include scenes more inspired by MBC network dramas than quotidian court reality. In one of these, 16th-century, Changgyeong-trained royal physician Seo Jang-Geum administers a physical to King Jungjong (*Daejanggeum*, 2003), and in the other King Jeongjo is seen “getting angry after discovering his grandfather's secret diary.” Jeongjo and the visitors learn that “the governing group who opposed the new prince [his father Crown Prince Sado] began to conspire against him” and “coerced” Yeongjo to have him killed (*Yisan*, 2007-8). Six TripAdvisor reviews posted by Japanese tourists from 2012 to 2014 mention Changgyeong as the site where a crown prince was starved to death within a rice chest, four specifically mention the drama *Yisan* by name.²⁰¹

During field study in September 2014, my Changgyeong guide explained that she tends not to mention Sado on her one-hour English-language tours because non-Koreans need much more general historical and cultural background (limiting available time) and are usually

²⁰⁰All quotes in this paragraph are from Lee, “Daily Lives in Palace Reenacted.”

²⁰¹ Non-English-language TripAdvisor reviews are at the end of this comments list for “Changgyeong,” accessed May 11, 2015. <http://www.tripadvisor.com/Search?q=changgyeong>.

unfamiliar with his life and death anyway.²⁰² Whenever the subject does happen to come up on a tour, however, she informs the group that three factors combined to create the tragedy: 1) personality differences led to a conflict between Yeongjo and Sado, 2) these differences drove father and son apart and lead to increasingly violent displays by Sado and 3) two rival court factions exploited the situation to pursue their goals. Although TripAdvisor reviews prove that fans of related dramas have visited, my guide has never heard tourists say that they came to Changgyeong to see the location of the tragedy, and she is unaware of any current attempt to link palace tours to films or TV shows.

Sado was cut from Changgyeong re-enactments witnessed September 23, 2014, by myself and about 30 other tourists.²⁰³ It began, as in the 2012 article, with us showing our hand-written wooden *hopae* to enter the palace, but once inside, King Yeongjo was the star of all four entirely different re-enactments: 1) Yeongjo proposing more equitable tax law in Munjeongjeon, 2) congratulating successful civil service exam takers at Haminjeong 3) stopping by to express wishes to Lady Hyegyeng on the birth of the future King Jeonggo at Gyeongchunjeon, and 4) welcoming Queen Jeongsun back from a trip at Tongmyeongjeon. All apparently lifted more from the *Sillok* (Annals of the Joseon Monarchy) than the scripts of MBC.²⁰⁴

According to my earlier tour guide, the CHA and Changgyeonggung Director Kim Tae

²⁰² Since few inbound tourists visit Changgyeong, many, including myself, have experienced private English- and Japanese-language tours that are highly praised on TripAdvisor.

²⁰³ Nearly all of the tourists appeared to be Korean, mostly young and middle-aged women and a few old men and children. Korean was the only language spoken, but pamphlets explaining the events were available in English, Japanese and Chinese.

²⁰⁴ *Joseon's Royal Heritage*, 109, reports that the 1993 novel *Everlasting Empire* was based on an August 8, 1793, entry in the Annals of the Joseon Dynasty. The same passage located within in a copy of the original annals [朝鮮王朝實錄, vol. 46 (Seoul: Kuksa Pyeonchan Wiweonhoe, 1955-1958), 403-04] and the Korean government's free online Hangeul translation [<http://sillok.history.go.kr/inspection/inspection.jsp?mTree=0&id=kva>] vaguely mention Yeongjo's remorse over a shocking incident that can still not be spoken about in public though it occurred decades earlier. The incident is likely Sado's murder, however, extrapolating his complete innocence from that passage is tenuous.

Sik look for historic Changgyeong-related scenes that will raise awareness of and appreciation for Joseon culture. This inclination is apparent in a lecture series hosted by the palace and advertised online. Konkuk University Professor Shin Byung-ju spoke about “King Yeongjo and Sado Seja” on August 20, 2014.²⁰⁵

Changgyeong’s official 2012 and 2014 brochures, however, still lean toward the pop-culture version of Sado’s death, at least in their Korean, Japanese and Chinese editions. Figure 20 shows Asian-language brochures attributing Sado’s murder to the conservative Noron faction and his Machiavellian sister Princess Hwawan, while the English version is much more circumspect. This alternative narrative could be based on the assumption that English speakers lack the necessary knowledge required to delve into Joseon court history as my guide indicated earlier, but the themes of filial piety and revenge being more popular in Asia than the West could come into play as well. *Hangjungnok* has apparently only been translated into English. Palace officials are likely aware that Lady Hyegyong’s version is known and admired by Westerners because after the publication of the Jahyun Kim Haboush translation in 1996, accounts sympathetic to Lady Hyegyong begin appearing in English language travel guides, and a 2011 Korea Times editorial that I wrote – unfortunately before fully understanding the complexity of Changgyeong and Sado’s past – derides the government for ignoring the story.²⁰⁶

Only one sign on the grounds of Changgyeong alludes to Lady Hyegyong’s memoirs. The marker for the site of her former residence neglects the contents of her writing in both

²⁰⁵ Professor Shin did not reply to an email requesting information about the lecture. As noted in Footnote 191, only those accessing the Korean-language site could find out about such special events. “창경궁 소식,” *CHA Changgyeonggung Palace*, July 10, 2014, accessed April 27, 2015. http://cgg.cha.go.kr/depart/n_cgg/multiBbzView!view.action?id=6799&no=6011&curPage=1&strWhere=content&strValue=%BB%E7%B5%B5&schWhere=&schDirect=&bbzId=cggnotice&sdate=&edate=&category=&mc=CG_04_03&bbzgubun=write&pid=0.

²⁰⁶ David Kendall, “Neglected Memoirs and Old Palaces,” *Korea Times*, May 22, 2011, accessed May 4, 2015. http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/opinion/2013/08/162_87425.html.

Korean and English:

Situated above the palace grounds, the site commands a beautiful view. Pine trees now cover where Jagyeongjeon, residence of the queen mother, was situated. In 1777, King Jeongjo built Jagyeongjeon with a beautiful terraced rear garden for his mother, Lady Hyegyeong, on this site in view of the Gyeongmogung Shrine to Prince Sado, his father, Lady Hyegyeong wrote Hanjungnok (Memoirs of Lady Hyegyeong) in Jagyeongjeon, which was removed in the late 19th century. During the Japanese occupation Jangseogak, a modern royal library, was built here. It was removed in 1992.

Figure 20: Language-Flavored Sado Narratives in Changgyeong Brochure

Princess Hwawan

groundless rumor

Noron (Faction)

사도세자의 비극 1762년 윤5월 13일 문정전 앞뜰에서 비극적인 사건이 벌어졌다. 당시 집권 세력이었던 노론은 어릴 적부터 노론을 싫어했던 세자가 대리청정을 시작하자 위기감을 느끼고 영조에게 온갖 모략을 고했다. 노론 세력이었던 세자의 처가와 누이 화완옹주 등이 이에 합세하였고, 생모 영빈 이씨가 이날 영조에게 유언비어를 고하여 결국 영조는 세자에게 자결을 명하기에 이른다. 문정전 앞뜰에 놓인 커다란 뒤주에 갇혀 한여름 더위와 허기로 8일 동안 신음하던 세자는 28세의 짧은 생을 비참하게 마감했다. 영조는 세자의 죽음 후 그를 애도한다는 의미로 '사도(思悼)'라는 시호를 내렸다.

06

Tragedy of Prince Sado, heir apparent to the throne It was on May 13, 1762, that the courtyard in front of Munjeongjeon witnessed the most tragic incident of the century. It had been reported to King Yeongjo that Crown Prince Sado was mentally ill and behaving erratically. Furious with the Crown Prince, his father, King Yeongjo, ordered him sealed alive in a large rice chest, where he died within eight days. He was 28 years old. King Yeongjo later became remorseful for his behavior and gave his son the posthumous title 'Sado' ("thinking in sorrow"). It is believed that Crown Prince Sado was a victim of a conspiracy by his political adversaries.

06

思悼世子の悲劇 1762年閏5月13日、文政殿の前庭で悲劇的な事件が起った。当時集権勢力であった老論は幼い時から老論を嫌っていた王世子が代理聴政を始めると危機感を感じて英祖にあらゆる謀略を告げた。老論勢力だった王世子の妻家と和緩翁主などがここに力を合わせ、生母・英嬪李氏がこの日、英祖に根拠のない内容を告げて結局英祖は王世子に自決を命ずるに至る。文政殿の前庭に置かれた大きな米櫃に閉じこめられて真夏の暑さと飢えで8日間呻いていた世子は28歳の短い生を惨めに締めくくった。英祖は王世子の死後、彼を哀悼するという意味で'思悼'という諡号を与えた。

06

思悼世子的悲劇 当时掌握国情的老论势力对思悼世子有怨恨的感情，而世子开始代理听政后他们感到危机意识，于是他们准备密谋反事。当时掌权的老论势力在从小讨厌老论的世子代理朝政后开始感到了危机并在英祖面前实施了各种密谋。当时属于老论势力的世子妻子的家人和姐姐和缓翁主等也加入了密谋的势力。生母英嬪李氏向英祖报告了各种流言蜚语，结果英祖向世子下命令自杀。最后，世子强迫进已准备的米匣里，炎热的8天间受到了肉体的痛苦、心里绝望，结果年龄仅28岁的年轻世子在米匣里去世了。英祖在世子死后为了哀悼他给赐号“思悼”。

06

Source: Changgyeongung brochures, 2012 and 2014. From top: Korea, English, Japanese and Chinese.

Downplaying *Hanjungnok*'s significance and ignoring the Prince Yi Museum's previous existence on this same site strengthen popular Civilian Period narratives, ie, Sado as an innocent victim and Imperial Japan as degrader of Korean culture. But the failure to promote *Hanjungnok* appears doubly ironic when considering 1) the immense revenue spent by the Korean government on the Literature Translation Institute of Korea and elsewhere to raise awareness of Korean literature abroad and 2) the fact that *Hanjungnok* has been very well received by Western literary reviewers but still remains largely unknown outside of Korea.

Popular Asian Narratives Outweigh Western Interests

The drama of the Sado story is likely gripping to people in every culture. For Western readers of the memoirs, Lady Hyegyong's intimate analyses of the main characters seem to be the key to the story's appeal. Harvard Professor David McCann writes in his review of the Kim Haboush translation that Lady Hyegyong's life "would have taxed the imagination of a Poe, the narrative capacities of a Gibbon, or an Eliot (George), the tragic sense of Shakespeare."²⁰⁷ British author Margaret Drabble was so taken by the translation that she wrapped her 2004 novel, *The Red Queen*, around it -- to the dismay of *The Economist* which found the original "dramatic and evocative" but Drabble's insertions "contrivance."²⁰⁸ Still, the monumental Lady Hyegyong -Kim Haboush collaboration -- two centuries in the making -- is often left out of government-sponsored lists of Korean literature deemed worthy of foreign attention.²⁰⁹

Kim Haboush believes the true merit of the memoirs cannot be understood unless read

²⁰⁷ McCann, "Review of *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyong*," 1114-15.

²⁰⁸ "Books and Arts: Then in Walked the Author," 79.

²⁰⁹ Jung, *K-Literature*. Female poets are highlighted in the nine pages that this 116-page government-sponsored volume dedicates to "Pre-'Enlightenment' Korea" (17 BC-1918); no mention of Lady Hyegyong's memoirs here or in online, government-sponsored promotions of Korean literature accessed May 2, 2015. http://www.klti.or.kr/e_main.do and <http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=116207>.

individually and fully in chronological order “as the subjects move from the personal to the public, so do the genres,” ie, the memoir of 1795, “a family injunction”; 1801, “a memorial”; 1802, “a biography”; 1805, “a historiography.”²¹⁰ Besides a few academics, no Korean with whom I have spoken has read all four memoirs. They feel already well acquainted with the story from the condensed school text and numerous TV dramas and films. Torben Grodal has shown that viewing films activates multiple senses resulting in more intense memory retention.²¹¹ A mandatory, overly edited middle school text depicting the life of Sado is likely no match for multiple action-packed, revenge-filled video narrations.

That growing lack of awareness of Lady Hyegyong’s work is unfortunate because back-to-back, the memoirs give a greater appreciation for her piercing insight into Joseon court life and death. The American historian/missionary Hulbert may have had the confidence of King Gojong and his court a century after the events transpired, but Lady Hyegyong actually lived among the royal family at Changgyeong when 1) her husband was killed there by order of his father (1762); 2) her uncle was killed by order of her son, King Jeongo (1776); 3) Jeongjo died unexpectedly (1800), and 4) her brother was killed by order of her grandson, King Sunjo (1801). With each loss and year closer to her own death (1815), she appears to have less and less to lose and more and more determination to leave a thorough accounting.

Lady Hyegyong portrays Sado as a loving husband, filial son, compassionate father, sagacious heir and likely schizophrenic.²¹² When King Yeongjo chastises Sado for breach of court etiquette, a common occurrence from the strict father, according to Lady Hyegyong, Sado vents his frustration on underlings: raping palace ladies, beheading a eunuch, beating a once-

²¹⁰ Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 11.

²¹¹ Grodal, *Embodied Visions: Evolution, Emotion, Culture, and Film*, 247.

²¹² Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 265.

loved consort to death.²¹³ Some historians cite this depravity as the cause of the King's filicide.²¹⁴ Others claim Sado was an innocent victim of court intrigue or that King Yeongjo's sentencing was too cruel.²¹⁵ Lady Hyegyong stresses that "Both versions are defamatory to the three generations, and neither is factually correct in any way."²¹⁶

Lady Hyegyong's descriptions of Sado's neuroses and their possible causes appear too detailed to be the work of a woman fabricating tales about her husband to exonerate her own family's role in his demise as sometimes claimed today.²¹⁷ She entered Changgyeong at age nine and left it on very few occasions before her death there at age 80. Yet, almost 100 years before Freud published his first book, she describes textbook examples of schizophrenia and obsessive compulsive disorder (OCD), as well as a case of neurotic behavior (vestiphobia) rarely documented even today.

Sado's irrational fear of wearing court robes and the Hong clan's efforts to keep his destruction of garments from King Yeongjo appears throughout the memoirs.²¹⁸ A psychologist in a 2011 report of a similar case involving a Singaporean conscript traces the root to the patient's earlier public humiliation over improper dress; the exact type of humiliation that Lady Hyegyong describes Sado having to endure repeatedly from his father.²¹⁹ Her last memoir trains her analysis on Sado's father King Yeongjo, clearly identifying his OCD:

His Majesty was fastidious in his choice of words. He avoided using words that connoted death, such as *sa* (to die) or *kwi* (to return). He entered his living quarters only after changing from the clothes he wore at his regular audience or the public functions. On

²¹³ Ibid., 282, 301, 312

²¹⁴ Bruce Cumings *Korea's Place in the Sun*, 67-71; Kim, *The History of Korea*, 91-92.

²¹⁵ Han, *The History of Korea*, 336-337; Eckert, *Korea, Old and New*, 157.

²¹⁶ Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 335.

²¹⁷ This is the premise of most of the modern TV dramas in Table 1. Korean academics, however, like those writing the article on Sado's bi-polar symptoms that is also listed in Table 1, tend to depict the crown prince as insane.

²¹⁸ Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 281, 289.

²¹⁹ Chan, "Vestiphobia in a Military Conscript," 41-43; cases of Yeongjo berating Sado's attire in Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 281, 293, 308.

those occasions when he heard or discussed inauspicious things, he did not return to his chamber until he had brushed his teeth, washed his ears, and summoned someone to say at least one word. He returned by separate gates when he attended to pleasant and unpleasant things.²²⁰

Despite her impressive powers of observation, Lady Hyegyeong was likely an unreliable narrator at times. Nearly every Korean president has left office with relatives, often on the wife's side, implicated in influence peddling. It is unrealistic to believe that everyone in Lady Hyegyeong's family could have been as pure and selfless as she implies. Neurotic behaviors and questionable legitimacies aside, both Sado's father King Yeongjo and his son King Jeongjo are frequently lauded for being among the wisest kings in Joseon history.²²¹ It is unlikely that Yeongjo, even in advanced years, could be duped into killing his only living son without firsthand knowledge of crimes. Likewise, it is unlikely that King Jeongjo would have ordered the execution of his maternal uncle without irrefutable evidence.

Accounts of Sado's life and death are widely contradictory: Clark, following Hulbert, says Yeongjo "never showed remorse for his son's death." Kim Haboush, citing the *Sillok* (court) records, says "Yŏngjo, restored his son to the post of Crown Prince and granted him the posthumous title Crown Prince Sado."²²² The name chosen by Yeongjo has been translated as "thinking with great sorrow."²²³ By any account, the story is a great tragedy.

²²⁰ Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 256, on 257 the author recounts more of Yeongjo's odd rituals, eg, washing his ears after exchanging greetings with Sado.

²²¹ Yeongjo's mother was not a queen but a consort, and he came to the throne after his half-brother's untimely death. As with Jeongjo, many questioned his right to rule.

²²² Kim Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 327 footnote.

²²³ See Figure 20 for relevant English excerpt from 2014 Changgyeong brochure.

Reconnecting Departed Royalty to Changgyeong

Lady Hyegyong writes that “there came a time when corpses were being carried out of the palace nightly.”²²⁴ This comes more than a year before Sado’s own death. Could one person, even a Joseon crown prince, really get away with such butchery? Rather than Lady Hyegyong lying about her husband’s crimes, I suspect she believed rumors spread about him. Once the court starts to speak of the Crown Prince being insane and capable of murder, everyone with a score to settle and access to a quiet hall could have an opponent killed and claim it was at the hands of the raving mad prince.

Around 250 years after his emaciated corpse was carried away from Changgyeong, the government is moving to bring Sado closer to it once more. The effort is entirely unrelated to the *Hangjungnok* narrative. Millions of won are being spent to renovate and restore the shrine Jeongjo built for Sado shortly after he himself became king. For years it was nothing more than a small stable-like structure on the grounds of Seoul National Hospital across from Changgyeong. In a few years it will be much grander. One day re-enactments of the monthly visits Jeongjo paid to bow to his father’s tablet might even resume.²²⁵

An even grander extension is due to the south of the grounds. The City of Seoul allocated 58 billion won or \$57 million in 2008 to reconnect Changgyeong to the royal shrine Jongmyo via a 500-meter-wide, vegetation-covered overpass across the three-kilometer-long, traffic-laden Yulgokno.²²⁶ Visitors to Changgyeong or government websites learn that the Japanese sliced Yulgokno across royal land in 1931 “to symbolically sever the spiritual link between the royal

²²⁴ Kim-Haboush, *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*, 313.

²²⁵ A CHA official in an Aug. 20, 2015, e-mail said the KW 6.2 billion (USD 5.2 million) project is funded by the City of Seoul and CHA, 70% and 30%, respectively, and completion is slated for 2023.

²²⁶ “Road connecting historical landmarks to be restored.” *Korea.net*, August 1, 2008, accessed June 8, 2015. <http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=73152>. In my fall 2014 visit to Seoul, construction of the tunnel/overpass was clearly underway.

family and its ancestors” “based on a feng shui theory that the construction could cut off a positive flow of chi (energy) between the two sacred places.”²²⁷ As with the zoo and amusement park, the upkeep and expansions made to the road between 1945 and 2014 are conveniently ignored and the planting of indigenous trees on the restored sites stressed.²²⁸

Changgyeong is described on TripAdvisor reviews as “park like,” “quiet,” “serene.” Popular now for being less crowded and cheaper than other attractions, where before its fame was reaffirmed by the multitudes scrambling to view its exotic wildlife and exciting rides. The restorations in the Civilian Period are not meant to sell tickets as much as to reincarnate a national soul by “perpetually remind[ing] nationals of the symbolic foundation upon which a sense of belonging is based.”²²⁹ As the reconnection to Jongmyo draws near, blurbs explaining Changgyeong’s odd alignment to the east have started to be reoriented themselves.

Twelve books studied in the Authoritarian period mention the founding of Changgyeong. All but one of these trace the origin back to a Goryeo palace, and seven of these use that same heritage to explain Changgyeong’s odd eastern outlook. The numbers are almost exactly reversed among the Civilian Period. Twelve cite Joseon founders compared to two sticking with Goryeo. Four of the 14 go on to venture explanations for the apparent feng shui faux pas: previous Goryeo palace (1), Joseon respect for the natural terrain (2), filial piety deference to the ancestral tablets housed so close beyond what would have been the customary south gate alignment (1) (see Appendix, Table 3, Column B). The Joseonification of South Korean legacy has reached the point where even contact with older Korean dynasties leaves an undesirable taint.

²²⁷ First quote from Koehler, *Korea*, 58; second from Bae, “Changgyeong-Jongmyo link to get wider,” *Korea Herald*, <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20110503000908>.

²²⁸ Bae, “Changgyeong-Jongmyo link”; “Mayor’s Hope Journal,” *Seoul Metropolitan Government*, May 6, 2013, accessed June 8, 2015.

<http://english.seoul.go.kr/mayor-park-won-soons-hope-journal-127-what-is-seoul%E2%80%99s-landmark/>.

²²⁹ Park, “Heritage Tourism: Emotional Journeys into Nationhood,” 116.

CONCLUSION

Three incongruous spectacles appear beyond Changgyeong's Hall of Great Transformation over the past century. If years could be condensed into seconds, the first two scenes would transpire in a little under 50, the last in less than half that much. If the concurrent palace officials could arrange narration for a streaming video of the transformations, a viewer could see the following 115-second, three-scene short film:

Scene 1: The subtitle "Late Joseon/Colonial Period (1895-1945)" appears beneath a sprawling 19th-century palace. Dense squares and rectangles branch off the north and south sides of the main courtyard, lines drawn by black tiled roofs atop mostly one-story structures. An official from the Japan Tourism Bureau welcomes you to the 20th century and the start of a greater prosperity for the peoples of Asia, amid a deepening friendship between His Majesty Emperor Taisho of Japan and Joseon King Gojong. Above the rumble of structures being pulled down, he directs your attention to the sudden emergence of Asia's largest greenhouse, beyond a quaint teahouse on the shore of a new lake. A Japanese palace-like museum high on a bluff and a zoo with exotic birds and mammals in cages along ponds traversed by arched bridges emerge just before a four story wooden structure pops up near some bird cages. "This archive will store the remnants of the expired Joseon kingdom, and inside the museum lie examples of exquisite celadon ware from a time before the greed and corruption of Joseon officials destroyed the creative spirit of their people – a spirit that Imperial Japan can re-ignite in its new subjects." Workers carry in books and scrolls from the archive and take away all the art as the view shifts outside where the cherry saplings are now as tall as the old palace roof tops and jovial groups clump under their fleeting blossoms to celebrate spring. Silence as the crowds thin out and the

animals are poisoned and removed, followed by the departure of Japanese administrators.

Koreans and Americans enter and the scene fades to black.

Scene 2: “Authoritarian Period (1945-1993)” appears below largely empty grounds where the structures are falling into disrepair. A Korean guide begins to speak, “Is this on? What should I say?” Bang! A huge explosion suddenly kills his microphone. Three-seconds of gunfire follow then silence. Staff trickle in, workers repair damage, visitors start to return as the zoo cages are repopulated. The stream of tourists surges as the old cages and teahouse are pulled down, replaced with much larger concrete structures. Two enormous greenhouses sprout behind their old Victorian predecessor like twin capitol domes. As a cable car, stage and amusement park spring up, a new Korean guide begins to speak: “Welcome to 1969 and the 60th Anniversary of Changgyeong Playground! Following the success of President Park’s first Five-Year Plan and the difficult, but wise decision to normalize relations with Japan, the Republic of Korea is developing at a rate unmatched by any other country. Look at these school children having fun, touring the zoo with classmates, riding rides with their relatives. Couples can enjoy a romantic boat ride on the lake or watch others while enjoying a drink on the Crystal Palace patio or a stroll through the botanical garden lush with exotic flora. Thank the last king of Korea for granting the land for such splendor in the heart of Seoul. But friends, please remember to be vigilant, North Korean spies and their sympathizers are everywhere.”²³⁰ Enormous crowds form outside Honghwamun and jostle for tickets to see the splendor and bask in the cherry blossoms. Until at the 75-second mark, 1983, the tourists are shut out, the animals carted away, and one-by-one the

²³⁰ Todd Henry delivered a talk at Stanford University on May 1, 2014, about the early Authoritarian use of Changgyeong “to memorialize anti-communist patriots and to showcase the country’s infant industries.” “Korean Studies Discussion List,” Stanford University, April 25, 2014, accessed June 22, 2015, <http://koreanstudies.com/ksl/index.php?t=msg&th=10190&goto=15599&>.

modern additions come down even faster than they went up, the old Prince Yi Museum stands as a citadel until it too falls a few seconds later. As the dust settles, only the greenhouse and the few palace structures once left to rot by the Japanese stand. The old timbers receive a fresh coat of red earth-colored paint as new corridors take shape along the outer courtyard. Next to the main hall, Munjeongjeon, the building that Yeongjo stood in front of when he ordered his son to climb into a rice chest two centuries earlier, takes shape once more. “Come to Seoul, home of the 1988 Olympics!,” a new announcer chimes in. “Experience our 5,000 years of history and the contrast of ancient palaces tucked between modern high-rises.” Outside the gate, just out of view, a faint popping sound can be heard. Only the initiated recognize the volley of teargas canisters.

Scene 3: “Civilian Period (1993-present).” Somber music plays as workers remove the remaining cherry trees and potted irises. A Korean guide triumphantly tells a smattering of local tourists, “Everyone! No longer will evasive species take root in our royal ancestral grounds. Emperor Sunjong’s gift to his people is being filled with the trees and plants of our country.” Close-up on an elderly couple, tears form in their eyes as their grandchildren run to help plant a *Mugunghwa* (Rose of Sharon) shrub, the national flower of Korea. Drumming marks the start of the Changing-of-the-Guard ceremony. “In 1910,” a female guide begins, waiting for a small group of young tourists in town for the 2002 World Cup to settle down, “the Japanese turned this palace into a zoo and botanical garden to humiliate the Korean royal family. In 1983 the grounds were reclaimed through major restoration and the title ‘palace’ restored.” Periods of quiet follow with a few people – mostly elderly Koreans and the occasional foreign visitors – wandering about the expansive grounds. Large colorful celebrations with actors and musicians in the bright reds, blues and yellows of official uniforms fill the courtyard intermittently and perform for resurrected Joseon rulers and at times hundreds of Korean and foreign spectators seated in

folding chairs beneath the shade of the open corridors or out on the hot stones of the courtyard. As they disperse Changgyeong once again becomes quiet. A few people inspect the grounds as workers install lights around the pond and along the slightly elevated walkway once reserved exclusively for the king. “The next night viewing will occur on Saturday, September 14th from 7 to 10 pm,” runs an announcement relayed alternately in Korean, English, Chinese and Japanese. Foreign passport holders can reserve tickets online.” The palace appears much smaller as the gaze draws back and upwards, revealing its isolation amid an expanse of indigenous trees, framed by skyscrapers. To the south, work is underway on a land bridge to the royal shrine Jongmyo. “In the start of the colonial period, Japanese administrators built a road between the new park and the old shrine,” the narrator informs. “When the tunnel is complete, visitors will be able to easily walk between the sites. In a few years, you may be able to see the descendants of Korea’s royal family make a procession from the palace to attend the UNESCO Intangible World Cultural Heritage Jerye Ceremony.”

These three scenes, Like Lady Hyegyong’s memoirs, fit nicely together when laid out chronologically side by side with the knowledge that each one is being written with a different purpose and style. Major social convulsions lying beneath cosmetic tweaks to the grounds materialize, and the actions of the actors, low and high, become much more interesting and easier to follow.

Since 1909, tourists and their guides have gazed, read, written, snapped, posted and tweeted about visits to Changgyeonggung. Just as predicted by the Circle of Representation, content analysis shows most have come to see what they have been told and feel is right before their eyes.²³¹

²³¹ Park, “Heritage Tourism: Emotional Journeys,” 120, stresses “that heritage tourism is not predominantly related

Figure 21: Special Night Viewing of Changgyeonggung



Changgyeonggung lit up for one of the evening showings. The zoo was once to the left, cable car and other rides off to the right. Source: traveltourismblog.com. See Appendix, Table 4 for more information.

to emphasising one dominant reconstruction and reinterpretation of collective memory ... [r]ather, it facilitates ways in which individuals variably position themselves in a broader context of cultural construction and symbolic embodiment of the nation and national identity.”

APPENDIX

Table 1: Sado-inspired Literature and Visual Art

Title/Creator	Medium	Year
<i>Hanjungnok</i> / "Lady Hyegyong" Note: Her actual given name was never recorded as she was female and not of the royal line.	memoirs	1795-1805
<i>Memoirs of a Korean Queen</i> / Yang-hi Choe-Wall*	book	1985
<i>Hanjungnok</i> / MBC	TV drama	1988
<i>Bujayuch'in (There Should Be Intimacy between Father and Son)</i> / Oh Tae-Suk and Ah-Jeong Kim	play	1992
<i>Everlasting Empire</i> / Yi In-hwa	novel	1993
<i>Eternal Empire</i> / Director Park Jong-won (based on 1993 Yi novel)	film	1995
The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng / (translation of all four <i>Hanjungnok</i> memoirs)/ JaHyun Kim Haboush	book	1996
<i>The Confucian Kinship in Korea</i> / Jahyun Kim Haboush	book	2001
<i>The Red Queen</i> / Margaret Drabble	book	2004
<i>Memoirs of the Red Queen</i> (re-release of 1985 translation)/ Translator: Yang-hi Choe-Wall	book	2004
<i>Yi-san</i> / MBC	TV drama	2007
<i>Eight Days</i> / CGV	TV drama	2007
<i>Lady Hong in the Palace</i> , Director Lee Youn-taek	play	2013
<i>The Fatal Encounter</i> / Director Jae-Gyu Lee	film	2014
" <i>Eight Days: Two Faces of the Feast</i> " / KBS Director Choi Pil-gun	documentary & film	2014
A Psychiatric Approach to Prince Sado: A Bipolar Disorder Sufferer or a Victim of Party Strife / Jeong, Ha Eun, and Chang Yoon Kim**	medical analysis	2014
<i>Sado: Memory of Eight Days</i> / Director Lee Joon-ik	film	2015

Sources: suggestions from friends and colleagues and references from numerous articles, primarily Chung, "Renaissance of Joseon King Jeongjo."

*Translated from the reprinted "first three chapters of the collated *Ilsa* and *Karam* manuscript collections *Handyung nok*, in Seoul in 1961." Hyegyŏnggung Hong Ssi, and Yang-hi Choe-Wall. *Memoirs of a Korean Queen*. London: KPI, 1985, Introduction.

**Jeong, Ha Eun, and Chang Yoon Kim, 사도세자에 대한 정신의학적 고찰 :사도세자, 양극성 장애 환자인가 당쟁의 희생양인가 (A Psychiatric Approach to Prince Sado: A Bipolar Disorder Sufferer or a Victim of Party Strife), *Journal of Korean Neuropsychiatric Association* 53, no. 5 (2014): 299-309, accessed June 25, 2015.

<http://synapse.koreamed.org/DOIx.php?id=10.4306/jknpa.2014.53.5.299>

Table 2: Five Civilian Period Must-See Sites Linked to Sado and Changgyeong

Site Name	Website/Geographic Locations	Description
Changgyeonggung	Visitseoul.net → See & Do → Must See and Do → City Walking Tours → Traditional Culture Tour: Changgyeonggung/ Central Seoul, east of main palace Gyeongbokgung	*“The stage where some of the most tragic incidents in Korean history took place ... and the story of the Crown Prince Sado who was sealed alive in a wooden rice chest and killed during the reign of King Yeongjo!”
Banchado of King Jeongjo (Tile Painting)	Visitseoul.net → See & Do → Sports & Outdoors → Parks/ Along the reclaimed stream Cheonggyecheon, 1.25 miles southwest of Changgyeong	**“...officially recognized as the ‘Cheonggye 8 Views’. These must-see locations along the stream include ... Banchado of King Jeongjo (Tile Painting)”
Suwon Hwaseong (fortress commissioned by King Jeongjo)	Visitkorea.or.kr → Attractions → Themed Travel → Korea Travels → City Tours/ 24 miles south of Changgyeong	***“Major Tourist Attractions” -> The list includes five sites along or inside the fortress walls.
Yongjusa (Buddhist temple restored and renamed by Jeongjo, with monks provided state funds to perform rites regularly)	Visitkorea.or.kr → Destinations → Destinations by Region/ 6 miles southwest of Suwon Hwaseong	***Under “Major Tourist Attractions”: rebuilt in 1790 by King Jeongjo to mourn the tragic death of his father, Sado Seja, and to pray for the eternal rest of his father's soul.
<u>Yungneung / Geolleung</u> <u>[UNESCO World Heritage]</u> (tombs of Sado and Jeongjo)	Visitkorea.or.kr → Destinations → Destinations by Region 0.6 miles west of Yongjusa	**** “Major Tourist Attractions”
<p>*http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?_method=view&art_id=58505&lang=en&m=0004004004001&p=04 **http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?_method=view&art_id=540&lang=en&m=0004003002017&p=03 ***http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_4_10_13.jsp ****http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=776712 ****http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=778518 (all sites accessed April 29, 2015)</p>		

Table 3: Content Analysis of Travel/Cultural Guides

Column Legends:

B light green = Goryeo Founding, dark green with G = East-West orientation tied to Goryeo
 light blue = Joseon Founding, dark blue with T = E-W orientation tied to terrain, FP = filial piety

C light red = Publication that received publication subsidies or that were shipped to foreign libraries through the Korea Foundation or government agencies. dark red Government publication

D, E, F, G

empty yellow = founding year mentioned but creator unnamed, yellow IJ = Imperial Japan named as creator but as impartial fact. Light red IJ = intent subtle degradation, dark red IJ = intent serious degradation, light blue KS = King Sunjong suggested as creator, dark blue KS Sunjong emphatically named creator

F Greenhouse plants described as **E**, exotic; **R**, rare; **T**, tropical; **F**, foreign; **K**, Korean.

H yellow Sado’s death described in neutral terms or both versions mentioned, light red I Sado’s insanity implied, dark red I Sado described as certifiably insane, light blue V Sado suggested to be victim, dark blue V Sado’s innocence proclaimed.

I Manner in which Changgyeong is named and/or spelled in the publication

J Order in which palaces are listed in the publication.

Note: A “Seoul tourist attractions” Google search on a computer previously not used for Changgyeong-related research yielded the following sites. Only two sites linked to pages with data relevant to the content analysis from the books covered in Table 3 (see those with red asterisk[*] below). Finding the official CHA Changgyeong sites would be difficult without knowing how to search for them, still I included these two in the table as well because they reveal how the present government presents Changgyeong.

Top Six “Seoul Tourist Attractions” Google Listings as of February 26, 2015		
1	KTO site*	http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=256001 → http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_1_1_1.jsp?cid=264350)
2	KTO site	http://english.visitkorea.or.kr/enu/SI/SI_EN_3_6.jsp?cid=255810
3	Blog	http://seoulistic.com/travel-to-korea/korea-tourism-50-seoul-attractions-and-how-to-get-there/
4	TripAdvisor	http://www.tripadvisor.com/Attractions-g294197-Activities-Seoul.html
5	Blog	http://www.tommyooi.com/seoul-attractions/
6	City of Seoul site*	http://www.visitseoul.net/en/index.do → http://www.visitseoul.net/en/article/article.do?_method=view&m=0004003002001&p=en&art_id=618&lang=en
	Changgyeong CHA (kr.)	http://www.cha.go.kr/cha/idx/Index.do?mn=NS_01
	Changgyeong CHA(Eng)	http://english.cha.go.kr/english/royal_palaces_new/Changgyungung.jsp?mc=EN_05_01_03

A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
CIVILIAN PERIOD COLONIAL PERIOD 32 Sources (Books: 28; Websites: 4)									
Year	Title (Author)	Publisher	M/L	Zoo	B.G.	A P	Sdo	Palace Name	Order of Palaces
1993	Facts about Korea	KOIS						Ch'anggyōng-gung	Gb-Dk-Cd-Cg
1994	Koreana: Korean Cltrl Hrtge, Vol. 1 Fine Arts...	Korea Foundation							
1995	Korea Guide (Adams) 88 g	Seoul Intl Pub.		IJ	KS 88		105		Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk
1997	Having a Great Tour Richard Saccone) 56 j	Hollym		IJ	R 57			Ch'anggyōng Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk
1998	World Heritage in Korea (Lee Kyong-hee)	Samsung Found. of Culture					V 131		
1999	Facts about Korea	KOIS						Ch'anggyōng-gung	Gb-Dk-Cd-Cg
2001	Lonely Planet: Korea	Private		IJ	IJ			Changgyeong-gung	Cg-Cd
2001	The Beauty of Seoul (Suh Jae-sik)	Hollym							
2002	Images of Asia: Old Seoul (Keith Pratt)	Oxford University Press, NY					I 50	n.m.	Gb-Cd-Dk-Unhyeon-Gh
2002	Korean Travel Planner's Guide	KNTO		IJ	IJ				
2003	South Korea (Robert Nilsen)	Moon Handbooks Avalon Travel		IJ	O		V	Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2004	Facts about Korea	Hollym						Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Dk-Cd-Cg
2006	Palaces of Korea (Kim Dong-uk)	Hollym, Korea Foundation							Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2007	Field Guide to History (Han Chul-hee Han Mi-ja) 178 J/T	Dolbegae Publishers	M/L IJ	IJ	IJ		I	Changgyeong Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2007	Facts About Korea	KOIS						Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Dk-Cd-Cg
2009	Seoul: a Window into Korean Culture (Choi Joon-Sik)	Her One Media, Seoul							Gb-Cd
2009	Seoul City Guide (Martin Robinson)	Lonely Planet		IJ			V	Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Cd-Dk-Cg-Gh
2009	Seoul (Robert Koehler) 57 j	Seoul Selection		IJ 57	61		I 58	Changgyeong-gung Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2009	South Korea (Robert Nilsen) 53 G	Moon Handbooks Avalon Travel		IJ	O 54		V 162	Changgyeong-Gung	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2010	Korea	Lonely Planet		IJ			N	Changgyeong-Gung	Cd-Gb-Cg-Gh-Dk
2010	Wonderland Seoul	Private							Gb-Cd-Dk
2012	Seoul City Tour 195 J	KTO	IJ	IJ 200	IJ K		N 196	창경궁	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk
2011	Joseon's Royal Heritage J	Korea Foundation, Seoul Selection		IJ 45	RT-K 48		Allegedly insane	Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2011	City as Art: 100 Notable ... (Yim Seok-jae) J	Hollym, Korea Foundation		IJ 26				Changgyeong-gung Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg
2011	World City Book Seoul J	등록		IJ		IJ 150*		창경궁	Cd-Gb-Cg-Dk *amusement park like 놀이공원처럼
2012	Korea 58 J	Seoul Selection		IJ	K	IJ	N 203	Changgyeong-gung Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk-Gh
2012	Mad for Seoul	Chosun Media		IJ	IJ		V 279	창경궁	Cg-Gb-Cd
2014	Seoul Book of Everything (8 writers)	MacIntyre Purcell Publishing Inc.						Changgyeong-gung	Gb-Dk-Gh-Cg-Cd
2015	Visit.korea.or.kr J FP	KTO		IJ	IJ			Changgyeong-gung Palace	Gb-Cd-Cg-Dk
2015	Visitseoul.net J	City of Seoul		IJ	IJ				
2015	CHA Changgyeong site (Kr.)	CHA			RT-WP			창경궁	
2015	CHA Changgyeong site (Eng.) J T	CHA						Changgyeong-gung	Cd-Dk-Cg-Gb-Gh

Table Four: Online Photo Sources (all accessed June 23, 2015)

1A	http://www.tobunken-archives.jp/DigitalArchives/record/E4DFB63D-05CC-69F9-FFB6-F29BDCAECE3A.html
1B	http://www.mishalov.com/korea269part2/pictures/korea269-21.html
2A	http://m.blog.daum.net/cjddka49/15711091#
2B	http://jsg.aks.ac.kr/info/history.asp
2C	http://www.mishalov.com/korea-schedel/pictures/korea-schedel-75.html
3A	http://www.heykorean.com/HK_Club/HK_Club_board/HK_Club_View.asp?club_id=10005796&board_no=56378&list_no=260&board_type=b&item_seq=1830548&Page=4&Search=&key=&order=&by=desc
3B	http://www.daese.cc/2015/%EA%B9%80%ED%95%98%EB%8A%98-%EB%B9%97%EB%82%98%EA%B0%84-%EA%B6%8C%EB%A0%A5%EC%9D%98-%EC%83%81%EC%A7%95-%EB%8F%99%EB%AC%BC%EC%9B%90/
4	http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/eastasia&CISOPTR=5675&CISOBX=1&REC=1
5A	http://cafe.daum.net/c21/bbs_search_read?gpid=s451&fldid=5bPs&datanum=191
5B	http://www.seoul.go.kr/life/life/culture/history_book/picture_seoul2/supplement/1203244_3024.html
6	http://nekonote.jp/korea/old/postcard/s100/32.jpg
7	<p>Blog with artist listed as 뇌공도 (雷公圖): http://muye24ki.com/train/train.php?cat=4 National Museum 뇌공도 holdings as of June 22, 2015: http://www.emuseum.go.kr/relic.do?action=view_d&mcwebmno=158221</p> <p>Blog with artist listed as 김덕성 (金德成): http://inmoon.egloos.com/m/10354780 National Museum 김덕성 holdings as of June 22, 2015 http://www.museum.go.kr/program/searchNew/search.jsp?menuID=001010&query=%E9%87%91%E5%BE%B7%E6%88%90</p>
8C	<p>Yonhap article (Kr.) mentioning this Bodhisattva: http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/culture/2014/10/01/0901000000AKR20141001152551005.HTML</p> <p>National Museum page (Kr.) detailing book about Buddhist art (불교미술연구 조사보고 제 4 집) that includes Bodhisattva: http://www.museum.go.kr/site/program/board/basicboard/view?boardtypeid=32&menuid=001007010003&boardid=21323</p> <p>National Museum page (Kr.) detailing “Devout Patrons of Buddhist Art” exhibit (May 23, 2015 – Aug 2, 2015) that includes Bodhisattva: http://www.museum.go.kr/program/show/showDetailEng.jsp?menuID=002002001002&back=showIndex&listeng2&searchSelect=A.SHOWKOR&showCategory1Con=SC1&showCategory2Con=SC1_1&showCategory3Con=SC1_1_2&pageSize=10&langCodeCon=LC2&showID=10588</p>
12	http://m.blog.daum.net/blog/m/articleView.do?blogid=08s3Q&articleno=15964300
13A	http://www.seoul.co.kr/news/newsView.php?id=20130309018004
13B	http://egloos.zum.com/epoque/v/4077822
13C	http://blog.daum.net/tongita/1365201
13D	http://m.blog.daum.net/koreanpalace/7700923#
15	http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_by_past_and_projected_GDP_(nominal)_per_capita#IMF_estimates_between_2000_and_2009
18	http://m.blog.daum.net/koreanpalace/7700923#
21	http://www.traveltourismblog.com/south-korea.php

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adams, Edward B. *Korea Guide: a Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy*. Seoul: Taewon Pub. Co., 1976.
- . *Korea Guide: a Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy*. Seoul: International Tourist Pub. Co., 1980.
- . *Korea Guide: a Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy*. Seoul: International Tourist Pub. Co., 1983.
- . *Korea Guide: a Glimpse of Korea's Cultural Legacy*. Seoul: International Tourist Pub. Co., 1995.
- . *Palaces of Seoul: Yi Dynasty Palaces in Korea's Capital City*. Seoul: Taewon Pub. Co., 1972.
- . *Palaces of Seoul: Yi Dynasty Palaces in Korea's Capital City*. Seoul: International Publishing House, 1987.
- Allen, Horace Newton. *Things Korean: a Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic*. [original 1908 book republished for Royal Asiatic Society, Korean Branch.] Seoul: Kyung-In Pub. Co., 1975.
- Art of Korea (chosen) Manchuria (manchukuo) Mongolia and Tibet: a Selection of Different Phases of Art from the Interrelated Countries of Northeastern Asia, January, Nineteen Hundred Forty-two, the Toledo Museum of Art* [exhibition catalogue]. Toledo: The Toledo Museum, 1941.
- Arts: Korea Background Series*. Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1970.
- Aso, Noriko. *Public Properties: Museums in Imperial Japan*. Duke University Press, 2013.
- Ateljevic, Irena, and Stephen Doorne. "Representing New Zealand: Tourism Imagery and Ideology." *Annals of Tourism Research* 29, no. 3 (2002): 648-667.
- Bae, Ji-sook. "Changgyeong-Jongmyo Link to Get Wider." *Korea Herald*, May 3, 2011, accessed June 8, 2015. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20110503000908>.
- Bendix, Regina. "Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?" *Journal of American Folklore* (1989): 131-146.
- Berton, Pierre. "Pierre Berton's Korea: Fifty Years after the War's End, the Author Reflects on Lessons Learned – and Continuing Failures." *MacLean's* (July 21, 2003): 26.
- Bix, Herbert P. *Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan*. New York: Harper Collins, 2000.
- "Books and Arts: Then in Walked the Author; New Fiction," *The Economist* 372, no. 8392 (2004): 79.
- Chan, Jason Yongsheng. "Vestiphobia in a Military Conscript: a Case Report." *Grand Rounds* 11 (2011): 41-43.
- "Changdeokgung." *Lonely Planet*, accessed April 26, 2014. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/south-korea/seoul/sights/castles-palaces-mansions/changdeokgung>
- Changgyeonggung Palace* [English brochure]. Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2014.
- 昌庆宫 (Changgyeonggung) [Chinese brochure]. Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2014.

- 昌慶宮 (Changgyeonggung) [Japanese brochure]. Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2014.
- 창경궁 (Changgyeonggung) [Korean brochure]. Seoul: Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 2014.
- “Changgyeonggung Palace,” Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, accessed April 28, 2015. <http://www.mct.go.kr/english/culture/palace/palace.jsp?pMenuCD=3101010300>
- Chung, Ah-young. “Renaissance of Joseon King Jeongjo.” *The Korea Times*, November 13, 2007, accessed June 10, 2015, http://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/news/art/2008/04/201_13619.html.
- Chung-Sik Joung. “Traditional Landscape Architecture.” In *Koreana: Korean Cultural Heritage, Vol. 1 Fine Arts: Painting, Handicrafts Architecture*, edited by Son Chu-hwan, 248-255. Seoul: Korea Foundation, 1994.
- Clark, Allen D., and Donald N. Clark. *Seoul Past and Present a Guide to Yi T’aejos Capital*. Seoul: Hollym Corp., 1969.
- Crane, Susan A., ed. *Museums and Memory*. Stanford Univ Pr, 2000.
- Cumings, Bruce. *Korea's Place in the Sun: a Modern History*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1997.
- De Ceuster, Koen. "The Changing Nature of National Icons in the Seoul Landscape." *The Review of Korean Studies* 3, no.2 (2000): 73-103.
- Eckardt, Andre. *Geschichte Der Koreanischen Kunst* (History of Korean Art). Leipzig: K. W. Hiersemann, 1929.
- Eckert, Carter J. *Korea, Old and New: A History*. Harvard Univ Pr, 1990.
- Facts about Korea*. Seoul: Korea Information Service, 1963.
- Facts about Korea*. Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1977.
- Facts about Korea*. Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service, 1983.
- Gluck, Carol. *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the late Meiji Period*. Princeton Univ Press, 1985.
- Grodal, Torben Kragh. *Embodied Visions: Evolution, Emotion, Culture, and Film*. Oxford Univ Pr, 2009.
- Guide-Book for Tourist in Japan*. Tokyo: The Welcome Society of Japan, 1910.
- Gwan, Ya-Jeong. *조선미술사* (History of Joseon Art). Seoul: Dongmunseon Chulpan, 2003.
- Ha, Tae-Hung. *A Trip through Historic Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei Univ Pr, 1960.
- . *Guide to Korean Culture*. Seoul: Yonsei Univ Pr, 1968.
- Han, Woo-Keun. *The History of Korea*. Seoul: Eul-Yoo Pub. Co, 1970.
- 한국 박물관 개관 100 주년 기념 특별점 (Korean Museum: 100 Years in Remembrance). Seoul: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan, 2009.
- 한중록 (Hanjungnok) [condensed version of Lady Hyegyong’s memoirs]. Paju, Korea: Doseo Publishing, 2007.
- Henry, Todd A. *Assimilating Seoul: Japanese Rule and the Politics of Public Space in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945*. Vol. 12. University of California Press, 2014.
- . “Keijo: Japanese and Korean Constructions of Colonial Seoul and the History of Its Lived Spaces, 1910-1937.” PhD diss., University of California Los Angeles, 2006.
- . “Respatializing Choson’s Royal Capital: The Politics of Japanese Urban Reforms in Early Colonial Seoul, 1905-1919.” in *Sitings: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*,

- edited by Timothy Tangherlini and Sallie Yea, 15-38. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- Her, Hanna, 서울에 취하다 (*Mad for Seoul*). Seoul: Chosun Media, 2012.
- Hills, Ann. "Revaluing South Korea's Heritage." *History Today* 37, (January 1987): 3-4. Readers' Guide Full Text Mega (H.W. Wilson), EBSCOhost (accessed June 11, 2015).
- Hoare, James and Susan Pares. *Korea an Introduction*. Batesville, UK: Associated Book Publishers Ltd., 1988.
- Horlyck, Charlotte. "Desirable Commodities – Unearthing and Collecting Koryŏ Celadon Ceramics in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 76, no. 3 (2013): 467-491.
- Hulbert, Homer B. *The History of Korea*. Routledge, 2014.
- Hulbert, Homer B, and Clarence Norwood Weems. *Hulbert's History of Korea Vol. I and II*. New York: Hillary House Publishers, 1962.
- Jenkins, Olivia. "Photography and Travel Brochures: the Circle of Representation." *Tourism Geographies* 5, no. 3 (August 1, 2003): 305-328.
- Jensen, Lotte Eilskov, Joseph Theodoor Leerssen, and Marita Mathijsen, eds. *Free Access to the Past: Romanticism, Cultural Heritage and the Nation Vol. 2*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Jin, Jong-Heon. "Demolishing Colony: The Demolition of the Old Government-General Building of Chosŏn." in *Sitings: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*, edited by Timothy Tangherlini and Sallie Yea, 39-58. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- Joseon's Royal Heritage: 500 years of Splendor*. Seoul: Korea Foundation, 2011
- Jung, Yeo-ul. *K-Literature: The Writing World's New Voice*. Seoul: Korean Culture and Information Service, 2012.
- Kim, Chewon. *This Beautiful World: Seoul*. Tokyo: Kodanasha International Ltd., 1969.
- Kim, Djun-kil, *The History of Korea*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005.
- Kim, Hyun Sook. "창경원 밤 벚꽃놀이와 夜櫻" (Night Cherry Blossoms Festival and Yojakura at Changgyeong Garden). *Journal of Korean Modern & Contemporary Art History* 19 (2008): 139-162. DBPIA. Web. accessed May 10, 2015.
- Kim, Hyung-eun. "Cleaning Up the Zoos." *Korea Joongang Daily*, November 1, 2008, accessed July 13, 2014.
<http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2896806>
- Kim, John K. (Jong-ki). *Seoul: Host City of the '88 Olympics*. Seoul: KBS Enterprises, 1983.
- Kim, Michael. "Collective Memory and Commemorative Space: Reflections on Korean Modernity and the Kyŏngbok Palace Reconstruction 1865-2010." *International Area Review* 13, no. 4 (2010): 75-95.
- Kim, Taesik. "중앙박물관 목조관음보살상 조선초 아닌 고려 불상" (National Museum Buddhist Statue from Goryeo not Joseon). *Yonhap News*, October 1, 2014, accessed June 11, 2015.
<http://www.yonhapnews.co.kr/culture/2014/10/01/0901000000AKR20141001152551005.HTML>
- Kim, Young-Jong. "Corruption in South and North Korea." In *8th International Anti-Corruption Conference, Lima*, pp. 7-11. 1997.
- Kim Haboush, Jahyun. *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.
- Kishida, Hideto. *Tourist Library 6: Japanese Architecture*. [first published 1936.] Tokyo: Japan Travel Bureau, 1954.

- Knudsen, Daniel C., Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, and Charles E. Greer. "Myth, National Identity, and the Contemporary Tourism Site: the Case of Amalienborg and Frederiksstad." *National Identities* 16, no. 1 (2014): 53-70.
- Knudsen, Daniel C., Jillian M. Rickly-Boyd, and Michelle M. Metro-Roland. "Landscape Perspectives on Tourism Geographies." in *The Routledge Handbook of Tourism Studies* (2012): 201-206.
- Koehler, Robert. *Korea*. Seoul: Seoul Selection, 2012.
- Korea Annual*. Seoul: Hapdong News Agency (1964-1980); Yonhap News Agency (1981-2003).
- Korea 20 Years in Pictures*. Seoul: Kyunghyang Shinmoon. 1986.
- Koreana: Korean Cultural Heritage, Vol. 1 Fine Arts*. Seoul: The Korea Foundation, 1994.
- Ladd, George Trumbull. *In Korea with Marquis Ito*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908.
- Lautensach, Hermann. "Koreas Hauptstadt und ihre Umwelt" (Korea's Capital and Its Surroundings). *Geographische Zeitschrift* (1940): 1-17.
- Lee, Jin-Yeong. "70년대 서울시 도시계획국장 지낸 손정목씨 책 펴내" (Former Seoul City Planner Son Jeong-mok Publishes Book). Donga.com, October 8, 2009, accessed May 11, 2015. <http://news.donga.com/3/all/20030818/7974633/1>.
- Lee, Katherine In-Young. "The Drumming of Dissent during South Korea's Democratization Movement." *Ethnomusicology* 56, no. 2 (2012): 179-205.
- Lee, Kyong-hee. *World Heritage in Korea*. Seoul: Samsung Foundation, 1997.
- Lee, Namhee. *The Making of Minjung: Democracy and the Politics of Representation in South Korea*. Cornell Univ Pr, 2007.
- Lee, Seung-ah. "Daily Lives in Palace Reenacted." Korea.net. December 5, 2012, accessed June 11, 2015. <http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Culture/view?articleId=104089>
- Lew, Alan. "Place Representation in Tourist Guidebooks: An Example from Singapore." *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 12, no. 2 (1991): 14-137.
- Light, Duncan. "'Facing the Future': Tourism and Identity-building in Post-socialist Romania." *Political Geography* 20, no. 8 (2001): 1053-1074.
- Limb, Ben C. "The Development of Japanese Culture and the Part Played by Korean Settlers." *Pictorial Korea*. 125-137. Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea, 1968.
- Limb, Jae-un. "China Becomes Biggest Source of Tourists," *Korea.net*. January 17, 2014, accessed June 11, 2015. <http://www.korea.net/NewsFocus/Society/view?articleId=117119>.
- Lowell, A. Lawrence. *Biography of Percival Lowell*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935.
- Lowell, Percival. *Chosön, the Land of the Morning Calm: A Sketch of Korea*. Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1886.
- . *The Soul of the Far East*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1888.
- . "The New Palace at Söul." *Science* 5, no. 112 (1885): 251-253.
- McCann, David R. (1997). "Review of *The Memoirs of Lady Hyegyöng: The Autobiographical Writings of a Crown Princess of Eighteenth-Century Korea*." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 56 no. 4 (2004): 1114-1116.
- Miller, Ian. *Nature of the Beasts: Empire and Exhibition at the Tokyo Imperial Zoo*. University of California Press, 2013.
- Mok, Soo-hyun. "일제하 이왕가 박물관 (李王家博物館) 의 식민지적 성격." (The Colonial Construct of the Yi Royal-Family Museum during the Japanese Occupation). *Korean Journal of History* 1, no. 227 (2000): 81-104.

- Mun, Yeong-bin. 창경궁 (Changgyeonggung). Seoul: Daewonsa, 1991.
- 문화재청 주요업무 통계자료집 (Munhwajaecheong CHA Primary Business Statistics).
Daejeon, Korea: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2013
- Nilsen, Robert. *South Korea Handbook*. Chico, CA: Moon Publishing, 2003.
- Oh, Chang-young. 한국 동물원 팔십년사 (80th Anniversary of Korea's Zoo). Seoul: Seoul Metropolitan Government, 1993.
- Olša jr, Jaroslav, and Andreas Schirmer. "An Unsung Korean Hero in Central Europe: The Life and Work of the Multi-Talented Scholar Han Hŭng-su (1909-?)." in *Transactions of The Korea Branch of The Royal Asiatic Society* 87 (2012): 1-13.
- Pai, Hyung Il. *Constructing "Korean" Origins: a Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-formation Theories*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000.
- . *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: the Politics of Antiquity and Identity*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013.
- . "Travel Guides to the Empire: The Production of Tourist Images in Colonial Korea." in *Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity: commodification, tourism, and performance*. ed. Laurel Kendall, 67-87. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2011.
- Pai, Hyung Il, and Timothy R. Tangherlini, eds. *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies University of California, 1998.
- Paine, Robert Treat. *Masterpieces of Korean Art: An Exhibition under the Auspices of the Government of the Republic of Korea*. Boston: T. O. Metcalf, 1957.
- Park, Hyung yu. "Heritage Tourism: Emotional Journeys into Nationhood." *Annals of Tourism Research* 37, no. 1 (2010): 116-135.
- Park, Sang Mi. "The Paradox of Postcolonial Korean Nationalism: State-sponsored Cultural Policy in South Korea, 1965-present." *Journal of Korean Studies* 15, no. 1 (2010): 67-93.
- Pictorial Korea 1956-1957*, Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea 1957
- Pictorial Korea 1970*, Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea 1957
- Pocket Guide to the Republic of Korea*. Washington, D.C.: American Forces Information Service, Dept. of Defense, 1987.
- Rackham, Bernard. "A History of Korean Art by Andreas Eckardt; J. M. Kindersley. Review" *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs*, 57, no. 330 (1930): 144-145.
- 李王家博物館所藏品寫真帖 (Ri Ōke Hakubtsukan Shozōhin Shashinchō, Prince Yi Museum Catalogue, Vol 1 and 2). Seoul: Keijō Insatsu, 1929.
- Rowe, Shawn M., James V. Wertsch, and Tatyana Y. Kosyaeva. "Linking Little Narratives to Big Ones: Narrative and Public Memory in History Museums." *Culture & Psychology* 8 no. 1 (2002): 96-112.
- Sadler, Arthur. L. *A Short History of Japanese Architecture*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson Ltd., 1941.
- Selanniemi, Tom. "On Holiday in the Liminoid Playground: Place, Time, and Self in Tourism." *Sex and Tourism: Journeys of Romance, Love, and Lust* (2003): 19-31.
- Seoul City Tour*. Seoul: Korea Tourism Organization, 2012 [English title, Hangeul text].
- Shin, Gi-wook. "Nation, history, and politics: South Korea." in *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. 148-165. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies Univ of California, 1998.

- Song, Jane "Moving Gyeongseong: Korean Reaction to Changes in the Urban Landscape of Colonial Seoul in the 1920s." BA senior honors thesis, Tufts University, 2010.
- Steinberg, David. "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea" in *Transactions of The Korea Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 44 (1968): 1-45.
- Tangherlini, Timothy R., and Sallie Yea, eds. *Sitings: Critical Approaches to Korean Geography*. Univ of Hawaii Press, 2008.
- Terry, Thomas Philip. *Terry's Japanese Empire, Including Korea and Formosa*. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.
- Thompson, Craig, and Kelly Tian. "Reconstructing the South: How Commercial Myths Compete for Identity Value through the Ideological Shaping of Popular Memories and Countermemories." *Journal of consumer research* 34.5 (2008): 595-613.
- "Travel Schedule." *Pictorial Korea*. 32-36. Seoul: International Publicity League of Korea, 1968.
- U, Tong-seon, and Seong-jin Pak. *궁궐의 눈물, 백년의 침묵* (Tears of the Palace: 100 Years of Silence). Paju, South Korea: Hyohyoeong Publishing, 2009.
- Varutti, Marzia. "The Politics of Imagining and Forgetting in Chinese Ethnic Minorities' Museums." *Outlines. Critical Practice Studies* 12, no. 2 (2010): 69-82.
- Waitt, Gordon. "Marketing Korea as an International Tourist Destination." *Tourism Management* 17, no.2 (1996): 113-121.
- Wong, Aida Yuen. *Visualizing Beauty: Gender and Ideology in Modern East Asia*. Hong Kong: Hong Kong Univ Pr, 2012.
- Yoon, Hong-Key. *The Culture of Fengshui in Korea*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006.
- Yoshino, Kosaku. *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary Japan: A Sociological Enquiry*. [New pbk. ed.] London: Routledge, 1995.
- Zaring, Jane. "The Romantic Face of Wales." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67, no. 3 (1977): 397-418.

David Kendall
davkenda@indiana.edu

EDUCATION

Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana M.A., East Asian Studies, 2015
Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana B.A., Majors: Economics and History, 1985

EXPERIENCE

Editor, Freelance service for Asian Scholars publishing in English, 2015 - present

Grants Assistant, East Asian Studies Center (EASC), Bloomington, IN, 2012-2014

Founder, Kendall Editing, Seoul, Korea, 2008-2012

Writer/Editor, Korean Overseas Information Service, Seoul, Korea, 2005-2007

Copy Editor, Feature Writer, Yonhap News Agency, Seoul, Korea, 1999-2002

Instructor/Curriculum Developer, Dongguk (2003-2006) and Sangmyung (1997-2000) universities; OeDae (1995-97) and Pagoda (1991-93) language institutes, Seoul; POSCO Steel (1994), Korea

LANGUAGES

- English (native speaker)
- Korean (functional writing, reading and speaking)
- German (proficient writing, reading and speaking)

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS and PRESENTIONS

“Giraffes, Rollercoasters and Royal Re-enactments: Hits and Misses in the Reinvention of a Joseon Palace,” Discussions on Asia: Midwest Graduate Student Conference, 2014

Hutchison, Curt and David Kendall. *Action English: English Conversation for Today's Koreans*. Seoul: PSCORE, 2010. Print

Kendall, David. **한국인이 말할 때 꼭 틀리는 영어** (The Precise English Koreans Speak Inaccurately). Trans. Jinna Park. Seoul: Nexus Publishing, 2004. Print.

SELECTED EDITING ASSIGNMENTS

Mahlich, Jörg, and Werner Pascha, eds. *Korean Science and Technology in an International Perspective*. Springer Science & Business Media, 2012. Print.

2011 White Paper, Ministry of Defense, Republic of Korea

2009 APEC Singapore, all related publications and correspondence from the Republic of Korea

PAMS Choice 2005-2009: The Best Selection of Korean Performing Arts. Performance Arts Market in Seoul, 2009. Catalogue.