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FACULTAD DE FILOSOFÍA Y LETRAS

DEPARTAMENTO DE CIENCIAS HISTÓRICAS

## TESIS DOCTORAL

**The field of Korean Archaeology in South Korea (1945-1979). Power relations in the Institutionalization and Professionalization of archaeology**

Presentada por

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Bajo la dirección de los doctores:

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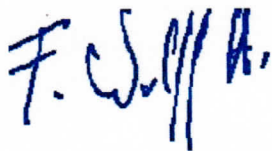
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## Conventions

### Romanization and Translations

The Romanization of Korean names in the present thesis have represented a challenge, due to the variety of systems currently available. As a general rule, the this text uses the McCune-Reischauer system of Romanization for most Korean words transcribed. For a detailed explanation of this transcription method see McCune, G., Reischauer, O., “Romanization of the Korean Language” *Transations* 39 (1939): 1-55. The following tables can provide some guidelines about this system of Romanization.

Hangul		ㄱ	ㄲ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄸ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅂ	ㅃ	ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅇ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅋ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅎ	
Romanization	Initial	k	kk	n	t	tt	r	m	p	pp	s	ss	-	ch	tch	ch'	k'	t'	p'	h
	Final	k	k	n	t	-	l	m	p	-	t	t	ng	t	-	t	k	t	p	-

Initial consonant of the next syllable														
ㅇ	ㄱ	ㄴ	ㄷ	ㄹ	ㅁ	ㅂ	ㅅ	ㅆ	ㅈ	ㅊ	ㅋ	ㅌ	ㅍ	ㅎ
<sup>1</sup>	<i>k</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>p</i>	<sup>2</sup>	<i>ch</i>	<i>ch'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>t'</i>	<i>p'</i>	<i>h</i>	
				<i>(r)</i>			<i>s</i>							

<b>Final consonant</b>	<b>ㄱ k</b>	<i>g</i>	<i>kk</i>	<i>ngn</i>	<i>kt</i>	<i>ngn(S)/n gr(N)</i>	<i>ng m</i>	<i>kp</i>	<i>ks</i>	<i>kch</i>	<i>kch'</i>	<i>kk'</i>	<i>kt'</i>	<i>kp'</i>	<i>kh</i>
	<b>ㄴ n</b>	<i>n</i>	<i>n'g</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ll/nn</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>nb</i>	<i>ns</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>nch'</i>	<i>nk'</i>	<i>nt'</i>	<i>np'</i>	<i>nh</i>
	<b>ㄷ t</b>	<i>d</i>	<i>tk</i>	<i>nn</i>	<i>tt</i>	<i>nn(S)/ll(N)</i>	<i>nm</i>	<i>tp</i>	<i>ss</i>	<i>tch</i>	<i>tch'</i>	<i>tk'</i>	<i>tt'</i>	<i>tp'</i>	<i>th</i>
	<b>ㄹ l</b>	<i>r</i>	<i>lg</i>	<i>ll/n n</i>	<i>ld<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>ll</i>	<i>lm</i>	<i>lb</i>	<i>ls</i>	<i>lj<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>lch'</i>	<i>lk'</i>	<i>lt'</i>	<i>lp'</i>	<i>rh</i>
	<b>ㅁ m</b>	<i>m</i>	<i>mg</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>md</i>	<i>mn(S)/mr(N)</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>mb</i>	<i>ms</i>	<i>mj</i>	<i>mch'</i>	<i>mk'</i>	<i>mt'</i>	<i>mp'</i>	<i>mh</i>
	<b>ㅂ p</b>	<i>b</i>	<i>pk</i>	<i>mn</i>	<i>pt</i>	<i>mn(S)/mr(N)</i>	<i>mm</i>	<i>pp</i>	<i>ps</i>	<i>pch</i>	<i>pch'</i>	<i>pk'</i>	<i>pt'</i>	<i>pp'</i>	<i>ph</i>
	<b>ㅇ ng</b>	<i>ng</i>	<i>ngg</i>	<i>ngn</i>	<i>ngd</i>	<i>ngn(S)/n gr(N)</i>	<i>ng m</i>	<i>ng b</i>	<i>ngs</i>	<i>ngj</i>	<i>ngc h'</i>	<i>ng k'</i>	<i>ng t'</i>	<i>ng p'</i>	<i>ng h</i>

Ej.

가	Ka	나	Na
강	Kang	기차	Kich'a
한국	Han'guk	연습	Yönsüp
살리다	Sallida	국제	Kukchae

An exception to these rules are those names that for historical use have been traditionally transcribed in other form. An example of this is the name of the first president of the Republic of Korea (1948-1961). Traditionally, it has been written as “Syngman Rhee,”



instead of I Sŭng-man (이승만). For the same reason, the transcript of Korean family names try to follow traditional transcripts. The family name 0| is Romanized here as Lee, instead of the McCune-Reischauer extract option of “Yi,” or “Ii.” For an exhaustive transcription of names see Annex 1 with the name in the original language and the transcription used in the thesis.

In addition, the transcription of Korean names has been transcribed in this thesis keeping the tradition of given first the family name. The only exception to this is President Rhee’s name which has been transcribed following Western tradition of giving the family name at the end. Some names have been transcribed changed slightly the general tradition to reaffirm its phonetic value.

Some names for places and institutions during the colonial period were used in Japanese. This thesis has kept the Japanese name for those institutions when it refers to them in the colonial period (1905-1945), using their Korean transcription when they are referred for a moment after the Liberation. Thus, the Imperial University founded by Japanese authorities at the capital of the colonial government is referred in this thesis as Keijō Imperial University, instead of the Korean reading of the same characters: Kyōngsōng. The use of Japanese names in these instances answers to the historical reality of being Japanese institutions in Korean soil. Nevertheless, this thesis does not recognize the legitimacy of Japan for the colonization of Korea, and it does not condone the violence and oppression that the colonial government exercised over the Korean population.

For the Romanization of Japanese names this text follows the options taken by Hyung Il Pai in the following works: “The Politics of Korea’s Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial



Archaeology in Korean Peninsula,” *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 25–48; *Constructing “Korean” Origins. A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography and Racial Myths in Korean State-Formation Theories* (2000); *Heritage management in Korea and Japan: the politics of antiquity and identity* (2013)

All the translations in this text from Korean sources have been done by the author, unless otherwise stated.

The following abbreviations are used in the text extensively. They are limited to the names of institutions:

NMK National Museum of Korea

OCP Office for Cultural Properties

RICP Research Institute for Cultural Properties

SNU Seoul National University

Department Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Seoul National University

USAMGIK U.S. Army Military Government in Korea



## Introduction

This thesis focuses on the structures that government and archaeologists developed since 1945 in the Southern half of the Korean Peninsula for archaeological research, until their consolidation around 1970s. The history of Korean archaeology has not attracted much academic attention for this period, although archaeology, as a discipline, has been instrumental in the configuration of an academic discourse on the origins of the Korean nation. The history of this discipline must be related to the historical development of the Korean government and Korean society after the Liberation in 1945, and the internal dynamics among the Korean scholars interested in the field. In this way, such study can represent a vantage point to consider the configuration of archaeological theories in future studies.

### **Some historical context, South Korea between 1945 and 1979<sup>1</sup>**

Emperor Hiroito announced the final surrender of the Japanese Empire on August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945. That same day Korean people celebrated on the streets the liberation of their country after more than 30 years of colonization. However, the power transference was a bit more complex

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<sup>1</sup> For a more detailed account of the events here presented see for example Eckert, Carter et al., *Korea Old and New. A History* (Seoul: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 1990): 327 ss; Robinson, Michael E., *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007): 100 ss



than proclaiming the end of the colonial government. The Japanese authorities aimed to keep the public order and the security of Japanese people and properties. Thus, they tried to find Korean leaders who would be willing to collaborate in the management of the situation until the arrival of the Allied troops, and the formalization of the surrender. In that interim, Korean elites organized the Committee for the Preparation of Korean Independence in Seoul with the acquiescence of the Japanese. This organism developed overnight branches in every province and city representing the will of Korean people to become an independent once again. Soviet and American troops arrived to the Peninsula in that context, incorporating soon the logic of the Cold War to their management of the situation.

The division of the Peninsula was a complex process that started right after the surrender of the Japanese Empire in 1945, and consolidated in 1953 with the sign of the armistice between the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. In between those two dates, the interaction of both superpowers, the USSR and the USA, combined with the internal dynamics of Korean politics to aggravate a division that started as temporary. The elimination of moderate solutions to the conflicts between the political left and right, and the support of the URSS and the USA to each of the extreme led to the establishment of two separated states in each half of the Peninsula. The Republic of Korea was founded in 1948 under a conservative government led by Syngman Rhee (1948-1960).

The history of the Republic of Korea within the timeframe of this thesis is represented by the authoritarian regime of Syngman Rhee (1948-1960), the liberal experiment of the April Revolution (1960) and Chang Myōn's government, the Coup d'Etat led by Park Chung Hee and his different governments (1961-1979). This period of Korean history in the South was characterized by a process of state-building supported by the USA in the context of the

Cold War. This period was characterized by the demands of economic development and real democracy to the government. Thus, the evolution of how the population prioritized those demands overtime presents an important key to understand the evolution of this period.

The first Republic of Korea under Syngman Rhee's leadership had to face the division of the Peninsula, the suppression of popular revolts such as that of Jeju, Yösu and Sunch'ön in 1948, the Korean War (1950-1953), and the later reconstruction of the country. The Korean constitution of 1948 established a liberal regime with a president and a National Assembly, but Rhee maneuvered to eliminate his political opposition using the fear towards communism and instruments such as the National Security Law (1948), turning the democratic system into an authoritarian regime. As first president, Rhee developed the government institutions, and he could secure his control over the political, economic and social spheres of Korean life taking advantage of that process. The USA, completely inserted in the logic of the Cold War after 1953, supported Rhee and his authoritarian rule as a bulwark against Communism, funding the greatest part of Korean government budget.

The regime started its decomposition in April 1960, when during the Vice-president elections Rhee's candidate won in the middle of rigged election rumors. On the 19<sup>th</sup> of that month, popular demonstrations sparked throughout the country asking for Rhee's resignation. The government management of the situation, the active support of urban population in favor of the demonstrations and the US negative to support Rhee contributed to form a solid front that forced the resignation of President Rhee on April 26<sup>th</sup>.

After the resignation, a new constitution was drafter, reducing the presidential power and strengthening the position of the National Assembly. Chang Myön became Prime Minister and leader of the executive. The new regime tried to establish the bases for a



democratic regime, leaving greater degree to the press, and purging the administration and police that had contributed to the corruption of Rhee's regime. For some sector of Korean society those measures were too little, while other sectors thought of them as too much. The result was the continuity of popular demonstrations, and a growing dissatisfaction with the government. However, it did not fall because of that. A military coup ended this liberal experiment on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

Park Chung Hee, then Major General, led in cooperation with other officers the coup, taking over the democratically elected government on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961. Park based the new regime in the eradication of corruption, strong anti-communism, and economic development. The initial reservations between Park and the USA were only circumvented when Park agreed to turn his rule into a civil government with presidential elections under a new constitution. After an easy victory, Park started the expansion of the government and a new economic policy towards the configuration of an export economy. This was possible in part to the deals he could make with Japan in the Normalization Treaty of 1965, and the participation of Korea in the Vietnam War. The success in the economic development of the country and the reconfiguration of the government earned him the reelection in 1967, but closely followed by his opponent Kim Dae-jung.

Since 1968, there are evidences that support Park's reorganization of the government towards a dictatorial regime, transformation that was complete in 1972 with the promulgation of the Yusin Constitution. This new constitution gave much power and control to Park, and allowed him to mobilize Korean population in order to carry out the III 5-year Economic Development Plan, responsible for the heavy-chemical industrialization of Korea.

The result of Park's economic policy was one of highest rates of economic growth in Korean history, but at the cost of popular unrest. Since the 1960s, it is possible to see different moments of popular unrest around the signing of the Normalization Treaty with Japan, and the participation in the Vietnam War. However, the objective of economic growth at all cost cornered many sectors of Korean society into outright exploitation. In addition, the dictatorial methods of government used by Park forged a strong opposition in the institutions and on the streets. Nevertheless, Park's regime did not end by a popular movement, but by his assassination on Oct. 26<sup>th</sup>, 1979 at the hands of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency director, Kim Jae-kyu.

### **Overview of the history of Korean Archaeology**

Archaeology of the Korean peninsula is a relatively young discipline in the peninsula. During the Chosŏn Dynasty there were some limited interest on excavations as methods to retrieve information from the past, but their main goal were more related to establishing genealogies and the connections with alleged ancestors.<sup>2</sup> However, those early attempts of excavations cannot be considered "archaeological" excavations as such. The first archaeologists to work on the Peninsula was Yagi Shōzaburō, sent in 1893 by the Tokyo Imperial University Anthropological Research Institute.<sup>3</sup> Other Japanese scholars went to Korea after him in the context of the colonial expansion of the Japanese Empire. Some examples are Sekino Tadashi,

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<sup>2</sup> In 1748, Chŏn Chi-hae excavated some tombs from the Koryŏ Dynasty to see if they were tombs of his ancestors. See Kim Won-yong, "Korean Archaeology Today," *Korea Journal* 21, no. 9 (1981): 22

<sup>3</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 30

Torii Ryūzō, Imanishi Ryū and Kuroita Katsumi to mention just a few.<sup>4</sup> These Japanese scholars used archaeological methods in the Peninsula to develop the first theories about Korean archaeology.

The colonial government over Korea for more than 30 years consolidated the hegemony of Japanese archaeologists in this new field, developing institutions to support archaeological research. The colonial government developed a consistent legislation to protect cultural heritage, starting with the “Regulations for the preservation of ruins and remain” in 1916. The last version of this kind of legislation was the “Regulation for the Conservation of Chōsen Treasure, Ancient Sites, Famous Places and Natural Monuments” in 1933. In correlation to those laws, the colonial government also established the Committee for the investigation of historic remains with the purpose of scholarly research and education. It also organized a museum in 1915 the Government-General Museum on the grounds of Kyōngbokkung in downtown Seoul, supporting archaeological research. In addition to these institutions and regulations, the government provided important funds for extensive surveys, archaeological excavations and publications.<sup>5</sup> It provided important founding to accomplish extensive archaeological research throughout the peninsula, and invited some of the most important Japanese archaeologists of the moment to direct such projects.

One of the most significant characteristics of these institutions was the systematic discrimination of Koreans. Japanese intellectuals led academic projects under the support of

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<sup>4</sup> Ibid., 29-30

<sup>5</sup> Pai presents an overview of the main research infrastructure of the colonial government in relation to the main archaeological research projects carried out during the colonial period. See Pai Hyung Il, *Constructing “Korean” origins : A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000): 23-35

the colonial government.<sup>6</sup> Consequently, Korean intellectuals had very limited access to fieldwork in this period. Although some of them could receive some training at the university. Kim Won-yong and Kim Chŏng-hak studied with Fujita Ryōsaku at Keijō Imperial University,<sup>7</sup> and some others trained abroad.<sup>8</sup> Thus, their participation in the academic discussion around the archaeological past of the peninsula was very small comparing to the Japanese intervention.

The period after the Liberation of Korea in 1945 witnessed the reconfiguration of Korean archaeology in the southern half of the peninsula with the support of the US Army. The US Army Military Government in Korea (USAMGIK) took control of the peninsula south of 38° parallel, meanwhile soviet troops did the same north of that parallel.<sup>9</sup> In the south, the USAMGIK help build a Korean government, and that task included archaeological research. The USAMGIK reopened the old Government-General Museum on December 3 1945 under the name of National Museum of Korea, and helped the institution to carry out the first archaeological excavation after the Liberation in 1946.<sup>10</sup> After the inauguration of the Republic of Korea in 1948, following governments also contributed to the research Korean archaeology, setting different institutions. Syngman Rhee's government established the Committee for Cultural Properties, first as an emergency committee, and since 1955 as a

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<sup>6</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 31

<sup>7</sup> Kim Won-yong, "Na'ui Han'guk Kodaie Munhwa Yŏn'gu P'yŏnnyŏk - Chŏsŏwa Nonmun Chungsimūro," *Han'guksa Simin'gangjwa* 1 (1987): 118; Kim Chŏng-hak, "Hoego Manp'il" in *Haksan Kim Chŏng-hak Paksa songsukinyŏm*, Han'guk Sahaknonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe, ed (Seoul: Hakyŏn munhwa hoesa, 1999):viii

<sup>8</sup> Son Chin-t'ae, Han Hŭng-su and Do Yu-ho earned PhDs abroad and published papers on Korean archaeology during the colonial period. See Kim Chŏng-bae, *Han'guk Kodaesa Wa Kogoha*, (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Sinsŏwŏn, 2000): 11-18

<sup>9</sup> Eckert, Carter et al., *Korea Old and New. A History* (Seoul: Korea Institute, Harvard University, 1990): 327-346

<sup>10</sup> Steinberg, David I., "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968): 23-32

regular meeting.<sup>11</sup> Park Chung Hee's government reorganized cultural heritage institutions establishing a centralized office to manage them all, the Office for Cultural Properties in 1961.<sup>12</sup> The government also established the Research Institute for Cultural Heritage in 1975 as an independent institution, a center with a wide activity in archaeological research.<sup>13</sup>

At the same time, since 1945 more and more Korean scholars became interested in archaeology, participating in excavations, writing papers and contributing to an academic debate. Park Kyōng-won conducted the first archaeological excavation outside the National Museum of Korea in 1956 in South Kyōngsang Province.<sup>14</sup> After him, many other researchers directed excavations throughout South Korea. Following official data, there were 35 different institutional actors active between 1945 and 1979.<sup>15</sup>

This academic activity led to the organization of academic journals dedicated to archaeology. In 1967, the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Seoul National University edited the first journal on archaeology *Han'guk Kogo*, lasting for three numbers. Next year, the Archaeological Society of Korea published *Kogohak*, remaining active between 1968 and 1979. The Society of Korean Archaeological Studies established in 1976 *Han'guk Kogohakpo* active until nowadays. These publications contributed to the academic debate by providing a specialized space for archaeological publications.

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<sup>11</sup> Munhwajae Kwalliguk. Kyōngju kojōk kwallisamuso, "Munhwajae Wiwōnhoe Hoeūirok (1952nyōn 12wōl 19il Put'ō 1959nyōn 10wōl 21il Kkaji)" (Munhwajae Yōn'guso, 1992): 3-7

<sup>12</sup> Munhwachaech'ōng 50nyonsa, *Munhwachaech'ōng 50nyonsa. Bonsap'yōn* (Taejōn: Munhwachaech'ōng, 2011): 47

<sup>13</sup> Munhwachae Yōnguso, *30th Anniversary, National Research Institute of Cultural Properties* (Seoul: Kukrip Munhwachae Yōnguso, 1999): 24-25

<sup>14</sup> Park Kyōng-wōn, "Ch'angwōn-Gun Chindongmyōn Sōngmun-Ri Chisōkmyo Chosa Yakpogo," *Yōksa Hakpo* 10 (1958): 323-327

<sup>15</sup> See Chapter 3



These elements coordinated into a system making possible the configuration of the discipline of Korean archaeology in South Korea after the Liberation. This system included many institutions, public and private, among which it is possible to count museums, university departments, research institutions, and government offices. There was a group of academics with interest on archaeological research and practical knowledge on how to conduct such research, who organized themselves in professional association to further their research interests. All these elements together allowed the configuration of a complex of academic publications that supported the debates of the moment about archaeology. The organization and consolidation of these elements took some time, but it is possible to claim the consolidation of Korean archaeology in South Korea as an academic field by the late 1970s.

In summary, it is possible to detect the main elements for the configuration of an autonomous academic discipline in between 1945 and 1979. There were research institutions, academics involved in producing knowledge, funding structures to support that research, specialized spaces for academic communication, and even professional organizations that promoted that research. These events can be categorized as the institutionalization and professionalization of archaeology. However, as it will be seen, scholarship on the configuration of these events, their relations and the reasons behind their organization is rather limited.

### **Literature review: the history of Korean archaeology**

The professionalization and institutionalization of Korean archaeology has been considered tangentially in several studies on the history of Korean archaeology. There are important studies dealing with different aspects of the history of Korean archaeology that provide a first, if partial, consideration to the questions above presented. These researches addressed different issues from the perspective of the history of Korean archaeology. They do not necessarily center their attention on the institutionalization and professionalization of the discipline, but in considering the history of Korean archaeology touch upon these two processes in some respect, and some of the related questions to them.

Korean archaeologists have published many articles making balance of the situation of archaeology. Many of these articles consider the history of Korean archaeology regarding the addition of new information and the progressive diversification of topics of research. Two examples of that perspective are the following pieces. Kim Won-yong published an article on the situation of Korean archaeology in 1981, considering the evolution of Korean archaeology mainly since 1945.<sup>16</sup> The author indicates the main research institutions dedicated to archaeological research, as well as some of the most important journals where archaeologist published their findings. Then, it considers the different archaeological sites excavated and research for each period of prehistory and historical archaeology, classified as Paleolithic age, Neolithic age, Bronze and Iron ages, Proto-Three Kingdoms period and the Three Kingdoms period. Finally, the article finishes with some considerations about the methodological and theoretical problems that the field faced at the time the author wrote the article.

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<sup>16</sup> Kim Won-yong, "Korean Archaeology Today," *Korea Journal* 21, no. 9 (1981): 22–43

Another example of this type of consideration about the history of Korean archaeology is the book edited by Ch'oe Mong-nyong with Cho Yu-chŏn, Bae Ki-dong, Shin Suk-chŏng and Lee Sŏng-chu.<sup>17</sup> The aim of the book is similar to that of Kim's article in the sense that "the book is concerned with the history of the development of research about Korean prehistorical archaeology."<sup>18</sup> Thus, the book considers the evolution of the field from the colonial period until the moment of publication. The book is organized in five chapters, each of them dedicated to a period of Korean prehistory: Paleolithic age, Neolithic age, Bronze age, Early Iron Age, and a chapter on the retrospect and prospect of Korean archaeological research between 1987 and 1989. Consequently, it keeps the same objectives of Kim Won-yong's piece, and organizes the historical evolution of the excavations and the debates around those excavations.

These kind of pieces provide an important retrospective of research in the field. They single out the main research questions for the area and the different periods in which research organizes. In addition, they indicate the main sites in which interpretations were based, and the evolution of those interpretations under the light of the new discoveries done in the field. Therefore, they represent important sources to reconstruct academic debates at specific points in history. They also present a selection of the most important sites regarding those research, and information about the history of their research. However, this kind of pieces are very limited to understand the institutionalization and professionalization of archaeology. Beyond their consideration of the negative influences that the colonial government had in the development of the field, the government and other powers are mostly out of the picture in

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<sup>17</sup>Ch'oe Mong-nyong et alii, *Han'guk Sŏnsa Kogohaksa* (Seoul: Dosŏch'ulp'an Kkach'i, 1992);

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

their analysis. And when they are present, they mostly are depicted as promoter or funders of the research without more consideration about their role.

A different approach to the history of Korean archaeology is the analysis of the sociopolitical influences over the configuration of archaeological interpretations. Sarah M. Nelson published two articles from this perspective that are relevant for the present research.<sup>19</sup> She exposes in both articles that the main objective of Korean archaeology is related to establishing the origins of the Korean people, and present an explanation of that became to be. In her article from 1995, Nelson presents several causes for the preeminence of a nationalistic interpretation of Korean archaeological record. Among the causes she considers, there were the division of the Korean Peninsula since 1945, and the colonization of Korea by the Japanese Empire, the weight of written records over archaeological data to craft interpretations. The consideration of causes beyond the academic space to explain the evolution of archaeological research is an important departure regarding the consideration the history of Korean archaeology. The rest of the piece critiques the problems that several theories on Korean archaeology present because they try to support that nationalistic view of Korean archaeology.

The chapter from 2006 aims to locate Korean archaeology in the sociopolitical context of early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Japanese imperialism, and the later division of the Peninsula by the two superpower, URSS and USA. In that intersection, Nelson establishes that Korean archaeology started with Japanese archaeologists who sought the origins of Japanese people,

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<sup>19</sup> Nelson, Sarah M., «The Politics of ethnicity in Prehistoric Korea», in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 218-231; Nelson, Sarah M., «Archaeology in the Two Koreas», in *Archaeology of Asia*, ed. Miriam T. Stark (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006): 39-54

and who those same archaeologists tried to support imperialist claims, such as the theory that Japanese and Koreans were the same “race” (*nissen dosoron*), based on their archaeological findings. Her argument turns briefly to transference of colonial institutions to Korean hands after 1945, to follow then with the description of the main objectives of Korean archaeology: build chronology, and identify ethnic groups from Chinese records. These two objectives, Nelson claims, are directed to the establishment of the origins of a unified Korean people. The most interesting part of her work is when she considers the discipline after the Korean War in South Korea. Then, she presents how foreigners could research in South Korea, identifies some of the main researchers who developed the discipline, mentions the establishment of academic journals on archaeology, and describes briefly the institutions in charge of cultural heritage management and their role in promoting salvation projects.

These two chapters show the influence of political positions in the development of interpretations about Korean archaeology, suggesting the importance of considering them for the development of the discipline. Korean archaeologists in the South were mainly interested in opposing the colonial discourse as a form to reject the colonial discourse of oppression. The result was a nationalists interpretation of the archaeological record. In that regard, Nelson already points out an important source of political influence over the development of archaeology. In her more recent publication, she also hints to the rapid economic development as a modifier in the production of archaeological research, due to the quantity of salvations projects related to it. However, both works only point out or just hint some of those influences without really considering the mechanisms to exert such influence, the extension of that influence, or their weight in research.



Another line questions more deeply those connections between the sociopolitical sphere and the production of archaeological knowledge. Pai Hyung Il presents an important collection of works regarding the influence of colonial policies in archaeology. She has focused her attention on the Japanese colonial archaeology and the political and social interests regarding the discipline. In addition, she has studied as well the continuities and connections between the colonial archaeology and the discipline after the Liberation.<sup>20</sup>

Pai has shown with a great level of detail how the beginning of Korean archaeology is intrinsically related to the expansion of the Japanese Empire. In her book *Constructing “Korean” Origins. A critical review of archaeology, historiography and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories*, Pai states a strong relationship among colonial institutions, archaeology as an academic discipline, and the configuration of a political discourse of domination by the Japanese Empire. She argues that the interpretation of archaeological record was done in such a way that it developed a racial vision of the archaeological past of the peninsula. In addition, that racial vision of the archaeological record was inserted in a racial hierarchy that reproduced the racial hierarchy produced by the Japanese Empire.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> Pai Hyung Il, “The Politics of Korea’s Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula,” *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 25–48; Pai Hyung Il, “Nationalism and Preserving Korea’s Buried Past: The Office of Cultural Properties and Archaeological Heritage Management in South Korea,” *Antiquity* 73, no. 281 (September 1999): 619–25; Pai Hyung Il, *Constructing «Korean» origins : a critical review of archaeology, historiography, and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000); Pai Hyung Il, “The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.,” *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 72–95; Pai Hyung Il, “Capturing Visions of Japan’s Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryuzo’s Field Photographs of ‘Primitive’ Races and Lost Civilizations,” in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Purtle, Jennifer and Thomsen, Hans Bjarne (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2009), 265–93; Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013)

<sup>21</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Constructing «Korean» origins : a critical review of archaeology, historiography, and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000): 23-56

Furthermore, Pai argues that those models developed by Japanese archaeologists continued after the Liberation of Korea. In the same book, Pai argues that the different theories developed by Korean archaeologist to overcome colonial interpretations of Korean archaeology did not actually break away from that racial vision of the past. In fact, she argues that Korean archaeologists reproduced the same racial models, but adapted to a nationalistic vision of the past.<sup>22</sup> She also makes a critique to such interpretation of the record based on the inconsistencies of those explanations, presenting an alternative reading of data.<sup>23</sup>

The consideration of the origins of Korean archaeology main theories in the colonial period has led Pai to look into the relationship of this field with the political environment of the moment in some detail. Thus, she has studied the system of cultural heritage management during the colonial period and its continuity after the Liberation of the Peninsula in several works.<sup>24</sup> She argues that the cultural heritage system used in the Republic of Korea since 1961 was actually the continuity of the colonial system of cultural heritage management. In order to prove such claim, she analyzes the system to protect such heritage, establishing links between the system used in the Republic of Korea since 1961 with the colonial system. Thus, she argues that similar logics of protections were in place in the colonial period and the postcolonial period.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 57-126

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 127-236

<sup>24</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.," *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 72-95; Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013)

<sup>25</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.," *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 72-95

Furthermore, she has researched the different connections between the metropolis and the Korean colony regarding the establishment of Japanese cultural heritage and Korean cultural heritage, on one side, and the configuration of collective identities, on the other, in her book *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan*.<sup>26</sup> She presents cultural heritage as a tool to construct collective identities, stating the multiple areas that affected such process. First, she considers the colonial origins of the cultural heritage management system in the Republic of Korea with some of its main characteristics.<sup>27</sup> Then she considers the origins of the idea of heritage and Japanese art at the end of 19<sup>th</sup> century and the beginning of 20<sup>th</sup>, in order to present the discussions about the origins of the Japanese people and its art.<sup>28</sup> The argument moves then to consider the consequences of that search for the Japanese origins and its interest on the Korean peninsula. Pai explains then the intersection of political, academic and economic interest regarding the beginning of Korean archaeology as an academic discipline in the Peninsula.<sup>29</sup> She finalizes her research considering the debates around the ownership of cultural heritage and the political influences that frame such debate between the Republic of Korea and Japan.<sup>30</sup>

These studies show the importance of the colonial period for the history of Korean archaeology. Pai shows clearly the continuities of colonial archaeology into the post-Liberation period in terms of institutional inertia and the configuration of the basic interpretations of Korean archaeology. Thus, she raises important questions about the

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<sup>26</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013)

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 5-33

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-113

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 114-163

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 164-185



postcolonial nature of Korean archaeology, presenting important cases in which the political situation of the colonial period affected the development of this academic discipline. However, these studies also have some problems.

The focus on colonial archaeology and the stress over the continuity of the colonial management system create a picture of post-Liberation Korean archaeology as completely conditioned by that colonial legacy. The consideration of institutional continuity from the colonial period to the post-Liberation period seems to negate influence to the innovations in that same institutional system. Her explanation also assumes the continuity of the same relationship between the government and academics after the Liberation. Consequently, Pai limits the capacity of non-government agents to influence the field in her explanation.

The relative lack of focus on the post-Liberation structure of the field does blurs the steps that Korean archaeologists took in order to continue those same structure. Her consideration of this issue reduces Korean archaeologists to individuals without the capacity to modify their environment. However, it must be noticed that after the Liberation a new set of people operated without previous experience those colonial institutions. In addition, the government did not keep the same relation to archaeology throughout the period here considered, creating the space for individual initiatives. This perspective does not allow understanding the complex set of relationships that archaeology as a field had to develop with the government, or the complex relationships that archaeologists developed among themselves.

In summary, this literature review has shown that there has not been critical studies on the institutionalization and professionalization of Korean archaeology for the period after the Liberation. Several studies on the history of Korean archaeology touch upon important

concerns regarding these issues, but none of them gives a satisfactory answer to the following questions: what were the structures that supported the field? How did they changed? Why did they change?

### **Hypothesis and Objectives**

This thesis aims to research the structures and dynamics that established Korean archaeology as a discipline in South Korea between 1945 and 1979. Government, institutions, researchers and publications played a complex set of dynamics that established the main structures to make possible archaeological research. Thus, the questions that fuels the present research are the following: What are the main structures and dynamics that configured Korean archaeology? How did they evolve? And why did they do it? These questions point directly to the problems of Korean archaeology institutionalization and professionalization.

In order to answer these questions, the present research has a set of specific objectives to orient the research. The first objective is the definition of the institutional and professional situation of Korean archaeology before 1945. This work will provide the antecedents for the later development of the field. The second objective is to define the relationship of the government with the development of archaeology. In this regard, it will be necessary to understand the instruments of influence that the government had over research, the levels of autonomy of archaeologists, and the points where archaeologists accommodate government interests. The third objective is to understand the establishment of a system of institutions engaged in archaeology by the government. Their level of activity in archaeological research

made them important actors in the field, and key elements in its configuration. The fourth objective aims to understand the general trends of archaeological research and their evolution in correlation to the sociopolitical transformation of the country. The fifth objective is to establish the construction process of the community of practitioners in archaeology, and their academic space. In that regard, research will look at the process of association and delimitation of the community and their space, pointing out as well some basic power dynamics active within the community. The sixth objective aims to establish some of the most important mechanism that organized the community internally. These mechanisms are considered in connection to the professionalization of the discipline as well.

The point to address these questions and research objectives is the consideration of the political interests to develop a nationalistic explanation of the past, and also the production of archaeological knowledge as the result of many different actor taking part in the process at different stages. Wulff have made important studies of the use of ancient history for nationalistic purposes, and the historical process that surrounded specific authors to develop those explanatory models of the past based on organicistic views of societies.<sup>31</sup> Díaz-Andreu

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<sup>31</sup> Fernando Wulff and Gonzalo Cruz, "On the Ancient History and Enlightenment: Two Spanish Histories of the Eighteenth Century," *Storia Della Storiografia* 23 (1993): 75–94; Fernando Wulff and Gonzalo Cruz, "Tartessos de La Historiografía Del S. XVIII a La Del XX: Creación, Muerte Y Resurrección de Un Pasado Utópico," in *La Antigüedad Como Argumento. Historiografía de La Arqueología E Historia Antigua En Andalucía*, ed. Fernando Gascó, José Luis Beltrán, and José Tomás Saracho (Junta de Andalucía, Consejería de Cultura, 1993), 171–90; Fernando Wulff, "La Creación de La Historia Antigua En España En Los Años Sesenta. Un Proyecto de Investigación," in *Homenaje Al Profesor Montenegro. Estudios de Historia Antigua* (Universidad de Valladolid, Secretariado de publicaciones e intercambio editorial, 1999), 185–89; Fernando Wulff, "La Antigüedad En España En El Siglo XIX: Seis Historias de España," in *Arqueología Fin de Siglo. La Arqueología Española de La Segunda Mitad Del Siglo XIX (I Reunión Andaluza de Historiografía Arqueológica)*, by María Belén Deamos and José Beltrán (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla, 2002), 119–55; Fernando Wulff, "La Tradición Historiográfica Española: Ambiguas Ciudades Y Esplendores Béticos, Esencias Heroicas Y Limpiezas de Sangre," in *Estudios Sobre Las Ciudades de La Bética*, ed. Cristóbal González and Ángel Padilla (Granada: Universidad de Granada, 2002), 497–513; Fernando Wulff, "La Historia de Roma En Las Historias de Los Países Europeos: El Caso Español," in *Hommages À Carl Deroux V: Christianisme Et Moyen Âge, Néo-Latin Et Survivance de La Latinité*, Latomus (Brussels: Latomus, 2003), 604–16; Fernando Wulff, "La Antigüedad Viva, Viva La Antigüedad. Razones Para Un Congreso," in *La Tradición Clásica En Málaga (XVI-XXI)* (III Congreso de Historia

has studied for the Spanish case many of the actors involved in that process, and the relations that they constructed for Spanish archaeology.<sup>32</sup> Thus, they present a strong base for the historiographical analysis of archaeology in that context, because it is possible to understand the selection process of information and voices in the configuration of hegemonic and alternative interpretation of archaeological record, and the political interest to shape those selection processes to produce a nationalistic interpretation of the ancient past.

The consideration of actors involved in the process and their relationships represents a fundamental problem to understand the configuration of archaeological interpretations and a hegemonic discourse in a specific form. Some of the most important relationships to consider in order understanding the production of archaeological knowledge are the following: the relationship between government and archaeologist, and the relationships among archaeologists.

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Antigua de Málaga, Málaga: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación Provincial de Málaga, 2005); Fernando Wulff, “¿Por Qué Las Identidades Hoy? Historia Antigua Y Arqueología Ante Un Cambio de Paradigma,” in *Identidades, Culturas Y Territorios En La Andalucía Prerromana*, ed. Fernando Wulff and Manuel Álvarez, Historia Y Geografía (Universidad de Málaga y Universidad de Sevilla, 2009), 1–50; Fernando Wulff, “Qué Hacer Con Roma. Historia, Historiografía, Andalucía,” in *El Rescate de La Antigüedad Clásica En Andalucía* (Sevilla: Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2009), 81–94; Fernando Wulff, “Prologo,” in *Tarteso. La Construcción de Un Mito En La Historiografía Española*, by Manuel Álvarez (2005: Servicio de Publicaciones, Centro de Ediciones de la Diputación de Málaga, n.d.), 9–18; Fernando Wulff Alonso, *Las Esencias Patrias: Historiografía E Historia Antigua En La Construcción de La Identidad Española (Siglos XVI-XX)*, Libros de Historia (Barcelona: Crítica, 2003); Fernando Wulff Alonso, “Usos y manipulaciones políticas de la Antigüedad: nacionalismo de aquí y de allá,” in *Imágenes Modernas del Mundo Antiguo. Reconstrucción, representación y manipulación de la antigüedad grecolatina en el mundo moderno* (Madrid: Sociedad Española de Estudios Clásicos, 2011).

<sup>32</sup> Díaz-Andreu has many studies regarding the history of Spanish archaeology where she analyses the different actors involved in the development of the disciplines for different purposes. See, for example, Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, “Nación e Internacionalización. La arqueología en España en las tres primeras décadas del siglo XX,” in *La cristalización del pasado: génesis y desarrollo de marco institucional de la arqueología en España*, ed. Mora, Gloria (Málaga: Servicio de Publ. de la Universidad de Málaga, 1997), 403–16; Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, “Internationalism in the Invisible College. Political Ideologies and Friendships in Archaeology,” *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (2007): 29–48; Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, *Historia de La Arqueología En España: Estudios*, 1. ed (Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 2002)



The relations between the government and archaeologists represents an important point of contention. Authors such as Kohl and Fawcett complained about the intervention of politics and governments in the production of archaeological interpretations when “archaeologists in the service of the state frequently have manipulated archaeological remains to justify the ownership of land claimed to have been held “from time immemorial” or to support policies of domination and control over neighboring peoples.”<sup>33</sup> The political use of archaeology by specific governments to defend their political projects, being these empires, communist government, national communities, or any other, are a well-documented phenomena with many examples around the world.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the definition of the relationship between the government as one of the most important political actors in place and archaeologists represents a fundamental point to understand the influence of politics over the configuration of archaeological interpretations that could be mobilized for political uses.

This thesis considers that the organization of Korean archaeology was a collective effort by government and non-government actors with different capacities to affect the field and the academic discourse. This coordination of the government and non-government actors happened through the creation of a fuzzy space of relations, a gray area of contact between both sectors. The use of the term fuzzy aims to highlight the intersection of the communities

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<sup>33</sup> Kohl, Philip L. and Fawcett, Clare, “Archaeology in the Service of the State: Theoretical Considerations,” in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* Kohl, Philip L. and Fawcett, Clare, ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 5

<sup>34</sup> The bibliography on this topic is very long, but here is a short list of representative studies on this topic. Kohl, Philip L. and Fawcett, Clare, *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Kohl, Philip L., Kozelesky, Mara and Ben-Yehuda, Nachman eds., *Selective Remembrances : Archaeology in the Construction, Commemoration, and Consecration of National Pasts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008); Härke, Heinrich ed., *Archaeology, Ideology and Society: The German Experience, 2.*, ed, Gesellschaften Und Staaten Im Epochenwandel 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002); Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007)



that a first sight may be considered as different: the community of politicians and bureaucrats on the one hand, and the community of scholars on the other. As this thesis will show, the lines that separate these two communities were blurry and not sharply divided. There were instances in which scholars were also part of the government bureaucracy and in which the government included scholars into consulting committees or projects. Those moments and spaces in which both communities intertwined blurring their limits are referred in this thesis as a “fuzzy space.”

The expansion of this fuzzy space happened in correlation to government’s cultural policy and interest on archaeological research for its political projects, growing and decreasing along those needs. However, even during the moment of greatest expansion of that fuzzy space, it did never englobed completely the discipline. Thus, it is possible to identify areas of autonomy in archaeology. In addition, it is possible to identify different positions among the actors that participated in that fuzzy space and those who remained outside, supporting the claim of multiple positionalities from which producing archaeological knowledge in South Korea.

The construction and evolution of this system answer to several dynamics. Firstly, there was an institutional inertia coming from the colonial period. That inertia is present for example in the continuity of the Government-General Museum under the form of the National Museum of Korea and the continuity of old colonial laws about cultural heritage protection. This institutional inertia does not mean that colonial institutions continued unchanged over this period, but it represents a legacy to take in consideration.

The government changed its relation to archaeology over time, investing more resources and favoring the consolidation of archaeology as a discipline. The Korean

government after the Liberation allocated a limited amount of resources into the discipline, as it considered other areas more important. However, since the Park Chung Hee, the cultural policy of the government changed, developing greater resources. The turning point for the discipline came when the authoritarian turn of the government required a greater mobilization of symbols that archaeology could provide. Since 1968, the government's cultural policy invested a great amount of resources into the discipline that contributed greatly in its consolidation.

The multiplicity of actors in the production of archaeological interpretations also make us consider the relationships among archaeologists. As any other discipline, archaeology is only possible thanks to participation a community of scholars engaged in active discussion and conversation. Bourdieu already showed in his analysis of university life in Paris the multiplicity of positions among scholars, and the different power relations among them. Furthermore, he was able to demonstrate the connection between those positions and power relations, and their political stand.<sup>35</sup> The acknowledgement of those positionalities should be the first step to understand the internal dynamics of academic debate and the process of innovation and challenge to the *status quo* within a discipline. Otherwise, it would be very easy to fall in the consideration of a pure academic debate free of power struggles.

There was an internal movement among scholars interested in archaeology to organize the field. The interest on archaeology outside the government predates the Liberation of Korea, with Koreans studying archaeology. After the Liberation, some of those scholars formed the core group that staffed government institutions, while others found positions at private institutions. Scholars working in both types of institutions led initiatives from an early

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<sup>35</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre, *Homo Academicus*, Reprinted (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1996)



moment with the objective of articulating the discipline. Firstly, they worked in collaboration with scholars from other fields, until they reached a critical mass that enabled them to configure their own space. That process happened at the same time that the boundaries of archaeology became clearer, keeping close connections with other disciplines such as anthropology or history, but as a separate area of inquire.

One of the key problems of this perspective on the construction of the field is the delimitation of the boundaries relevant for the establishment of the field. As Díaz-Andreu already considered in her research, the multiple meanings of archaeology can lead to multiple histories of archaeology.<sup>36</sup> Many analyses in the history of archaeology have overcome this problem of the limits of the discipline by analyzing key archaeologists and their innovations to move the field forward.<sup>37</sup> Due to the interest of mapping the boundaries of the discipline, the present research considers the limits of its object of study in a broad sense.

Some studies have considered archaeology as a system of researchers organized in social networks, focusing on the personal connections and journal contributions to define a community of practitioners.<sup>38</sup> This perspective grants the possibility of limiting the community to those practitioners engaged in archaeological research, whether they are

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<sup>36</sup> Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology: Nationalism, Colonialism, and the Past*, Oxford Studies in the History of Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007): 1-3

<sup>37</sup> An example of this kind of studies is Trigger's monumental work, see Trigger, Bruce G., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2. ed., repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009). A similar perspective is also present in works about national histories of archaeology. See Abad de los Santos, Rafael, "Notas Para Una Historia de La Arqueología En Japón: De Las Tradiciones Premodernas a La Década de 1940," *Colección Española de Investigación Sobre Asia Pacífico (3) Cruce de Miradas, Relaciones E Intercambios* 3 (2010): 437-53; Iwaka-Smith, Fumiko, "Practice of Archaeology in Contemporary Japan," in *Comparative Archaeologies: A Sociological View of the Science of the Past*, Lozny, Ludomir R. ed. (New York, NY: Springer, 2011)

<sup>38</sup> See Christenson, Andrew L., "Who Were the Professional North American Archaeologists of 1900? Clues from the Work of Warren K. Moorehead," *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 21, no. 1 (2011): 4-23; Díaz-Andreu, Margarita, "Internationalism in the Invisible College. Political Ideologies and Friendships in Archaeology," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 7, no. 1 (2007): 29-48





professional scholars or amateurs. Thus, it defines a clear area of active participation led by the members of that community. Unfortunately, it limits the scope of the research to the knowledge producers, leaving out other actors active in the discipline such as bureaucratic institutions or the government. Consequently, the definition of the discipline boundaries should include the members of the community of practitioners, and the administrative and economic structures that influenced the work of those practitioners.

The starting point for the construction of that system of actors will be archaeological excavations in South Korea between 1945 and 1979. Archaeological excavations are the result of legal and administrative regulations, economic funding and academic debates, making them a sort of nexus from which to reconstruct the effective limits of the field. Excavations involved from the political side all the legal structures and policies established for the protection of those sites as part of Korean cultural heritage. They involve the legal regulations regarding their protection, systems for the authorization of archaeological excavations, and institutions to monitor those activities. Excavations are also expensive activities that required sources of funding which could be subjected to different kinds of interest. Finally, excavations also involve researchers who engage in that activity. Those researchers most of the time are connected to other researchers and start academic conversations through the publication of their findings and theories. In order to analyze these archaeological excavations, limits of this research, the research uses the records kept on-line by the Research Institute for Cultural Properties.<sup>39</sup> This on-line database provides a comprehensive list of institutions active in archaeological excavations making possible the

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<sup>39</sup> See the subsection Methodology in this introduction.

identification of a core group of institutions. That limited list of institutions allow to define a body over which to study the process of institutionalization, and government-field relations.

In addition to the institutions involved in the field, this study aims to present the professionalization of Korean archaeology. The professionalization of archaeology shows that this process aims fundamentally to the consolidation of a community of practitioners and the setting of some symbolic limits around that community.<sup>40</sup> The reconstruction of the community of practitioners has used several methodologies. The study of archaeological excavations on the database revealed the institutions that were in charge of them. This represents a starting point, but it was not enough to identify the researchers responsible of them. The research of government institutions identified on the database provided a list of researchers implicated in archaeological research. That basic list was completed with the study of professional associations related to archaeological research in a broad sense, and academic journals related to archaeology.

Once the community of practitioners was delimited, the study aims to organize the process of community building, and unveil the dynamics of that process. The configuration of professional association and institutional employment lay out the main dynamics involved in this process, and the evolution of those dynamics. In the study of this process, professional associations play an important role because they are the most evident proof of the constitutions of academic networks. These academic associations are indicators of the

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<sup>40</sup> For limited but representative sample of that bibliography see Collins, Randall, "Market Closure and the Conflict Theory of the Profession," in *Professions in Theory and History: Rethinking the Study of Professions* (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 24–43; Torstendahl, Rolf and Kollegiet för Samhällsforskning, eds., *The Formation of Professions: Knowledge, State and Strategy*, SCASSS Series (London: Sage Publ, 1990); Perry, Sara, "Professionalization: Archaeology as an 'Expert' Knowledge," *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York: Springer New York, 2014); Christenson, Andrew L., "The Co-Production of Archaeological Knowledge: The Essential Relationship of Amateurs and Professionals in 20th Century American Archaeology," *Complutum* 24, no. 2 (2013): 63–72

dynamics that organized the community of practitioners in archaeology, pointing out the existence of several networks of scholars similar to invisible colleges.<sup>41</sup> This process of network building is researched here in parallel to the configuration of a sphere of communication specific for archaeology. The system of journals that creates that sphere of communication can provide a complementary view on the community of practitioners, as well as they provide an idea about the academic boundaries of the research hold in common by the community. This thesis defends this process as the connection of individual researchers in larger networks of academics engaged in the field. Their individual research and communication follows a process of specialization and definition that defines certain limits to the community and to the field of inquire.

The next focus of this research is the internal dynamics of power within those boundaries. The analysis of that aspect of professionalization will attend to the reproductive capacities of Korean archaeology, in other words, the capacity of the field to train and employ new archaeologists. The investigation of this point will adopt the form of a limited but meaningful prosopography of archaeologists linked to one of the academic networks involved in the process of field definition describe above. That effort will aim to identify different positions within the network as indicators of active dynamics within the community of practitioners.

Korean archaeology is a rather large area of study that involved even in its early stages people working from different countries. After the Liberation, Japanese scholars who worked during the colonial period did not stop publishing over Korean. In addition, over the time

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<sup>41</sup> Zuccala, Alesia, "Modeling the Invisible College," *Journal of the Association for Information Science and Technology* 56, no. 2 (2006): 152–168

more North American graduate students and professors developed an interest on the Korean peninsula, contributing to Korean archaeology. Moreover, North Korean scholars also contributed to the field of Korean archaeology from an early time after the division of the Peninsula. Despite these many contributions, this research limits its scope to the field of Korean archaeology as it was developed at the southern half of the Korean peninsula in the context of the Republic of Korea. Therefore, despite the contributions to the field from outside South Korea and the different connections of those scholars with South Korean archaeology, this study will consider the organization of the field just in South Korea.

The chronological period of interest for the research encompasses the period between 1945 and 1979. The limitation to that period answer to the objectives of the research. The interest of figuring out the role of the government in the organization of Korean archaeology required first a period long enough that could allow the organization of the discipline. In addition, such study would benefit from considering a period with a consistent cultural policy. In that regard, 1945 represents the starting point for the organization of Korean archaeology done by Koreans in South Korea. From that moment, the different governments of South Korea developed different cultural policies with an impact on the organization of Korean archaeology. Furthermore, by 1979 when Park Chung Hee was assassinated, there was in place a well-organized community of archaeologists working from many institutions, public and private. By the late 1970s, it is possible to claim that the process of institutionalization and professionalization of archaeology reached a level of consolidation, representing a logical end-point for this research.



## Methodology

The sources used for the research of these ideas range a broad spectrum of typologies, ranging from legal documents to published interviews. A classification of these sources could range as follow, legal documents, institutional reports, government reports, archive material from the Rockefeller Archive Center, archaeological reports, academic journals, auto/biographical writings relevant for the history of archaeology and published interviews to key actors in archaeology, and several databases regarding academic journals, newspapers and archaeological excavations.

The legal documents used in this thesis refer mainly to the laws and regulations of heritage management in Korea and government institutions involved in that process. The cultural heritage management laws studied in this thesis are the *Regulations for the Conservation of Treasures, Ancient Sites, Scenic Landscapes and Natural Monument* (1933) from the colonial period, and the *Cultural Heritage Protection Act* (1962).<sup>42</sup> In addition, the regulations and orders regarding the organization of cultural heritage institutions such as Committee for Cultural Properties in its different forms, the National Museum of Korea, the Office for Cultural Properties and the Research Institute for Cultural Properties have provided important information about the institutionalization of archaeology from the perspective of the government. Most of these laws have been accessed through the on-line legal database established by the Ministry of Government Legislation *Center for the Transference of National Legislation* (Kukka Pöpnöng Chönbö Saent'ö).

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<sup>42</sup> The colonial act has been studied under its translation into Korean and from now on, it will be mentioned under its Korean name: Chosön Pomul·Kojök·Myöngsüng·Ch'önyön Kinyömmul Pojonnyöng, Chosön Ch'ondokpu Chaeryöng chae 6ho, 1933.8. The second act refers to the Munhwachae pohöpöp n° 961, 1962.1.10 and following amendments.

These institutions have also published reports about their archaeological research and about their institutional life, becoming invaluable sources about their evolution over time. Due to the interest to understand the role of the government and archaeologist over the configuration of the discipline, the selection of these sources has focused on government institutions and professional institutions. Especially important have been commemorative reports for important anniversaries. Many institutions and associations published these kind of volumes narrating the story of their institutions, adding as well statistical data and even academic studies on those institutions. The National Museum of Korea (NMK) edited a volume for its 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary. The Office for Cultural Properties (OCP) published a set of volumes for its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and the Research Institute for Cultural Properties edited volumes for its 20<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> anniversaries. Seoul National University edited a volume for its 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary, and the College of Humanities for its 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary. In addition, the Department of Anthropology at Seoul National University edited volume for its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary covering the first years that shared with the area of Archaeology. The Association of University Museums edited a volume for its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversaries, providing also important information. The narratives of these volumes is obviously interested in favor of the institutions that produced them, but they also provide a wealth of important data. In addition to the statistical data and summaries about their interventions, some of them include interviews with key members of the institutions. These documents have been complemented with facsimile editions of sources contemporary to the period researched here and internal reports and informs produced by these institutions during the period researched in this thesis. Important in this regard are the edition of sourced published for the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the opening of the first museum in the Peninsula. The OCP also published many of the reports, informs and meeting resolutions regarding its managing operations of cultural heritage.



The Rockefeller Archive Center has also been relevant for the reconstruction of the institutional life of archaeological institutions, mainly for the period between 1945 and 1960. Archive material from this foundation, and the diaries of its members working with Korean institutions have provided another view to complement the institutional reports mentioned above. This material is especially important for the history of the National Museum of Korea, due to the good relations that Kim Chae-wŏn, first director of the museum, cultivated with the institution.

Archaeological reports have been another important source of information to reconstruct the research activity of different actors. These reports have been reviewed specially for the main institutions engaged in archaeological report: the NMK, OCP and its Research Institute for Cultural Properties, and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Seoul National University. Due to the number of interventions and their extensive collaboration with other institutions those reports were relevant for the reconstruction of the research dynamics in South Korea during the period of research of this thesis.

Another source of relevant material for this thesis has been the academic journals relevant for the establishment of archaeology. This study has looked at *Kwanbo* (1946-1949), *Misul Charyo* (1960-Today), *Kogomisul* (1960-Today) *Komunhwa* (1962-Today), *Munhwachae* (1965-Today), *Han'guk Kogo* (1967-1976), *Kogohak* (1968-1979), *Han'guk Kogohak Yŏnpo* (1973-Today), *Han'guk Kogohakpo* (1976-Today). In addition to these journals, the research has looked at other journals such as *Chindan Hakpo* (1934-Today), and *Yŏksa Hakpo* (1952-Today). In the study of these journals the on-line database Dbpia



(www.dbpia.co.kr) has been of great help, providing summarized bibliographical information beyond the articles themselves.

The last category of sources used in this research are biographical and autobiographical material of relevant researchers. The memoirs of researchers such as Chi Kŏn-gil, Ch'oe Mong-nyong, Kim Chae-wŏn, Kim Chŏng-gi, Kim Chŏng-hak, Kim Won-yong, Lee Nan-yŏng, Son Po-gi, Yun Mu-byŏng and Yun Sae-yŏng have provided invaluable information about internal aspects of the institutions where they researched, and the social life of the discipline. This information has been completed with collective interviews and public talks transcribed and published.

Finally, this thesis has also used extensively several on-line databases. Some of them have already been mentioned above, but there are some other too. The basic information about excavation activity has been retrieved from a database maintained by the Research Institute for Cultural Properties called *Palgul Yŏnpyo* (Chronological list of excavations, see bibliography for the link). In addition, there are two on-line dictionaries used, the *Kogohak Sajŏn* (Archaeological Dictionary), and the *Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaek kwa Sajŏn* (Encyclopedia of Korean National Culture).

### **Organization of chapters**

The first chapter presents the key institutions developed during the colonial period to work on Korean archaeology, and the key aspects of archaeological professionalization in that period. The first part of the chapter briefly presents the main colonial institution, followed



by key consideration about the professionalization of Korean archaeology done at that time. This chapter aims to present the institutional and professional antecedents of Korean archaeology after the Liberation in South Korea. The chapter introduces the situation of the General-Government Museum and the committee in charge of managing Korean cultural heritage in the Peninsula during the colonial period. The second part of the chapter presents the main archaeologists involved in Korean archaeology in the context of Japanese professionalization of archaeology. In that regard, it is possible to identify Japanese and Korean intellectuals working on the field from different positions. Japanese archaeologists worked under the umbrella of the colonial government, having access to material resources and fieldwork. Their training shows how these scholars developed their activity in parallel to the academic developments done in Europe, bringing as well ideas from researchers working in the European context. Korean scholars engaged in archaeology at the time or in later years after the Liberation show a diversity of training background and influences. Nevertheless, they can be classified regarding their university education in two groups. The larger group of scholars studied within the limits of the Japanese Empire at some of the Imperial or private universities. The second group represents the few Korean scholars who studied at Europe before the outbreak of the II World War, mainly at German-speaking universities in Germany, Austria or Switzerland. Despite their small numbers, their influence in Korean archaeology after the Liberation was rather large. The aim of this chapter is to present the colonial legacy regarding the level of institutionalization and professionalization of Korean archaeology around 1945, pointing out also the limits of that legacy.

The second chapter evaluates the involvement of the government in archaeology. Based on the analysis of the main instruments of intervention possessed by the government,



the chapter states the configuration of a fuzzy space of relationship between government and archaeologists. That fuzzy space of interaction allowed the government to filter their political interest in archaeologist's research agenda. However, that same space allowed archaeologists to present affect government policies regarding archaeology. Agents can be classified by their positions in that fuzzy space regarding their relationship to the government. The result is a three level structure. The first layer would involve those actors in the field with close ties to the government. Such ties were developed through their participation in the core institutions of that fuzzy space. The second layer represent those institutions that got involved in government projects but also developed their own research agenda. Finally, the third layer is represented by the few institutions that limited their connections with the government to a minimum and developed their own research agendas. These three layers had different sizes and different impact on the research actually done. In fact, the past part of this section analyzed the effects that such relationship with the government had in the research. In order to do so, the sections presents three specific cases from actors in each of the layers. In summary, this sections aims to present the instruments used by the government to influence the field. In the process, it identifies a grey area of mutual interaction between government and archaeologists where power was unequally distributed.

The third chapter looks at the institutional development of some of those institutions closer to the government. This section uses the term State System of Archaeological Research (SSAR) to refer to institutions at the first and second layer. This section studies the development over the years of the main institutions engaged in archaeological research in South Korea. Due to their dependency from the government, the organization of the chapter follows the different government cultural policies. Thus, the chapter is organized in three

subsections: 1945-1960, 1961-1968, 1968-1979. Each of these divisions represent a major cultural heritage policy frame with strong influence over the development of the SSAR. The study of each of these periods focus its attention on three key issues in the institutionalization of archaeology at the SSAR: the size of the system and individual institutions, the relationships of each institution with the government, and the level of specialization of each institution. This study seeks to understand the main reasons behind the development of the system and the role of the government in such development. Looking at these institutions and their evolution over time can provide important information about the institutionalization of archaeology and the main reasons behind such process. Thus, it is possible to understand the involvement of the government in the field. Such understanding becomes possible by looking at the closest actors to the government working in archaeology. Consequently, this section is a close analysis of the most active part of the field, and a study on the institutionalization of archaeology.

The fourth section of this research studies the archaeological interventions actually done by all the actors involved in archaeological research on the field. The study of archaeological interventions provides fundamental information to define the community of actors involved in the field. The study of these interventions is done under several aspects. The first elements drawn from the record is the definition of the actors involved in archaeological interventions, in other words, involved in fieldwork. These actors are then classified based on their relative activity on the field, making possible the identification of the most active actors in the field. The next step of the research is the consideration of the chronological distribution of that activity and compare it with the different phases of the cultural policy established by the government. Then, the same data is analyzed in terms of geographical distribution of the

actors involved, and the location of the sites. Finally, the study concludes with the consideration of which archaeological periods were studied. This research provides a general picture of the research done in archaeology, making possible to draw some conclusions about the general trends of research and the evolution of those trends regarding the transformation of the cultural policy established by the government and the individual research agenda of the actors responsible for those interventions.

Chapter five deals with the configuration of the social and intellectual space that defined Korean archaeology. The first part of the chapter presents the process of field social organization. Thus, it presents in several stages the introduction into the field of scholars without previous experience in archaeology. Then it moves to the different process of association that those scholars started. The study of that process shows observe the organization of different academic networks and their process of reorganization into a truly representative association of all professional archaeologists. The second part of the chapter presents the establishment of the main academic journals related to archaeology. This study shows the process of specialization in academic community, starting with general academic journals towards more specific and limited journals engaged in archaeological research. This process culminates in the last stage when the first academic journals devoted exclusively to archaeology were established. The combination of these two aspects of archaeological professionalization show the level of involvement of Korean scholars in the development of their field, and the construction of the limits of the community of practitioners. In addition, it shows some of the internal structures operating within the field to create different positions of power among the actors involved in archaeology.



Chapter six presents the effect of university degrees in the internal organization of archaeology through the case study of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology established at Seoul National University in 1961. University degrees and training have been traditionally considered as important elements in the professionalization of archaeology. However, there has not been enough attention over the effect that university training and degrees had over the social organization of the field. This chapter presents a case study to analyze the contribution of that mechanism in the configuration of a hierarchical structure among archaeologists that conditioned their professional careers. Thus, it presents effect of the department to train professional archaeologists, and the role of that department to connect students with specific academic networks. These two elements represent some of the most important contributions of the department to the professionalization of those students and the beginning of their careers in the field. However, university education did not stop at the bachelor degree. The possibility of studying further to achieve training that is more specialized and a higher university degree helped the configuration of the hierarchy mentioned earlier. However, the limitations to continue their studies acted as a filter to the community of graduates from the department. In that situation, professors were important pieces to promote some students and support them during the first steps of their careers. Thus, it is possible already to see different levels in the hierarchy of scholars. In addition, this chapter touches upon the situation of women in the department and some of their professional perspectives, creating a counterpoint to some of the most successful graduates from the department.



## **Chapter 1: Korean Archaeology during the Japanese Colonial period. The field and community of practitioners of Korean archaeology**

Korean archaeology started with the first excavations directed by Japanese researchers in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, becoming a vibrant area of research during the Japanese colonial period (1905-1945). Those studies were first projects related with academic institutions, but the colonial government soon supported them, developing an important structure for archaeological research. The interest of the government into this area of research translated into the establishment of the General-Government Museum, and a legal structure for the management of cultural heritage. That structure was the ecosystem where scholars working on Korean archaeology developed their activities and became experts.

At this time, archaeological fieldwork was off-limits to Korean scholars. Despite of that Koreans made their first contributions to the field in that period. In addition, some Koreans also started their training as archaeologists. The colonial period was the moment when Korean archaeology started, though conditioned, as it was, by the heavy political control that the government imposed on the discipline. But they did not conducted their first excavations before the Liberation of the Peninsula in 1945.

This chapter will present the main elements involved in the configuration of Korean archaeology during the colonial period. In order to do that, it will consider the principal institutions and researchers involved in archaeological research during this period. This aspect will provide the necessary background to understand the institutionalization and

professionalization of Korean archaeology after the Liberation. For that reason, it will focus mainly on the Japanese institutions and scholars that laid the foundations of Korean archaeology during the colonial period. In addition, it considers as well the training process and the academic connections of the main Korean scholars, who participated in the academic debates during the colonial period, and who re-started the field after 1945 in South Korea.

The institutional components more involved in the organization and execution of archaeological research were the regulations regarding cultural heritage protection, including the array of institutions around them, the General-Government Museum and the Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities. These institutions started almost at the beginning of the colonial period, confirming the basic institutional structure in the Peninsula supporting archaeological research. The exposition of these institutions aims to explain mainly the relationship of those institutions with the government, in order to evaluate its level of dependency.

The consideration of the colonial structure of archaeological research aims to present a benchmark over which to consider the later evolution of institutions and professions in the organization of Korean archaeology in the Republic of Korea. The relationship of archaeological institutions to the government during the colonial period stressed the capacity of the government to direct the field towards its interests. Thus, the regulations, the support of research projects, and the establishment of research institutions established channels of communication and collaboration between the colonial government and Japanese scholars, but those channels were not established on equal terms. In fact, it is possible to detect how the government kept the upper hand regarding the planning and funding of archaeological research.



The definition of the early community of practitioners during the colonial period presents the first group of scholars who defined the field of Korean archaeology, and the orientation of the discipline as they defined it. The early community of practitioners established an ethnically segregated system in which only Japanese scholars could direct archaeological excavations. Due to the early development of archaeology, some of them had to travel abroad in order to achieve their training, introducing debates and methodologies from abroad to their research. This community was in charge of developing most of the interpretations on Korean archaeology in this period, creating an hegemonic position thanks to their academic activity. Moreover, Korean scholars interested in archaeology were a small minority, but they represented different training experiences. Some were trained under the colonial system of education, but other researchers studied abroad. In the end, the Liberation of Korea and the division of the Peninsula reduced the community of scholars in South Korea, expelling all Japanese scholars. Korean scholars who leaned towards Communism chose to go North. The reduction of the community of scholars interested in archaeology in South Korea opened a space to individuals who had an interest in the field, despite not having solid training in archaeology.

### **Colonial institutions of Archaeology: regulations, committees, museums and universities**

The colonial government established over the years a network of institutions related with archaeological research which became the supporting structure of archaeology in Korea during this period. The first research projects depended on academic organizations and



university projects with more or less support from the Japanese authorities, before any substantial structure was laid out in Korea. After this early period, the government developed a more stable structure for archaeological research. The first elements in place were the legal regulations related to cultural heritage, and the configuration of a committee of experts that could advise the bureaucrats in charge of implementing that protection. Soon after, the colonial government established the Government-General Museum. This institution hosted the collections of artefacts excavated in the Peninsula over several campaigns and research projects. Finally, the last institution to join this system was the Keijō Imperial University, the university established in 1926 by the colonial government at Seoul. These institutions created the basic framework that made possible archaeological research in the Peninsula during the colonial period.

Tokyo Imperial University was the main institutional agent behind the research done before a systematic regulation and established institutions existed in Korea. Pai explains that the Tokyo Anthropological Society established by Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863-1913), Miyake Yonekichi (1860-1929), and Shirai Matsutarō (1863-1935), in 1884 on Tokyo Imperial University campus, sent the first student to do fieldwork in Korea in 1900. In 1902, Tokyo Imperial University sent Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935) in the summer of 1902 to survey the areas around the old capitals of the Korean Peninsula (Kyongju, Kaesong, P'yongyang and Seoul). A history student of the same university, Imanishi Ryū, discovered in the summer of 1906 a prehistoric shell mound at Kimhae, and the Tokyo Anthropological Society sent a student the following year to survey the area.<sup>43</sup> These early researches depended greatly on

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<sup>43</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 98, 110-113

Tokyo Imperial University professors and students, and their early results attracted the first interest from the colonial government.

The first project promoted by the colonial government actually sparked from the results of the early activities between 1900 and 1906. Itō Hirobumi, then Resident-General of Korea (1905-1909), hired Sekino to conduct a survey in the Peninsula in 1909.<sup>44</sup> The survey lasted for six years, and Sekino described that the objectives were

To examine the ancient structures, thus instituting the research on ancient remains and relics in Korea. [...] The result of our researches were reported in the *Karamomiji* (韓紅葉), issued in December of 1909, and in a “Study on Korean Art” issued in August of the following year.<sup>45</sup>

This survey continued for the next six years until 1914, investigating the 13 provinces of Korea.<sup>46</sup> These surveys must be related with the general cadastral survey of the land conducted on the Peninsula between 1910 and 1918,<sup>47</sup> regarding the necessity of the colonial government of having reliable information about the newly annexed colony. This period also saw the first attempts to regulate Korean cultural heritage, once the government knew where

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<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 117

<sup>45</sup> Sekino Tadashi, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931): 4

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 5

<sup>47</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 117; Michael Edson Robinson, *Korea's Twentieth-Century Odyssey* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007): 39

it was, resulting in the first structures developed by the colonial government regarding archaeological research.

The legal structure for archaeological research depended on the regulations that protected cultural heritage in Korea. The first law regulating the protection of cultural heritage was the Temple and Shrines Laws, promulgated by the Japanese government-general in 1911. Pai relates the origins of that law to “Japan’s first survey and collection of Buddhist state cultural properties (1897).”<sup>48</sup> This law represented the first system of heritage protection, focused on Buddhist temples their administration and possession. Sekino already stated regarding the effects of that law

the Government-General continued the research work on ancient remains and relics, and on the other, undertook to prevent them from being destroyed or scattered, with the result that the practice of rifling old tombs and carrying out and selling stone pagodas, stone or copper images of Buddha, and other art pieces found in the ruins of ancient remains and temples—practices popular in various districts in the past—were apparently stopped.<sup>49</sup>

In a first moment, this law only affected to temple assets, limiting the extension of the protection that the law could offer to Buddhist heritage. Nevertheless, this law created the

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<sup>48</sup> Pai Hyung Il, “The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.,” *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 77

<sup>49</sup> Sekino Tadashi, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931): 4-5

first legal framework for the early archaeological surveys conducted in those years. Few years later, this early protection evolved into a more comprehensive law protecting cultural heritage at large.

The Government-General enacted the first law on cultural heritage protection in 1916, amended several times during the colonial period. Sekino presents a summary of the Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics of Chōsen in which he explains the organization of a system for the designation of ancient remains as protected heritage. That designation required a previous investigation of the remains.

Article 1-Ancient remains as designates by the present law include the land containing shell mounds, and implements made of stone, bone and horn, as well as such prehistoric remains as caves, ancient tombs, town fortresses, palaces, barricades, barrier-gates, roads, sites of posts, stated for setting signal-fires, sites of government offices, sites of shrines, mausolea, temples, ruins of ceramic industry, old battlefields and other ruins, together with other sites which are associated with historical facts. Included in the category of relics are old pagodas, monuments, bells, stone and metal images of Buddha, flag pole supporters, stone lanterns and other objects which may be made material for historical, artistic and archaeological study.

Article 2-The Government-General is to be provided with a kind of ledger, mentioned elsewhere, for the purpose of having ancient remains and relics

worthy of preservation registered duly after an investigation on the following points:

(1) name, (2) kind, shape and size, (3) the place where the object was found, (4) name, address, and the title of owner or person in charge, (5) present condition, (6) origin and tradition, and (7) method of management and preservation.

Articles 3 to 8 contain provisions that, when the owner or a person in charge of ancient remains and relics registered in the ledger wishes to change their existing condition, repair them, dispose of them or undertake some change that will affect their preservation, he must obtain permission from the Government-General, and that when a person discovers ancient remains and relics, he must report to the police in the district in which they found within three days without changing their existing conditions so that the chief-of-police may report to the Government-General. A person who violates the foregoing two provisions is to be fined ¥200 or less. Matters concerning buildings and other relics belonging to Buddhist temples are controlled by the “Temple Ordinance” which was issued in June, 1911.<sup>50</sup>

This summary presents a system that regulated archaeological excavations, the preservation of archaeological sites and the remains recovered during those excavations. The law made clear the need of a previous inform on the item to be protected, before its designation for

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<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 7-8

protection. Therefore, it was necessary its designation. In addition, any attempt of transformation, including its excavation, needed the authorization from the government. All this administrative process gave the initiative to the government to grant authorization or not to archaeological research. This control over research agents was a powerful instrument to control the field. The authorization system and the hiring and training policy of the colonial government research institutions, which excluded systematically Koreans scholars,<sup>51</sup> were important elements to control the production of archaeological interpretations. but it also put the burden of research on the government.

The Government-General put in place a system of institutions to develop accurate archaeological knowledge on the Peninsula, using it to further its control over the colonial population. Advising committees, museums and university department were the interconnected platforms designed to produce academic knowledge on Korean archaeology. Looking at the chronology of institutions involved in archaeological research in the Peninsula there were two moments of institutionalization of research in the Peninsula. The first stage represented the establishment of the Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains, and the Government-General Museum. The second moment involved the establishment of the Keijō Imperial University at present day Seoul.

Even though the presence of Japanese researchers is documented in the Peninsula before the colonization, the organization of institutions for research took some time. Before 1916, Imperial Universities in Japan were the first institutions to provide support to archaeology in the Korean Peninsula with the organization of several expeditions, sometime

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<sup>51</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 31



with the support of the Government-General. In 1916, the Government-General organized the first institution in the peninsula to support archaeological research. The colonial government established the Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains the same month that enacted the Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics of Chōsen, showing the strong relation between both. The Committee happened to have several names throughout its life under the colonial government. It started as the Committee for the Investigation of Ancient Remains (Chōsen koseki chōsa iinkai 朝鮮古蹟調査委員會), and changed into the the Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains (Chōsen koseki kenkyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究會) in 1931.<sup>52</sup> Sekino explained that the Committee had the following area of deliberation: (1) matters concerning research of sites and artefacts; (2) matters concerning their preservation; (3) matters concerning their preservation; and (4) matters concerning the collection and research of old documents.<sup>53</sup> These objectives located clearly the planning and execution of archaeological research among the task of the committee.

The Committee depended directly from the colonial government, as it is evident in the composition of the committee itself. The chairman of the Committee was the Vice-Governor-General. Very likely, he did not attend many of the meetings, but the government presence in the committee was completed by twelve other high-bureaucrats, including the director of the Education Bureau. Finally, the Committee also incorporated thirteen professors from Tokyo, Kyoto and Keijō Imperial Universities.<sup>54</sup> Relevant academics such as Sekino Tadashi,

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<sup>52</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, “L’organisation de L’archéologie Antique en Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux,” *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 127

<sup>53</sup> Sekino Tadashi, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931): 9

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11

Kuroita Katsumi, Imanishi Ryū, Torii, Ryūzō, Fujita Ryōsaku, Hamada Kōsaku and Umehara Sueji among others were members of the committee throughout the colonial period.<sup>55</sup> That mixture of government officials and researchers secured an avenue of mutual influence between government and researchers, but it was an unequal space of relation in as much as the government always had the upper hand in the composition of the institution and filled it with members of the administration in greater numbers than researchers.

The Government-General Museum opened its doors finally in 1916, but its origins go back to 1915. Sekino relates the establishment of the Museum in the context of the Korean Products Exhibition of 1915, celebrated to commemorate the fifth anniversary of the colonization.<sup>56</sup> The exhibition included the exposition of many archaeological artefacts and pieces of art gathered for the occasion in a building on the grounds of Kyōngbokkung. After the exposition, the colonial government decided to open a new museum with those same collections, resulting in the Government-General Museum.<sup>57</sup> The result was a history and archaeology museum of Korean culture, including also pieces from Japan, China and central Asia. The organization of the museums had the duty of conducting surveys, research, and restoration works, and preparing the registration of cultural heritage.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, the

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<sup>55</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa. Pōnmunp'yōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009): 109,122; Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 33

<sup>56</sup> Sekino Tadashi, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931): 6

<sup>57</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 119

<sup>58</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, "L'organisation de L'archéologie Antique en Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux," *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 137





government designed the museum as an important research institute in the area of archaeology, after some internal reorganization.

The colonial government invested in the museum structure of the colony. The research capability of the Government-General Museum grew because the government linked some of those museums as branch museums to the Government General Museum. The first of those branch museums opened at Kyōngju in 1926, and it supported the excavations in the area.<sup>59</sup> In 1939, the colonial government established other branch museum in Puyō, and another at Kongju in 1940.<sup>60</sup> Local governments also established municipal museums at P'yōngjang and Kaesōng.<sup>61</sup> Consequently, the Government-General Museum developed a territorial structure to support archaeological research.

The level of institutional independence from the government was apparently quite high. The institutions was under the direction of reputed archaeologists. Fujita Ryōsaku directed the institution from 1924 to 1941,<sup>62</sup> and then Arimitsu Kyoichi took over the museum until 1945.<sup>63</sup> Both of them were highly qualified archaeologists with extensive field experience. Moreover, the Museum enjoyed a rather generous support from the colonial government in terms of economic resources. Nanta sustains that the Museum could enjoy annually for the

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<sup>59</sup> Sekino Tadashi, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931): 23

<sup>60</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa. Pōnmunp'yōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009): 159, 380

<sup>61</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, "L'organisation de L'archéologie Antique en Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux," *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 138

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 186

<sup>63</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 174

1920s and 1930s around 30,000 or 50,000 yens. That budget sustained a staff of around eighty people, including 56 curators and employees.<sup>64</sup>

The administrative relation of the museum with the government kept always the museum under direct control of the colonial administration. Despite the size of the museum budget, the institution did not control it. In fact, the execution of the museum budget depended from the Government-general directly.<sup>65</sup> In addition, the Museum did not have a director (*kanchō* 館長) as such, but a chief curator (literally a chief of the mission, *shunin* 主任).<sup>66</sup> This difference of title reinforced the subordinated position of the maximum authority at the museum to the colonial administration.

The system of budget management and the administrative situation of the museum allowed the government to plan the research agenda of the institution, increasing the importance of the committees and organs where such objectives were decided. The Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains was one of those organisms, but as seen above, the influence of academics was always counterbalanced by a greater number of bureaucrats. Therefore, the colonial government could control the Museum easily to implement the research objectives designed by the government, as other authors have also concluded.<sup>67</sup>

The establishment of the Keijō Imperial University represented an opportunity for some archaeologists to hold a professorship there, and train new researchers. The university

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<sup>64</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, "L'organisation de L'archéologie Antique En Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux," *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 137

<sup>65</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa. Pōnmunp'yōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009): 116

<sup>66</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, "L'organisation de L'archéologie Antique En Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux," *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 132

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.* 138-141



was established between 1924 and 1926 as part of the public system of Imperial universities. Thus, the university depended heavily from professors coming from other Imperial universities, mainly from Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities.<sup>68</sup> The teaching of Korean archaeology depended from the College of Law and Letters, which established two chairs for Korean history. These were occupied by Oda Shōgo and Iminishi Ryū, and later by Fujita Ryōsaku and Suematsu Yasukazu.<sup>69</sup> Oda, Imanishi and Fujita took part in archaeological research,<sup>70</sup> making very clear the weight of ancient Korean history in the teaching of history of Korea at the university.

The colonial government designed a basic institutional system dedicated to archaeological research. It created the basic legal structure to protect archaeological heritage and control archaeological research. The system of authorizations was an effective form to limit the access to archaeological excavations in the Peninsula. In addition, the Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains draw the basic research guidelines regarding the protection and research of archaeological heritage. This system was completed with the Government-General Museum and the Keijō Imperial University. The combination of these institutions provided the basic structure for archaeological research in Korea during the colonial period, completed with specific excavation projects. However, this system employed a very limited number of Japanese scholars who participated in several of those institutions. Good examples of this are Sekino Tadashi and Fujita Ryōsaku. Both were members of the Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains. Sekino was also the director of the first

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<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 123-128

<sup>69</sup> Ibid., 132

<sup>70</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa. Pōnmunp'yōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009): 86, 103, 104

archaeological survey of Korea, meanwhile Fujita directed the colonial museum and taught at Keijō Imperial University.

The employment of this reduced number of scholars had several effects. It made easier to the government the control of the community by reducing potentially dissident voices among scholars. In that regard, it was very important for the colonial government the marginalization of Korean scholars. It also increased the impact of a selected group of researchers over the interpretation of archaeological record. The privileged position of the few archaeologists working within that colonial system gave them access to a wealth of data that not many archaeologists could access, either Japanese or Korean. Consequently, it is necessary to understand the main academic influences over this limited community of practitioners. It is also necessary to understand the origins of the community called to substitute Japanese archaeologists after the Liberation, in their formative years during the colonial period.

### **Professional archaeologists: origins and influences**

Japanese imperialism and international academic trends related to the study of prehistory influenced the construction of Korean archaeology as a field. From the political and institutional perspective, the consolidation of the Imperial discourse and the organization of the Imperial House Agency limited the possibilities of archaeological research in the Archipelago, as some periods of Japanese prehistory were defined as off-limits for academic

research.<sup>71</sup> This problematic led many archaeologists to focus their archaeological interest into the colonial space developed since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century with the expansion of the Imperial borders over Asia.

The intellectual environment of the Meiji period (1868-1912) regarding its relation to European and American powers, and its relation to other countries in East Asia led Japanese scholars to think about Japan's place in the region, unchaining new intellectual projects and the adoption of ideas from abroad. These tensions in historiography developed as one of the results the idea of *Tōyō Gaku* (Oriental Studies) under the direction of Shiratori Kurakichi. This intellectual project created a new relationship between Japan and the rest of East Asia. On the one hand, it represented the point of origins for the nation. On the other, it created an essentialized space from which Japanese nation was different.<sup>72</sup> The first archaeological work done in Korea can be related to that intellectual project developed by the work of anthropologists, architects and historians associated to Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University.

In addition, European archaeologists started moving from evolutionist positions towards what has been called culture-historical archaeology at the turn of 19<sup>th</sup> century. Trigger claims that that perspective on archaeology “was the response to growing awareness of geographical variability in the archaeological record at a time when cultural evolutionism was being challenged in western and central Europe by declining faith in the benefits of

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<sup>71</sup> The Imperial House Agency controlled all sites and artefacts related to the Imperial House. Due to the identification of many *kofun* tombs with Imperial tombs, the research of this period in the archipelago became very difficult. See Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 60-70

<sup>72</sup> For a detail study on the development of *tōyō* as a category of historical analysis see Tanaka, Stefan, *Japan's Orient: Rendering Pasts into History* (Berkeley, Calif.: Univ. of California Press, 1995)



technological progress.” And he continues “[t]hese developments were accompanied by growing nationalism and racism, which made ethnicity appear to be the most important factor shaping human history.”<sup>73</sup> The introduction of diffusionism and the idea of cultures in plural supported methodologically the search for the origins of the nation as its main objective. These innovations joined with the new consideration towards the continent to start a search in the continent, first in Korea, later in Manchuria and beyond, of Japanese origins. The connections of these two intellectual movements, the idea of *tōyōshi* and the cultural-history archaeology, were the intellectual environment in which many Japanese archaeologists were trained and developed their practice.

Finally, the field was completed by Korean scholars interested in archaeology. Koreans could not excavate archaeological sites during the colonial government, but that did not stop some of them to participate in the archaeological debate that Japanese archaeologists started. Most of these scholars did not match the training of Japanese archaeologists, but they represent the first generation of Korean archaeologists. Their training happened under very different circumstances, but generally speaking they could be organized in those trained under the educative system of the Japanese Empire, and those with European education. These scholars had a limited impact on the field during the colonial period with limited production, but they represent the foundation of post-Liberation Korean archaeology. In this regard, it is important to understand as well the influences that they brought to the field.

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<sup>73</sup> Trigger, Bruce G., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2. ed., repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009):211

*Japanese Archaeologists in Korea and the configuration of Imperial archaeology*

The expansion of the Japanese Empire had a strong impact on the development of anthropology and archaeology, providing new areas of research at the same time that the Imperial House Agency was limiting certain areas of research in Japan. As presented above, due to the sanctity to which the Imperial family was invested during the Meiji period, the Imperial House Agency forbade the excavation of Imperial tombs. In 1880, this agency launched a process of identifying those tombs related to the Imperial family. In the end this movement resulted in a legislation that limited the study and research of these sites.<sup>74</sup> At the same time, the colonial governments mobilized those researchers to investigate their new colonial subjects. As Pai has expressed,

[w]hen the newly-formed Meiji government established its first diplomatic relations with the Yi dynasty kingdom in 1876 with the signing of the Kangwha Treaty, Japanese intellectuals and scholars, who were trying to come to grips with the changing role of Japan in East Asia, naturally turned their focus onto the Korean peninsula which soon, in the aftermath of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95, became identified and studied as part of the Japanese imperial state and its past. The earliest Japanese Chōsen studies in Japan were initiated, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by Shiratori Kurakichi and Torii Ryūzō, who wrote on such topics as the historical tribes of the Puyō, Kogurya, the

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<sup>74</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 62; Abad de los Santos, R., “Notas Para Una Historia de La Arqueología En Japón: De Las Tradiciones Premodernas a La Década de 1940,” in San Ginés Aguilar, Pedro (ed.), *Colección Española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico (3) Cruce de Miradas, Relaciones e Intercambios* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010): 443



legends of Chōsen (Tangun, Kija, Wiman, etc.), and the Han-dynasty commandery of Lolang as gleaned from ancient Chinese texts. With Japan's expanding continental interest in Manchuria and China, Korea was also incorporated into Manchurian history and geography in so-called Mansenshi 滿鮮史 studies.<sup>75</sup>

The result was the construction of a wide institutional system dependent from the colonial government, as seen above. This structure mobilized some of the most brilliant scholars at the time working in archaeology and archaeology related themes, selecting graduates mostly from Tokyo Imperial University and Kyoto Imperial University. Consequently, prominent figures of Japanese archaeology such as Hamada Kōsaku, Torii Ryūzō or Umehara Sueji were active researchers in the Korean peninsula. This mobilization allowed that their methods and questions of research were transplanted to Korea. However, they were not the only ones to integrate the field. Administrative needs to extend the colonial power over Korea, on the one hand, and new academic visions fueled by imperialism attracted scholars with backgrounds on different fields to pursue archaeological research. In particular, the extension of administrative control over Korean heritage by the colonial government attracted scholars like Sekino Tadashi, the main responsible for the cultural heritage protection system developed during the colonial period. In any case, the expansion of the cultural administration and educative system in Korea during the colonial period, in

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<sup>75</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994):29





conjunction with the imperial project, allowed many Japanese graduates to start their archaeological career excavating in Korea, and creating the field of Korean archaeology.

The first archaeologists who conducted fieldwork in Korea were related to the Tokyo University Anthropological Research Institute, and followed Tsuboi's school of anthropological archaeology. The first scholar to do field work in the peninsula was Yagi Sōzaburō (1866-1942) who was sent by the Tokyo Anthropological Society in 1900. As it can be inferred from Pai's transcription of one of Yagi's letters to his advisor, Tsuboi Shōgorō,<sup>76</sup> Yagi followed a vision of archaeology as close to anthropology. The letter presents such view when Yagi introduce his research objectives by saying that "I humbly want to state my three research goals in Korea as: First, racial makeup [*jinshujō*], second, its archaeology [*kōkōgaku*], and third, ethnography [*dozoku gaku*]."<sup>77</sup> These objectives show the close relationship between anthropology and archaeology among Tsuboi's students.

Another of Tsuboi's students followed closely such tradition, and became one of the most influential scholars in the field during the colonial period. Torii Ryūzō (1870-1953) was born in Tokushima, son of a rich merchant, and by 1893 he was already lab researcher assistant under Tsuboi's direction. As Pai presents it "[a]s a middle-school dropout and the son of a relatively low-class tobacco merchant family from the small island of Tokushima, in the countryside of Shikoku, Torii would never had made it to an elite institution like Tokyo University if it were not for Tsuboi, who personally invited him to come to work for him in

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<sup>76</sup> Tsuboi Shōgorō is one of the fathers of Japanese archaeology. He graduated from Tokyo Imperial University and became professor at the same institution. He is credited for being one of the fathers of Japanese anthropology and archaeology.

<sup>77</sup> Yagi Shozaburo, "Kangoku tsushin" [Correspondence from Korea sent to Professor Tsuboi of the medical division of Tokyo University] *Tokyo Jinui Gakkai Zasshi* 16 (177):90-94 in Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):110

1892.”<sup>78</sup> The lack of formal training was supplied by the exceptional education he received under Tsuboi’s supervision and working at the Tokyo Anthropological Research Laboratory. Tsuboi’s international reputation, the increasing importance of protecting cultural heritage, and controlling its study convinced the Ministry of Education to designate the Laboratory as the only designated repository for archaeological material and ethnographic specimens from Japan and abroad.<sup>79</sup> Thus, he got access to an impressive database. Moreover, Torii was able to become one of the leading figures in the field thanks to his extensive field work in the colonies of the expanding Japanese Empire. As early as 1895, Tsuboi planned to send him to Manchuria (Liaodong), with the support of the Tokyo Anthropological Society and the government.<sup>80</sup> After that first trip, many other came too, Taiwan (1896, 1897, 1898, 1900), Kurile Islands (1899), South-west China (1902-3), Ryukyus (1904), 2<sup>nd</sup> trip to Manchuria (1905), Mongolia (1906-1907, 1907-1908), 3<sup>rd</sup> trip to Manchuria (1909), Korea (1911-1916) and Siberia (1918),<sup>81</sup> stressing the importance of field work in his research.

The next trend that got introduced in the organization of Korean archaeology came from the field of art history by an architect. In 1902 Sekino Tadashi is sent by Tokyo Imperial University to conduct a general survey in North and South Kyōngsand-do and Kyōnggi-do, publishing in 1904 a field report title *Investigator’s Report of Korean Architecture*. That

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<sup>78</sup> Pai Hyung Il, “Capturing Visions of Japan’s Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryuzo’s Field Photographs of ‘Primitive’ Races and Lost Civilizations,” in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2009):271

<sup>79</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):103

<sup>80</sup> Pai Hyung Il, “Capturing Visions of Japan’s Prehistoric Past: Torii Ryuzo’s Field Photographs of ‘Primitive’ Races and Lost Civilizations,” in *Looking Modern: East Asian Visual Culture from Treaty Ports to World War II*, ed. Jennifer Purtle and Hans Bjarne Thomsen (Chicago: Art Media Resources, 2009):270-271

<sup>81</sup> Abad de los Santos, R., “Notas Para Una Historia de La Arqueología En Japón: De Las Tradiciones Premodernas a La Década de 1940,” in San Ginés Aguilar, Pedro (ed.), *Colección Española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico (3) Cruce de Miradas, Relaciones e Intercambios* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010):111, 443-444



report represented the first schematic periodization of Korea's art in four periods: Three Kingdoms, Unified Silla, Koryō and Chosō. The beautiful and detail result of his survey called the attention of Ito Hirobumi (1841-1909), then resident general of Korea, and he was hired in 1909 with two assistants, Yatsui Seiichi (1880-1959) and Kuriyama Shun'ichi (1882-?), to conduct a general survey on the whole peninsula.<sup>82</sup>

Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935) studied at Tokyo Imperial University Engineering College in 1892. In addition to his regular classes, Pai explains how Sekino also studied European decorative arts aesthetics, and the history of Japanese architecture. After his graduation he worked as a lecturer at the Tokyo Fine Arts School in 1896, and that same year he was appointed chief surveyor of the newly established Commission for the Preservation of Shrines and Temples. This commission was headed by Kuki Ryūichi (1852-1931), director of the Imperial Museum, Okakura Kakuzō (1863-1913), principal of the

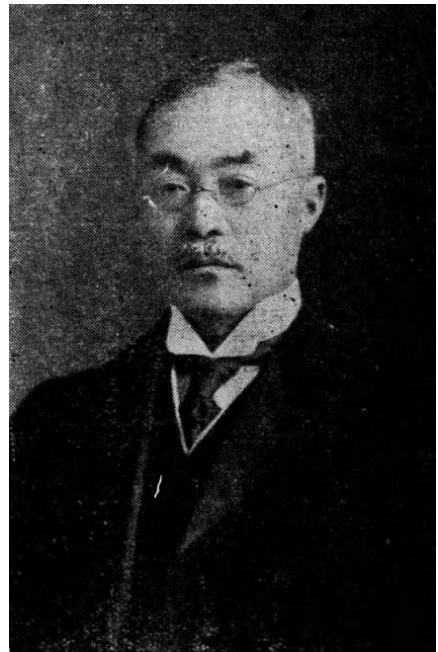


Figure 7.1 Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935).  
Wikimedia Commons

Tokyo School of Fine Arts, and Itō Chūta, Sekino's mentor.<sup>83</sup> This connection is relevant for two reasons, firstly Sekino started working directly under the direction of two of Fenollosa's students, Kuki and Okakura, and therefore responsible for the establishment of Art history as a discipline in Japan. Secondly, the participation in the survey gave Sekino the field experience that later he used in Korea. The result of Sekino's participation in the survey was

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<sup>82</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):117

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 86

a great amounts of recommendation for the protection of many buildings. Among them it is clear, Pai says, that his preference lied on ancient wooden buildings, as more than half of his recommendations for protection were for buildings from three areas in Kansai: Nara (194), Kyoto (300), and Shiga (121).<sup>84</sup>

When Sekino engaged with Korean survey, he listed and classified as many as 579 remains graded in terms of preservation value. From the analysis of that list Pai concludes that Sekino's training allowed him to recognize that the oldest remains were previous to anything preserved in Japan, and the link in the transmission of Buddhist art and architecture to Japan, recommending the colonial government to protect such cultural heritage from looters and developers.<sup>85</sup> This set in motion the establishment of the first laws for the protection of cultural heritage in Korea mentioned above.

The result of that policy was a comprehensive list of relics and sites which favored the region of Kyōngsang-do as the highest holder of protected remains. The reason laid in the choice of the principal investigators responsible of the research who decided to concentrate their efforts in that area.<sup>86</sup> This region was followed by Kyōnggi-do with the old Koryō and Chosōn capitals, Puyō and Iksan as late capitals of Paekche, and finally the region around Pyōngyang and its Han dynasty period tombs belonging to the Commandery of Lelang.<sup>87</sup> In

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<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 90

<sup>85</sup> Ibid., 118

<sup>86</sup> “[T]he principal investigators – Kuroita, Imanishi, Hamada Kōsaku (1881-1938), and Umehara Sueji (1893-1983), all archaeologists and ancient historians – had concentrated their efforts in the Kyōngju region, the former capital of the Silla dynasty (c. 1<sup>st</sup>-9<sup>th</sup> century CE), where Sekino had identified the largest concentration of temples, pagodas, sculptures, and burial mounds.” Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):125

<sup>87</sup> Pai Hyung Il, “The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.,” *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001):83-84

addition to this geographical concentration of the cultural heritage protected during the colonial period, is the high concentration of Buddhist heritage. Pai identified that more than 90% of the remains documented on the 1924 list of protected heritage were Buddhism-related remains and relics. This, Pai continues, would be related with the focus of heritage-protection laws on temple estates possessions, and the influence of Fenollosa's survey in the region of Kansai. Thus, Sekino transplanted the concepts of "valuable" and "ancient" from Japan to the Korean context.<sup>88</sup> This conservation activity started to create a frame of understanding about the materiality of Korean culture in the past that directed archeological research during the colonial period and even later. In addition, the heritage protection practices connected through Sekino with Fenollosa's articulation of Buddhist beauty. In fact, Fenollosa went as far as to claim a Greek source for Japanese art. In *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art*, drafted in 1906, but posthumously published in 1912, Fenollosa argued about the Greco-Buddhist Art in Japan, during the Nara Period, suggesting a lineage of influence from Greek art through the Tang Empire.<sup>89</sup> Again, another diffusionist model in play between the West and Japan.



Figure 1.8 Hamada Kōsaku (1881-1938). Wikimedia Commons

It is necessary to mention another of the fathers of Japanese Archaeology. The Imperial University of Kyoto established a chair of archaeology hold by Hamada Kōsaku (1881-1938), meaning the renovation of the methodological apparatus of Japanese archaeology. Until the second half of 1910s, archaeology in Japan had been closely related to anthropology, as Tsuboi developed it at

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., 84

<sup>89</sup> Fenollosa, E., *Epochs of Chinese and Japanese Art Vol. 1* (Frederick A. Stokes Co.: New York, 1921): 92ss.

the Tokyo Imperial University. However, Hamada Kōsaku represented a change regarding that filiation, becoming the first archaeology professor within the Department of History in 1916. Hamada studied at the Tokyo Imperial University, and graduated with a thesis titled *The Eastern Movement of Greek Art*.<sup>90</sup> He also followed courses under prof. Shiratori Kurakichi and developed an interest on fine arts and archaeology. Hamada graduated with honors in 1905, and in 1909 was already appointed lecturer at Kyoto Imperial University. His first contact with the field of archaeology was on his way back from a trip to China in 1911 when he took part in an excavation of a Han tomb in Port Arthur. After his promotion to an assistant professorship he received a leave of absence for three years to study archaeology. Hamada spent most of his time in England, but also travelled to Italy and Greece.<sup>91</sup> In addition, he travelled many times to the Peninsula to conduct fieldwork there. Possibly, one of his most famous expeditions was when he accompanied the Swedish crown-prince to Korea in 1925 to excavate Silla tombs at Kyōngju.<sup>92</sup> Nevertheless, he developed an intensive archaeological activity in the Peninsula as members of some of the most active archaeological institutions in Korea. In England he studied under the direction of Flinders Petrie (1853-1942), getting in contact with new methods of seriation, typology and stratigraphy. After his return to Japan, he was appointed full professor at Kyoto Imperial University consolidating at the university his view on archaeology.<sup>93</sup> In terms of methodology, Hamada is praised by introducing many of the methodological developments

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<sup>90</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):139

<sup>91</sup> S.E., "Hamada Kosaku (1881-1938)," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3, no. 3/4 (1938):407-409.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.

<sup>93</sup> Abad de los Santos, R., "Notas Para Una Historia de La Arqueología En Japón: De Las Tradiciones Premodernas a La Década de 1940," in San Ginés Aguilar, Pedro (ed.), *Colección Española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico (3) Cruce de Miradas, Relaciones e Intercambios* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010):446



from Europe to Japanese archaeologists. Pai explains that Hamada published in 1922 *Tsūron Kōkōgaku* (Introduction to Archaeology), confessing in the preface how he based largely in Petrie's *Methods and Aims of Archaeology*.<sup>94</sup> There, explains Abad, Hamada considered archaeology as a historical science, part of humanities too, against the conception supported by Tsuboi and his disciples. Later, in 1932 Hamada published another important volume, a translation of Montelius' *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* first volume where Montelius defined the fundament of his methodology.<sup>95</sup> One of his ablest student and successor at the university was Umehara Sueji (1893-1983) who conducted an extensive archaeological activity throughout the Japanese Empire.<sup>96</sup>

In terms of professional standards the colonial government employed for its research projects some of the most brilliant scholars of the time. Thus, looking briefly at the biography of some of the archaeologists who intervened in the constitution of Korean archaeology, it is possible to detect a diversity in terms of formal education as in Japanese archeology, although with a predominance of history majors. In addition, the origins of those researchers were quite limited to just a few institutions, Tokyo Imperial University, Kyoto Imperial University and Tokyo Fine Arts School. Looking at limited biographies of some of the directors of archaeological excavation these two facts appear soon. Imanishi Ryū (1875-1932) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1903, and followed postgraduate studies on Korean history, visiting Kyongju in 1906. He extended his visit to the point of taking part in the

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<sup>94</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):139

<sup>95</sup> Abad de los Santos, R., "Notas para una Historia de La Arqueología En Japón: De Las Tradiciones Premodernas a La Década de 1940," in San Ginés Aguilar, Pedro (ed.), *Colección Española de Investigación sobre Asia Pacífico (3) Cruce de Miradas, Relaciones e Intercambios* (Granada: Editorial Universidad de Granada, 2010):446

<sup>96</sup> Trigger, Bruce G., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2. ed., repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009):262-263



excavation of a shell mound near Kimhae in 1907. In 1909 toured the peninsula visiting historical sites, taking part as well in the excavation of Lo-lang tombs. By 1913, he achieved a position at Kyoto Imperial University teaching Korean history, and managing the Laboratory of Archaeology. He received the degree of PhD in 1922 with a thesis on Korean ancient history. The opening of Keijō (Kyōngsōng) Imperial University granted him a professor appointment to teach Korean history.<sup>97</sup> Fujita Ryōsaku (1892-1960) graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1918 from the Department of History. In 1922 he got a position at the Colonial Museum as assistant (ch'ot'ak), taking part in the excavations of Lo-lang in 1924. From 1926 he taught at Keijō Imperial University until 1928. That year he received a leave of absence for a year to study archaeology abroad in England, Germany, France and USA. After his return in 1929 he resumed his research activities in Korea. In addition, once the Association for the Research of Chosen Ancient Sites was established, he took part in the management of the research done in the peninsula, from annual planning to publication policy.<sup>98</sup> Harada Yoshito (1885-1974) graduated from the History Department at Tokyo Imperial University in 1908, and followed postgraduate studies on East Asian history. In 1914 started to teach at his alma mater, achieving a full-time position in 1921. He collaborate with the Colonial Committee for the Research of Ancient sites since 1918, engaging since that moment in different field trips and excavations in Korea.<sup>99</sup> Umehara Sueji (1893-1983) studied at Kyoto Imperial University, and in 1915 he started working at the university. In 1918 he accompanied Hamada Kōsaku in a trip around Korea as part of a colonial government research. In 1925 he studied abroad in western countries, coming back

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<sup>97</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P'yōnch'an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa.*

*Ponmunp'ōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009):104

<sup>98</sup> Ibid., 86

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., 110



in 1929 and became a researcher specialist on Chinese bronze period at Kyoto, at the same time that he started to teach at Kyoto Imperial University. From 1933 to 1937 Umehara excavated Lo-lang tombs in Korea, in 1936 travelled to Jian to investigate Koguryo tombs and in 1939 he was appointed professor of archaeology after the decease of Hamada Kōsaku.<sup>100</sup>

### *The first Korean archaeologists*

There were not many Koreans interested in the field of archaeology during the colonial period, probably because of the difficulties to join excavations, but it is possible to differentiate two sources of education. The main criteria to distinguish these two groups is the origin of their training and first contact with archaeology as an academic discipline. On the one hand, there was a group of academics who started to learn archaeology in the imperial context, either at Keijō Imperial University, or any of the universities in Japan. On the other hand, there were those students who developed their first interest outside the Japanese Empire, mainly in Europe.

The group of scholars formed within the Japanese Empire is represented by Son Chint'ae, Im Ch'ŏn, Kim Won-yong, Kim Chŏng-hak, Son Pogi, Yun Mu-Byŏng, and Chin Hong-sŏp. Although they all studied in different universities within the limits of the empire, their background and the opportunities were quite diverse. In fact it is possible to sub-divide this group between those scholars whose background was somehow related with the field of archaeology, even if slightly, and those whose background was completely unrelated to

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<sup>100</sup> Ibid.

archaeological research. Among the first group, the first scholar that has to be mentioned is Son Chin-t'ae (1900-?). He was born near Pusan, but went to Japan to study. In 1924, he graduated from Waseda High School, applying that same year to the History Department at Waseda University, and graduated in 1927. During his period at Waseda, some of the professors who influenced him the most were Tsuda Sōkichi (1873-1961), and his leading professor Nishimura Shinji (1879-1943). Nishimura, despite being a historian, developed a great interest in anthropology, introducing in Japan English and German authors. Among those authors, Nishimura followed the diffusionism defended by Grafton E. Smith and Williams J. Perry, claiming that Ancient Egypt cultural complex reached Japan as well. Son Chin-t'ae first met Nishimura at Waseda School, where Nishimura taught since 1918. Then, once Son got accepted at the university, Nishimura became his leading professor, being responsible for Son's anthropological training. After his graduation, Son started to work at the Oriental Library (*Tōyō Bunko*) from 1927 to 1933. There, Son got in contact with a large collection of books organized under the taste of Oriental Studies (*Tōyō gaku*) and its divisions. Moreover, there he got in contact with some of the most prominent scholars at the time with whom Son established a fluid exchange. Among them, one of the most influential for Son was Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942). With Shiratori's support, Son achieved funds to do field work on shamanism in Korea between 1932 and 1933.<sup>101</sup> Son finally returned to Korea in 1934, getting a position at Bosung College and Yonhi College, today's Koryo University and Yonsei University respectively. That same year he participated in the inaugural meeting of the Chindan Academic Society (*Chindan Hakhoe*).

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<sup>101</sup> Ryu Ki-sŏn, "1930nyŏndae Minsokhak Yŏng'guŭi Han Tanmyŏn: Son Chin-T'aeui 'Minsokhak' Yŏng'guŭi Sŏngkyŏkŭl Chungsimuro," *Minsok Yŏng'gu* 2, no. 8 (1995):60-61



Kim Chŏng-hak and Kim Won-yong studied both at Keijō Imperial University at Kyōngsŏng, today's Seoul during the early 40s. Kim Chŏng-hak (1911-2006) was born in Munch'ŏn, South Hamkyōng-do, following the colonial curriculum throughout his education.<sup>102</sup> Once he finished high school, he applied for the History Department at Keijō Imperial University in 1940, graduating three years later, in 1943. During those years, he mentions how he met Fujita Ryōsaku, then professor of Korean ancient history and archaeology at the university, and how thanks to that he “stopped completely his intellectual wander, and immersed himself to study Korean ancient history and archaeology (Chosŏn, 朝鮮).”<sup>103</sup> In addition, he acknowledges another important influence from Akamatsu Chijō (1886-1960) and Akiba Takashi (1888-1954). Akamatsu Chijō studied religious psychology and sociology in France under the direction of Émile Durkheim, and then he became a religion scholar at Keijō Imperial University, meanwhile, Akiba Takashi had studied anthropology in England with Edward Westermarck.<sup>104</sup> Kim had to do an extra effort to attend their classes, due to both of them were not professors at the History Department. Nevertheless, Kim studied hard with them “because [he] thought that [their teaching] had a relation with the research of culture and Korean nation (*Han'guk minjok*).”<sup>105</sup> In fact, he remembers how Akiba's teachings were very helpful in his research because they introduced him to “the sociological research on the origin of nations (*wŏnsi minjok*) by Malinowski and others English authors.”<sup>106</sup> Thus, the main influences that Kim acknowledged from his university

<sup>102</sup> Kim Chŏng-hak “Hoego Manp'il” in *Haksan Kim Chŏng-hak Paksa songsukinyŏm Han'guk Sahaknonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe*, ed. (Seoul: Hakyŏn munhwa hoesa, 1999):vii

<sup>103</sup> Ibid., viii

<sup>104</sup> Akitoshi Shimizu, “Colonialisms and the development of modern anthropology in Japan” in Jan Van Bremen, *Anthropology and Colonialism in Asia: Comparative and Historical Colonialism*. (S.l.: Routledge, 1999):136

<sup>105</sup> Kim Chŏng-hak “Hoego Manp'il” in *Haksan Kim Chŏng-hak Paksa songsukinyŏm Han'guk Sahaknonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe*, ed. (Seoul: Hakyŏn munhwa hoesa, 1999):viii

<sup>106</sup> Ibid.



years would make him join ancient history and archaeology with anthropology as they were understood by his Japanese professors.

Kim Won-yong (1922-1993) was born in Ŭiju, North P'yŏngyang-do, but he moves in 1931 to Seoul. After developing a strong interest in literature with the aim to become an author, he finally enrolls at the History Department to specialize in East Asian history (*tongyanghak*). As he recalled in a biographical essay: "I entered at the university main building (the History Department at the College of Law), choosing East Asian History as specialty. Furthermore, I became specially excited by Manchu and Mongol history (*manmongsa*)."<sup>107</sup> Then he highlights the teachings of two professors, Toriyama Kaichi (1887-1959), and Arimitsu Kyoichi (1907-2011). From the later, Kim recalls as an important experience his practice at the colonial museum warehouse. However, as he also mentions, the Pacific War shortened his third year of education, because it turned him into a student-soldier. He was deployed in Japan, and only after the defeat he could go back. When he went to the university, he found out that his academic requirements were considered complete, because in September stopped the government to issue any other certificate.<sup>108</sup> It is also important to mention that at this point Kim Won-yong was not completely sure to direct his career towards the field of archaeology, Kim Chae-wŏn mentions in his writings several times how difficult was to convince Kim Won-yong to join him at the NMK.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> Kim Won-yong, "Naŭi Han'guk Kodaŭ Munhwa Yŏn'gu P'yŏnnyŏk - Chŏsŏwa Nonmun Chungsimŭro," *Han'guksa Simin'gangjwa* 1 (1987):118

<sup>108</sup> Ibid.

<sup>109</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992):92

Son Po-gi (1922-2010) presented in a long interview his academic life since middle school, becoming the basic document for this section.<sup>110</sup> He studied at Whimoon Middle school in Seoul. There he had the opportunity to study Korean language, history and culture, despite the colonial prohibition during the war. As he recalls, “During the third year of middle school the colonial policy of erasing Korean culture became serious, and the Korean language program disappeared. However, through the teacher’s efforts we could conserve the pride about our culture and language.”<sup>111</sup> In 1940 Son was accepted at Yonhŭi College (*Yonhŭi Chŏnmunhak*), taking classes with Son Chin-t’ae floor one year, and Yi In-yŏn after Son left for Posŏng College. Son Po-gi acknowledges the influence of both teachers in his education to lead him towards the study of history, but that interest was focused on Chosŏn history, not archaeology. Son explained that “first I was interested in research about ‘*hwarang*.’ Later I started wondering why Chosŏn was defeated, at the same time that I began researching the government structure during Chosŏn.”<sup>112</sup> Thus, it seems that the influence from Son Chin-



Figure 1.9 Im Chon (1909-1965). Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan and Tonga Ilbosa and, eds., *Pangmulgwan E Salda: Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-Yŏn Ŭi Saramdŭl*, 78

t’ae either it was not too important, or it did not direct Son Po-gi towards archaeology. After his graduation from Yonhŭi College, Son applied to the History Department at Kyŭshŭ Imperial University, but the closure of universities during the war forbid him to pursue higher studies there, being the moment when he turned back to Korea and started teaching.

Im Ch’ŏn (1909-1965) was born in Kaesŏng, and attended the Yŏnsin Middle School in Manchuria. Then, he traveled to

<sup>110</sup> Son Po-gi and Han’guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han’guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P’yŏngnon, 2008):15-24

<sup>111</sup> *Ibid.*, 17

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 18



Japan and attended the Department of East Asian Art at Tokyo School of Fine Art in 1927 for two years. During the 30s he was involved in several cultural heritage restoration and conservation projects such as Kŭknakchŏ at Sŏngbulsŏ, Taedongmun at P'yŏngyang, Kakhwangjŏn at Hwaŏmsa, or Taeungjŏn at Kaesimsa.<sup>113</sup> It is relevant to mention that his training and later professional activity made him very close to the kind of activity that Sekino Tadashi developed during the early colonial period. However, Ch'ŏn's participation in these projects relates him more with restoration projects than with actual archaeological excavations. Consequently, he could learn useful skills transferable later to the field of archaeology, but it is not possible to say that he got archaeological training during the colonial period.

As it has been presented, the background of this group is very diverse in terms of training, specialization, and even interest. Thus, Son Chin-t'ae was the only one with some knowledge about archaeology from his university years and the close contact with scholars at the Oriental Library in Tokyo. He was followed by Kim Chŏng-hak who from very early showed an interest on the field and pursue an education towards his specialization. However, the limitations of his time, forbid him to become a professional archaeologist like the Japanese graduates, because he always lacked the field training that the Japanese students could acquire. In level of training and specialization Kim Chŏng-hak was followed by Son Po-gi and Kim Won-yong. Both graduated from the history department at their respective universities, but neither of them showed a clear interest on archaeology at the beginning. The last member mentioned who could be classified in this group, Im Ch'ŏn, shows the

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<sup>113</sup> Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkwŏ sajŏn, "Im Ch'ŏn," [http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents\\_id=E0047685](http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0047685) consulted on June 1<sup>st</sup>, 2016 16:18

connection of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts with the field, but once again it also shows the lack of specialized training on archaeology among Korean scholars.

The second sub-division is represented by scholars who initially studied formally something completely unrelated to archaeology, but who ended after the Liberation of Korea developing an activity in the field. Thus, the most representative scholars of this subgroup are Yun Mu-byōng and Chin Hong-sōp. Yun Mu-byōng (1924-2010) was born in Yongsan, Seoul in 1924, in the family of a Japanese Army officer. Before the annexation of Korea, Yun's father was at the Military Academy, but after the annexation, as many of his classmates, Yun's father went to Japan to graduate and started a career in the Japanese Army. At the age of 12 Yun moved to Manchuria with his family and attended Shinkyō Middle School, in Sinkyō (today's Changchun). During his days there his history teacher took them to work on a prehistoric site near the school collecting pieces, becoming his first experience in archaeology. After his graduation in 1941, Yun applied for Keijō Imperial University, but he was rejected. After some time, he applied to Shinkyō Imperial University in 1942, getting into the Law School. His intentions then was to study in order to become a public officer in Manchukuo. Once there, his leading professor was Noki Kaoru who tried to convince him to start a research in law, but he was not interested. By his third year at the university, the mobilization of university students started in Manchukuo leading Japanese and Korean students to become student-soldiers, meanwhile Chinese students were mobilized into factories. Then, the end of the war arrived in 1945, although his family could not go back to Korea until 1947, due to his father was retained by the Soviet authorities.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wōllo Ege Tūnnūn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yōn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yōngnon, 2008):73-80

Chin Hong-söp (1918-2010) graduated in 1936 from the Kaesöng Public School of Commerce. Then he went to Japan to study at Meiji University. There he graduated first from the Meiji Preparatory School in 1938, and from the Department of Policy and Economy in 1941.<sup>115</sup> However, he studied art history under Ko Yu-söp's (1905-1944) guidance and with Hwang Su-yöng (1916-1984) and Ch'oe Sun-u (1916-1984). These three scholars with their mentor were "mostly self-taught scholars, or scholars formed through private mentoring, who share a strong sense of mission as pioneers of Korean art history."<sup>116</sup> Neither of them had specific training in archaeology or anthropology, and only Chin had some background on art history. However, they were part of the few Koreans with higher education, a rarity in the times right after the Liberation of Korea.

The group of scholars trained abroad could be represented by Do Yu-ho, Han Hüng-su, Kim Chae-wön. This group is much limited that the former, due to the difficulties of going abroad to study. The three scholars were trained in the German speaking world although having different experiences and perspectives, as well as political views. Do Yu-ho (1905-



Figure 1.10 Do Yu Ho (1905-1982)  
Han'guk Minjok Munhwa Taebaekkw  
sajön

1982) studied in Keijö up to high school, graduating in 1929. That year went to Beijing and applied for Yenching University to study mathematics. However, in 1931 he went to Germany to study social philosophy and social history at the University of Frankfurt, and in 1933 he moved again to the University of Wien to study at the

<sup>115</sup> [http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?pplId=PPL\\_8KOR\\_A1918\\_1\\_0033510](http://people.aks.ac.kr/front/tabCon/ppl/pplView.aks?pplId=PPL_8KOR_A1918_1_0033510);  
[http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents\\_id=E0069220](http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0069220) Consulted June 1st, 2016 18:47

<sup>116</sup> Ahn Hwi-joon "Dr. Kim Chae-wön and Professor Kim Wön-yong and Their Contributions to Art History" in Mark E. Byington, ed., *The Samhan Period in Korean History*, Early Korea 2 (Cambridge, Mass: Early Korea Project, Korea Inst., Harvard Univ, 2009):179



History Department. There he specialized in archaeology, and achieved his PhD in 1935, getting a position at the Institute of Prehistory at the same university.<sup>117</sup> In Vienne, Do started to develop a dialectic development view on history and was influenced by theory of *Kulturkreise* or Cultural Circle in his understanding of archaeology and ethnology.<sup>118</sup> One of the major promoters of such view in Wien was Oswald Menghin (1888-1973), director of the Institute of Prehistory, who embraced a “variant of culture-historical anthropology that not only rejected cultural evolution and psychic unity but also embraced primitive monotheism and degenerationism.”<sup>119</sup> Furthermore, Rebay-Salisbury claims that “Menghin defined prehistory as a historical discipline. His aim was to reconstruct *Kulturkreise* as in ethnology and to write a cultural history based upon archaeological evidence.”<sup>120</sup> His major work, a synthesis of the Stone Age *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* (1931) adopted Schmidt’s theory of a primary culture, to create a hierarchy of cultural circles for prehistory, “pointing out the links between culture, language and “race”.”<sup>121</sup> In fact, Do was commissioned in 1942 by his senior from the university, Oka Masao (1898-1982), to translate into Japanese *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit*, becoming published under the name *Sekki Jidai no Sekaishi* (石器時代の世界史).<sup>122</sup> Consequently, Do was highly familiarized with the theories of cultural circles and archaeology.

<sup>117</sup> [http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents\\_id=E0015800](http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0015800) consulted May 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<sup>118</sup> Yi Ki-sung, “Ch’ogi Pukhan Kogohakūi Sinsökki , Ch’öndonggi Sidae Kubun,” *Journal of the Hoseo Archaeological Society* 25 (2011):25

<sup>119</sup> Trigger, Bruce G., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2. ed., repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009):219

<sup>120</sup> Roberts, Benjamin W. and Linden, Marc Vander, eds., *Investigating Archaeological Cultures: Material Culture, Variability, and Transmission* (New York: Springer, 2011):48-49

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 49

<sup>122</sup> [http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents\\_id=E0015800](http://encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/Index?contents_id=E0015800) consulted May 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016; Schirmer, A., “The pioneering generation of Korean students in central Europe. Three examples and suggestions for further research,” <http://koreanstudies.bg/node/103> consulted Dec. 18<sup>th</sup>, 2016



Han Hŭng-su (1909-?) arrived at Vienne as a prospective student in 1936. Olša and Schirmer explain the academic life of Han in Europe with great detail, and this presentation follows their findings.<sup>123</sup> Han studied in Vienne and Bern, earning a Ph.D. at Fribourg (Switzerland), and soon he was hired by the Museum of ethnology in Vienne, although he started to commute between Prague and Vienne. From 1945 onwards, he lived in Prague, where he catalyzed the beginnings of Korean studies there. He achieved the highest recognition at the University of Vienne, a “Habilitation” that allowed him to teach the subject “cultural history of East Asia.”<sup>124</sup> After the division of Korea, he supported the regime in North Korea, but did not return to Korea until he got an invitation from the new regime and the economic means to do it. That took three years until the opportunity opened up. Then, he became one of the most influential scholars in the organization of North Korean museums and historical sites. Unfortunately, he was purged after the Korean War.<sup>125</sup>

His academic life was impacted by the rise of Hitler in Germany and the Anschluss in 1938, the year he moved to study at the University of Bern (1938-1939) and later to the University of Fribourg. Some of his teachers were leading scholars in the German-speaking fields of archaeology and ethnography such as Wilhelm Schmidt, Oswald Menghin, Hugo Obermaier and Otto Tshumi.<sup>126</sup> Han became an accomplished scholar and highly regarded at the Museum of Ethnology at Vienne. Olša and Schirmer reproduced in their article some of the compliments at contemporary documents, describing him as "extraordinarily efficient worker, both museum-wise as well as academically" and “indispensable” for the museum as

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<sup>123</sup> Olša, J. and Schirmer, A., “An Unsung Korean Hero in Central Europe. The life and work of the Multi-talented Scholar Han Hŭng-su (1909-?)” *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society Korea Branch* 87 (2012): 1-33

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, 1-2

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, 2

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 3

he was “the only expert of the Chinese, Japanese and Korean languages and scripts.”<sup>127</sup> These comments suggest how well Han could work within the academic paradigm of the museum. Therefore, they point out to Han’s participation in the ideas of Cultural Circles already presented above. Furthermore, Han uses in his thesis diffusionist theories to explain the origins of Korean peninsula dolmens, indicating Southeast Asia as one of the possible origins of megalithic culture.<sup>128</sup> The intellectual influence of German-speaking scholars on Han’s scholarship is evident in his education, work at the Museum of Ethnology, and even at his scholarship.

The third member of this group is Kim Chae-wŏn (1909-1990), director of the National Museum of Korea (1945-1970). He was born in Hamkyŏng-do, expending his childhood there. Coming from a well-off family, he could study at the local school, Hŭngnam School, funded in 1905.<sup>129</sup> Following Kim’s autobiography, during his final period studying there a relative came back from Germany, introducing in him the idea of moving there to pursue higher education. After the March 1<sup>st</sup> Movement, and due to the limitations in the early Korean colony to pursue higher education, many young Koreans migrated to Shanghai as a previous stop to either go to Europe or USA to study. Kim decided to move to Germany, and after his graduation he took the train to Berlin in 1929 without speaking German. There he contacted with other Korean students who introduced him to German society and university, joining the *Han’guk Haksaenghoe*. That organization linked him with some prominent figures of the student community in Europe such as Pae U-sŏng, Han Chae-nam or Kim

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<sup>127</sup> Ibid., 4

<sup>128</sup> Ibid., 30-31

<sup>129</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp’yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T’amgudang, 1992):15-16

Hyöng-t'ae, as well as he got involved in some of its pro-independent activities.<sup>130</sup> However, he decided to move out of Berlin and study in a smaller city.

Kim Chae-wön decided to move to Munich where he contacted with Lee Ŭi-kyöng who was his guide and only friend during his first months in the city. Lee taught Kim German through the reading of Schopenhauer's *Aphorismen der Lebensweisheit*. Already in Munich, Kim started to think about his studies. As he wrote, he "thought of trying to study either literature or philosophy." However, in the end Kim decided that "philosophy was too difficult, and literature was not necessary to study for its specialization." For that reason, he "decide to accept Lee Ŭi-kyöng's advice to study pedagogy."<sup>131</sup> The rest of Kim's account on his time at Munich focus more on the political situation of Germany in the early 30s, leaving out much of his academic life. The rise of the Nazi party moved him to finish his studies as fast as possible, and by 1934 was ready to sit the *doktor* exam. His thesis, titled *Die Volksschule in Korea. Die japanische Assimilationserziehung* [The Elementary School in Korea. Japanese Assimilation Education] was also on a related topic to his studies in pedagogy applied to the Japanese education in Korea.<sup>132</sup> The speed with which Kim wanted to finish his studies, and the topic of his dissertation points out that his



Figure 1.11 Kim Chae-wön, Carl Hentze and Hentze's wife, 1935. Kim Chae-wön, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yöngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992): 61

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., 39-41

<sup>131</sup> Ibid., 43

<sup>132</sup> Schirmer represents a fundamental source for the understanding Kim's intellectual influences when he wrote his thesis. However, given that the topic is far from archaeology this study will not stop in its analysis. See Schirmer, A., "Verschwiegene Doktorarbeit. Zu Text und Kontext der Dissertation (München 1934) des späteren Direktors des südkoreanischen Nationalmuseums über die japanische Assimilationserziehung in Korea" Schirmer, A. and Haas, P. (ed.), *Wiener Beiträge zur Koreaforschung = Viennese Contributions to Korean Studies* (Wien: Institut für Ostasienwissenschaft / Koreanologie, 2010):9-124

first connection with archaeology did not happen until he moved to Antwerp and started working with Carl Hentze.

The change of country to Belgium after his dissertation was the result of Kim's desire to keep learning, and German political environment towards foreigners under the Nazi regime. As it has been mentioned above, the rise of the Nazi party made the situation for foreigners more difficult, and was one of the reasons for Kim to finish as soon as possible his education. However, Kim did not find himself ready to return to Korea yet. Kim confessed to Elsa van der Stucken, some sort of Mecenaz for Kim, how he wanted to study further, but could not find the right place. To that, van der Stucken pointed him towards Antwerp, Belgium where she was supporting Carl Hentze's work.<sup>133</sup> Thus, it seems that Kim's Mecenaz solve the situation to the best advantage of both of his protégées. Once Kim arrived at Antwerp in 1935, he started to work as Carl Hentze's personal assistant.<sup>134</sup> remaining in that position for the next six years, until he finally returned to Korea in 1940. Kim explained in his biography that Carl Hentze "got interested in Chinese archaeology, and became lecturer (*kangsa*) at Ghent University because he acquired real ability by self-education, and after he got the title of professor. He was teaching Chinese art and archaeology at the university." And he added latter that "because he did not have the ability to read East Asian books, namely Japanese and Chinese books, I became his assistant."<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992):53-54

<sup>134</sup> Carl Hentze (1883-1975) studied extensively Chinese art and archaeology, publishing several titles related to the topic around this period such as *Le poisson comme symbole de fécondité dans la Chine ancienne* (1930); *Mythes et symboles lunaires* (1932), co-authored with Herbert Kühn; *Objectes rituels, croyances et dieux de la Chine antique et de l'Amérique* (1936); *Le culte de l'ours et du tigre et le T'ao-tie* (1938). These publications relate Hentze with the German tradition of prehistory and ethnography, co-authoring a book (*Mythes et symboles lunaires*) with Herbert Kühn, a direct student of Gustaf Kossina. Hentze published with Kim an essay titled "Ko- und Ch'i-Waffen in China und in Amerika: Göttergestalten in ältesten chinesischen Schirft" (1943).

<sup>135</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992): 54



However, Kim's consideration of Hentze was not completely positive, although it is possible to see how he played a fundamental role in Kim's academic life. In relation to Hentze, he wrote

[i]n all accuracy, if we must do an evaluation, prof. Hentze was an amateur. In other words, in any sense he had genius tendencies, but he represented that side of academic tradition of a man who has not received formal university classes. Within the specialized area of Chinese archaeology, in reality he did not have any experience, of course, participating in an archaeological excavation, and he did not work even once either in China or Japan.<sup>136</sup>

This evaluation provides an insight about the level of influence that Kim could receive from Hentze, as it directs all the attention towards Hentze's method of research at the level of analysis. In addition, the kind of work Kim conducted under Hentze's direction reinforces this view when he claims that he "sent the things by reading books at Hentze's library in Antwerp."<sup>137</sup> That work allowed him to get familiar with the research done in Chinese, Korean and Japanese archaeology, as he claims that "[t]here [Hentze's library] he possessed important books related to East Asia, specially Korean, Chinese, Japanese art and archaeology. For example, in relation to Korea there was of course books like the General-Government Ancient Sites Investigation Survey Report [Kojök Chosa Pogo], and in relation to Chinese art materials were well arranged."<sup>138</sup> During his years under the supervision of Hentze, Kim changed his subject of specialization, and "East Asian Studies, in addition to

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<sup>136</sup> Ibid.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid., 55

<sup>138</sup> Ibid., 56

the research of China became [his] main scholarly activity.”<sup>139</sup> Thus, the transformation of Kim’s academic research happened in Belgium.

Kim also supplemented his education in the field of East Asian studies through the connection with a wider network of scholars in Europe, European and Korean. In particular, Kim mentions briefly, but importantly, his connection with a Berlin group of scholars formed by Herbert Kühn (1895-1980), Otto Kümmler (1874-1952) and Leopold Reidemeister (1900-1987).<sup>140</sup> Kim explains in his biography the connection with these scholars tangentially, without explaining how they met, or their specific influence, but he shows the close relation they shared. Their mention in Kim’s autobiography is concentrated to the moment when Kim was preparing his trip back to Korea when he wrote “I took the train to Berlin on May 12<sup>th</sup> [1940], and went to prof. Herbert Kühn’s house in Bayerischer Platz. He had arranged a near room for me in that house.”<sup>141</sup> And a few lines later, he wrote too “I went to the museum to visit Dr. Otto Kümmler and Dr. Leopold Reidemeister.”<sup>142</sup> There they discussed about the real possibilities of travelling to Korea because of the war that broke in Europe. Both passages indicate that Kim was in good terms with all of them, as it represents his farewell visit before taking the train through Siberia.

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<sup>139</sup> Ibid.

<sup>140</sup> Leopold Reidemeister studied at the University of Berlin, and joined the East Asian Department at the Nationalgalerie in 1924, rising eventually to head curator. Herbert Kühn was a scholar with multiple interests in prehistory, religion, philosophy and art history. In terms of Prehistory, Kühn was a pioneer in the research of prehistoric art. For his publications in art history see Kühn, H., *El Arte de la época glacial* (México D.F.: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1971). Otto Kümmler studied at Freiburg, Bonn and Paris receiving his Doctor’s degree in 1901 with a thesis of Egyptian art. From 1909, he became in charge of the Asian collections in Berlin, and since 1934 he was appointed director of the Ethnological Museum. In terms of publications, Kümmler focused on the production of several important collection catalogues and handbooks. Among them it is highlighted the *Die Kunst Chinas, Japans und Koreas*. In addition, he edited since 1912 (with William Cohn since 1933) the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, publication of the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst. See Lippe, Aschwin, "Otto Kümmler," *Ars Orientalis* 1 (1954):262-64

<sup>141</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwŏn Kwa Hanp’yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T’amgudang, 1992):70

<sup>142</sup> Ibid., 71



Once Kim returned to Korea for good in 1941, he found himself in need of a job. Luckily, he could use his connections from Germany among the Korean student community to find a job at Posung College, substituting Ahn Ho-sang as a teacher of German. Furthermore, it seems that Kim had the chance to meet during that time with Son Chin-t'ae, as Kim mentions him as part of the leading professors at the College, and director of the library.<sup>143</sup> Kim also met personally, or at least knew of, Do Yu-ho, but Kim is not very clear about the degree or nature of their relation. Do, once he turned back to Korea in 1945, was appointed librarian at Hamhŭng municipal library, close to Kim's family house. However, in Kim's account there is not clear mention to their relations, although he transcribed Do's alleged curse to the Japanese.<sup>144</sup> At his return from Europe, Kim reconnected with the Korean community he met in Europe, meaning that they were as well the connection with the academic life in Seoul during the last years of the colonial period under the war conditions. Thus, it must be assumed that Kim soon became aware of Sin, Han and Do's work on Korean archaeology.

## Conclusions

The institutional system developed in the Peninsula was highly intervened by the colonial government. Archaeological research did not started with a government initiative, but the government soon took over the duty of developing that research. Despite the deployment of Yagi Shōzaburō, the government soon took the lead in archaeological research,

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<sup>143</sup> Ibid., 74

<sup>144</sup> Ibid., 76



commissioning a general survey of archaeological sites to Sekino Tadashi. That activity powered the establishment of a legal and institutional system to support archaeological research: the Regulation on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics of Chōsen, Committee for the Research of Ancient Remains, the Government-General Museum and Keijō Imperial University.

The system proved itself very useful and efficient in carrying out archaeological research, but completely dependent on the government. The quality and profusion of publications in archaeology during this period has been already noticed.<sup>145</sup> However, the level of autonomy of researchers was rather limited. The colonial government controlled every institution of the system, except the university. Thus, it was very easy for the colonial government to introduce its objectives in archaeologists' research agenda.

The colonial government increased its control over archaeological discourse by working with a limited pool of archaeologists trained in very few institutions. Most of Japanese archaeologists working in Korean archaeology were graduates from three institutions, Tokyo Imperial University, Kyoto Imperial University and Tokyo Fine Arts School. Those graduates studied a variety of disciplines, as there was not a single program to become archaeologists. However, it is evident the influence of the Department of History at Tokyo Imperial University, and professors such as Shiratori Kurakichi in the education of many of those archaeologists.

The introduction of archaeological studies in the Korean peninsula happened, as already mentioned, in the context of the imperial expansion of Japan. One of the instruments

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<sup>145</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Politics of Korea's Past: The Legacy of Japanese Colonial Archaeology in Korean Peninsula," *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 28

the General-Government used to control the colony was the imperial discourse. Shiratori Kurakichi exercised a great influence in the orientation of the field from his positions as a professor at Tokyo Imperial University and his writings on *Toyōshi*. From that position, he developed and taught some of the core ideas of that imperial discourse and the lack of history in Asia, supporting the field of *Mansenshi* (Manchu and Chōsen history). Under that influence, the colonial government supported intensive research projects throughout Korea, bringing to the peninsula some of the most capable researchers of Japan, such as Hamada Kōsaku, Umehara Sueji, Torii Ryūzō, Sekino Tadashi or Fujita Ryōsaku. The selection of those scholars contribute to the production of a rather homogenous interpretation, as most Japanese archaeologists working in Korean archaeology operated under very similar intellectual frameworks.

Nevertheless, it is important to remember as well the important international connections of Japanese intellectual throughout this process. Japanese archaeologists were not isolated intellectuals, just the opposite. Scholars such as Hamada Kōsaku or Torii Ryūzō enjoyed periods abroad and were connected with the debates of their time. The configuration of Korean archaeology happened at the same time that the paradigm of archaeological interpretation was changing among archaeologists all around the world. That change that was transmitted by those internationally connected Japanese scholars. Archaeologist in the last third of 19<sup>th</sup> century transformed their interpretations from evolutionary archaeology towards cultural-historical archaeology and its conceptions of cultures in plural.<sup>146</sup> This

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<sup>146</sup> Trigger, Bruce G., *A History of Archaeological Thought*, 2. ed., repr (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2009): 211-223

transformation joint to the idea of *tōyōshi* reverted into a racialized vision of Korean archaeology.

The segregation of researchers was an important method of control for the colonial government. This practice translated in the marginalization of Korean researchers who could be trained either within the Japanese Empire, or abroad. Students such as Son Chin-t'ae, Im Ch'ōn, Kim Won-yong, Kim Chōng-hak, Son Po-gi, Yun Mu-Byōng, or Chin Hong-sōp remained in the Japanese Empire for their education, receiving a Japanese training. Some of them published on archaeological topics, but none of them actually excavated or received extensive education on the field. Their education at Imperial universities, in Korea or Japan, secured their training under the trends of the time, impregnated by imperial discourse. They were in many occasions the disciples of some of the first Japanese archaeologists, anthropologist, or pioneering historians of the time, absorbing their influences.

Do Yu-ho, Han Hūng-su, Kim Chae-wōn's cases show that Koreans did become interested in archaeology before they could actually access to the field, engaging in periods of study abroad. They three had in common the language they chose to study and research in Europe, German language. Thus, they engage in the German system of university studies and research, becoming all of them proficient in the language and as researchers. That condition allowed them to connect with the German academic world and with German archaeology. Consequently, they all three could bypass in a first formative moment the colonial influence to connect directly with European scholarship.

To this point, it is necessary to reconsider the disciplinary bases that Japanese archaeologist created for Korean archaeology, and their influence over Korean scholars. Colonial archaeologists in Korea started a multidimensional research in a moment when

archaeology was not sharply defined as a discipline in Japan, and even in Europe still presented a high degree of collusion with other disciplines. Torii Ryūzō, Sekino, Fujita, Hamada and Umehara, among the many Japanese scholars who worked in Korea represent some of that disciplinary diversity and academic interests. Anthropology, art history, history and archaeology were the mixture of academic disciplines in which these scholars developed their research and archaeological excavations. However, this lack of definition was not a particularity of Japanese academia. Looking into German and English archaeology, a similar composition of mixing disciplines is evident. In many occasions, the first generation of Japanese archaeologists studied under the guidance or in academic context considered as pioneering, and marked by that interconnection of fields. Furthermore, it was in those same European research centers where cultural-history archaeology become to be and acquired its popularity. Thus, Japanese archaeologists and academics acted as translators of those ideas, and reinterpreting them for the Korean context, but keeping the core of the cultural-historical archaeology.

Korean scholars underwent a similar process with similar results, but adding a colonial layer over the process. Japanese scholars and archaeologists transferred that knowledge to Korean scholars through their education, mainly Imperial Universities, and through the publication of archaeological reports. These instruments were the most important in the construction of the intellectual bases for colonial archaeology among Korean scholars. Due to the extensive power of the colonial government and the allure of the metropole for higher education among Korean elites, many Korean students were educated under the influence of the colonial discourse. Only a minority had the economic resources or the connections to go abroad and study there. Among them, Do Yu-ho, Han Hŭng-su, Kim Chae-wŏn's cases are



successful stories in the context of archaeology, having the opportunity to specialize without the colonial influence. However, their experience at German speaking countries led them to academic centers where cultural-historical archaeology was the dominant paradigm. Furthermore, those centers also lacked sharp definitions and limits for disciplines such as history, art history, anthropology and archaeology. Therefore, when they came back to the peninsula their training and academic perspectives over the field did not differ much from those of colonial archaeologists. In this sense, the consistency of the archaeological paradigm in archaeology during the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century limited the possibilities to construct an alternative explanatory model to colonial archaeology.



## **Chapter 2: The Construction of an unbalance field of archaeological research: central and peripheral agents in the production of archaeology in South Korea**

### **Introduction**

Between government and academics have been a contentious issue when studying nationalism. The field of archaeology can be of particular interest in this regard, due to its heavy dependency on an established government in terms of a legal framework in which to develop its activities and resolve problems such as the ownership of and funding for excavations. The case of the Republic of Korea is not an exception in this regard, and the role of the government has been crucial in many senses for the constitution of archaeology as an independent academic field. However, this constitution was not only the result of state intervention, nor did the state control completely the production of discourse. In this regard, it is possible to identify different levels of relationship with the government, creating an uneven field where not all the actors were equal. The aim of this chapter is to analyze the relationships of the government with different research agents involved in the field, and the influence of those relationships in the construction of the field between its origin after Liberation in 1945 until the end of the Park Chung Hee regime in 1979. Thus, it is also possible to understand the limits of such influence, improving our understanding of the relationship between the government and academics, and among academics during the foundational moments of the field.

In order to tackle this issue, this chapter will show the main instruments used by the government to regulate the field of archaeological research. Mainly, it will focus on the organization of the legal framework for archaeological research, and the constitution of the Committee for Cultural Properties. Some of the limits that the government faced in order to project influence over academic discourse will be explained too. Furthermore, the chapter will show the process of field consolidation and the subsequent stratification of agents in relation to their proximity to the government. Finally, the paper will briefly compare several archaeological researches to demonstrate the results of such imbalances in the field, and some of the consequences of stronger or weaker influences from the government in the final results.

### **Some initial notes**

History of archaeology has considered the relationship of the field with governments from different perspectives. Many authors have considered the objectives and institutions, used by the government to influence the production of an archaeological discourse, usually in relation to a nationalistic interpretative framework. For the European context, there are many examples of research done from this perspective.<sup>147</sup> Unfortunately that kind of research is not as abundant in the Korean context, although there are some examples too.

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<sup>147</sup> To see some examples from different cultural and national context see Díaz-Andreu, Margarita and Mora, Gloria (ed.), *La Crsitalización Del Pasado: Génesis Y Desarrollo Institucional de La Arqueología En España* (Málaga: Universidad de Málaga, 1997): 403-416; Kohl, Philip L. and Fawcett, Clare, *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Härke, Heinrich ed., *Archaeology, Ideology and Society: The German Experience, 2.*, ed, Gesellschaften Und Staaten Im Epochenwandel 7 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2002)

Relationships between archaeologists and governments in Korea are usually portrayed from two perspectives. On the one hand, there are studies that reduce the presence of the government, focusing on activities and explanations produced by archaeologists. They present a government with a minimal involvement in the field, just present through financing. Even when they present a correlation between the discourse production and some political objectives, they fail to explain the mechanism through which the government could influence. Articles authored by Kim Won-yong and Sarah Nelson are good examples of this perspective. Kim's article is an evaluation of the field since 1945 until the moment of the paper publication in 1981.<sup>148</sup> Kim mentions some of the key institutions, some of them part of government institutions, and journals, but the main focus of this section is to discuss the different advancements in the interpretation of Korean archaeology, turning into an evaluation of many different sites and their contributions to fill in the gaps in the knowledge of Korean archaeology. Thus, it helps to understand the debates in the field and the main ideas circulating, but its relationship with the government end up minimized to an almost non-existent actor basically, only present through some institutions such as the National Museum of Korea or the Office for Cultural Properties and their research activity. Nelson analyze critically the state of the field and the concept of ethnicity as it was used.<sup>149</sup> She does not give much space to the role of the government in the shape of the main theories about Korean archaeology. However, she states the Cold War, the organization of different government in the North and the South, and the influence of Japanese colonial archaeology as the main causes for the use of the concept of ethnicity as main interpretative device in Korean

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<sup>148</sup> Kim Won-yong, "Korean Archaeology Today," *Korea Journal* 21, no. 9 (1981): 22–43

<sup>149</sup> Nelson, Sarah M., "The Politics of Ethnicity in Prehistoric Korea," in *Nationalism, Politics and the Practice of Archaeology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 218–231





archaeology. Consequently, the paper presents Korean connections between the political situation of the Peninsula, the government of South Korea and the explanations provided by archaeologists, but it does not state neither the links nor the mechanisms of those relationships. Her perspective gives the impression that archaeologists worked under a political project but without any influence from the government that in many cases financed their research or employed them in public institutions.

On the other hand, other studies stress the collaboration of archaeologists to the interest of the state. These explanations identify intellectuals as willing participants in the construction of a nationalistic discourse, becoming useful instruments of the government and its objectives. Some good examples of this perspective are present in the literature dealing with the continuity of colonial structures related to archaeology from the colonial to the post-Liberation periods. Pai defended in her book *Constructing "Korean" Origins* that the authoritarian regimes of South Korea controlled the diffusion of the nationalist historical discourse and promoted the results of specific archaeologists and historians.

Under such oppressive circumstances, all publicly consumed information, ranging from the contents of elementary textbooks to reports in journals to news broadcasts, never failed to expound the reigning state ideologies of national struggle against imperial and communists enemies. This task was facilitated by a coalition of government historical and educational steering committees composed of Korea's leading academics in the fields of Korean literature, history arts and media. These scholars were generally handpicked for their sympathetic support of government policies that were geared to



glorifying national prestige, justifying authoritarian rule, and competing for international recognition with North Korea.<sup>150</sup>

Pai presented a similar relationship in a later article where she explained the colonial origins of the current South Korean cultural heritage system. In that article, she describes the role of scholars who participated in the systems as active collaborators with the authoritarian regimes in the political projects regarding their nationalistic agenda.<sup>151</sup> The statement of government-archaeologists relationship is an important step to understand the influence of politics into over archaeology. However, it is still necessary to address more specifically the problematic of the relationship between the government and Korean archaeology, in order to understand the capability of the government to control archaeological discourse, and the level of insularity of the field from government influence.

Pierre Bourdieu developed interesting ideas to analyze these relationships in his study *The Rules of Art*, where he focuses on the social and cultural underpinnings of artistic production in France.<sup>152</sup> Among other aspects, Bourdieu deals in extension with the relationship between the powerful and the artists. In that regard he wrote

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<sup>150</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Constructing "Korean" origins : A Critical Review of Archaeology, Historiography, and Racial Myth in Korean State-Formation Theories* (Cambridge Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2000): 3

<sup>151</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.," *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 72–95

<sup>152</sup> Bourdieu, Pierre, *The Rule of Art. Genesis and structure of the literary field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Stanford University Press: Stanford, 1995)



A number of the practices and representations of artists and writers (for example, their ambivalence as much towards the 'people' as towards the 'bourgeois') can only be explained by reference to the field of power, inside of which the literary (etc.) field is itself in a dominated position. The field of power is the space of relations of force between agents or between institutions having in common the possession of the capital necessary to occupy the dominant positions in different fields (notably economic or cultural). It is the site of struggles between holders of different powers (or kinds of capital) which, like the symbolic struggles between artists and the 'bourgeois' in the nineteenth century, have at stake the transformation or conservation of the relative value of different kinds of capital, which itself determines, at any moment, the forces liable to be engaged in these struggles.<sup>153</sup>

Bourdieu presents some of the key characteristics of the field. It is a space limited by an activity where different actors struggle to define the symbolic capital that can be obtained in it. Actors in this space of conflict resolve their struggles competing with their different species of capital and amounts of power, creating relations of dominator/dominated, and therefore a multiplicity of positions. Furthermore, Bourdies does not limit the field to the producers of cultural products, identified in the text above as artists and writers, and expand it to include those belonging to the field of power. The identity of the field of power members is a more open as they are people and institutions to exercise power in different areas of

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<sup>153</sup> Ibid. 215

activity. In other words, it would involve people who are not themselves authors or artists but have the power to affect their development.

Bourdieu exemplify the relationship between cultural production (in this case literature) and powerful actors through the example of the dynamics in the literary salons in 19<sup>th</sup> century Paris. Those salons were places where the wealthy and accommodated met members of the literary world and engage in a series of mutual exchanges from different positions and with different elements to exchange.

The salons are also, through the exchanges that take place there, genuine articulations between the fields: those who hold political power aim to impose their vision on artists and to appropriate for themselves the power of consecration and of legitimation which they hold, notably by means of what Sainte-Beuve calls the 'literary press'; for their part, the writers and artists, acting as solicitors. And intercessors, or even sometimes as true pressure groups, endeavor to assure for themselves a mediating control of the different material or symbolic rewards distributed by the state.

The salon of the Princess Mathilde is the paradigm of these bastard institutions, whose equivalents can be found in the most tyrannical regimes (fascist or Stalinist, for example) and where exchanges are instituted which it would be false to describe in terms of 'rallying' (or, as one would say after 1968, of 'recuperation') and in which the two camps find some definite advantages. It is often among these personages caught in a double bind - powerful enough to be taken seriously by writers and artists, without being

sufficiently so to be taken seriously by the powerful - that arise gentle forms of ascendancy that prevent or discourage the complete secession of the holders of cultural power and that bog them down into these confused relations, founded on gratitude as well as guilt over compromises and shady deals, with a power of intercession perceived as a last recourse, or at the very least an exceptional measure, suitable to justify concessions of bad faith and to provide an excuse for heroic ruptures.<sup>154</sup>

This fragment shows that the artistic life of the salon, as meeting point between the field of literature and the field of power allowed unequal exchanges of capitals between its members. Members of the field of power, such as Princess Matilda, could benefit from the legitimacy and cultural prestige that holding such events provided in the Paris of Flaubert and Baudelaire. On the other hand, writers and artists who participated in those events could achieve the support to become an important figure among other writers and artists. This outlook presents a diffuse and complex system of exchanges between different spheres without reducing the dominated part of the exchange necessarily to a position of complete servitude or blind obedience to the desires of dominators. The permeability between an established power and cultural producers and the exchanges and double direction of these exchanges represent interesting ideas with a strong potential on the study of the relationships between the government and the field of archaeology in Korea.

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid. 51

The field of archaeology presents strong similarities with the field of literature as it is described above. As a subfield of the academic field, it works under its own dynamic of academic research and publication, but it is also a dominated field in as much as it depends on government and the legislation on cultural heritage to do archaeological excavations. This fuzziness of the relationship carried the influence of the government further from the limits of the administrative bodies of the government, but also introduced the logic of the field inside government bodies. The present section aims to identify the main instruments through which the government was able to influence the internal dynamics of archaeology. Furthermore, it also shows the effect of such influence in the internal stratification of the field in a scale from actors highly dominated by the government to actors further removed from that influence and domination.

In order to do so this chapter will consider first the instruments that legally articulated the field, institutions and actors involved and their effective research over the period considered in this dissertation, and an example of research done under those circumstances. The legal structure regulating the field was established by different governments in the Peninsula and modified through time. This set of laws and institutions specified the process and regulated the government authorization to carry out archaeological excavations. Therefore, these were some of the important elements of control that the government had over the field. These instruments were basically the Cultural Property Act in its different forms from the colonial period to the act of 1962 and its different amendments, and the Committee for Cultural Properties. Specifically the Committee was the space where politicians, bureaucrats and archaeologists meet to decide the authorization of archaeological excavations. It was also a space where the internal dynamics of the field of archaeology



affected a government institution. Therefore, evaluation of dynamics in this committee represents an important step in the evaluation of the government influence. In addition, a study on its members and their role can pinpoint dominant actors able to transform their authority as intellectuals into power.

The section deals with effective research on archaeology. Once some of the most important instruments of influence are presented, the research evaluates which actors were active, and under which relationship with the government they conducted their research. In order to do so, this section focus on a study of the online database built by the actual Cultural Heritage Administration (Munhwachaech'öng) with records of the archaeological excavations done in South Korea since 1945 until 1979, the period covered in this research. The analysis of the number of excavations and their periodization can provide a picture of actors' behavior and its timing. Furthermore, that activity can be tied to specific circumstances and government projects. At the same time, it can also identify actors that developed their activity without such influence, answering mainly to their own academic interests, as well as a complex combination of actors that collaborated with the government at the same time that developed their own research projects.

Finally, it presents a brief analysis of the effects that relationships between the government and the field could produce in the research and the cultural heritage of Korea. The analysis of three excavation projects carried out by agents in different positions aims to study their impact. The three cases considered here are the excavations related to the Kyöngju Tourism Development Project directed by the government, and carried out mainly by government institutions, the excavations related to the development of Jamsil between 1974 and 1976, and the excavation of the Paleolithic site of Sökchang-ri by a research team from



Yonsei University. Although research objectives, funding, execution and conservation practices differed radically in each case, nonetheless all these excavations represent some of the most important archaeological sites in Korean archaeology nowadays.

### **The legal structure of the field**

Archaeology as a discipline is concerned with the discovery and study of material heritage, usually recovered from archaeological sites or collections. Since those materials are considered remains of the collective past, governments all around the world enact laws, and regulate their study and conservation. As a result, modern archaeology gave its first steps in an increasingly regulated space, as it dealt with protected and potentially protected materials. The result was a legal and institutional framework to control who, where, what, when and how a site and its materials could be excavated, studied, and preserved. The Republic of Korea was not an exception, and kept a tight control over archaeological research as part of its policy of cultural heritage protection.

The legal structure regarding archaeological research emanated from cultural heritage protection laws and related legislation. The Republic of Korea organized its legislation about cultural heritage around a core group of laws. The beginnings of the young republic in 1948 were difficult and marked by the scarcity of human and economic resources. Very likely, that was the reason why the government decided to keep the old colonial law that regulated the protection of cultural heritage after the Liberation. The *Treasure, Ancient Sites, Scenery, and Natural Monuments Conservation Act* (1933 Conservation Act hereafter), enacted in 1933



during the colonial period, regulates the protection of cultural heritage until the government enacted a new law in 1962 under Park Chung-Hee's regime, the *Cultural Properties Protection Act*. As Pai has argued, there is an evident continuity in the structure and objectives between both laws. They both give the preeminence to the government in the managing system, providing it with important instruments of control over research activities. In addition, the law copies almost completely the previous protection system of cultural properties, creating a ranking system similar to the Japanese one.<sup>155</sup> However, a consideration of the mechanisms that granted an authorization for archaeological excavations shows a more nuanced picture of government control, and some significant changes regarding the colonial period. The following is an analysis of the evolution of cultural heritage legislation and the advisory committee that helped to manage such heritage with a focus on the authorizations for archaeological excavations.

The government was able to exercise great control over the field of archaeology through cultural heritage legislation, and especially through the system to grant authorizations for archaeological excavations and the later management of the artifacts discovered. The government had the prerogative to control which actors could access to archaeological data. Such control could be used to bend or promote the influence of specific actors in the field, influencing final research and interpretations. The government was able to establish such control mainly through three instruments established at the cultural heritage laws. The first instrument was the definition of what could be excavated and the designation of whom was responsible for its research. The second instrument was the committee that

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<sup>155</sup> Pai Hyung Il, "The Creation of National Treasures and Monuments: The 1916 Japanese Laws on the Preservation of Korean Remains and Relics and Their Colonial Legacies.," *Korean Studies* 25, no. 1 (2001): 85

gave expert advice to the Ministry regarding authorizations. The third instrument was the designation of whom would finance the excavations.

The 1933 *Treasure, Ancient Sites, Scenery, and Natural Monuments Conservation Act* stipulated in its art. 3 that the colonial government was required to manage necessary investigation of the treasures, ancient sites, scenery and natural monuments, providing the necessary elements to conduct such research.<sup>156</sup> This article located on the government all the burden of archaeological research, in terms of management and budget. The reality was that during the 1920s, most of it was conducted by the colonial museum, but since 1931 and due to budgetary cuts, most of the research ended under the supervision of the “Society for the Research of Korean Antiquities” (Chosŏn Koseki Kenkyukai). However, this society gathered mostly members of the Imperial Universities engaged in research at the Korean peninsula.<sup>157</sup> The system in place made the government the main research actor, although it opened the door to the participation of a limited section of scholars trusted by the government as professors from Imperial Universities.

The Cultural Property Protection Act of 1962 established the Office for Cultural Properties (OCP hereafter) and the Committee as the two institutions involved in the authority of archaeological research. The Act specifies the powers of the Ministry of Education to protect archaeological heritage in Chapter IV specifically, on buried cultural properties. Additionally art. 42 defines the need to inform the ministry remains were: “[i]f the wrapped or hidden cultural property (call it “buried cultural property” hereafter) is found

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<sup>156</sup> Chosŏm Pomul·Kojŏk·Myŏngsŭng·Ch’ŏnyŏn Kinyŏmmul Pojonnyŏng 1933.12.11, Chosŏn Ch’ondokpu Chaeryŏng chae 6ho, art. 3

<sup>157</sup> Nanta presents a through overview of colonial archaeology, including its institutionalization of archaeology and the research projects conducted. See Nanta, Arnaud, “L’organisation de L’archéologie Antique En Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : Du Terrain Aux Musées Coloniaux,” *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 117–54. For the aspects related to the archaeological projects during the colonial period see pp. 137-140



under the land or other things, the possessor, manager or the owner of the land must give notice to the Ministry of Education.”<sup>158</sup> The law also explains how excavators needed the authorization from the Ministry of Education to excavate, needed to inform of the findings, and to accept the Ministry instructions during and after the excavation:

The person, desiring to excavate the area of land where the buried property is supposed to be found for the purpose of research, shall be obliged to obtain the approval of Minister of Education in accordance with provision of the Cabinet Decree. (Art. 43)

It also acknowledged the power of the government to excavate directly a site on private land, following the right procedure of informing the owner and planning the excavation (Art. 44). Then, it explained the method followed for the management of the findings, depending on the finder, but stressing most of the time the government ownership for findings without clear owner (Art. 45-47). As a consequence of this protocol, the government through the Ministry of Education being the arbiter of archaeological research, stressing its upper hand throughout the process. Despite the clear advantage that the government arrogated to itself in the managing of archaeological heritage, these articles also provided the opportunity to other actors to intervene in the field. For instance, this act gave an opportunity for actors without any relation with the government to apply for an authorization to excavate an archaeological site. In that regard, this law represented a widening of the potential actors in

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<sup>158</sup> Munhwachae pohopöp, n° 961, 1962.1.10, Art. 42

the field. In fact, that was lecture that the editors of the journal *Komunhwa* made of the law, when they exposed its contents. They summarizing each chapter, and reproducing specially art. 42 and 43.<sup>159</sup> Those articles provide to university museums an avenue to enlarge their collections through the possibility of engaging in archaeological research. Although their effective involvement must be understood along the dynamics inside the most influential committee regarding the authorization of archaeological excavations.

The second instrument that the government had to control the field was authorizations to excavate. The administration granted these authorizations under the different cultural heritage laws, but before it had to seek expert advice provided by the Committee for Cultural Properties. In the end, the composition of the committee and its internal dynamics shows that many of the decisions regarding authorization policies were left to its expert members. The interest of this committee for the field of archaeology lies upon two characteristics. The first one is its role in the authorization of archaeological excavations. The second is its role linking the administration and academic field, making both spheres permeable to influence.

The 1933 Conservation Act established the *Committee for the Conservation of Chōsen Treasures, Ancient Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments* defined as a consultative organ.<sup>160</sup> However, the Committee took great responsibilities in the management of heritage. This committee had its origins in the Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities from 1916.<sup>161</sup> The colonial government established in article 1 of the Law regulating the committee that its mission was to “examine the particulars related with the conservation and

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<sup>159</sup> Han’guk Taehakkyo Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, “Sosiknan,” *Komunhwa* 1 (1962):42-43

<sup>160</sup> Chosōn Pomul·Kojōk·Myōngsūng·Ch’ōnyōn Kinyōmmul Pojonnyōng, Sihaeng 1933.12.11, Chosōn Ch’ongdokbu Chaeryōng Chae 6ho, 1933.8.9, Art. 2

<sup>161</sup> Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P’yōnch’an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-nyōnsa. Charyop’yōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han’guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009):75



research of tumuli, epigraphy, relics outside previous categories, famous places, etc. in Chosŏn.”<sup>162</sup>

In addition, article 5 of the same law stated its competences

examine the particulars related to the investigation of relics and ancient sites, the particulars related to the collection of relics and conservation of ancient sites, the particulars of the facilities at famous places, relics, ancient sites, etc., the particulars of collection and research of old documents.<sup>163</sup>

Consequently, the Committee took under its control the management of archaeological research, because archaeological sites were considered ancient sites, and the material culture found in them, relics. Thus, it was the highest academic institution approving or denying archaeological research projects. These same objectives continued in the reformed Committee under the 1933 Conservation Act. After the Liberation, the government decided to re-establish the committee, due to the damages that the Korean War caused on Korean heritage.

The situation after the Liberation and the organization of a government in the Southern half of the Korean peninsula distracted the interest of the government and a similar committee to that established in the 1933 Conservation Act did not start again until 1952. The minutes of the meeting explains

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<sup>162</sup> Ibid., 108

<sup>163</sup> Ibid.

On December 19<sup>th</sup>, 1952, the document n° 1812 of the Office of Culture, at the Ministry of Culture and Education, created the *Emergency Committee for the Conservation of National Treasures, Ancient Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments*, from August 15<sup>th</sup> [1945] it has not been able to manage the treasures, ancient sites, famous places and natural monuments. Due to the *Disaster of June 25<sup>th</sup>* [1950], the destruction and damage of national treasures and ancient sites makes evident that, being in the middle of drafting a cultural heritage protection law, it is necessary the organization first of an emergency committee with authorities on the subject.<sup>164</sup>

This emergency committee was the reaction of the government to the destruction of war under the limitation at that time to provide an alternative to the colonial legislation. The government did not constituted a regular committee again until 1955, because of “several circumstances.”<sup>165</sup> These circumstances allowed the continuity of this colonial institution in the same format.

The objective of the Emergency Committee was “the conservation of cultural properties [*munhwachae*] damaged at the same time that enforcing the research of the actual conditions of designated cultural properties,” as well as the “designated management of undesigned cultural properties”.<sup>166</sup> Therefore, it took over very similar tasks than the

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<sup>164</sup> Munhwachae Yŏn’guso, *Munhwajae Wiwonhoe Hoeŭrok (1952nyŏn 12 wŏl 19ilput’o 1959nyŏn 10 wŏl 21ilkkaji)* (Munhwachae Yŏn’guso: Sŏul, 1992):3

<sup>165</sup> Ibid., 6

<sup>166</sup> Ibid., 3, 6

previous committee, indicating another institutional continuity from the colonial period into the postliberation period. In fact, the structure of the committee copied that of the colonial period, although the policy regarding the appointment of the committee members changed significantly. This change points out to a different logic in the management of cultural heritage in Korea.

The regulations of the committee in its different formats presented the committee as an advisory body to the Ministry, at the same time that located research about cultural heritage under its responsibility. The first visible difference was the change of the committee name. Since 1960 it became Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Pojon Wiwŏnhoe), changing again in 1962 to simple Committee for Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe). The committee regulation of 1960, under the II Republic, stated that the committee delivered (*simŭi*) over issues such as research and the necessary actions for the conservation of cultural heritage.<sup>167</sup> In addition, art. 3 of the same regulation indicated that the committee would deliver on the general lines of conservation and budget for cultural heritage, designation and cancelation of cultural properties, export authorization, surroundings of designated heritage and legal competences over cultural properties, as well as any other necessary issue.<sup>168</sup> Successive regulations kept the capacity of the committee to consider/deliver (*simhŭi*) about research, including granting excavation authorization.<sup>169</sup> Although, during the period from 1963 until 1971 the committee could decide/resolve (*ŭikyŏl*) upon those same matters.<sup>170</sup> Despite the change in the meaning, the decisions of the

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<sup>167</sup> Munhwachae Pojon Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kukmuwŏnnyŏng chae92ho, 1960.11.10, Art. 1

<sup>168</sup> Ibid.

<sup>169</sup> Ibid., Art. 3; Munhwachae pohopŏp, n° 2233, 1970.8.10, Art. 4

<sup>170</sup> Munhwachae pohopŏp, n° 961, 1962.1.10, Art. 4; Munhwachae pohopŏp, n° 1701, 1965.6.30, Art. 4

committee were followed most of the time as expert conclusions of scholars, carrying them out.

The legal evolution of the committee regulations shows a strong continuity in terms of functions and areas of competence. The continuity was no secret among the bureaucrats and scholars involved in the committee, as the documentation regarding the committee shows. Therefore, it seems that the government did not consider it an issue under Rhee's government. However, the Second Republic and Chang Myŏn's administration, the name of the committee changed, trying to signify a departure from earlier versions of the committee. However, as seen above, the core functions of the committee continued being the same. Park's regime also changed the name of the committee at the same time that restructured the administration for cultural properties through the enactment of the Cultural Property Protection Act of 1962. However, that initiative did not change substantially the nature of the committee either. Despite this continuity of the legal structure of the committee, there was a substantial change in its composition, pointing out to different dynamics in the management of archaeology.

The colonial committee that overview archaeological research in the Peninsula was from its origins a hybrid body, formed by politicians, bureaucrats and researchers. Article 3 of the 1933 committee regulations explains its composition:

the president of the committee is the responsibility of the General Inspector of State Affairs; the committee members are requested among persons of



learning and appointed among high ranking officials of the Chōsen General-government.<sup>171</sup>

The committee gathered high rank bureaucrats of the colonial government and professors from the Imperial Universities of Tokyo, Kyoto and Keijō in similar proportions.<sup>172</sup> The colonial government appointed committee members and organized them in two sub-committees. The following analysis focuses on sub-committee one, in charge of material cultural heritage. It was composed by one president, eleven government officials, fifteen specialists plus some administrative staff. Among the specialists present in the committee were Tanaka Toyozō, Fujita Ryōsaku, Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Fujishima Kaijiro, Kōsaku Hamada, Harada Yoshito, Umeara Sueji, Yu Masahide, Kuroita Katsumi, Amanuma Shuichi, Oda Shōgo, Ayukai Fusanoshin, Oba Tsunekichi, Kim Yong-jin and Ch'oe Nam-sŏn.<sup>173</sup> The composition of such committee indicates the interest of the government to control the committee through the presence of officers. Such high number of government officials could direct the deliberations of the committee to the government interest through coordinated actions. In addition, it shows the interest of the colonial government to engage mainly with Japanese scholars, alienating Koreans. In this regard, it does not show much difference with other branches of the government.

The structure of the institution of the committee continued the same in 1952, but the relationship with the government changed notably. The Committee continued having two

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<sup>171</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-nyŏnsa Charyop'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009): 108.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid., 129.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

sub-committees, one dedicated to cultural properties, and the second to natural heritage. Twenty members formed the sub-committee 1 in 1952. Among them, only four were public servants without including Kim Chae-wŏn who was then director of the National Museum of Korea.<sup>174</sup> The sub-committee 1 in 1955 reduced the number of members of the administration. Among its 12 members, only Kim Chae-wŏn was part of the administration as a director of the National Museum.<sup>175</sup> This change in the composition of the sub-committee indicates a greater weight of experts as members of the committee. The appointment of committee members was still a prerogative of the Minister of Culture and Education, but the drastic reduction of bureaucrats in the committee points out to a different approach. The government decided to create a space in which expert voices prevailed over bureaucrats.

The same trend continued with the reorganization of the Committee in 1960 and the later reorganization in 1962 under the light of the new Cultural Property Protection Act of 1962. The regulations of the Committee in 1960 stated that the Committee was formed by 40 members, lowering that number to 30 in 1962.<sup>176</sup> Although, the length of the terms was revised in later amendments to the regulation. The regulations and later versions stated that its members had to be selected “from among authorities of the world high in scholarship and moral influence” for periods of four years.<sup>177</sup> Since 1960, the Committee structured its members in three sub-committees, but Sub-committee 1 remained in charge of archaeological

<sup>174</sup> Munhwachae Yŏn’guso, *Munhwajae Wiwonhoe Hoeŭrok (1952nyŏn 12 wŏl 19ilput’o 1959nyŏn 10 wŏl 21ilkkaji)* (Munhwachae Yŏn’guso: Sŏul, 1992):3-4. For a full list of Sub-committee members from 1952 to 1979 see Annex 1

<sup>175</sup> Munhwachae Yŏn’guso, *Munhwajae Wiwonhoe Hoeŭrok (1952nyŏn 12 wŏl 19ilput’o 1959nyŏn 10 wŏl 21ilkkaji)* (Munhwachae Yŏn’guso: Sŏul, 1992):6-7

<sup>176</sup> Munhwachae Pojon Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kukmuwŏnnyŏng chae92ho, 1960.11.10, Art. 2; Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kangnyŏng chae577ho, 1962.3.27, Art. 2

<sup>177</sup> Munhwachae Pojon Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kukmuwŏnnyŏng chae92ho, 1960.11.10, Art. 2; Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kangnyŏng chae577ho, 1962.3.27, Art. 2; Kangnyŏng chae1158ho, 1963.1.22, Art. 2; Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae3714ho, 1969.1.8, Art. 2; Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae6861ho, 1973.9.15, Art. 2



heritage. Therefore, Sub-committee 1 gathered different experts in fields such as history, art, architecture, archaeology, art history, sociology, and Buddhism. In the 60s, the only member of the committee elected as member of the sub-committee with a career in a Ministry was Kim Yun-gi, who started as expert in railroad systems in the Ministry of Transportation during the 50s, but under Park's regime he did not hold any important position in the government. In conclusion, the sub-committee in charge of archaeological research was composed mainly by academics and intellectuals, with just a minimum, but significant, presence of politicians and bureaucrats as the Minister and/or the director of the Office for Cultural Properties.<sup>178</sup>

This committee in all its versions gathered some of the most important scholars from different disciplines, including archaeology. The members who integrated the Sub-committee 1 represented important elements in the relationship between the government and the field. Looking at the actual members of the sub-committee, they kept certain consistency in relation to archaeology. Table 1 shows those members related with the field, the year when they served, and their relative weight in relation to the total number of the Sub-committee.

Table 2.1 *Members of the Committee for Cultural Properties related to Archaeology*

Year	Name of archaeologists in the sub-committee / total number of member
1955	Kim Yang-sŏn, Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Yong-hŭi, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1960	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 17

<sup>178</sup> The Minister in charge of cultural heritage and the Director of the Office for Cultural Properties presided the committee meetings only sometimes.



1962	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 8
1963	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 9
1966	Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1969	Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Son Po-gi, Chin Hong-sŏp / 10
1971	Son Po-gi, Chin Hong-sŏp / 9
1973	Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1975	Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1977	Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 6
1979	Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 9

All members of Sub-committee 1 directly related with the field were professors at universities or members of the National Museum of Korea (NMK hereafter), and most of the time they shared strong links among themselves. Kim Chae-wŏn was the director of the NMK from 1945 to 1970, and Hwang Su-yŏng, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp worked under his tenure. Furthermore, Kim Won-yong owed his academic career to Kim Chae-wŏn's efforts to secure his training in archaeology and his PhD. The evolution of their careers led them to different institutions: Kim Won-yong directed the first department of archaeology at Seoul National University since 1961, and Lee Hong-jik found positions, first at Yonhŭi Univeristy (later Yonsei University), and later at Koryo University, becoming there director of the University Museum. Hwang Su-yŏng hold a position as a professor at Dongguk

University since 1956; meanwhile Chin Hong-sŏp became director of the museum at Ewha Woman's University since 1963.

The members of the committee after the Liberation show a different dynamic between the government and the field, comparing to the previous period. Since its first meetings, the Committee tried to bring in specialists that could actually give sound advice. In addition, the committee also appointed very soon academics from outside government institutions, such as Koryo University, Yonsei University or Dongguk University. However, given the limited number of scholars with any training or knowledge in art history and archaeology, most of those scholars were connected among themselves and to the National Museum of Korea. Consequently, the committee represented a fuzzy space of connection between the government and the field of Korean archaeology.

This fuzzy space became larger through the organization of special committees, integrating more academics to provide the Committee with specific information. The Regulation of the Committee for Cultural Properties stated the possibility of organizing committees of specialists for specific problems.<sup>179</sup> In this regard, in 1965 the Committee organized a specialized committee in charge of archaeological heritage and research. The committee included experts from institutions such as the NMK (Yun Mu-byŏng, Ch'oe Sun-u, Kim Chŏng-gi, Park Il-hun, Han Byŏng-sam, Lee Nan-yŏng), the Office for Cultural Properties (OCP hereafter) (Chang Kŏn-sang, Lee Ho-kwan) and private universities as well (T'ae Hong-sŏb and Kim Hwa-yong from Ehwa Woman's University; Chŏn Yŏng-ha and Yun Yong-jin from Kyŏngbuk University; Chŏn Maeng-ho from Yonsei University) among

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<sup>179</sup> Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe Kyuchŏng, Kangnyŏng, chae 577 ho, 1963.3.27, Art. 9



other experts.<sup>180</sup> Although, these special committees were under the supervisions of regular committee members, therefore, academics organized the work of other academics, even though it was within a bureaucratic structure.

The main habitants of this fuzzy space between government and field were academics from different institutions who mainly took decisions on authorizations. Thus, members of the committee could affect research projects carried out by other archaeologists. The records on the committee decisions do not show individual votes, therefore it is impossible to know their individual behavior at the committee meetings. However, there are hints suggesting that decisions related to archaeological questions took the opinions of archaeologists at the committee with special attention. Illustrative of this possibility is the intervention that L. Sample and A. Mohr made in Korea. Following Kim Won-yong's account, he prepared a joint research project with prof. Chard from the University of Wisconsin, resulting in two PhD students from the USA visiting Korea. There they conducted some survey work in Sökchang-ni, and later on went to Tongsam-dong in the company of Im Hyo-jae and Chöng Yöng-hwa who were designated by Kim to guide his foreign guests. However, Mohr and Sample conducted two trenches without authorization beyond their initial plans. News of that activity found its way to the Sub-committee, and Kim Won-yong recalled how Kim Chae-wön criticized him for inviting people and let them excavate without authorization. Later, Sample returned to Korea under an invitation from Yonsei University and requested a formal authorization to excavate. This time Kim Chae-wön supported the project, but Kim Won-yong opposed it. The result, Kim Won-yong recalled, was that Sökchang-ni was not excavated by foreigners, but by Son Po-gi, professor at Yonsei University.<sup>181</sup> This story

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<sup>180</sup> Munhwachae Kwanlliguk, "Munhwachae Wiwonhoe Hoeüirok 1965" *Munhwache* 3 (1967):117-118

<sup>181</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Harüü Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Muneünsa, 1985):203-204



would indicate that one member could veto the authorization for an excavation. In that case, the members of the committee would become fundamental pieces that regulated alternative possibilities. The long tenure that many members had in the Committee is also an important factor in the regulation of the field. The integration of academics in Sub-committee 1, and the functions attributed to it allowed the government to secure expert advice for the protection of cultural heritage, but it also represented a position from which some archaeologists could influence the field, granting authorizations of excavation, or opposing them. Furthermore, the members of the Sub-committee could represent institutions with a comparative advantage to access to the government support, given their integration in an official structure.

The final element regulated by the government through the cultural heritage legislation was its economic structure, evolving towards a more open one. Under the 1933 Conservation Act, and the law of 1962, the agent in charge of the excavation was financially responsible of it.<sup>182</sup> Therefore, all agents needed to secure a research budget for excavations, whether they were government institutions or private. An example of this situation during the colonial period were the Imperial Universities in Japan that had to cover the expenses of the expeditions conducted by their professors.<sup>183</sup> After the Liberation, institutions had to finance the excavations they accomplished or find external sources to do so.<sup>184</sup> This situation limited the extension of archaeological research to the budget of individual institutions with the

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<sup>182</sup> Chosŏn Pomul·Kojŏk·Myŏngsŭng·Ch'ŏnyŏn Kinyŏmmul Pojonnyŏng, Chosŏn Ch'ondokpu Chaeryŏng chae 6ho, 1933.8.9, and Munhwachae pohopŏp, n° 961, 1962.1.10 stressed the role of the government to excavate and research archaeological heritage, but did not established specific mechanisms of payment. Thus, the economic burden of the research laid on the institutions that engaged on that research.

<sup>183</sup> Nanta, Arnaud, "L'organisation de L'archéologie Antique en Corée Coloniale (1902-1940) : du terrain aux Musées Coloniaux," *Ebisu* 52 (2015): 134

<sup>184</sup> As an example, the first excavation done by Koryo University in 1959 was funded with a grant from the Asiatic Research Institute (Asia Munjae Yŏn-guso). See Yun Sae-yŏng, "'Han'guk Kogohakhoe'ui T'onghab T'anaeng Kwajŏng," *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 266



economic capacity to face the expenses of archaeological research. That reflected on the number of agents active in the field and the diversity of research objectives.

This situation changed when in 1973 the Cultural Property Protection Act was amended, increasing the economic base of founding. Art. 44.2 made land developers responsible for the funding of any necessary archaeological excavation in the area of a given project. Chŏng Chae-hun, member of the OCP, explained changes in legislation as the result of the complains that the OCP's rose to the Ministry of Construction regarding the construction of the Kyŏngbu Highway near Taegu and Kyŏngju. Chŏng explained that the plan risked damaging archaeological sites near Kyŏngju, but the OCP lacked the necessary funds to carry out excavations. According to Chŏng, President Park's reaction was to pass the expenses to the department in charge of the construction that could menace the archaeological site.<sup>185</sup> This initial situation promoted the introduction of more funds from government projects to the field, due to the many large construction projects that the government started. Finally, the government decided to amend the cultural heritage law to include coming art. 44.2, thus making private developers also responsible for the funding of archaeological excavations in the process of construction projects. This transformation in the economic structure of the field poured into the field great amounts of capital for rescue archaeological projects, not just from government funds, but also from private construction. This made possible the introduction of new agents in the field. At the same time, it was the OCP the agent in charge of channeling research funds from big government engineering projects to form joint research projects with other agents. The OCP had the power to choose its partners on those projects. The consequences of this transformation was the growth of the field in terms of actors

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<sup>185</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):411-413



engaged in excavations, and the number of total excavations. At the same time, the government became the biggest funding provider for archaeology through all the rescue archaeology related to economic development plans. It also opened the door to a more independent field funded through rescue archaeology and private constructors. However, until 1979 the government still was the main contractor for rescue archaeology.

### **Research activity: the diversity of agents working in the field**

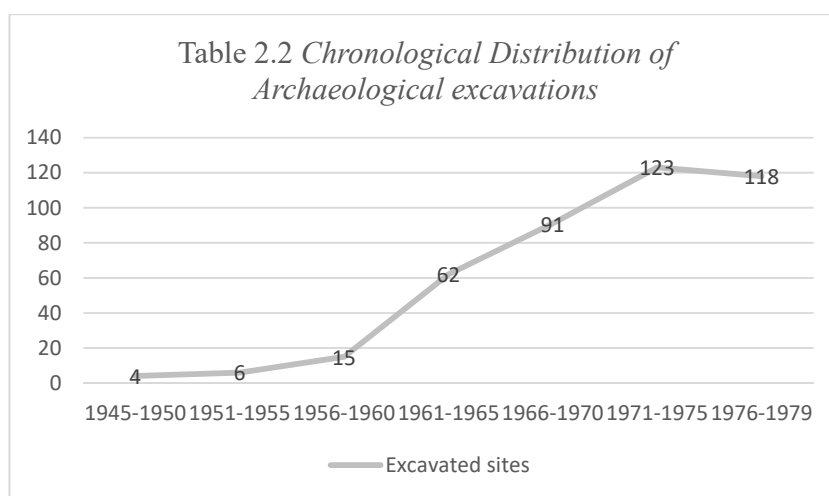
The legal and administrative framework described above allowed for the constitution of a dynamic space of research that changed significantly over the 34 years considered in this research. Looking at the database of archaeological excavations published by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (RICP hereafter), the field grew very strongly during the 60s, and in the 70s. Until 1955, only the NMC was active in the field, and during the period between 1956 and 1960 there were seven. During the period between 1961 and 1965, there were 14, and 17 for the period between 1966 and 1970. The period between 1971 and 1975 saw 19 agents, and the period between 1976 and 1979 saw that number increase up to 27 different agents. In summary, 35 different agents were responsible for 419 interventions between 1945 and 1979.<sup>186</sup> The increase of agents and interventions indicates an expansion of the field towards the end of period. Such expansion increases in parallel to the total number of interventions executed during those periods. The period from 1945 to 1955 saw only 10

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<sup>186</sup> Munhwajae Yŏn'guso, Palgul Yŏnp'yo, <http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566> Consulted March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (18:53)

archaeological interventions, but the period from 1956 to 1960 already overcome that number with 15 interventions. The number of interventions increased dramatically up to 62 between 1961 and 1965, and increased again for the period between 1966 and 1970, to 91 interventions. The period between 1971 and 1975 saw another increase in the number of interventions going up to 123, and finally the shortest period, between 1976 and 1979 represented 118 interventions. If 1980 is included (to represent a five-year long period), the total would be 156 interventions.

This rate of interventions shows a field in expansion. However, such expansion was not balanced throughout the field.<sup>187</sup>



The correlation of agents and interventions shows a strong unbalance in terms of number of interventions led. In fact, only three agents were responsible for more than half of

<sup>187</sup> For an analysis in detail of the excavation site data see Chapter 4

the total number of interventions.<sup>188</sup> Thus, the National Museum of Korea conducted 114 interventions (25.4%), the Office of Cultural Properties, including those directed by subsidiary organisms, was responsible of 86 interventions (19.1%), and Seoul National University, including the university museum and departments, led 39 interventions (8.7%). Altogether, these three actors led 239 interventions, the 53.2% of all the interventions between 1945 and 1979. The next five agents were responsible for a smaller number of interventions: Kyungpook National University museum, 24 (5.3%); Yonsei University museum, 22 (4.9%); Pusan National University, 19 (4.2%); Dong-A University museum, 16 (3.5%); Dankook University museum, 15 (3.3%). Thus, only eight agents summed 74.4% of the total number of interventions. In summary, the field had agents of different magnitude in terms of excavations, led by two government institutions and followed by universities.

An analysis of the actors involved shows three different levels regarding the relationship with the government and the impact in the field. The first level is represented by the government itself through different institutions. The second level identifies actors closely related to the government through that fuzzy space, but outside the government administration. Finally, the third level identifies actors with limited ties to the government. In addition, it is possible to point out a change in the attitude of the government towards the field that had a strong impact on the number of interventions and the eclectic dimension of each level.

The level of direct intervention of the Government in the field was one of the reasons behind the unbalance of the chronological distribution of excavations. The period after the

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<sup>188</sup> The database identifies some excavations with more than one leading institution responsible. For that reason, this research counted those interventions for each institution that took part in the intervention. Thus, the aggregated number of interventions per agent would increase from 419 to 448

Liberation and Syngman Rhee's regime followed by the first period of Park Chung Hee's regime (1961-1968) did not see much specific interest of the government. Although, during that period, the government counted with the NMK and the OCP as agents in charge of archaeological research, but the government liberated limited budgets for archaeological research. Kim Chae-wŏn, then director of the NMK, decided to overcome those limitations through international funds. Thus, he achieved grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Asia Foundation, the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Royal Asiatic Society Korean Branch to conduct archaeological research in Korea and publish the results. In fact, at least 12 interventions out of 17 were founded with resources from abroad between 1945 and 1960.

From 1961 onwards, the situation changed slightly, and the government started funding rescue excavations.<sup>189</sup> However, the NMK still used foreign funds for its research. In fact, the most important research project during the 60s conducted by the NMK, the Dolmen (*chisŏkmyo*) Research project, was possible thanks to a grant from the Harvard-Yenching Institute and rescue projects funded by the government.<sup>190</sup> Thus, the funding for research in this period used international and government sources.

The government intensified its presence in the field since 1965. That year the OCP organized its first intervention with the excavation of a *kobun* found during construction works.<sup>191</sup> However, the OCP did not have trained personal to accomplish that excavation yet. For that reason, it trusted it to seasoned archaeologists such as Kim Won-yong, professor at

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<sup>189</sup> Lee Nan-yŏng recalled that the Dolmen Research Project was funded with international grants and rescue projects funded by the government. See Lee Nan-yŏng, *Pangmulgwan Ch'anggo Chigi* (Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn Munhwasa, 2005):29

<sup>190</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn and Yun Mu-byŏng, *Han'guk Chisŏkmyo Yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kungnip Pangmulgwan, 1967):1-2

<sup>191</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Kyŏngju Hwangori Chae 1·33ho, Hwangnamri Chae151ho, Kobun Palgul Chosa Pogo" (Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1965):7

Seoul National University (SNU hereafter), Chin Hong-söp, professor at Ewha Woman's University, or Park Il-hun (NMK, Kyöngju Branch Museum), and included researchers working at the institution but less experience such as Lee Ho-kwan (*Hakyesaga*) or Kang In-gu (*Hakyesaga*) at the time.<sup>192</sup> The institution depended on other institutions and archaeologists to carry out archaeological interventions during its first years until the cultural policy of the government changed, and the government invested more heavily on archaeology. In this regard, members of Sub-committee 1 (Kim Won-yong and Chin Hong-söp) worked for the OCP in this excavation. The OCP followed this management system with other excavations in this period such as the Hwangori *kobun* 30·60 (1966) in which Chin Hong-söp, Kim Yöng-ha (Kyunpook Nat' U.), Park Il-hun (NMK), and Im hyo-jae (SNU) took part.<sup>193</sup> The same system worked in the excavation of Pangnaeri *kobun* (1968), executed by Lee Hong-jik, Chin Hong-söp, Kang In-gu, Kim Sae-hyön, Kim Byöng-mo, Chi Kön-gil and Ch'oe Nam-ju.<sup>194</sup> From 1945 to 1968, the NMK directed 67 and the OCP 9 out of 138. While the NMK directed its excavations with its own human resources, the OCP tended to collaborate with other institutions. This model of research management continued after 1969, but in a much greater scale and with a clear political interest.

The period from 1969 to 1979 saw an acceleration in the number of archaeological excavations supported by the government. That support directed mainly to rescue projects and the reconstruction of Kyöngju as part of the economic and political project of the regime. The political project that Park Chung Hee promoted since 1969 in view of the HCI

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<sup>192</sup> Ibid., 1

<sup>193</sup> Kungnip Pangmmulkwan, "Kogomisul nyusü" *Misul Charyo* 11 (1966)

[http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive\\_6144](http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive_6144) Consulted on August 11<sup>th</sup>

<sup>194</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, *Kyöngju Pangnaeri Kobunkun Ponmun Haksul Yön'gu ch'ongsö* 20 (Kungnip Kyöngju Munhwachae Yön'guso, 1997):27

development plan and *Yusin* had attached the reconstruction of Kyōngju as national symbol and touristic destination.<sup>195</sup> That political project made the OCP organize internally the Research Office for Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'gusil*), the predecessor of the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'guso*), in order to carry out the new government goals. This organization became the main instrument of the government to carry out projects related with the field of archaeology, mainly along two lines: politically interesting research projects, and rescue projects related with big engineering projects.

The Research Office led its projects alone, but sometimes the size of the research was too big for just one organization. In those cases, the Research Office mobilize other active agents to support its research. This mobilization of agents meant that from 1969 to 1979, many of the research projects in which non-government agents were involved actually followed the interests of the government in relation to projects considered important for the development of Korea. Thus, the government was capable of affecting the interest in the field by focusing the attention of important actors into specific archaeological projects. Such attention was grasped through academic contracts, meaning an economic reward for the non-government agent, beside the academic benefit obtained from the excavation.<sup>196</sup> At least 8 joint projects led by the OCP in cooperation with non-government agents fit that structure: Kyōngju Development Plan (50) in 1969-1979, P'aldal-Soyang Dam (8) in 1971-72, Andong Dam (6) in 1973-74, Changsōng Dam and Yōngsan River Dam (3) in 1975, Taech'ōng Dam (9) in 1977-78, Panwōn Industrial Site (6) in 1978, Ch'angwōn Machine Industry Complex

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<sup>195</sup> Ch'oe Kwang-sūng, "Park Chung Heeüi Kyōngjukodo Kaepal Saöp," *Chongshin Munhwa Yongu* 35, no. 1 (2012):183-212

<sup>196</sup> Lee Yung-jo, "1982-1983 Excavation of Archaeological Sites in the Submergence Area of the Ch'inju Dam Construction," *Korea Journal* 24 (Nov. 1984):3



(1) 1976, Jamsil Development Project (15) in 1974-76. They all sum up 98 interventions from 297 for the period between 1969 and 1979. Furthermore, it meant the mobilization of a long list of universities including the following actors: Konkook University Museum, Kyungpook National University Museum, Kyung Hee University Museum, Koryo University, NMK, Dankook University Museum, Dongguk University, OCP, Pusan National University, SNU, Sungsil University Museum, Yeungnam University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, Chonnam National University Museum, Chungnam National University Museum, and Chunbuk National University Museum. They represented some of the most important and active actors in the field, and allow us to define a second level of actors: related to the government, but not being part of the government itself. Furthermore, comparing with the previous period, the extension of the government power to mobilize actors exceeded the previous limit of institutions close to the Sub-Committee 1, indicating a greater influence of the government over the development of the field.

This brief presentation of the research policy of the governments shows two main initial government agents, the NMK and the Research Institute for Cultural Properties, and a change in government attitude. In addition, it shows how the OCP between 1965 and 1969 operated its archaeological projects through the fuzzy space of relationships created around the Committee for Cultural Properties. When the government started the construction projects linked to the Heavy Chemical Industrialization economic development plan and the Kyŏngju Tourism Development Plan, it promoted the enlargement of that space by engaging in collaborative projects with more actors beyond to the Committee.

Government management and direct intervention made it the most powerful agent with capacity to drag behind other agents, but it did not stop other agents to pursue their own



research objectives. Many non-government ones were active in the field over long periods, having no strong connections with the administration beyond the authorization process, even during the period of high government intervention since 1969. Most of the archaeological research done between 1956 and 1968 outside government institutions was the result of the academic interest of a given university professor who had to find the resources to conduct excavations on its own.

Thus, the intervention led by Koryo University in 1959 at Ungch'ŏn was the result of appointing Kim Chŏng-hak as director of the university museum in 1957, as Yun Sae-yŏng recalled.<sup>197</sup> Then, Kim Chŏng-hak sought funds from the Asiatic Research Institute and conducted the first university excavation with other professor from Soongsil University, and students from the Department of history at Koryo University. The same circumstances are present in the intervention led by Kyungpook National University. Park Ŭl-lyong, then appointed director of the university museum, in cooperation with other professors at the university, and students, carried out the excavation of the *Akmok Mound Tomb* (kobun) in 1960.<sup>198</sup>

Later on, these universities participated from government projects, relating some of their projects to the governments' ones. However, some other institutions kept their own research programs. Some examples were the research activities of universities such as Yonsei or Dong-A. Yonsei focused almost exclusively on the research of a few Paleolithic sites, conducting field research annually from 1964 to 1979. This effort resulted in 22 interventions,

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<sup>197</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):375-378

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 243-245



20 of them on Paleolithic sites. Meanwhile, Dong-A University museum researched 16 sites in Pusan and South Kyōngsan Province from 1969 to 1979. However, it kept an interest on a relatively marginal topic at the time, the Early Iron Age and the Kaya culture (the institution researched 2 sites from the Early Iron Age, 7 from the Three Kingdoms Period, and 2 from Kaya). The interest on relatively marginal topics in the field of archaeology (there were only 39 interventions on Paleolithic sites, 16 on Early Iron Age, and 17 on Kaya culture), and their consistency to keep the research on those topics may explain why the relationship of these institutions with the government did not change over time. In conclusion, the research policy of the government established a three level system in the field that changed over time when the own government policy for archaeological heritage changed. The result was a dynamic relationship reflected on the research done and the position of individual actors in the field.

### **Effects of an uneven field on the potentiality of its discourse production**

The unevenness of the field in terms of excavations had an impact on the research done and conservation of the sites. In order to present these questions three cases are being briefly considered. The first case refers to the active involvement of the government in the excavation of Kyōngju and its development. The second case takes in consideration the Paleolithic research done by Yonsei University Museum. The third case refers to a project directed by government related agents which were not part of the government regarding the excavation of the Southern bank of the Han River in Seoul. These three cases represent



different levels of government interventions and different contributions to the archaeological discourse, reproducing the three level indicated above.

The clear interest of the government in the excavation and reconstruction of Kyōngju during the 70s concentrated an enormous amount of resources. The region had been already a center of interest for Korean archaeology since the colonial period, and after the Liberation it continued that way. Kyōngju was the first place where Koreans started to excavate again after the Liberation, but until 1968, the city only had 13 interventions. Furthermore, Park Chung Hee's regime carried out a restauration of Pulguksa and Sōkkuram few months after

the coup  
d'état  
that he  
directed.



Figure 2.12 Kyongju Hwanamdong 1975. Munhwajae Kwalliguk. Kyōngju kojōk kwallisamuso, *Kyōngju Palgul Chosa Pogosō <chae Iho>*, 295

However, those measures were dwarfed by the new project the government led with the Kyōngju Tourism Development Project.

The city of Kyōngju drafted a first proposal in 1969.<sup>199</sup> The plan established development of a total extension of 300.5km<sup>2</sup>, of which 18.8km<sup>2</sup> were dedicated to the construction of 13 historical parks around different monuments of the city.<sup>200</sup> Such a project

<sup>199</sup> Kyōngju-si, "Kwan'gwang Kaepal Kibon Kyehoek" (Kyōngju: Kyōngju-si, 1969)

<sup>200</sup> Tourism Development Planning Group, *The Kyongju Development Plan* (Seoul: Tourism Development Planning Group, 1971): 15

expended for the period between 1972 and 1978 600,095 million won.<sup>201</sup> The configuration of those parks included extensive research and restoration projects, representing an important proportion of the total interventions of the period. Archaeologists made 56 interventions in Kyōngju between 1969 and 1979 out of 281 for the whole period. Even though Kyōngju was an old area of archaeological research, the size and intensity of the research since 1969 was completely new. The Kyōngju Tourism Development project was an important project that linked a sizable investment not only to academic research, but also to economic development.

The concentration of that research activity and the preservation of those sites within a comprehensive plan of tourism development were fundamental in the constitution of Silla and Unified Silla as the center of Park Chung Hee's national discourse. The research and restoration plan focused on the monuments and sites in the city related to that period, stating in the inform

This Development Plan is designated to enlighten the intelligent disposition of the nation kept in the historical remains of Silla, to provide for a momentum to enhance the esprit of national unification succeeding to the gallantry of Hwarang, and furthermore, to contribute greatly to the restoration of national culture.<sup>202</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> Kōnsōlbu Kyōngju Kaepal Kōnsōl Saōpso, *Kyōngju Kwankwang Jonghap Kaepal Saōbji* (Seoul: Hanguk Jonghap Kisul Yōnguso, 1979): 470

<sup>202</sup> Tourism Development Planning Group, *The Kyongju Development Plan* (Seoul: Tourism Development Planning Group, 1971): 1

As some other researchers have noticed, the government interest in the Kyōngju Tourism Development Project was linked with broader political and economic projects. In particular, it can be linked to Park Chung Hee's plans for economic development, his necessity of legitimacy to rule under the *Yusin* regime and his regime's discourse about Korean unification.<sup>203</sup> Due to the importance of the project, the government mobilized a great number of actors to participate in it.

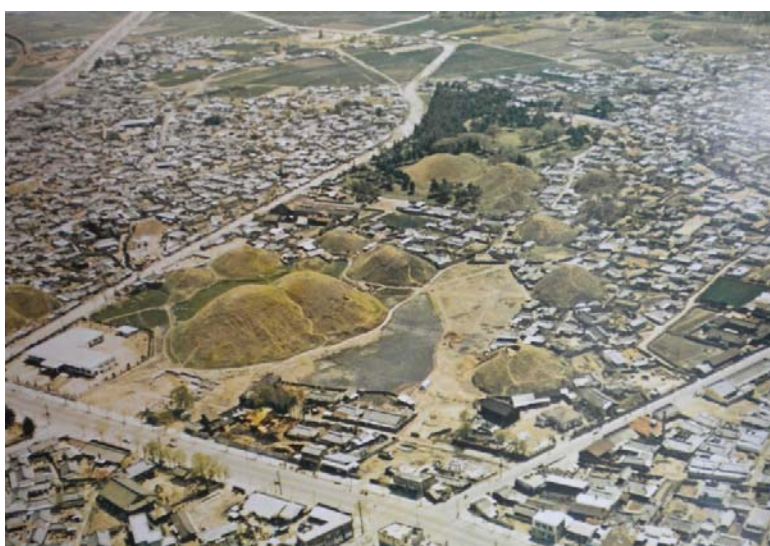


Figure 2.13 Kyongju Hwanamdong 1979. Munhwa Kongbobu. Munhwajae Kwalliguk, *Ch'ōnmachōn. Palch'ulchosa Pogosō*

Government institutions led the archaeological excavations in the area with the OCP, leading most of them around these years, and shaping the interpretation of those interventions. The OCP took part in as many as 36 of the

total excavations done in Kyōngju for the period between 1969 and 1979. Meanwhile the other 20 interventions carried out in the area were the responsibility of other government and non-government actors under the guidance of the OCP and the Kyōngju Development Plan.

<sup>203</sup> Ch'oe Kwang-sūng, "Park Chung Hee's Kyōngjukodo Kaepal Saōp," *Chongshin Munhwa Yongu* 35, no. 1 (2012): 183–212; Robert Oppenheim, *Kyōngju Things : Assembling Place* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008): 27-52

In addition to that presence in the field, the government also shaped the discourse through the lavish publication of many of the archaeological reports resulted from those excavations. Thus, the excavation and reconstruction projects of Pulguksa and Sökkuram, excavations of Tumuli nº 155 and Tumuli nº 98 or of Anapji were published in special volumes by the OCP, featuring not just the archaeological reports of the excavations, but also studies signed by some of the most distinguished experts in the country.<sup>204</sup> The conservation policy associated to the research program created not just 13 historical parks to preserve the space of the already excavated archeological sites, but other sites that could be excavated in the future. Thus, archaeologists could go back to those sites and reexamine them.

Yonsei University's excavations show a different panorama. The first excavation related to Paleolithic Age in South Korea after the Liberation was the Paleolithic site at Sökkchang-ni in 1964 by Yonsei University. From that moment, Yonsei started an archaeological activity that led the institution to program annual excavation campaigns focused on Paleolithic sites. However, this



Figure 2.14 Kongju, Sökkchang-ni. Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön*, 45

research activity had, first, to overcome the reticence of the Committee for Cultural Properties and, second, find the funds to support the excavation. Son Po-gi recalled that the

<sup>204</sup> Munhwache Kwalliguk, *Pulguksa Pok'wön Kongsä Pogosö* (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1976); Munhwache Kwalliguk, *Sökkuramüi Pojon Yön'gu Charyoüi Pojon Yön'gu Charyo* (Seoul: Munhwache Kwalliguk, 1971); Munhwache Kwalliguk, *Kyöngju Hwanamdong 155ho Kobun Palgul Yakpogo* (Seoul: Munhwache Kwalliguk, 1973); Munhwache Kwalliguk, *Kyöngju Hwanamdong chae 98 ho Palgul Yakpogo* (Seoul: Munhwache Kwalliguk, 1976); Munhwache Kwalliguk, *Anapji Palgul Chosa Pogosöi* (Seoul: Munhwache Kwalliguk, 1978)

survey to find a Paleolithic site started after Kim Won-yong and the couple of PhD candidates from Wisconsin U., Mohr and Sample fall out. After that, Mohr and Sample asked the History Department and Laboratory at Yonsei for help. The result was the organization of survey trips with some professors and graduate students, finding in one of the trips evidences of a Paleolithic site in Sökchang-ni. The next step consisted in asking for official authorization to excavate the site, but it got rejected two times before the Committee gave its authorization. Son recalled that he visited Kim Sang-gi and Kim Won-yong, and tried to persuade them to authorize the excavation; Son even asked Kim Won-yong to excavate with them, but it was in vain because Kim did not believe in the existence of a Paleolithic site. After the Committee denied the authorization for the second time, Prof. Han T'ae-dong and Son Pogi visited the Committee members, in order to persuade them. Finally, the third application after those visits received a positive answer, and the Committee approved the excavation authorization.<sup>205</sup> This strong opposition and the extra-official meetings tell about limited interest on Paleolithic research. The problems continued when a lack of support gave way to a lack of funding for the research once it was confirmed that Sökchang-ni was indeed a Paleolithic site. Son commented that they decided to stop excavating Sökchang-ni to focus on Chömmal Cave “because there was not enough money for more than one or two excavations every years with limited budget of the university museum.”<sup>206</sup> The excavation record of Yonsei University Museum shows that in fact the institution limited its activity to only one or two interventions each year from 1964 to 1979.<sup>207</sup> Comparing that level of

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<sup>205</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yöngnon, 2008):37-40

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 42

<sup>207</sup> Only in 1978 the museum directed three excavations: two caves in Ch'önwön (North Ch'unch'öng), and a shell mound in Sangnodaeto (South Kyöngsang)



research with the investment on Kyōngju is easy to determine where the government interest laid. Nevertheless, the contribution of Yonsei University Museum to the research of Paleolithic Age in Korea was enormous, accounting for 20 out 30 excavations done related to that period. In addition, Lee Yung-jo, a disciple of Son Po-gi, directed another six excavations, when he got a position at Chungbuk National University. Nevertheless, Paleolithic excavations only summed up 30 excavations out of 369 done between 1964 and 1979 by eight different agents.

The third case involves archaeological excavations done in relation to the urbanization project that involved the actual Sökch'ong-dong, Pangidong, Karak-dong, P'ungnap-dong, Amsa-dong and Myōngil-dong.



Figure 2.15 P'ungnapdong Fortress 1964. Kim Won-yong, *P'ungnam-ni T'osōngnae P'ohamch'ūng Chosa Pogo*, 50

That research was presented under

the *Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosa*

*Pogo*, a multi-year excavation project commissioned by Seoul City Hall,<sup>208</sup> although some specific sites were published apart.<sup>209</sup> The project gathered the OCP, SNU, Soongsil University, Koryo University, Ehwa Woman's University, Dankook University, Yeungnam University and Chonnam National University.<sup>210</sup> The result were 15 excavations, including sites from the Bronze Age (4), Bronze Age-Three Kingdoms Period (1), Three Kingdoms Period (8), Three Kingdoms Period-Chosōn (1), and Paekche (1). The efforts to research the

<sup>208</sup> Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):17-80

<sup>209</sup> As an example see Kim Won-yong, "Sökch'on-Dong Chöksökch'ong Palgul Chosa Pogo" (Seoul Taehakkyo Kogo-Illyuhak, 1975)

<sup>210</sup> Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):18

area before its urbanization are evident, but it surprises the low scale of protection given the importance of the area. The Southern bank of the Han River concentrates in less than 4km the Sökch'ong-dong Cemetery, the Monch'ong Site, and the P'ungnap Walled Site, this last



Figure 2.16 P'ungnapdong Fortress 2008. Kwon Oh Young, "The Influence of Recent Archaeological Discoveries on the Research of Paekche History" in Mark E. Byington, ed., *Reconsidering Early Korean History through Archaeology, Early Korea 1*, 71

one site considered today the emplacement of Hansöng, the first Paekche capital.<sup>211</sup> Certainly, then the P'ungnap Walled Site was thought to be just a huge fortress of the early Paekche dynasty, and not the capital,<sup>212</sup> but, at least since 1910, the Sökch'ong-dong Cemetery was recognized as a

royal cemetery of the Paekche dynasty. Thus, it calls the attention the lack of a systematic research, because the rescue project finished its fieldwork in just three months (1974.12-1975.1/ 1975.8-1975.9/ 1976.6-1976.7).<sup>213</sup> However, today the whole area has been developed, becoming one of the most expensive neighborhoods in Seoul. In this case, the interest of the government to develop the Southern bank of the Han River weighted more than the potential contribution that the research of that same area could do to the national discourse.

<sup>211</sup> Kwon Oh Young, "The Influence of Recent Archaeological Discoveries on the Research of Paekche History" in Mark E. Byington, ed., *Reconsidering Early Korean History through Archaeology, Early Korea 1* (Cambridge, Mass: Early Korea Project, Korea Inst., Harvard Univ, 2008):65-112

<sup>212</sup> Kim Won-yong, "P'ungnam-ni T'osöngnae P'ohamch'üng Chosa Pogo" (Seoul: Seoul Nat'l Univ. Dept of Anthropology and Archaeology, 1967)

<sup>213</sup> Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):17-80; Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosa Pogo 1976 Yöndo (Chae 3 Ch'a)," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 4 (1978): 7-51



## **Conclusion**

The government inherited control instruments over the field of archaeology from the colonial period, but it transformed its internal dynamic. Cultural heritage legislation, and the Committee for Cultural Heritage have their origins in the colonial period, but their compositions changed after the Liberation, giving greater presence to academics. The committee was an important organ for the control of archaeological research in Korea, as it controlled the authorizations for archaeological excavations. However, the predominance of academics among committee members introduced academics' criteria in the committee decisions. This circumstance opened the government policy regarding archaeological research and heritage management permeable to expert opinion. In addition, the government had other instruments to affect the field in a more direct form than legislation and the committee. Since the Liberation, the government funded the two major actors in the field in terms of excavations, the NMK and the OCP, responsible of more than 50% of all the archaeological interventions on the field from 1945 to 1979. These factors allowed the government to affect potentially the research agenda of the field and its discourse.

However, this is just one part of the reality, while the government had an enormous power in the field, it also allowed important quotas of independence to non-government agents. Firstly, the committee in charge of granting authorization for archaeological excavations was dominated completely by academics with a sizable representation of archaeologists, giving to the field an important degree of autonomy. Looking at the internal decisions of the field, it seems that the committee allowed space for purely academic driven projects, beyond the immediate needs of the government.



Furthermore, the amendment of the Cultural Property Protection Act in 1973 gave economic support to archaeological research outside the government and the agent's own economic resources. Rescue archaeology funded by companies introduced another way for the execution of archaeological research beyond the political interest of the government. At the same time, this kind of archaeology also implied specific consequences on the development of the excavation with effects on the interpretation. Two of these consequences were limited time to carry out the field work, and the limited possibilities in archaeological conservation of the sites. In conclusion, the field was larger than the interest of the government and beyond its complete control.

In fact, the structure of the field can be defined as a three level system of agents in terms of government involvement. The first level represents the government agents, meaning the NMK and the OCP. They were the institutions in charge of carrying out government plans. The second level represents those agents that had their own research projects and interest, but which were deeply involved in government projects, either through rescue archaeology excavations, or through taking part in the Committee for Cultural Properties. The balance between their own projects and government projects depended on many factors that would need an individual research of each agent. However, as a collective they represent a very important layer in the field because of the size of their research output, and their direct relationship with the administration. Finally, the third level represents the agents that had a very limited involvement with the administration. This limited contact made them quite independent to pursue their research interest without the need to attend government projects that could divert their limited human and financial resources.



This three level system had its impact on the academic production of the field, as it has been shown above. Government agents focused their energies into the government interest in the field that only since the very late 60s took a clear definition into rescue archaeological projects and the restoration of Silla as the Golden Age of the Korean nations. Its main result was the development of a huge research project focused on Kyōngju as the greatest representation of that idea. The size of that investment attracted other agents eager to take part in the project. As a result, the size of Silla archaeology in the 70s outshined the research of other periods.

At the second level, the integration of these agents into a fluid relationship with the government about what research had to be done, substituted their research interest for those of the government. That condition made them loose in many occasions their control about the conservation of the sites, and the depth of their research to adjust to the interest of the government. Thus, the excavations in Songp'agu, in the Southern bank of the Han River, had to be done in a very tight schedule that could not solve the archaeological problems that the area posed to researchers. Consequently, after a limited research the whole area became urbanized, losing a great amount of archaeological date in the process.

Finally, in the third level research could be independently managed, but at the same time they lacked government funds that could help their projects, in great part because that research had a very limited interest for the government. The possibility for Yonsei to keep such a high record of research on the Paleolithic Age without any other agent or group of agents reaching an even close position in research output declares the marginality of the field. The Paleolithic Age has been always difficult to integrate in the national narrative because the general assumption is that those populations were not "Koreans." Therefore, even though



the contribution of Yonsei to the study of Paleolithic Age was outstanding, it had a very limited impact in terms of creating an academic debate.

In summary, the relationship between government and academics was quite fluid. The power of the government made theoretically possible to bend and shape the field towards the interest of the government. However, there were always areas beyond that interest that remained quite free from its interferences.



## **Chapter 3: Archaeological research in South Korea: distribution of interventions from 1945 to 1979**

### **Introduction**

The aim of the chapter is to understand the field in terms of the research carried out. Institutions involved of archaeology provided the financial and human resources that made possible archaeological excavations. Most of the actors involved operated from either government institutions or private institutions such as universities and university museums, with few exceptions throughout the period considered in this research. Considering the complexity of archaeological excavation and the necessity of a large infrastructure to conduct the excavation and later study, it is understandable that institutions were the natural setting for archaeological research. Consequently, the institutional development of these actors favored archaeological research, providing more resources to the field.

Archaeological interventions executed by these actors were the result of intersecting material and human resources, economic funding, political objectives and research planning. Those connections shaped the excavations finally executed, conditioning the lines of archaeological research. The intersection of these factors listed above influenced what sites were excavated and preserved, under what conditions, for how long, and so forth. In that regard, the study of when those interventions were done, where they were done, and what did they researched represents an important step in the evaluation of those influences.



This chapter focuses on three specific variables to analyze these interventions: the chronological distribution, the geographical distribution and the distribution of research by periods. In addition, each of these variables is going to be studied from the perspective of the agents responsible of such distribution. The chronological distribution of these interventions can provide an idea of the busiest periods of research, and the moments when agents started and finished their archaeological activity. The consideration of the political or economic causes for such distribution casts light on some of the influences at work. The geographical distribution provides a geography of research centers. Moreover, the geographical location of agents and interventions indicates the capacity of each agent to conduct archaeological research and the research strategy of each agent activity. Finally, the chronology of the excavations point out when excavations were done and which periods were considered more important. The concentration-dispersion of research on different periods can inform about the relative importance for the field of specific periods in relation to others. The answer to these questions help understand the structure that influenced the planning and execution of archaeological excavations, one of the moments in archaeological research when sociopolitical influences outside academic debates are stronger. At the same time, this structure can hint some of the key elements that determined the lines that archaeological research followed.

The consideration of the field activity provides a backdrop to understand the specific activity of the State System of Archaeological Research (SSAR hereafter). The field of archaeology during the period 1945-1979 included a multiplicity of agents inside and beyond the SSAR. This analysis inform about the relative positions of specific agents, at the same



time showing their relative importance and influence over other agents. This relative position can be the first step in the consideration of specific agents' contributions to the field at large.

The field of Korean archaeology in South Korea was built over an extensive research activity which produced hundreds of excavations between 1945 and 1979. Actors responsible for those excavations did not follow the same patterns of research, thus producing collectively a complex distribution of excavations. The difference in those patterns could answer to political interest, academic curiosity, economic interest, etc. In order to understand the research activity of the SSAR it is also important to consider the context in which such activity took place. The present research presents an analysis of the archaeological activities in South Korea from 1945 to 1979, based on the study of the “Chronological List of Excavations” (palguk yŏnp’yo) (hereafter DB) elaborated by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties.<sup>214</sup> This database presents a total of 419 entries for the period between 1945 and 1979, representing each of them an archaeological intervention led by a research agent, being this agent an individual researcher or an institution. Through the study of this data set it is possible to investigate general research trends in the field of Korean archaeology in South Korea. Thus, the present study focuses mainly on the chronological and spatial distribution of research in relation to their politico-institutional context.

Methodologically, the analysis of the DB has been conducted over a simplification of the agents indicated on its original information. The reason for this action is based on the lack of consistency in the entries of the DB, at the same time that the DB simplifies the information of some multi-agent projects. For example, the DB mentions as different agents

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<sup>214</sup> Munhwajae Yon’guso, Palgul Yŏnp’yo  
<http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566> Consulted March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016  
(18:53)

the National Museum of Korea (Kungnip Pangmulkwon), and the National Central Museum of Korea (Kungnip Chungang Pangmulkwon). Both institutions are one and the same, but the official name of the National Museum of Korea changed to the National Central Museum in 1972, figuring on the DB as different agents. Moreover, the DB mentions as different agents departments of the same institutions. Thus, it is possible to track on the DB the excavations led by the History Department at SNU, and those directed by the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, and SNU Museum. Meanwhile, other interventions are just labeled as executed by Seoul National University at large. In those cases, it has been preferred to group the different departments under the name of the institution at large. Table 3.1 presents a detailed list of the agents affected by these measures. The result of this process is the consolidation of 35 different agents ranging from universities, museums, research institutions, and individual researchers.

Table 3.1 *Consolidation of names on the DB*

Original Names on DB in English	Agents
Dongguk University Dongguk University Museum	Dongguk University
Koryo University Koryo University Museum Koryo University, Asiatic Research Institute	Koryo University
National Museum of Korea	National Museum of Korea (NMK)



<p>National Central Museum of Korea</p> <p>National Museum of Kyōngju</p> <p>National Museum of Kongju</p> <p>National Museum of Puyō</p> <p>Museum of Kyōngju</p> <p>Museum of Puyō</p>	
<p>Office of Cultural Properties</p> <p>Research Group for Historical Sites at Kyōngju</p> <p>Office of Historical Sites Administration at Kyōngju</p> <p>National Research Institute for Cultural Properties</p>	Office of Cultural Properties (OCP)
<p>Pusan University</p> <p>Pusan University Museum</p>	Pusan University
<p>Seoul National University</p> <p>Seoul National University, College of Education, History Department</p> <p>Department of Anthropology and Archaeology</p> <p>Seoul National Museum</p>	Seoul National University (SNU)
<p>Soongsil University</p> <p>Sungjōn University</p>	Soongsil University Museum

In addition, agents indicated in the original DB sometimes only refer to one agent among the many who took part. The intervention at Munyŏng Royal Tomb is a good example of this situation. The DB indicates that the excavation institute (palgul kikwan) was the Office for Cultural Properties, but the excavation report indicates a much more complex reality. Thus, the report shows how, in fact, there was a multi-disciplinary research team under the direction of Kim Won-yong (SNU). The team in charge of the excavation (kogo·kich'o chosaban) was formed by Yun Mu-byŏng (NMK), Kim Jŏng-gi (RICP), Han Byŏng-sam (NMK), Yi Ho-kwan (RICP), Kim Yŏng-bae (Puyŏ National Museum), Park Yong-jin (Kongju National University), and An Sŏng-ju (Kongju National University).<sup>215</sup> This composition of the research team shows the great diversity of actors involved in the research of the site. This may be the case for other interventions, especially if the intervention was relatively important, complex or attracted the interest of mass media. Nevertheless, it must be considered as well the role of coordinator played by the OCP in the organization and management of the excavation. For that reason, our analysis of the DB will keep the initial classification established originally by the RICP in these cases.

In most of the occasions each intervention was the result of one single agent, but there are some times that several agents worked together in collaborative research projects. In those cases when the objective of the exposition is the analysis of individual agents' work (distribution in time or space of an agent's research), those interventions are computed to each of the agents that took part in it. Thus, the result of this is, on the one hand, to compute the interventions that each agent did during the period between 1945 and 1979. On the other

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<sup>215</sup> Munhwa Kongbobu. *Munhwachae Kwalliguk*, "Munyŏng Wangnŏng. Palgulchosa Pogosŏ" (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwanliluk, 1974):3

hand, if all the interventions are added, the total number of interventions increases from 419 to 448. The discrepancy makes that when the present chapter analyses the interventions in terms of individual actors the total number sums up to 448. However, when the analysis is done for the field at large, the interventions are limited to 419.

The present chapter presents an analysis of the archaeological activity in the Republic of Korea along three lines. The first point of analysis is the distribution of interventions throughout the period, attending to the field in general and individual agents. The second variable studied is the geographical distribution of research, collectively and by individual agents. Finally, the study attends to the concentration of research in specific periods, in order to understand different strategies of research and areas of academic concentration and specialization.

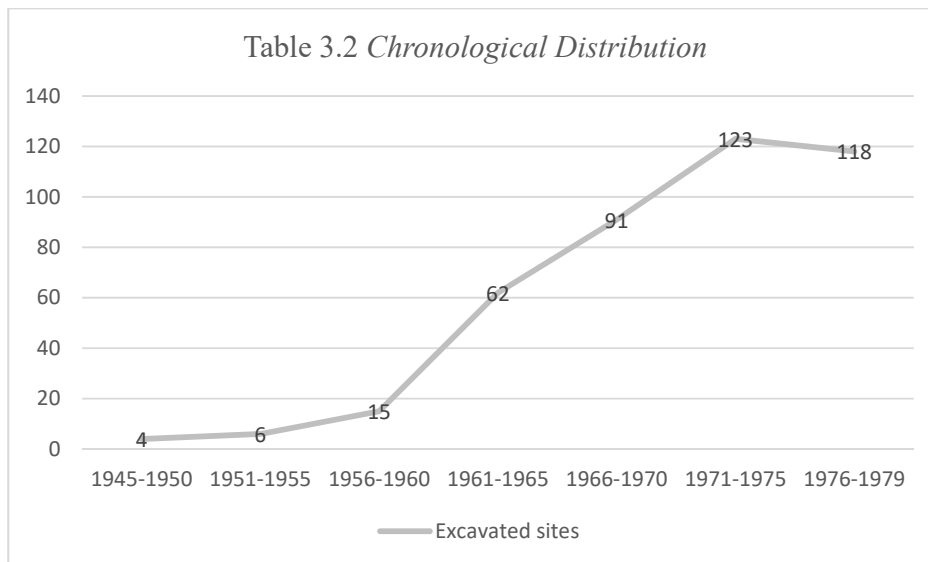
### **Chronological dispersion of archaeological interventions**

Table 3.2 presents all the interventions accounted for at the DB, and they sum up 419 interventions. Table 3.2 organizes them in ranges of five years, except the last one that only covers four years of the period considered in the research. Data shows a strong increase in the number of interventions conducted from the late 50s until the early 70s. The small decline in the number of interventions in the last segment is due to one year shorter. If the last year is accounted, the last segment of the table would indicate 156 interventions.<sup>216</sup> The upward

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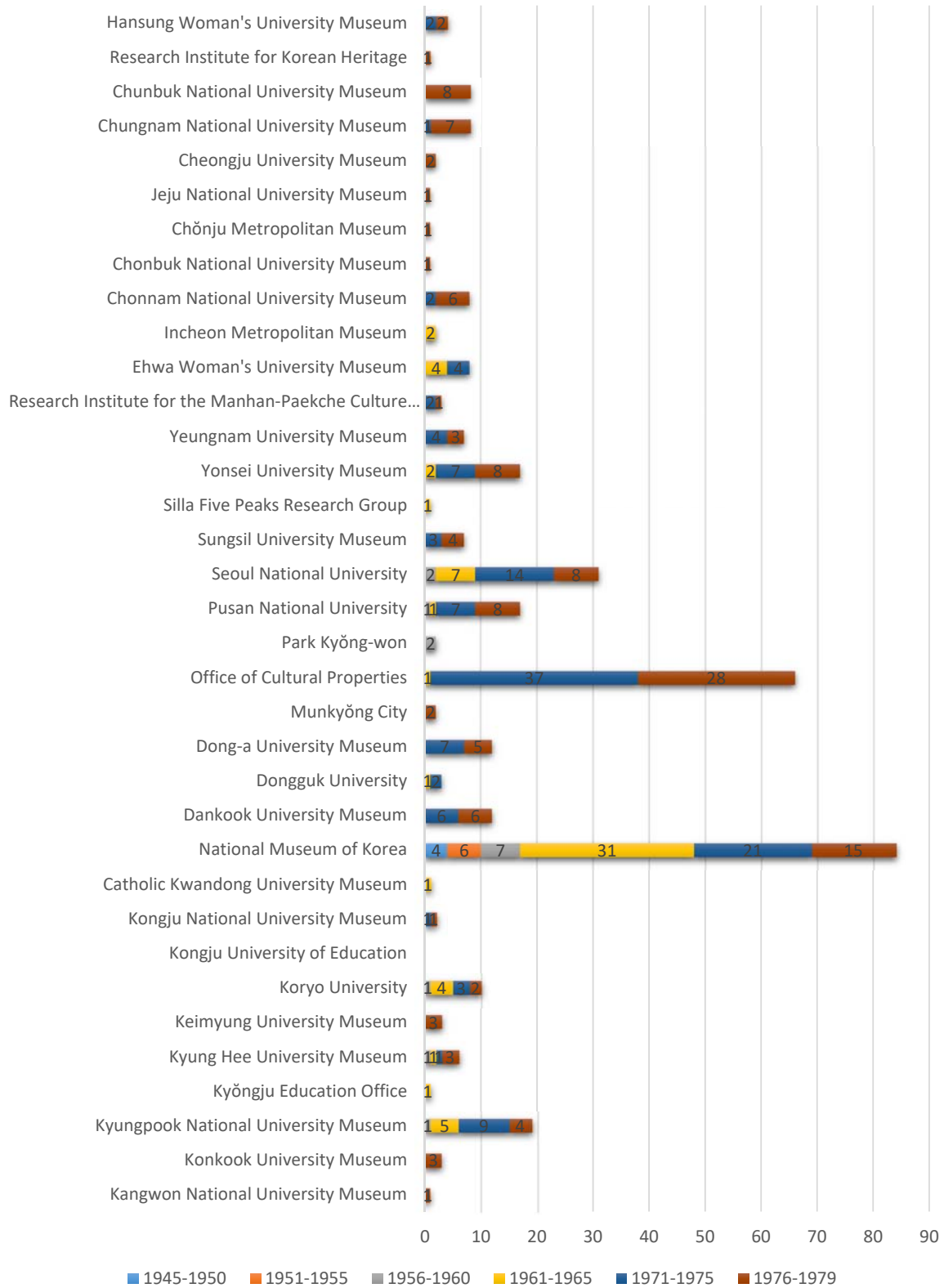
<sup>216</sup> [http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566&year\\_sk=1976](http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566&year_sk=1976) Consulted on April 14<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (21:49)

trend of archaeological interventions continued as well in the last segment, telling about the health of the field at large.



The distribution of interventions organized by agent makes clear different degrees of implication in the field, and relative peaks of strong activity for individual agents. The result is table 3.3. This table shows every agents that took part in the field, and the number of interventions in each period. In addition, it presents the total number of interventions that each agent embarked on. As mentioned above, some agents took part in collaboration projects, but for this table those projects are accounted for each of the agents that took part in the intervention. Thus, the total number of interventions sums up to 448.

Table 3.3 Chronological Distribution by Actor



The first characteristic of this data set is the great difference in number of interventions between different actors. The table shows clearly the high concentration of most interventions in a very limited number of actors, leaving a great number of other institutions with sporadic interventions in the range of just 1 or 2 for the whole period. Such unbalance indicates the different capabilities of individual actors to pursue archaeological research. At the same time, it highlights what agents were the most active.

The number of interventions led by each agent allows their classification in four ranges: more than 30 excavations in the whole period, between 29 and 10, between 9 and 4, 3 or less. Such distribution shows that more than half of the interventions were done by just three institutions, SNU, OCP, and NMK. Thus, from a total of 448 interventions, these three institutions took part in a combined total of 239 (53%). The number of interventions led by these three agents sets them clearly apart

On a second level, it is possible to identify another important group of universities engaged in archaeological research, responsible of 117 interventions (31%). Their range is limited to 10 and 29 archaeological interventions for the whole period. This shows a consistent engagement in archaeological research, but far behind the intense implication of the three first institutions. They were Kyungpook National University Museum (24), Yonsei University Museum (22), Pusan National University (19), Dong-a University Museum (16), Dankook University Museum (15), Koryo University (11), Yeungnam University Museum (11), Ehwa Woman's University Museum (10), and Kyung Hee University Museum (10).

The third range of actors were responsible for 4 to 9 interventions over the period, adding 40 interventions (9%). Such concentration of archaeological research tells about

certain institutional interest, although for some reason it was not fully developed in the period of consideration here. This third group of university museums is formed by Soongsil University Museum (8), Chonnam National University Museum (8), Chungnam National University Museum (8), Chungbuk National University Museum (8), Kongju National University Museum (4), Hansung Woman's University Museum (4).

Finally, the fourth tier is formed by a wide array of actors ranging from university museums to individuals, including local museums and city halls, representing just a 7% of the total interventions, and they ranged between one and three interventions for the whole period. The implication of these actors in archaeology answered to different reasons; in any case, their impact was limited compared to the rest of actors.

The distribution of archaeological interventions along the time answers to internal and external causes. The first of these causes was the multiplication of agents interested in archaeological research. Moreover, at some point foreign resources, economic and human, were quite important in the development of archaeology. Furthermore, the government played a fundamental role through the design of adequate legal instruments to regulate archaeological research, and the investment of economic resources directed to research institutes and specific interventions. The interconnection of these factors can explain the chronological distribution of archaeological interventions between 1945 and 1979, as it is explained subsequently.

The NMK was the first Korean actor involved in archaeological research after the Liberation of the Peninsula in 1945. Its research started with very few interventions, but it rapidly rose during the 50s, and especially after 1961. This increase was in great part due to



the economic aid from foreign institutions that the NMK used to fund its research activities. This source of research funds was widely used by Kim Chae-wŏn during all his tenure at the NMK thanks to his international connections. Nevertheless, the NMK was not the only institutions working on the field of archaeology.

In the late 50s, it is possible to attest the beginning of archaeological research done outside the SSAR, featuring some of the most relevant agents in the 60s and 70s. The first agent outside the NMK to organize an archaeological intervention as Park Kyŏng-won (1956) who started excavating independently, and later he became member of Pusan National University. The following years, Kyung Hee University (1957), Pusan National University (1958), Koryo University (1959), and Kyungbook National University (1960) also directed excavations. These first interventions were in most cases the result of the appointed professor as director of the university museum, and his personal motivation to conduct field research. For example, Yun Sae-yŏng explained in an interview how Kim Chŏng-hak was put in charge of Koryo University Museum. He was appointed to manage a recent donation of artifacts in 1957, and in 1959 Kim Chŏng-hak asked for research funds to the Asiatic Research Institute within Koryo University to conduct the excavation of Ungch'ŏn Mound (Ungch'ŏn P'aech'ong) with the help of some students and Choi Yŏng-hŭi, professor at Soongsil University.<sup>217</sup> The beginnings at Kyungbook National University were similar to those at Koryo. Yun Yong-jin recalled that his start in the field of archaeology was in relation to the establishment of the university museum. At that time Park Ŭl-lyong, professor at the Department of Mathematics was appointed director of the museum, and convinced Na

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<sup>217</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):375-376





Pyöng-uk from the Physics Department to help him. Moreover, Na convinced Yun Yong-jin to write the excavation report.<sup>218</sup> These initiatives of university museums earned momentum, and in 1961 some of them associated into the Korean Association of University Museums (Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe), which promoted additional research.<sup>219</sup> Moreover, the OCP enacted in 1962 the Cultural Property Protection Act, providing the legal framework for other institutions outside the government to direct archaeological excavations.

The establishment of the OCP in 1961 meant an attempt of the government for the rationalization of cultural policy and the management of public and private cultural assets. One of the most important measures in this matter was the enactment of the Cultural Property Protection Act in 1962 that regulated archaeological research for public and private institutions. The multiplication of agents and interventions in the period between 1961 and 1965 evidence the effect of the new legislation in the access to carry out archaeological excavations. Table 3.3 shows eight new agents taking part in archaeological research (Kyöngju Education Office, Catholic Kwandong University Museum, Dongguk University Museum, OCP, Silla Five Peaks Research Group, Yonsei University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, and Incheon Metropolitan Museum), meaning in some cases the beginning of a very intensive activity. In addition, for other cases, that same period meant the intensification of their research activities (Kyungpook National University, Koryo

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<sup>218</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yöngnon, 2008):243-246

<sup>219</sup> The organization of the Association of University Museum gathered a total of 18 founding university museum: Konkook University, Kyungbook National University, Kyung Hee University, Dangook University, Dong-a University, Pusan National University, Seoul National University, Sungkyunkwan University, Sookmyung Women's University, Sungsil University, Yonsei University, Ewha Woman's University, Chonnam University, Chung Ang University, Chungbuk University, Hanyang University and Hongik University. Among these university museums is possible to find some of the most important research agents outside the SSAR. Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa P'yöngch'an Wiwönhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyöksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe, 2011):14



University, NMK, and SNU). However, this was not the only legal and institutional transformation that contributed to the multiplication of archaeological activity at large.

The strong increase of archaeological activity since the mid-late 60s, and the 70s answered to several changes in the government cultural policy that has already been introduced in chapter 2. These changes led since 1968 to the intensification of government-lead projects of salvation archaeology where the OCP acted as leading institution through the Research Office of Cultural Properties. This policy was later sanctioned with the modification in 1973 of the Cultural Property Protection Act, forcing the agent responsible for the construction works to pay for the previous archaeological research. These reforms injected more money in the field, and opened the possibility of more agents to take part as well. Thus, the number of research activity increased very substantially with the interesting side effect that it increase also the number of institutions involved in archaeological research. Looking at the DB, it is possible to identify at least 48 interventions organized in seven different projects. Most of these projects were related with dam constructions, such as the P'aldal-Soyang Dam (8) in 1971-72, Andong Dam (6) in 1973-74, Changsöng Dam and Yöngsan River Dam (3) in 1975, Taech'öng Dam (9) in 1977-78, but there were also projects related with industrial development such as Panwön Industrial Site (6) in 1978, Ch'angwön Machine Industry Complex (1) 1976, and even city development projects such as the Jamsil Development Project (15) in 1974-76. This transformation was even greater if we consider that after 1973 land developers were forced to pay archaeological investigations as well. Some examples of the results of this change are the discovery of the Chodo Mound in Pusan in 1973 during the construction of some buildings for a university, or the discovery in Seoul

of a fortress from Koguryō in 1977.<sup>220</sup> A study in detail of the reasons behind interventions after 1973 can likely show how many smaller agents found in this law the reason to start their implication in the field or to increase their implication.

As stated before, in addition to the land development projects, another important reason for archaeological intervention in the 70s is explained by the specific interest of the government on the city of Kyōngju. Such interests in Kyōngju and the Silla period were already present in the restoration project of Sōkkuram in 1963-1964, and in 1969 this interest grew to the point of organizing a year-long intervention on Pulguksa. However, these projects were not comparable to the size and importance of the Kyōngju Development Plan. The government worked since 1968 on a plan to develop the city of Kyōngju as a touristic center in Korea and the region, highlighting the cultural progress of Silla as epitome of Korean culture.<sup>221</sup> The result of that plan was the drafting of an archaeological research plan focused exclusively on Kyōngju and directed to the constitution of 13 touristic parks based heavily on archaeological sites.<sup>222</sup> As a result, there were 50 interventions between 1969 and 1979 that can be subscribed to this government plan, involving a great variety of agents besides the SSAR members. In total, the interventions resulted of land development projects lead by the government and the Kyōngju Development Plan add up to at least 98 interventions between 1969 and 1979. It is illustrative to compare this number with the 297 interventions

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<sup>220</sup> Han Byōng-sam and Lee Kōn-mu, *Chodo P'aech'on* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1976):1; [http://www.ssu.ac.kr/web/museum/culture\\_bjsessionid=DKZNHatTkz5dThbpOZ11ArYBJCNsqgLCNgYb9AAAdF2qUeJBHslNY4ICqZ3ZDQDy6?p\\_p\\_id=EXT\\_FORMBOARD&p\\_p\\_lifecycle=0&p\\_p\\_state=exclusive&p\\_p\\_mode=view&EXT\\_FORMBOARD\\_struts\\_action=%2Fext%2FformBoard%2Fview\\_message&EXT\\_FORMBOARD\\_pageMode=&EXT\\_FORMBOARD\\_curPage=2&EXT\\_FORMBOARD\\_formBoardId=4439](http://www.ssu.ac.kr/web/museum/culture_bjsessionid=DKZNHatTkz5dThbpOZ11ArYBJCNsqgLCNgYb9AAAdF2qUeJBHslNY4ICqZ3ZDQDy6?p_p_id=EXT_FORMBOARD&p_p_lifecycle=0&p_p_state=exclusive&p_p_mode=view&EXT_FORMBOARD_struts_action=%2Fext%2FformBoard%2Fview_message&EXT_FORMBOARD_pageMode=&EXT_FORMBOARD_curPage=2&EXT_FORMBOARD_formBoardId=4439) consulted on April 29<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<sup>221</sup> Kyōngju-si, "Kwan'gwang Kaepal Kibon Kyehoek" (Kyōngju: Kyōngju-si, 1969)

<sup>222</sup> Munhwa Kongbobu. Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Kyōngju Kaepal Sajōkchi Posu Chōngbu Kyehoek," May 1972



in the same period: roughly a third of the total interventions, and making clear the strong impact that these new conditions produced on the field of archaeology.

In summary, this analysis of the chronological evolution of excavations has been explained on the multiplication of actors involved in the field since the late 50s. Such involvement was sustained, and even later multiplied thanks to some administrative changes produced. Thus, the enactment of the Cultural Property Protection Act in 1962 regulated archaeological research for non-government institutions. In addition, the amendment of that same law in 1973 transformed the economy of archaeological research by forcing the agents responsible of land development to fund previous archaeological research. The natural consequence of this measure was the multiplication of archaeological interventions. In addition, the transformation of the cultural policy and the implementation of construction projects in relation to economic plans since 1968 promoted many archaeological interventions that involved as well agents from outside the SSAR, despite these projects were very much related and organized by the government through the OCP.

### **Geographical dispersion of archaeological interventions**

The analysis of the geographical dispersion of archaeological interventions is another interesting point of research. This study can provide information about the main centers of archaeological research, the range of research activities per actor, as well as a first indication about preferred geographical and chronological areas of research. Thus, it is possible to identify regional centers of archaeological research by the geographical concentration of

research institutions. In addition, the study of the relation between agents and regions where



Map 3.1 Administrative division of the Republic of Korea

they conducted their archaeological activities conveys the existence of different research capabilities among actors. Some of them had the interest and capability to unfold their research activities through the whole country, meanwhile others limited their interest to their local areas.

In relation to territorial dispersion, the first element to consider is the concentration/dispersion of research institutions. The concentration of research institutes dedicated to archaeology point out potential areas where local networks of academics could grow, or cooperate in research projects could develop. Data presents one clear center of archaeological research around the capital of the country. Seoul hosted by far the greatest concentration of research institutions involved in archaeology with a total of 13 institutions: Konkook University Museum, Kyung Hee University Museum, Koryo University, National Museum of Korea, Dankook University, Dongguk University Museum, Office of Cultural Properties, Seoul National University, Soongsil University Museum, Yonsei University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, Foundation Corporation Korea Institute of Cultural Properties, and Hansung Woman's University Museum. Seoul was the archaeological center of the country, not only because it hosted the greatest number of archaeology research institutions, but also because the three more active agents were based at Seoul or had their headquarters there. In addition, many of the other

agents at Seoul were on the second tier in terms of archaeological interventions, indicating as well their academic relevance.

Taegu and Pusan were also important research centers, although in a much smaller scale. Taegu hosted three agents, two of them ranking in the second tier, Kyungpook National University Museum and Yeungnam University Museum, and the third agent ranking in the fourth tier, Keimyung University Museum. Meanwhile, Pusan hosted Pusan National University and Dong-A University, two active agents

The concentration of agents in these three cities consolidated the corridor Seoul-Pusan as the main axis in producing and maintaining the field. The concentration of research center in the capital correlates with the concentration of government institutions and universities there. At the same time, the presence of important research centers at Taegu and Pusan validated their secondary position at the national level, but still over other regions.

It is also interesting to look at the relation between this concentration of agents and the regions where these agents conducted their investigations. Table 3.4 summarizes the data at the DB. Thus, the interventions have been organized following the administrative divisions of Korea, grouping together the interventions in each of the nine provinces, and seven autonomous cities. Furthermore, at the end of the table is presented a total of interventions at each location, in order to provide a general idea of the archaeological activity in each region.

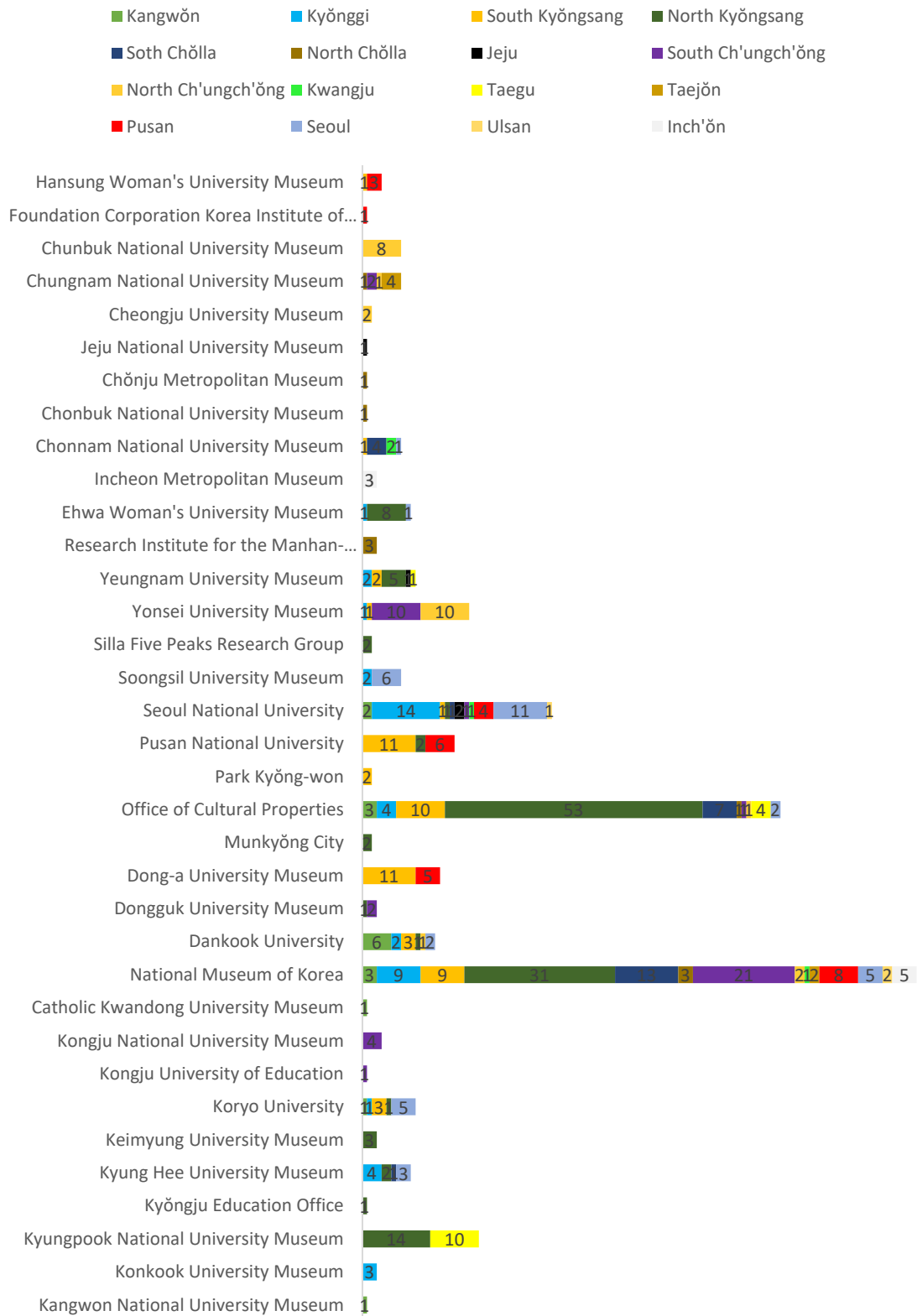
Archaeological activity meant the transportation of researchers, and their material to the excavations sites, and of the archaeological material recuperated back to their laboratories at their main institutions. All that movement meant an additional expense for those agents that excavated sites outside their home locations. Thus, it is possible to relate the

geographical distribution of the interventions with the capability to carry out interventions, indicating that the farther the site of the intervention in relation to the base of the agent, the more expensive it was. In that sense, it could be an indicator of the capabilities of a given agent. However, this does not mean that locally oriented agents were so because of their lack of economic resources, as there can be many other explanations.

The distribution of interventions by each actor per region is presented on table 3.4 above. The table identifies certain trends in relation to the extension of each agent's research territorially. The analysis of dates shows that only three actors that extended their research to almost the whole territory of Korea: the NMK, the OCP, and SNU, evidencing their capacities of these institutions in terms of economic and human resources. In addition, such long range of research suggests access to greater variety of sites, and therefore, to data to approach new research. Nevertheless, the presence in each of the regions was not, in any sense, uniform for any of the three institutions, suggesting preferences in research locations.



Table 3.4 Geographical distribution by agent







Map 3.2 NMK main research regions and location of branch museums

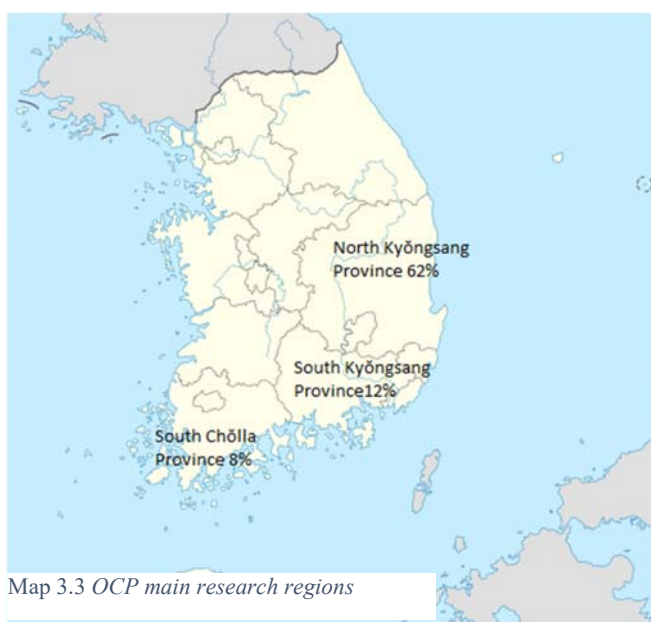
The range of NMK's archaeological activity was with no doubt helped by its regional network of museums. At it has been presented in chapter 2, the main research center was located at the main museum at Seoul, but branch museums led sometimes independent excavations. Thus, it is possible to see how the areas with greater concentration of research are the region of North Kyōngsang province

and South Ch'ungch'ŏng province, in other words, the regions around the three Branch Museums, and the ancient capitals of the Three Kingdoms period in South Korea. However, such coincidence cannot be reduced completely to the continuity of old colonial strategies of research focused on the capitals of the Three Kingdoms Period.<sup>223</sup> Map 3.2 shows the geographical location of each city.

The NMK conducted 24 interventions in the city of Kyōngju out of a total of 31 done in the area of North Kyōngsang province. Therefore, it is clear the importance of the city as a research area for the NMK. This interest in the city cannot be reduced to the Kyōngju Development Plan, as only seven interventions can be related to such plan because the great majority of interventions were executed before 1972, the starting date for the Kyōngju

<sup>223</sup> Pai Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, Korean Studies of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013): 192-193. Pai presents a chronology of archaeological heritage management activities. That list presents the dates of the surveys at provincial and peninsular level, but the most highlighted excavations are mainly in Kyōngsang-do, mentioning also the excavations done at P'yōngan-do, Hwanghae-do, and Kongju.

Development Plan.<sup>224</sup> That means that the interest on the city of Kyōngju as a research site is previous to 1972; in fact, the NMK developed a consistent archaeological activity in the area since 1945. In this regard, Pai tracked such interest to the colonial period when Japanese archaeologists made of the study of the old Silla capital a point of interest.<sup>225</sup> Consequently, the research on Kyōngju could be related to a colonial precedence. However, the research on South Ch'ungch'ōng province shows a new interest, as it can be seen from the fact that 13 out of 21 excavations were Bronze Age sites. Despite the still relative importance of Paekche sites in the research of that region (8 sites), the growing interest on Bronze sites indicates a departure from the old colonial interest in the region focused on the old capitals.



Map 3.3 OCP main research regions

The efforts of the OCP were focalized on one particular region. The area of North Kyōngsang province represented 62% (53 interventions) of the total interventions over a period between 1965 (the first intervention of the OCP) and 1979. This was followed by South Kyōngsang province with just 12% of the interventions, and South Chōlla province with 8%. Such acute difference among the three areas is explained by

the great number of government led projects in the region. The most important of them was the restauration works at Pulguksa (2), the Kyōngju Development Plan (29), and the

<sup>224</sup> Munhwa Kongbobu. Munhwachae Kwalliguk, “Kyōngju Kaepal Sajōkchi Posu Chōngbu Kyehoek,” May 1972

<sup>225</sup> Pae Hyung Il, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):125-126

interventions related to the construction of the Andong dam (5) counting altogether a total of 36 interventions in the region. In the area of South Kyōngsang province, as many as 5 out of 10 interventions are explained by the implementation of a research project directed to research the naval combats led by Yi Sun-sin during the Imjin War. Given the relevance of Yi Sun-sin's memory during Park's regime,<sup>226</sup> this research project can be framed within the general policy of Yi Sun-sin's memorialization as a mean for increasing the legitimacy of Park's regime.

Finally, the interventions of the OCP in South Chōlla province were related to economic and political projects that had the region at its center. The first of these projects was the construction of the Changsōng Dam in the region of the Yōngsan River, answering for two interventions in the area. The second project was the underwater excavation of a Koryō ship in the area of Sin'an, being responsible for annual campaigns for 4 years, from 1976 to 1979. Given the lack of experience among Korean archaeologists of conducting underwater excavations, the OCP joined efforts with the navy to pursue these interventions.<sup>227</sup> Consequently, the geographical distribution of OPC's interventions can be explained mainly through the government-lead economic and political projects launched over the years.

The interventions in which Seoul National University took part situates the institution at the level of the OCP and the NMK in terms of national reach of its investigations. Looking at the number of regions in which SNU conducted research, this institution was present even

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<sup>226</sup> Park Saeyoung, "National Heroes and Monuments in South Korea: Patriotism, Modernization and Park Chung Hee's Remaking of Yi Sunsin's Shrine," *The Asia-Pacific Journal | Japan Focus* 8, no. 24-3 (June 2010): 1-27

<sup>227</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Palgansa" in *Sin'an haejō Yumul. Charyop'yōn I* (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1981)

in more regions than the OCP, but it also presents acute differences in the distribution. The three regions with greater concentration of its research are Kyōnggi province (35.89%), Seoul (28.2%), and Pusan (7.69%). Therefore, the greatest presence of SNU interventions was in the area closer to its location, Seoul and Kyōnggi province, representing altogether around a 66% of all its research activity. Such concentration around the location of the university can be explained through the lower cost of research, comparing to move all the research team to a distant location. Furthermore, the connection of archaeology with the knowledge of local geography would promote research close to familiar areas for researchers. This consideration is important, because many other institutions followed the same pattern of researching sites close to their locations.



SNU research at Seoul and in Kyōnggi province was strongly related to urban development and public constructions. In the region of Kyōnggi province, as many as 6 out of 14 interventions can be explained by the long term research of Hunamri from 1972 to 1977. In addition, there were two other interventions related to the

Paleolithic site of Chongok-ni up to 1979, although the site was excavated also during the

80s.<sup>228</sup> Furthermore, another two interventions are accounted as the result of government development projects, in these cases the construction of the P'aldang-Soyang Dam, and the construction of the Panwŏl Industrial complex. In summary, SNU concentrated its research activities in sites near its location through pursuing long-term research projects, and taking part in the research of sites involved in land development projects.

The rest of actors distributed geographically their research following a model very similar to that of SNU. Many focused their research around their location, developing limited research in other regions. However, due to the much limited resources of these agents, the geographical extension of interventions outside their original area were much more limited, as well as the impact of research in that local area is proportionally lower. Some of the agents that more clearly fit in this model are Kyung Hee University Museum, Pusan National University Museum, Yeungnam University Museum, Chonnam National University Museum, and Chungnam National University Museum. They all kept as their main area of research the city or province around their localization.

Extreme cases of this model present a very high concentration of interventions in their localities and surrounding province, without any intervention beyond that limit. In this category it is possible to find Kyungpook National University Museum, Kongju National University Museum, Dong-a University Museum, Soongsil University Museum, Chungbuk National University Museum. Such local concentration did not answer necessarily to lack of resources, as sometimes the agents took part in a high number of interventions. An elevated number of interventions shows the interest of the agent for the field, and their geographical

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<sup>228</sup> Kim Won-yong and Pae Ki-dong “Yujök Palgul Chosa” in Kim Won-yong (ed.), *Chŏn'gok-ri Yujök Palgul Chosa Pogosŏ* (Seoul: Munhwachae Yŏn'guso, 1983):5-8



concentration indicates a specific interest in an area. That was, for example, the case of institutions such as Dong-a University Museum, Kyungpook National University Museum, or Chungbuk National University Museum.

There is a slightly different distribution pattern based on the concentration of intervention in a region different to the agent's locality of origin. This is the case for the following agents: Dankook University Museum, Yonsei University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, and Hansung Woman's University Museum. In these cases, the area of main interest of research was not Seoul and Kyōnggi province, though they are all based in Seoul. It could be argued that their interest on those regions answer academic interest on specific sites. Thus, Dankook University carried out six campaigns in Kangwon province in order to research the Temple Chinjōn site. Son Po-gi excavated intensively in the region of North and South Ch'ungh'ōn province because of his interest in the Paleolithic sites of that region. In addition, Ehwa Woman's University Museum's activity in North Kyōngsang province can be explained partially by its participation in the Kyōngju Development Project. Finally, Chōng Jing-won at Hansung Woman's University Museum was particularly interested in the early iron and Three Kingdom period sites as it can be assumed by all the campaigns (4) that he conducted at Kwejōng-dong, Pusan, on sites from that period.

The position of the Koryo University Museum could be located between these two models because it shows two areas of special interest, one in the area of Kyōngsannam-do (3), and other in the area of Seoul (5) close to its location. The reason for this concentration can be explained by the changes in the leading archaeologist at the university. During the first years of archaeological activity, the museum was under Kim Chōng-hak's directorship,



who showed an interest on researching sites of the early iron period between 1959 and 1964. That meant three interventions at Ungch'ŏngdong (Kyŏngsannam-do). Once Kim Chŏng-hak left the institution in 1967, the next excavations of the museum are mostly related to the urbanistic expansion of Seoul (excavations at Karak-dong and Pang'i-dong), or the Kyŏngju Development Project.

The consideration of the geographical dispersion of archaeological interventions, and the geographical location of their agents has proved the importance of Seoul, Taegu and Pusan as main centers of research. In addition, it has shown the limited reach of most agents, concentrated for research mainly in their hinterland. Only three agents presented a clear national profile, the NMK, the OCP and SNU. However, even the research strategies of these agents was affected by political and economic interest, concentrating their activity in the areas of Seoul, Kyŏnggi province, Kyŏngju and in a lower level the region of North Kyŏngsang province, and finally the region of Pusan and South Kyŏngsan province. The axis Kyŏnggi-Kyŏngsang was directly related to the government's plans, and the specific interest of the government in the city of Kyŏngju. The preponderance of these regions as space of studies left the regions of North and South Chŏlla provinces, Kangwŏn province, and very especially Jeju marginalized in terms of research. In this regard, it is interesting to look the pivotal position of South Ch'ungch'ŏn province. The relative importance of this region can be related to some degree to new academic interest of agents investigating in the region, beyond political or economic interest related directly to the government.



### **Distribution of interventions per period of research**

The analysis of archaeological interventions in relation to the historical periods can provide an insight on the relative weight that each of those periods meant for the field of archaeology. Furthermore, this data can show the main interests of each institution to conduct their archaeological research. Moreover, this information in relation to the agents involved can identify mainstream themes and actors, as well as more marginal topics and their researchers. Consequently, it is a very useful piece of information to evaluate the trends of research.

The DB identified each sites with the period using the following names: Paleolithic Age (Kusökki), Neolithic Age (Sinsökki), Bronze Age (Ch'öngdonggi), Early Iron Age (Ch'ogi ch'ölggi), Proto-Three Kingdom Period (Wönsamguk), Samhan, Three Kingdoms Period (Samguk), Koguryö, Kaya, Paekche, Silla, Unified Silla (T'ongil Silla), Koryö, Chosön, Unknown (misang). Despite the apparent unproblematic nature of these names, the reality of the information on the DB is a little bit more complex, as it is shown below.

The interventions identified at the DB are classified using a variety of terms that indicate the relative chronology of the sites, and sometimes that chronology can extend itself through several chronological periods. We classify them taking into consideration the oldest chronological period that the site records. Thus, table 3.5 presents on first column the historical periods of the sites, and the number of sites between brackets. On the second column, the variety of names are categorized under one single historical period. The number between brackets on the second column represents the addition of all the different names used to indicate sites which oldest chronology is the same period. For example, the 33 Neolithic Age interventions include the 23 interventions on sites from the Neolithic Age, and the sites whose chronology started in the Neolithic age and continued after.



Table 3.5 *Simplification of terms to identify historical periods*

Periods on the DB	Simplification
Neolithic Age (23) Neolithic Age – Three Kingdoms (1) Neolithic Age – Bronze Age (6) Neolithic Age – Early Iron Age (3)	Neolithic Age (33)
Bronze Age (83) Bronze Age – Peakche (2) Bronze Age – Three Kingdoms Period (4) Bronze Age – Early Iron Age (1)	Bronze Age (90)
Early Iron Age (14) Early Iron Age – Three Kingdoms Period (1)	Early Iron Age (15)
Proto-Three Kingdoms Period (6) Samhan – Three Kingdoms Period (1)	Proto-Three Kingdoms Period and Samhan (7)
Three Kingdoms Period (53) Three Kingdoms Period – Chosŏn (3)	Three Kingdoms Period (56)
Unified Silla (33) Unified Silla – Koryŏ (6)	Unified Silla (39)
Koryŏ (24) Koryŏ (song-wŏn) (1)	Koryŏ (25)



Once the information has been simplified for its better handling, there is still the problem of the meaning of categories. The first problem has been the division of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age, on the one hand, and the separation between the prehistoric and historic period, on the other.<sup>229</sup> Looking at the on-line dictionary of the RICP to find out its position regarding these problems, the dictionary starts the Bronze Age in the Korean peninsula with the bronze artifacts found at Sin'amri (P'yönganbuk-do, North Korea), dating the site around 2000 B.C.E. Although, it also recognizes that these artifacts did not become more frequent until 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. Furthermore, it sets the end of the period around the 300 B.C.E. Then, the same dictionary sets the Early Iron Age between the 300 B.C.E and the turn of 1<sup>st</sup> century of our era. Finally, the dictionary sets the period known as Proto-Three Kingdoms Period between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century, mentioning as well that in the case of the

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<sup>229</sup> The limits of the Bronze Age has been difficult to assess given some conceptual problems in relation to the markers considered as the defining elements of this period. Thus, for the beginning of the period Nelson mentions how some archaeologists include the beginning of Mumun pottery as part of the late Neolithic, meanwhile some other, including Kim Won-yong, include Mumun pottery as part of the Bronze Age. This difference moves the beginning of the period between 2000 and 1000 B.C.E. Nelson herself prefers to talk about megalithic culture, looking at dolmens as main indicator of a new period, recognizing around the 10<sup>th</sup> century B.C.E. a significant change in the way of life of the populations in the Peninsula. See Nelson, Sarah M., *The Archaeology of Korea*, Cambridge World Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993):110. Ch'oe Mong-nyong presents a view based on the inclusion of Mumun pottery as part of the Bronze Age, identifying for its beginning a period between 2000-1500 B.C.E. That period between 2000-1500 would mean the overlap of Neolithic and Bronze Age cultures in the Peninsula. He defends the end of the period around the 400 B.C.E. See Ch'oe Mong-nyong, "Ch'öngdonggi·Ch'ölgi sidae wa Han'guk Munhwa" in *Han'guk kogohak yön'gu: segyesa sok esöüi Han'guk*, Kaejöng chüngbop'an (Söul-si: Churyusöng Ch'ulp'ansa, 2014):103-148. However, Barnes rise some questions about the end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age, or Iron Age I, arguing that the overlap of these two periods should be considered not in chronological terms but in cultural terms. See Barnes, Gina, *State Formation in Korea: Historical and Archaeological Perspectives* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001):82-85. Another problem is the use of the term Proto-Three Kingdoms Period, as it has been challenged by authors such as Kim Chöng-bae. The term was coined by Kim Won-yong who used it first on his *Han'guk Kogohak Kaesöl* (1973) to refer the period between circa B.C.E 1<sup>st</sup> century - 300 C.E. See Kim Won-yong, *Han'guk Kogohak Kaesöl* (Seoul: Kaejöng Sinp'an, 1977):128. This period has been also related with the historic period of the Samhan for the southern part of the Peninsula, matching the chronological limits almost perfectly. See In Jaehyun, "Interregional Relations and Development of Samhan Culture" in Mark E. Byington, ed., *The Samhan Period in Korean History*, Early Korea 2 (Cambridge, Mass: Early Korea Project, Korea Inst., Harvard Univ, 2009):62. However, Kim Chöng-bae argues against the use of the term "Proto-Three Kingdoms Period" based on the chronological problems of the period, and the correlation of such period with Kimhae pottery culture. See Kim Chöng-bae, *Han'guk Kodaesa Wa Kogohak*, Ch'op'an, Saeron Söwön 219 (Söul T'ükpyölsi: Sinsöwön, 2000):243-256



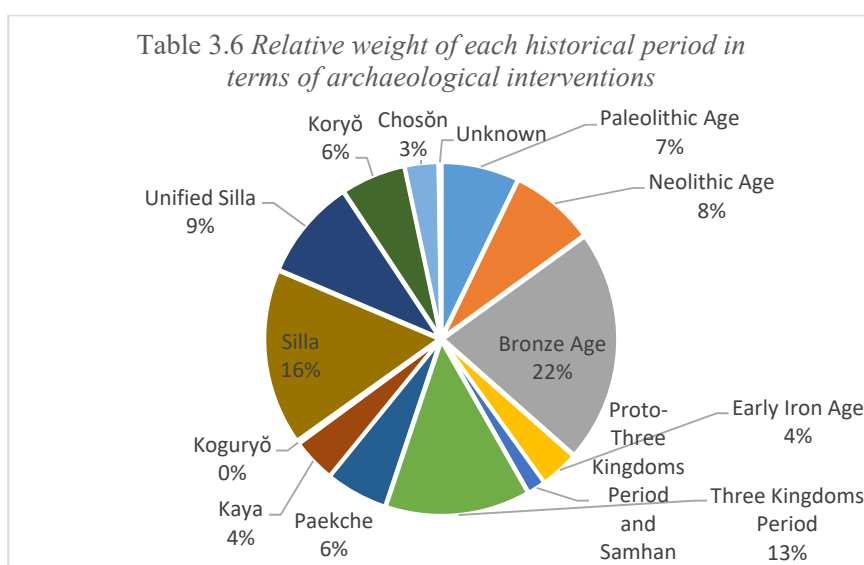
southern part of the Peninsula such period is coincidental with the historical period known as the Samhan.<sup>230</sup> In addition to this chronological problematic, the DB also differences archaeological sites from the Three-Kingdom Period, on the one hand, and Paekche, Kaya, Koguryō or Silla sites, on the other. The reason behind this multiplicity of terms is due to the lack of archaeological evidence to classify sites from the Three Kingdom Period into one specific kingdom. Thus, the solution was to leave out those sites under the generic classification of Three Kingdoms Period, normally used to define the period between c. 300, and 668. After this period the chronological classification follows the traditional division of Korean history through a succession of dynasties: Unified Silla (668-935), Koryō (918-1392), and Chosŏn (1392-1897).

Table 3.6 provides an insight to some of the main focus of interest during the period of this research. In general terms, it is clear that the field devoted much of its energy to the research of the Three Kingdoms Period (39.6%), understood as the general category, and the individual categories by each kingdom. However, a look at the research by kingdoms shows a clear discrimination of Paekche over Silla that it is even backed up by the geographical distribution of the interventions related to the Three Kingdoms period. In fact, this variable shows that the distribution of interventions from the Three Kingdoms period was limited to Kangwon province, Kyōnggi province, Seoul, Chōlla provinces, Taejōn and Kyōngsang provinces, but with a great unbalance in favor of Kyōngsang provinces and autonomous cities in the region (North Kyōngsang province, South Kyōngsang province, Pusan and Taegu). Thus, this region groups 39 out of 56 interventions of the Three Kingdom Period. Even if the

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<sup>230</sup> Chōngdonggi <http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/archeologyUsrView.do?menuIdx=568&idx=14310>; Ch'ōgi Ch'ōlgi Sidae <http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/archeologyUsrView.do?menuIdx=568&idx=14470>; Wōnsamguk sidae <http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/archeologyUsrView.do?menuIdx=568&idx=11690> April 26<sup>th</sup>, 2016 (21:03)

interventions related with development projects are deduced to show only the interventions inspired by research oriented interventions, the Kyōngsang region still accounts for 33 interventions in that period. Consequently, this data still confirms a relative discrimination of Paekche in relation to other areas of the same period. Other periods that concentrated important number of interventions are the Bronze Age (21.5%), followed by Unified Silla (9.3%), Neolithic Age (7.9%), and Paleolithic Age (7.15%). Consequently, despite the importance of all periods, it can be claimed that the collective efforts of Korean archaeologists concentrated mainly on the Three Kingdoms period, followed by the Bronze Age and Unified Silla. However, the presentation of this data aggregated is not the best format to understand the multiple strategies that collectively constructed those big areas of interest.



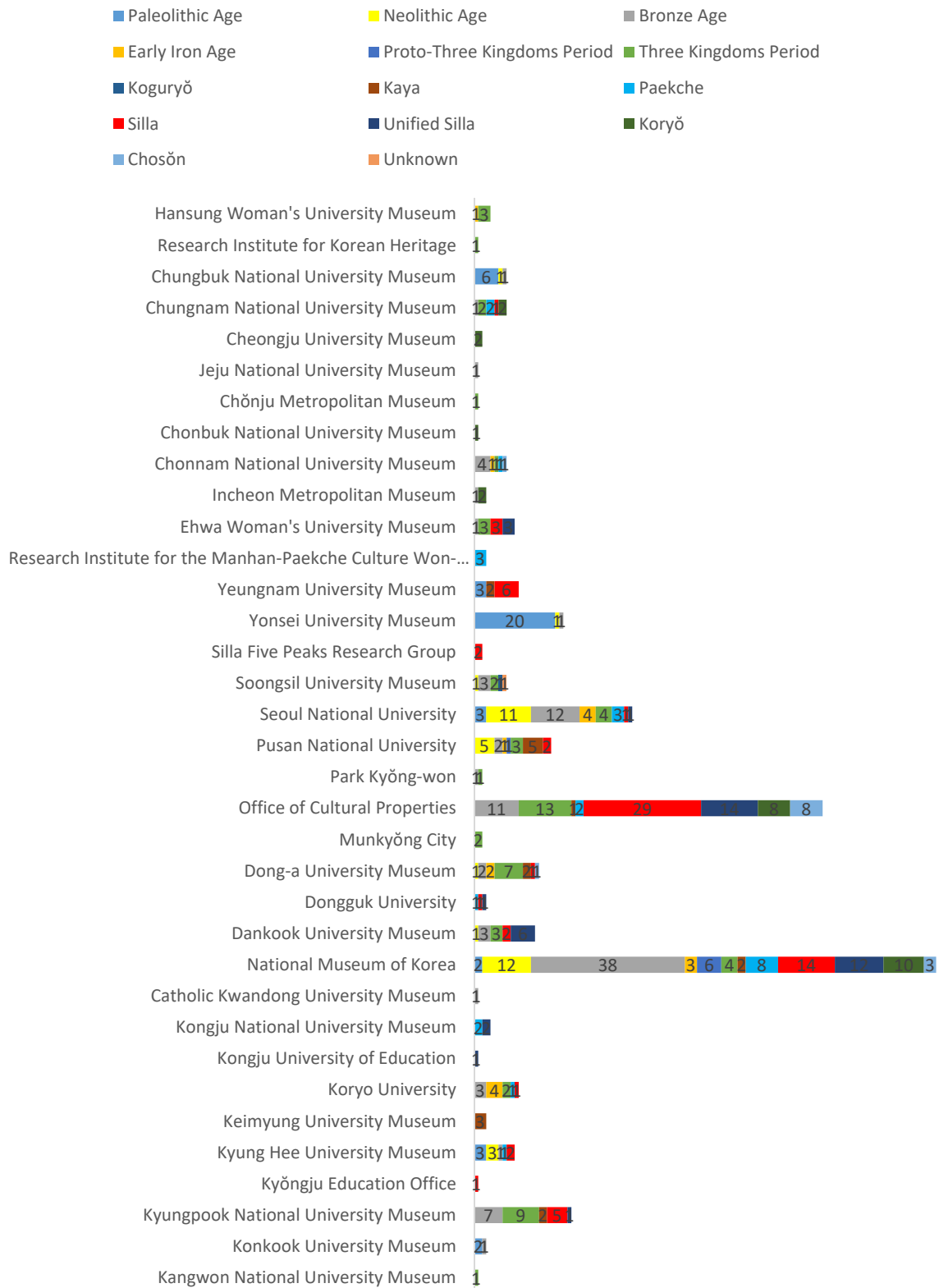
The consideration of interventions organized by period of research can provide important information about different research strategies. Table 3.7 presents each agent and the number of interventions that carried out in relation to each of the historical periods discussed above. It can provide important information about the capabilities of individual



agents, and their main areas of interest, the centrality-marginality of some periods over others. Methodologically, the analysis of this data will limit itself to the first three tiers of research agents. In other words, it will focus on agents with four or more intervention for the period 1945-1979. This decision is the result of the difficulty to establish research strategies from less than four interventions without an individualized analysis of each agent.



Table 3.7 *Historical period desitribution by agent*



The first aspect to consider is the level of specialization of the agents. It is possible to classify the agents of the first three tiers in three groups. The first group is formed by agents focused on just 2 or 3 periods, and it is represented by Yonsei University Museum, Yeungnam University Museum, Chungbuk National University Museum, and Hansung Woman's University Museum. Among these agents the most obvious cases of specialization can be found in Yonsei University and Chungbuk National University, where the greatest number of interventions were directed to one single period (Paleolithic Age), and presented very marginal contributions in the research of other periods. In these two agents, the proportion between the main area of research and the others is so high that their specialization is evident. Hansung Woman's University Museum also presents a high level of specialization, but the low number of interventions makes difficult the construction of a pattern. For the cases of Yeungnam the specialization is also present with a focus on Silla for the later, but the proportion is not as sharp as in the previous cases. The two periods with higher number of interventions, Silla (6) and Paleolithic Age (3), cannot be considered as related or complementary in any sense. In fact, Paleolithic archaeology requires a great deal of specialization, due to its technical complexity. Thus, it is very likely that there were two research agents within the same institution with different areas of research. In fact, we see that the reports and articles related on the DB with the Silla sites in some extent are mainly related to Yi Ŭn-ch'ang and/or Kim Tae-kyu. Meanwhile, the reports for one Paleolithic intervention is linked to Chŏng Yŏng-hwa, and the report of the other two Paleolithic interventions identifies clearly this same Chŏng Yŏng-hwa as the researcher from Yeungnam



University.<sup>231</sup> Therefore, it is clear that the specialization of different researchers was the cause behind this distribution.

There is a larger group of agents that worked around four and six different periods. Considering the distribution of interventions among those periods, the reality is slightly different. Actually, it is possible to organize this group of agents under two different models. The first model gather agents highly impacted by its participation on government led projects, creating a high degree of dispersion with a low level of interventions. The extreme cases of this model are Chungnam University Museum and Soongsil University Museum. The participation of Chungnam University Museum in the interventions related to the Taech'öng Dam affected to five out of eight interventions creating such disparity of periods, meanwhile the other three interventions are concentrated in the Three Kingdoms period and Paekche. In the case of Soongsil University Museum, five interventions are related to government led projects, and the excavation of the Koguryö fortress is related to a housing development project, leaving only one intervention that may be the result of the agent's will. The case of Dankook University Museum shows how this agent devoted up to to 6 interventions to research Chinjŏnji Temple, from Unified Silla period. Furthermore, the participation in several government projects let account for five interventions, representing most of its activities in sites from the Three Kingdoms period and Silla, and one from the Bronze Age. The next agent that can be included in this model is Ehwa Woman's University Museum, under the directorship of Chin Hong-söp. It can be seen how the institution was mainly interested in Silla and Unified Silla sites, but its participation in the P'aldang-Soyang Dam,

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<sup>231</sup> Kim Won-yong (ed.), "Pömrye" in *Chŏn'gok-ri Yujök Palgul Chosa Pogosŏ* (Seoul: Munhwachae Yŏn'guso, 1983):iv





Kyōngju Developmento Project, and the Jamsil development project, widened its reach to include as well sites from the Three Kingdoms Period and the Bronze Age. The finale agent that behaved under this model was Chonnam National University Museum that was mainly focused on Bronze Age, but its participation in the Changwŏn Machine Industry Complex project, Jamsil development project and Yōngsam River Dam project explains the dispersion of interventions in a wider range of periods.

The second model is represented by institutions with two different areas of research. This model is not so directly linked with the participation in government projects, but the greater research capabilities of the agent. In relation to this, it is possible to see how these agents also concentrate a greater number of interventions than most of the agents that fit in the previous model. The best examples of this model are Pusan National University and Kyungpook National University. Pusan National University was concentrated mainly on Kaya (5) period and Neolithic Age (5). The concentration on Kaya had as a side effect the realization of some interventions that are classified as part of the Three Kingdoms period, as it can be seen by the interventions at Ye'anri where the university museum directed five interventions resulting in Kaya sites (4), and Three Kingdoms period (1). The intervention in government led projects also affected to the periods of research of this agent (it took part in two interventions at Kyōngju on Silla period sites), but the impact in general terms was limited. Kyungpook National University focused its research on the Three Kingdoms period (9), and the Bronze Age (7). Considering this topic of research, the high number of interventions from Silla period (5) is quite understandable given the location of the university museum. In this regard, the participation of the agent in the Kyōngju Development Plan actually could furthered its research interests.



Koryo University is also very close to this second model in terms of research diversification across periods, and areas of interest, but the reasons behind the distribution does not allow to classify it within any of the models already presented above. Looking at the distribution of sites on a chronological sense, there was a concentration of research on Early Iron or Bronze Age sites, two periods quite related. Furthermore, this was the period when the interventions were directed by Kim Chŏng-hak, as it can be seen from the reports of those interventions. Once Kim Chŏng-hak abandoned Koryo University in 1968, and moved first to Yeungnam University, and later to Pusan,<sup>232</sup> the direction of interventions changed. From that moment also, the university started to take part in government led projects, explaining 4 out of 6 interventions between 1969 and 1979. In consequence, the diversification of Koryo University activity was the result of this participation in government led projects in connection with a change of directorship, more than of the creation of a new research focus of interest.

Dong-A University Museum represents a particular case of high concentration in a period, but with a wide number of periods researched. However, this is the result of their strong geographical concentration, instead of the influence of taking part in government led projects. The main area of research was the study of Three Kingdoms period sites (7), meanwhile the rest of periods count with just one or two interventions. Taking into account as well the geographical concentration of these interventions, it is possible to see how five interventions took part in the neighborhood of Tongnae, Pusan, where one Chosŏn site, one Kaya site, and one Silla site were investigated; another five happened in the county of

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<sup>232</sup> Han'guk Sahaknonch'ong kanhaeng wiwŏnhoe, *Haksan Kim Chŏng-hak Paksa songsukinyŏm* (Seoul: Hakyŏn munhwa hoesa, 1999):iii

Kosöng-gun, between Kosöng-ŭp, and Hailmyön, where two Early Iron Age sites, and one Bronze age site were researched. This high concentration of efforts in limited areas of research had as a counterpart the diversification of results in the archaeological record.

The remaining three agents represent the most ambitious take on archaeological research, accounting for interventions from at least eight different periods, and several clear area of concentration. These agents are, of course, SNU, OCP and NMK, and representing more than 50% of all the interventions between 1945 and 1979. They also represent the agents with longest history of research and widest geographical extension. A preliminary analysis of their interventions shows very different models of research in terms of period distribution. Thus, the SNU gets closer to the dynamics of other universities with high number of interventions. Its capability of research allowed the institution to focus its attention in several periods. The most important research periods for this agent were Neolithic Age (11), and Bronze Age (12), with also a relatively attention to the Early Iron Age (4). As other universities, SNU also took part in government led projects such as P'aldang-Soyang Dam (2), Kyöngju Development Plan (1), Jamsil development project (7), and Palwön Industrial Complex (1). However, these participations can only explain the high number of interventions related to the Three Kingdoms period, as a total of those four interventions are related to the Jamsil development project. The rest of intervention helped to develop the previous interest of SNU in terms of research. The interventions related to the Bronze Age are mainly connected to the intensive excavation of the Hunamri site, representing seven out of twelve excavations. In addition to those, the university also researched two sites in relation to the Jamsil development project, and another one in relation to the P'aldal-Soyang Dam project, and three of those interventions are related to the intensive excavation of



Tongsandong shellmound. This situation changes in relation to the interventions on sites from the Three Kingdoms Period which are all related to the Jamsil development project. The interventions related to the Early Iron Age are also heavily influenced by land development projects. In this case, the excavation of the Stone-mounded Tomb at Sökch'on-dong (Seoul) was part of the land development project near Jamsil, meanwhile the site excavated at Taesimni (Kyönggi-do) was part of the P'aldal-Soyang Dam project.

The OCP is the most clearly affected institution by government led projects with important consequences for the areas of specialization of the institution, producing an important impact on research areas of primary interest. A quick review of the interventions by period shows that Silla period (29) and Unified Silla period (14) were the most intensely investigated periods. This interest can be explained, due to the impact of the Pulguksa restoration project and the Kyöngju Development Plan from 1969 to 1979, accounting for 29 interventions. The other 14 interventions all happened at Kyöngju, except two interventions, mainly between 1965 and 1970. This distributions reinforces the centrality of Kyöngju as archaeological field of research.

The interventions from the Three Kingdoms period also answer in great amount to projects led by the government. Thus, four interventions out of thirteen were done in relation to the construction of a dam in Andong, as part of the archaeological research on the future flooded area. These were completed by one intervention in Kyöngju as part of the Pulguksa restoration project, and another as part of the Jamsil development project. The interventions about the Bronze Age also present cases in which the excavations were the result of government led projects. In that regard there were two interventions related with the P'aldal-Soyang Dam, and other two related to the Changsöng Dam. However, the research about this

period also had excavations executed with a research project born out of academic curiosity, such as the three interventions on Bronze Age sites at Taep'yŏngni, South Kyŏngsang province.

Finally, the Koryŏ and Chosŏn period also have a high number of interventions as a result of a government led project. The interventions related with Koryŏ are just eight, but four of them are related with the Sin'an shipwreck and its intense impact on the media, and one to the Taech'ŏng Dam project. Furthermore, the Chosŏn period interventions were the result of a project launched by the government to study sites related to the naval combats during the Imjin war, and therefore related to the figure of Yi Sunsin, counting as many as six interventions. In addition, another intervention of this period is related to the construction project of the Palwŏl Industrial complex. The high rate of interventions carried out by the OCP related with government led projects indicates that in many case the objectives of those researches were not part of an academic project. Actually, it indicates how economic policy and political projects affected in a very real way the archaeological research of the institution.

The NMK presents several research focus that answers mainly to successive research projects over time. The accumulation of its long history of archaeological research produced an impressive record of interventions in all periods but Koguryŏ. In addition, for most of periods the NMK was the leading institution, or among the top institutions. Thus, it was leading for the Bronze Age (38), Neolithic Age (12), and Koryŏ (10), Paekche (8), Proto-Three Kingdoms Period and Samhan (6); it was second in number of interventions in periods such as Silla (14), Unified Silla (12), Chosŏn (3); and third in Early Iron Age (3). These results were the consequence of several strategies of investigation that changed along the field. For example, the first topic of interest of the NMK were Silla and Unified Silla and



from 1946 to 1961 there were nine interventions in Kyŏngju as a result of that, and four more in Ullŭng-do. The interest in this period continued during the 60s, but as a secondary area with just 8 more interventions in a context where the NMK was increasing the number of annual interventions. After that, and in contrast to the interest of the government, the NMK limited its research activities in Kyŏngju during the 70s to just six interventions, but all part of the Kyŏngju Development Plan. Thus, it is possible to claim that the NMK interest in this area of research was the result of a lasting interest of the institution, although in decline, and not the result of a government plan for the research of this period. Although, such plan undeniably affected the final number of sites excavated.

In 1963, there were two other more interventions in Ullŭng-do that completed that research project, but the 60s witnessed a new area of interest at the NMK. Thanks to a grant from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, the NMK prepared and put into practice the first nationwide research project, directed to the investigation of the Bronze Age in Korea. As a result, between 1962 and 1967 the NMK, following the words of Yun Mu-byŏng, one of the archaeologists responsible of that project, “investigated and excavated around 100 dolmens (chisŏkmyo), but among them 60 were collected into the report.”<sup>233</sup> Looking into the DB that period only shows 25 interventions, of which only 16 are indicated to be outlined on that report. In any case, it shows the importance of this decade for the research of the Bronze Age. In addition after that research project, the discovery of the Hyuam-ri site (3) from 1968 to 1969, and Songgok-ri (4) from 1975 to 1978 reinforced the research about the period. It is also necessary to indicate that government led projects contributed to the research of this

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<sup>233</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):96

period, and two interventions of the Bronze Age are related to the P'aldang-Soyang Dam project.

The preeminence of NMK's research activity in the period of the Proto-Three Kingdoms period was limited to the research of three sites over which multiple interventions were made. The interventions were concentrated between 1967 and 1970, becoming one of the last interventions under the Kim Chae-wŏn's directorship. The intervention of Nakmin-dong Shellmound spent three campaigns to this period, and Tongwoe-dong another two. The former was found during the construction of a railway in 1930, waiting around 40 years for its research. The later was found on a hilltop close to a road.<sup>234</sup>

The interest in Neolithic age sites started properly in 1969 with the launch of a 5 year research project focused on Chŭlmun pottery.<sup>235</sup> Before that year, the NMK had done some survey work on the west coast islands that resulted in the research of some Neolithic sites there.<sup>236</sup> There was also a survey in 1958 in the island of Sido, but it was really with the three years long research in Tongsam-dong that the interest on Neolithic age started to be seconded by the NMK. After that it came the intervention in Sido (1970), and the five interventions at Amsadong (Seoul). As a result, almost all NMK interventions in Neolithic age were concentrated in the period between 1969 and 1975.

Interventions related to Koryŏ and Chosŏn are related to the study of the artistic pottery from that time. Such interest can be seen from the focus on the research of kiln sites. Actually, only one intervention out of the thirteen interventions of both periods was focused on

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<sup>234</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan, "Tongnae Nakmin-Dong P'aech'ong" (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan, 1998) ii; Kim Dong-ch'ŏl, Sŏ O-sŏn, and Sin Tae-gon, "Kosŏng-Dong P'aech'ong Palgul Chosa Pogosŏ" (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1993):15

<sup>235</sup> Han Byŏn-sam, *Sido P'aech'on* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1970):7

<sup>236</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, ed., *Sŏhae Tosŏ Chosa Pogo* (Seoul: Eulyoo Munhwasa, 1957)

something different than a kiln. Maybe the possibility of researching the old Koryŏ capital in Kaesŏng would have produced different lines of research for the Koryŏ period, but the loss of that city after the Korean War eliminated that possibility. It is also interesting to mention that the most repeated author of the articles accounting for those interventions is Choi Sun-woo, researcher at the NMK, part of the Art History Department at the museum. Consequently, it would be possible to raise questions about the driving interest behind the interventions, and their relation with the field of archaeology.

The research about Paekche by the NMK represents a third of the total number of interventions done in the field at the time, but it is quite small comparing with the level of research carried out for Silla sites. It should be also considered that the NMK had two branch museums in the areas occupied by the old Paekche capitals, Kongju and Puyŏ. Thus, the NMK was in an excellent position to investigate the multiple sites surrounding their branch museums. However, neither of those considerations made the agent to increase the number of interventions to level similar to the activity unfolded in the old capital of Silla, Kyŏngju. In any case, the eight interventions that the NMK directed in relation to Paekche situate the museum as the greatest researcher of this period. However, it is difficult to find a pattern in these researches beyond the geographical connection around the region of Chu'ngch'ŏngnam-do. The chronological dispersion shows an almost a regularity of one intervention every two years from 1962 to 1971. After that there is only one intervention in 1975 and two in 1979. In terms of research type, there was some diversity. The biggest category is formed by funerary sites with four interventions, followed by 2 interventions on 2 pottery kilns, and two others on a Buddhist temple site. The Buddhist temple site





interventions were part of an organized research that produced the report on Kŭmgangsa, published in 1969.

To summary, the field of archaeology shows important continuities from the colonial period, and important changes too. During the period between 1945 and 1979, research of the Three Kingdoms period was continued, following a research trend already established during the colonial period. However, this same period saw the inauguration of a new research line with the excavations done on the Bronze Age. Before the research project led by the NMK in the 60s, Korean archaeology did not have a defined Bronze Age, following the colonial idea of a period of mixed use of metal and stone tools.<sup>237</sup> Since then, the Bronze Age was a highly popular period of research. Consequently, there were also important Korean initiatives to investigate along different lines to those from the colonial period.

The individualize analysis of each agent interventions by periods of research shows different strategies of research ranging from highly specialized institutions, to holistic research centers. The diversity of strategies among institutions points out the balance between two main ideas. On the one hand, some institutions tried to develop their research agendas based on the academic interest of specific researchers. On the other hand, the government mobilized at some point agents in the field to cover specific needs such as rescue archaeological excavations associated to development projects or politically oriented excavations. How each individual institutions managed those interests crystalized in different positions with Yonsei University on one extreme of the specter, and the OCP on the opposite

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<sup>237</sup> Cho Yu-jŏn, "Ch'ŏngdonggi sidae," in Ch'oe Mong-nyong et alii, *Han'guk Sŏnso Kogohaksa* (Seoul: Dosŏch'ulp'an Kkach'i, 1992): 172



side. Many other institutions hold different positions in between, depending on how they balanced both ideas, and how strong were their connections to the government.

## **Conclusions**

The analysis of archaeological interventions since the Liberation until the end of Park Chung Hee's regime shows important transformations in the activity of the field. One of the most important aspects was the government. The government helped consolidate Seoul as the main center of archaeological research with the establishment in the city of the main research centers, the NMK and years later the RICP. The government also promoted many archaeological interventions in relation to its political interest in Kyōngju, and land development projects. The government led projects, which connected the participation of many agents in the field, funding and supporting their activities, mainly since 1968 and following the development of the new cultural policy and economic growth guidelines. Furthermore, they helped to create an archaeological landscape. The interventions at Kyōngju continue the trend already established during the colonial period focused on the ancient capitals of Silla.

It is also possible to see research outside government's interest. The interventions of the agents outside the SSAR are good examples. Given the circumstances in which Koryo University or Kyungpook National University directed their first archaeological excavations, it is beyond doubt that the main reason behind them was the interest of university professors to answer academic questions. Therefore, the field evolved from a mostly academic driven



research to be impregnated slowly by economic and political interests. Although, interventions never completely dominated by those interests.

The SSAR presented a great deal of field activity throughout the whole period. The NMK was the most active institution in the field, followed by the OCP and the SNU, representing more than half of all the interventions. However, they did not carry out the interest of the government in the same fashion. The OCP was more sensitive to it, as it is evident in the analysis of its interventions. Most of them were related to politically or economically invested projects such as the Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan or the excavation and restoration of Yi Sun-sin related sites. NMK and SNU also took part in projects similar to those, but their share regarding their total interventions was lower than the OPC's share. That shows that even within government institutions and institutions highly related to the government, there was not the same dependency to its objectives.

Thus, institutions part of the SSAR were able to develop research projects independently from government projects, creating a space of independence even within them. The most evident proof is the Dolmen Research Project executed by the NMK in the 60s. This project represented a departure from previous trends in as much as it targeted other archaeological sites that were not related to the Three Kingdom Period in a systematic way. That decision also changed the traditional geography of archaeological research up to that date, conferring greater importance to new areas such as Ch'ungch'ōng-do. That kind of projects represented important departures in the field from the colonial period, in as much as they involved new spaces of research and new objectives of study.

The analysis of interventions shows the complexity of the field and the limits of the government to control it completely. Even the institutes that remained under tighter control

by the government had a chance to develop their own projects fueled by academic questions, and beyond direct political or economic interests. In that space, non-government agents had the chance to become part of government projects taking advantage of that fuzzy space of relationship between the government and the field already indicated above. The growth of that fuzzy space represented the interconnection of non-government agents with government objectives, many times with the collaboration of an institution of the SSAR to coordinate both sides. Nevertheless, that collaboration did not ended with the tradition of archaeological research independent from the government and the SSAR, a tradition started in the 50s and continued throughout the period researched here. It just became smaller in the same proportion that the fuzzy space became bigger during a period of expansive government interest in the field.



## **Chapter 4: Institutional Structure of the State System of Archaeological Research**

### **Introduction**

The Liberation of Korea after the Japan's surrender brought the subsequent division of the Peninsula of Korea by the agreement between the URSS and the USA. The agreement of two areas of control was the beginning for the organization of two different and antagonistic states. Each half managed differently the colonial legacy, enacting different policies in relation to them. The regime in South Korea, developed with the support of former Korean elites from the colonial period and under a strong anti-communist policy, allowed the continuity of many aspects from the colony. These circumstances affected the evolution of the institutional framework of the field.

The aim of this chapter is the analysis of the institutional framework for archaeological research supported by successive governments in South Korea. These institutes were the NMK, the OCP and the RICP. These three institutions were the government actors in the field, as well as the most active research agencies. Due to the NMK is a direct product of the decolonization, the analysis here must attend to its effects. Their dependency from the government made them also vulnerable to changes in the cultural policy of the regime: the budget of the institutions depended on the government, and they employed state officers, some of whom were also archaeologists. Furthermore, the Ministry of Culture or the President of the Republic elected their directors. Consequently, they were also the most



sensible institutions to cultural policy changes. These characteristics made that their evolution was highly sensible to cultural policy changes dictated by the government.

The Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU (the Department hereafter) is also included as the most important actor of the fuzzy space above indicated, and a fundamental piece in the institutional framework. The department was the third largest institution in number of archaeological interventions on the field. In addition, it became one of its most important training centres, complementing and transforming its reproduction system. The first chair of the department became an experienced archaeologist working at the NMK, and many members of government institutions taught at the department as part time professors. Moreover, they all collaborated in many field researches over the time.

The relationship of all these institutions formed a system that needs to be understood when talking about the history of Korean archaeology. The close connection of these institutions to the government, connections among members in these institutions, and their functional complementarity in the development and expansion of research make possible to talk about a State System of Archaeological Research (SSAR). The main objective here is to map these institutions and provide a picture of the system that supported all the state led investigation on archaeology from 1945 until 1979. Later, when the first students graduated from the Department, many of them started their careers at those government institutions, reinforcing the ties between institutions.

The evolution of the system started from a core of institutions from the colonial period such as the General-Government Museum, and several branch museums and local museums. After the Liberation, the different regimes kept, transformed and enlarged that system, establishing the multiplicity of institutions indicated above. Thus, it is possible to identify



the continuity of the colonial regime after the Liberation of the Korea, but it is also clear that by the end of Park Chung Hee's regime, the archaeological research and management system had changed substantially from the colonial period. In summary, the picture here provided about the SSAR aims to understand the key elements in the evolution of the system from the late colonial period until 1979.

The expansion of the state system of archaeological research can be analyzed along three lines: size of the system and its institutions, level of specialization, and degree of government's control over the system. The enlargement of the system can be accounted in two aspects, the size of the institutions measured in number of workers, and the number of institutions organized. In any case, this growth meant the allocation of greater resources, economic and human, from the government with the objective of bolster the capabilities of the SSAR. However, such increase was not equal among all the institutions belonging to the research system in terms of budget or staff.

In terms of founding new institutions there is a steep increase once Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) entered in office after his coup d'état. During the USAMGIK period and Syngman Rhee's government, the system was practically reduced to the NMK. Only in 1961, Seoul National University founded the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. However, since Park took office, the SSAR expanded with the establishment of the OCP in 1961, the enactment of the Cultural Property Act, and the Cultural for Property Committee.

A new period in Park's cultural policy started in 1968, symbolized by the reconfiguration of the Ministry of Culture and Education into the Ministry of Culture and Public Information. This change was translated in the constitution in 1969 of the Research Seminar of Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'gusil*) that became an independent



institution in 1975, the Research Institute of Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'guso*). Related to that institutional reorganization, the government launched the Kyŏngju Tourism Development project. This project included the creation of an *ad hoc* office to research and manage archaeological sites in the area. In terms of budget, it is possible to observe a similar trend with a steady increase during the Syngman Rhee's regime, and steep increase after 1961. Nevertheless, the regime of Park Chung Hee offers again internal differences beginning around the period between 1968 and 1972 when most of the SSAR institutions saw a sensible increase in their operative budgets. Thus, the enlargement in the sixties and early seventies meant not a simple multiplication of institutions, but also the increase of research capabilities.

As we have just pointed out, the level of institutional specialization of the SSAR right after the Liberation of Korea was limited. After the Liberation, the restructured National Museum of Korea represented the whole system. The expansion of the system promoted a greater degree of specialization in systemic and internal terms. The incorporation of the OCP and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in 1961 represented that systemic specialization. The OCP meant the organization in the bureaucracy in charge of managing archaeological research. Moreover, the Department at SNU facilitated and promoted the reproduction of professional archaeologists to feed the Government and Academic system. Since 1968, the transformation of the government cultural policy pointed out the direction of this specialization to regional specialization and improvement of research capabilities. The administration took steps towards a progressive specialization directed to the separation of archaeology, art history, material conservation and museology as different specialities within the system. Thus, it is possible to appreciate during the period considered here the





reorganization of departments, and even the formation of *ad hoc* institutions to pursue new research activities. This process was intimately related with the general growth of institutions.

The final element of consideration is the general policy that the government applied to the SSAR. Over the years, it is possible to observe an increasing interest to exalt the ancient past of Korean culture, making out of such aspect of Korean culture a central point of government cultural policy. In order to do so, the government developed the SSAR to conform to that policy, increasing the links and method of control over the pieces of the system. Such change of policy can be tracked in several aspects of the organization of institutions, as for example, the election of directors and their profile, the relationship between the SSAR institutions and the Ministry, and, finally, the level of autonomy to manage research budgets. The system after Liberation was actively designed to promote decentralization and autonomy of cultural heritage management. Thus, there were several offices with competences over specific aspects of Korean heritage, or over specific monuments. Syngman Rhee inherited the system and kept it in place over his tenure. The first steps to a deep reorganization started after 1961 Coup d'État. Firstly, the government reorganized the multiple offices on cultural heritage and consolidated them in the Office of Cultural Properties. After 1968, the new Ministry of Culture and Public Information in charge of cultural heritage executed the new cultural policy of the government, increasing the level of control over the SSAR. The means of such control were the construction of a legal and administrative framework of relationships within the archaeological research state system. Such framework created some sort of hierarchy among institutions with consequences for the allocation of human, institutional and economic resources to conduct research.



In order to present the development of the archaeological and management state system, this essay will take a chronological perspective. Our main interest here is the political-administrative structure developed over the years in Korea. This means that the exposition will centre its attention on the administrative structures, the purposes for which they were created, their internal organization, and the means available for those structures to pursue their institutional objectives. The study of these indicators will allow us to identify the trends mentioned before, as well as to study the interconnections among institutions. The archaeological state system is organized in three periods from 1945 to 1979, considering five institutions, and following the main turning points in South Korean cultural policy.

The rule of the USAMGIK, first, and the establishment of the First and Second Republic of Korea, after, marked the first period, lasting from 1945 to 1961. This long period started with the government under the US military; it was followed by the foundation of the Republic of Korea (ROK hereafter) and the Korean War; and finished with the revolution of April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1960 and the later Chang Myŏn's government. These convulse years were also the foundation moment for the SSAR, leaving their influence on the system.

The main objectives of the USAMGIK at this time was to decolonize the administrative structure of the Colonial period, and establish an independent government led by Koreans. As in Europe and other places, the Cold War situation, as it was understood by American officials on the ground, led to a conservative policy that stressed continuity from the colonial period more than a decisive break from it. The US military supported the Korean elite from the colonial period, and continued many structures from the colonial period into the ROK.<sup>238</sup>

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<sup>238</sup> Cumings, Bruce, *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History*, Updated ed (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005):192-202



The section discusses the decolonization led by American officials and Koreans under the circumstances of an incipient Cold War, and the later development of the system under the Republic of Korea, finishing with the coup d'état led by Park Chung Hee in 1961. Internally, this long period is articulated around the Korean War, as a turning point in the evolution of the SSAR.

Our attention focuses on the NMK and the Cultural Property Act, important means to regulate archaeological research. However, during those years the dire situation of Korea made the government to leave archaeological research out of its immediate agenda of priorities. The disengagement of the government made possible for the Director of the National Museum of Korea a great deal of freedom to act to develop the institution and the field of archaeology. The director of the NMK led actively the search of additional funds to run the institution, conduct archaeological excavations and train his staff, making the museum one of the most important academic centres of the country at the time.

The regime of May 16<sup>th</sup> meant a new cultural policy with important consequences for archaeological research and management. However, changes within the regime make necessary to divide all Park Chung Hee's rule in two different periods. Therefore, the third period considered here lasted from 1961 to 1968. During this time, the government started developing a consistent cultural policy as part of Park's legitimacy strategy. Such policy was institutionalized when the central government organized the new agency for the specific purpose of centralizing the management of Korean cultural heritage, the OCP, and enacted a new Cultural Property Act (1962). Thus, archaeological research became for the first time regulated. In addition, the system grew when the most important public university of the country, Seoul National University, organized the first university department specialized on



archaeology, the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. This period sees the enlargement and specialization of the archaeological research and management state system with the development of new institutions and procedures, and their specialization and growth.

Finally, 1968 marks a turning point in Park's regime. The evolution of the regime regarding its authoritarianism and economic development had a great impact on a new cultural policy based on the bolstering of a strong national identity rooted on interpretation of the ancient past. This had a direct impact on the archaeological research and cultural management system, due to the selection of Kyōngju as the centre for an enormous tourist centre and the various rescue archaeology projects associated to government development projects. These projects activated many archaeological interventions for which the government mobilized many actors outside the government structure, as it has been indicated above. Moreover, it had a direct impact on the institutional framework of SSAR with new institutions created to cope with the new research objectives set by the Government.

### **The Liberation of Korea: the transition of the SSAR and its development under the Republic of Korea (1945-1961)**

The transition of the SSAR from the colonial period to the post-Liberation age under the USAMGIK p, and the Republic of Korea (ROK hereafter) later, was very much influenced by the division of the Peninsula and the organization of two different states in each half. Our study of the SSAR in this period reflects the process of decolonization after the Liberation, and the evolution of the SSAR until the coup led by Park Chung Hee. This long period is considered as a unit due to its stability in terms of institutional evolution of the SSAR, despite

the political upheavals that characterized Korea in those years. The government of the USAMGIK and the establishment of the Republic of Korea, the Korean War (1951-1953), the consecutive elections won by Syngman Rhee, his defenestration during the April Revolution, and the II Republic are all main events within this period with important political consequences for the organization of the general administration system. However, during all those events the SSAR kept most of its structure with some minimal transformations. The colonial museum was reopened as the National Museum of Korea, and a new law and structure was enacted as early as 1949. This relative stability of the core institutions that conformed the SSAR justify the consideration of this long period of time as a unit of analysis. Nevertheless, in order to analyse the period it is necessary to discuss previously in depth the process of transference from the colonial period to the USAMGIK and to the ROK. The conditions of this transition are important in as much as they shaped the later development of the SSAR under successive Korean governments. Such process was characterised by a strong continuity of the legal framework designed during the colonial government, but with an important discontinuity of the human capital that operated those same institutions. After the consideration of this process, the attention focuses on the historical development of the SSAR under the first and second Republics.

The unexpected surrender of the Japanese Empire left in Korea a very confusing situation. The Japanese authorities waited in their barracks and in compounds. In those circumstances, the vacuum of power was filled by more or less spontaneous popular committees. The situation at Kyōngju narrated by Steinberg provides a case. At that time, Kim Chae-wōn acting as a private citizen went to Kyōngju to secure the transference of



power from the Japanese director to Ch'oe Sung-bong.<sup>239</sup> In other cases, the Japanese official waited for the American troops to conduct a formal surrender of their duties. That was the case of the Director of the General-Government Museum, Arimitsu Kyoichi. He decided to wait at the Museum, because he was afraid that a disorderly departure could lead towards the looting of the museum collections. This decision definitely helped to preserve the collection and its transference to the next Korean administration.<sup>240</sup> These scenes unfolded until the first US soldiers were air-lifted to Korea, on September 7<sup>th</sup>, 1945. Once in Korea, one of the first responsibilities of the military was to handle the Japanese surrender, and therefore the transmission of key institutions to the new authority. These first years were very important for the SSAR, because they mean its foundations.

The following days after the Liberation, and the lack of clear guidelines for colonial officers, left a wide space of initiative to Koreans, who were organizing themselves to take over the colonial institutions. Once the US Army arrived to the Peninsula, the self-organization movement led by Koreans was put under the management of the army. Therefore, our main interest here is to present how decolonization process led by the US Army affected the evolution of the system, and the initiatives of the actors involved in that process. Americans did not create a system from scratches, and used the institutions established by the Japanese. However, they tried to eliminate Japanese references and personal to respect Korean sensibility, and proceed to the “decolonization” of the system. This process cannot be seen just as a mere continuity of the legal structure inherited from the

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<sup>239</sup> Steinberg, David I., “The National Museum of the Republic of Korea,” *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968): 18

<sup>240</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Kyongbokkung Yahwa* (Seoul: Tamkudang, 1991): 94-95

colonial period, it must include also the actors involved in the resetting of the SSAR, in order to have a better picture.

The transition of the Government-General Museum from the colonial government to the USAMGIK was not a clean process. After the Japanese Empire surrendered in August 1945, popular committees emerged to handle the transition until the complete independence from the colonial government. The recently organized *Committee for the Preparation of Chosŏn National Construction* sent one of its members to overlook the institution with long lasting consequences. The person selected for that task was Dr. Kim Chae-wŏn, lecturer at that time at the Kyŏngsŏng Women's Medical School. Arimitsu Kyoichi, the last Japanese director of the museum, recalled this moment as it follows:

The first time I met Dr. Kim was at the office of the Chosen General-Government Museum that was at that time at Kyŏngbokkung on August 17th, 1945, in the morning.

Dr. Kim received the task from the Committee for the *Preparation of Chosŏn National Construction* and came to the General-Government Museum to seizure it. I was, just at that time, the director of the museum, and for that reason the officer in charge of his reception. Besides me there were 5 or 6 Japanese specialists, and 2 or 3 Korean clerks at the museum.

Looking at the events of August 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> the problem of seizing the General-Government Museum arose as a matter of time. However, there were at the museum precious exhibited and collected artefacts, specially



many excavated artefacts during archaeological excavations by government officials. If we think about the whereabouts of that heritage, it could not be handled as the facilities of the general administration of the government. I had to meet very prudently the counterpart that would seize [the museum], and while I got the determination, the conversation with Dr. Kim came forward.

Due to it was our first meeting face to face, I thought it would be very tense. However, he, coming alone, did not have any attitude similar to pride, and the conversation was very prudent. Because it was very gentlemanlike no much later we could talk and share confidences mutually. Furthermore, we reached an agreement about the person in charge of the steps to be taken, and due to that, he came to the museum every day until the Japanese officers were discharged on Sept. 21<sup>st</sup>. In addition, he listened closely about museum management, and especially about the research and archaeological excavation done all over Chosŏn.<sup>241</sup>

Arimitsu's memories of such encounter highlights the intervention of a group of Korean activists at the time, and the possibility to participate in the process of transition from the beginning through Kim Chae-wŏn. Moreover, it explains the personal understanding between both scholars too, facilitating their collaboration and the integrity of the collections in a moment of high political instability, an understanding based on the mutual respect that both scholars felt for each other. Such collaboration did not stop with the arrival of the US Army

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<sup>241</sup> Ibid., 94



to the peninsula, as Arimitsu got orders after the formal rendition to the American troops on September 21<sup>st</sup> to stay at the museum and help in its reopening.<sup>242</sup> In conclusion, the collaboration between Arimitsu Kyoichi and Kim Chae-wŏn after August 15<sup>th</sup>, 1945, facilitated the integrity of the collections and the institution, making easier its later transition to a Korean administration. Furthermore, it also meant the introduction of a Korean member of the newly formed political associations in the management of the museum by acting as overseer.

The selection of Kim Chae-wŏn by the *Committee for the Preparation of Chosŏn National Construction* to handle the transition of the General-Government Museum into Korean hands shows the interest of certain elites to control the process of decolonization. Furthermore, it also shows Kim's initiative to navigate those circumstances, and finally to become the director of the NMK. He worked in order to keep the integrity of the collections during the transition, taking part in a process of requisition of Japanese collections and institutions. As it has been already stated above, Kim travelled to Kyŏngju in order to secure the museum collections with funds from Baek Nam-un, then chairman at Haksulwŏn.<sup>243</sup> That trip must be considered under the perspective of two facts. First, during the early 40s, Arimitsu decided to relocate the collection in a secure place under the eventuality of air raids like the ones that devastated Tokyo at the time. The director chose the museum at Kyŏngju

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<sup>242</sup> Dr. Arimitsu had been trained in archeology in Kyoto University. According to Major Sickman: "Dr. Arimitsu is a Japanese national who has had considerable experience in practical archeological work in Korea. He has no compromising connections with undesirable political or military groups and is much admired by his Korean associates. The Education Section of Military Government has recommended that he be retained in view of the fact that there are no Koreans with technical training in the field of archeology. In the opinion of the undersigned, Mr. Arimitsu is a sound scholar whose experience can be of the greatest value during this transition period. He should certainly be retained in accordance with policy as established in SWNCC 176/8." "Inspection of Cultural Institutions in Korea," a memorandum from Major Laurence Sickman, Arts and Monuments Division, CIE, December 29, 1945, pp. 3 in. Steinberg, David I, "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968):28

<sup>243</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992):83-84

as safe place where to keep the collections,<sup>244</sup> therefore, at the time of the Japanese rendition, most of the collections were there under the supervision of the branch museum director. The second factor is related to the actions of the Kyongju museum director. Despite the lack of any legal authority, Kim Chae-wŏn secured the transference of power to a Korean. In that context, Kim Chaewŏn's trip to Kyŏngju aimed to control the situation there and secure the collections hosted at the museum.<sup>245</sup> These events talk about the degree of initiative shown by some Korean scholars at the time, and the good understanding with their Japanese counterparts. Furthermore, these events could be considered as the first steps towards the directorship of the NMK.

The selection of Kim to handle the seizing of the General-Government Museum talks about the connections that Kim enjoyed at the end of the colonial period among Seoul elites. Very likely, those same connections granted him an interview with Captain Earl N. Lockard, appointed by Commander Hodge, Director of Education, and therefore the officer in charge of the Museum on September 26<sup>th</sup>, 1945.<sup>246</sup> It was during that interview that Kim remember

<sup>244</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa.*

*Punmunp'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009):131

<sup>245</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992):84

<sup>246</sup> The first thing US military did when finally arrived to the Peninsula was to take control of the government, including the administration in charge of cultural heritage management. The US Army on Sept. 9<sup>th</sup>, 1945, accepted the formal rendition of the Japanese Colonial Government south of the parallel 38°, and on Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> the USAMGIK took over the central administration, dissolving the previous colonial administration. In relation to the cultural administration, the main changes started since 1946. Earlier that year the Office of Culture (munhwakwa), in charge of cultural heritage, passed to depend from the Department of Educational Affairs (hakmu'guk) to the Department of Education (kyohwa'guk). As a consequence, museums and art galleries passed as well under the control of this department. Later on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 1946, there was a change in the designation of the administrative structure and the departments (guk) passed to be ministries (bu). Thus, the late Department of Education Affairs passed to be the Ministry of Education and Culture (munkyobu), transferring the Office of Culture (munhwa'guk) from the old Department of Education. Moreover, the reorganization of the new Ministry in July of the same year created within the Office of Culture four departments: the Departments of Religion (kyodokwa), the Department of Sports (Chaeyukkwa), the Department of Arts (Yaesulkwa), and the Department of Cultural Infrastructures (munhwaesiseolkwa). This last department was designated to regulate libraries, museums and ancient sites. See Munhwachaech'ŏng, *Munhwachaech'ŏng 50nyŏnsa 1961-2011: Bonsap'yŏn* (Taejŏn: Munhwachaech'ŏng, 2011):33-34; Steinberg, "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968):18



that he got the directorship of the museum when he wrote that “I went one day to the Ministry of Education (munkyobu) and I showed to Captain Lockard, the Ministry of Education (munkyobuchang) my business card where was written the PhD degree I wrote in Belgium. He repeated several times “very good man,” and a few days later I was appointed director of the National Museum.”<sup>247</sup> This appointment started a career as head of the National Museum of Korea that expanded for 25 years, until he had to retire by legal imperative in 1970. Such a long tenure talks about his ability to navigate politically convulse moments like the end of Syngman Rhee’s regime, or the later coup d’etat in 1961. In conclusion, the limited time of power vacuum between the colonial government and the USAMGIK was the opportunity for Kim to move his connections, and get in position to be appointed director of the NMK.

Thus, the landing of the US Army in September 1945 marked the beginning of a coordinated effort to restart this key institution of the SSAR inherited from the colonial period, the National Museum of Korea. The reopening of the colonial museum was one of the main objectives of the USAMGIK, as it can be seen by the speed with which the museum reopened its doors. In September the first units of the US Army arrived to officially take control of the southern half of the Peninsula, and as soon as December 3<sup>rd</sup>, the newly named National Museum of Korea celebrated an official ceremony to commemorate its reopening. The importance of the event can be measured by the level of authorities present in the ceremony: Lt. Gen. John R. Hodge, commander of the US forces in Korea, Maj. Gen. A.V. Arnold, Military Governor of Korea, Brig. Gen. J.K. Schetz Provost Marshall General, and the director of the museum, Kim Chae-wŏn.<sup>248</sup> Part of this success was due to the

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<sup>247</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp’yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T’amgudang, 1992):84

<sup>248</sup> David I. Steinberg, “The National Museum of the Republic of Korea,” *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968):18



collaboration of Cap. Eugene Knezevich, who was in charge of the Army's Bureau of Culture. Cap. Knez remembered that "with the change of the title [of the department] to Bureau of Culture, the objectives of the department also changed to protect the historical and artistic heritage of Korea, and establish again the scientific and academic societies."<sup>249</sup> Thus, he became the liaison officer between Kim Chae-wŏn as director of the National Museum of Korea, and the US Army Military Government in Korea, and between both directed the transition of the NMK into the Republic of Korea with Arimitsu Kyoichi's collaboration.

The Korean War also marked another turning point in the life of the NMK. Before the war, the National Museum of Korea was located in the same building that hosted the colonial museum, using the same space, offices and means but the Korean War changed that. Once the war started in June 1950, Rhee's government did not want to evacuate the museum until the very last moment possible, and avoid thus the general panic. However, the advance of the North Korean Army was faster than expected and took Seoul on June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1950. This left the museum staff completely unprepared for the arrival of the communist army. During the occupation of the city, a staff member of the museum denounced other members of the museum, including director Kim, as enemies of the people. Director Kim explained the events of those days in a letter to Charles B. Fahs saying how "From June 28<sup>th</sup>, 1950 I really lived in constant fear. Having spent so many years abroad, having received even a fellowship from the richest capitalist Mr. Rockefeller to spend a year in America, I would have been worthwhile to be shot."<sup>250</sup> On September 25<sup>th</sup> of the same year, Seoul was retaken after the Battle of Incheon. Taking the opportunity, Kim reorganized the few resources he had under

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<sup>249</sup> Knezevich, E. "Recollections of Dr. Knez" in Kim Chae-wŏn, *Kyongbokkung Yahwa* (Seoul: Tamkudang, 1991): 100

<sup>250</sup> Rockefeller Archive Center, RF, RG 1.2, 613R Korea, 3, 24, Letter to Mr. C. Fahs October 19<sup>th</sup>, 1950

his command and evacuated the collections to Busan with the collaboration of the US Army. Due to the situation of war and the limitations in Busan, the collections were not exhibited to the public, and the museum stopped much of its activity. In fact, director Kim could only support a working group of people during the war thanks to several grants from the Rockefeller Foundation.<sup>251</sup> After the war, the NMK did not recover its normal life, due to the lack of available space. In 1953, after the end of the war the NMK was allowed to return to Seoul, but to a new location, the former General-Governor Residence. The place was completely unsuitable for the National Museum due to the lack of space and conditions for an institution of its characteristics. For this reason, director Kim decided to keep the collections in Pusan until a suitable place for their exhibition was found.<sup>252</sup> In 1955, the museum moved again to a new location in a better suited place.<sup>253</sup> The direct intervention of Syngman Rhee by petition from director Kim allowed the museum to move to Töksukung Palace. Thus, it was not until 1955 that the museum could reopen its doors and work conditions.<sup>254</sup> During all the time between the evacuation of the museum to Busan, and the reopening of the NMK in 1955 the collections were kept in boxes, due to the lack of proper exhibition spaces. Therefore, during all that time the direct study of the artefacts was limited. The archaeological activity was restarted a bit earlier, and in June 1953 was conducted the first archaeological excavation in Kyōngju, being followed by other interventions. In any case, it is clear that the war meant a long hiatus in terms of archaeological research in the

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<sup>251</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yōngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992): 128; Rockefeller Archive Center, Rockefeller Foundation, RG 1.2, 613R Korea, 3, 25, Letter to Charles B. Fahs, June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1951; Rockefeller Archive Center, Rockefeller Foundation, RG 1.2, 613R Korea, 3, 26, Letter to Charles B. Fahs, March 12<sup>th</sup>, 1952

<sup>252</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, 2005):53; The Namsan Branch Museum was in fact the Anthropological Museum that became part of the National Museum system in 1950, when the government decided to unite them.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 53

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 64



country. The decolonization of the NMK until the end of the Korean War shows the initiative of Korean scholars in the process of restarting the museum activity. In that regard, they should be noted as important agents in the form that the museum was passed over to the Republic of Korea.

It was after the Korean War that the SSAR was fully structured again, and recovered the conditions to develop its work. In order to study this system during the 50s, first it is necessary to focus on the administrative structure of the SSAR in relation to the rest of the bureaucracy of the government. Then, the inquiry turns to the level of institutional specialization in terms of structural specialization and the specialization of the staff. Finally, it is considered the expansion of the SSAR during these years in relation to the colonial period. The analysis of these variables over the period between 1945 and 1961 throws light on the problem of continuity-discontinuity from the colonial period, and during the period itself.

The institutional relationship of the NMK with the government can be analysed through the study of the legal framework of the Museum. In that sense, the museum was regulated on December 12<sup>th</sup>, 1949 by the Presidential Decree (Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng) n° 234, until it was substituted by the State Council Order (Kukmuwŏnnyŏng) n° 185 on January 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961 under the II Republic. That order continued later under Park's regime with some modifications. These two laws meant not just an administrative update, but also a reform of the internal organization of the Museum and the organization of archaeological research, following the trend to reduce the size of public institutions, and developed a more rigid system for discretionary appointments.

The NMK was an independent institution under the authority of the Ministry of Education, as it was recognized in both acts. This institutional organization was an important

improvement regarding the colonial period, because it gave greater autonomy to the museum. In terms of Ministry-Museum relationships, it is necessary to examine the composition of the system and the requirements of the directorship, and observe the difference between both laws. The new political environment of the II Republic aimed to limit the liberality with which Rhee's regimen had used state institutions to reward its supporters, as well as it adjusted the organization of the museum to the new situation after the Korean War. The NMK in 1949 was formed by the old colonial system of museums, the main museum in Seoul and the branch museums in Kyōngju, Kongju and Puyō, plus the addition of the metropolitan museum of Kaesōng.<sup>255</sup> Thus, the national museum structure expanded the colonial system to include some of the main city museums governed by Seoul at that time. However, the Korean War forced the transformation of the system as it is reflected on the act after Kaesōng was lost in the war. Thus, the State Council Order claims that the National Museum is formed by the main museum in Seoul and the branch museums in Kyōngju, Kongju and Puyō.<sup>256</sup> Furthermore, both laws stated the figure of the director as the highest responsible of the NMK, but the 1949 act said that "the director receives the mandate from the Ministry of Culture and Education to direct the institution" (art. 5), and the same article specified "the director is appointed within the department of arts and science (hakyækwon)." However, the 1961 act changes the specifications about the director to state that "there is a director in the National Museum and is appointed within a 1 rank public officer (1kūp kongmuwōn)" (art. 3.1). The form of the article in the 1961 act makes the selection of the director a much restrictive act, because it limits it to the first class of public officials. In addition, it also highlights the political character of the directorship against the

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<sup>255</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon Chikchae Kongp'o, Taet'ongnyōngnyōng n°234, 1949.12.12, Art. 2

<sup>256</sup> Kukmuwōnnyōng, chae 185 ho, 1961.1.16, Art. 2

previous academic specificity of the position as states in the 1949 act. In any case, despite the modifications of the law, Kim Chae-wŏn kept the position as director of the NMK until 1970, showing how he was able to confirm his position in difficult political situations. Consequently, the position of directorship depended completely during the whole period from the ministry, but despite changes in the law, Kim was able to validate his mandate over the museum

The internal structure of the NMK is based on a strong main museum in Seoul and a system of minor museums in the provinces. This can be seen through the distribution of workers within the system, to appreciate the great imbalance towards the main museum. Thus, the total staff at the NMK were 34 workers, of which 19 were in the main museum in Seoul, 2 at the warehouse in Pusan, 6 at Kyongju, 4 at Puyo, and 3 at Kongju. Looking just at the academic staff, the proportion is still very imbalanced. Seoul concentrated 5 employees categorized as member of the Art and Science department (*hakyækwon*), meanwhile there was only one in each of the branch museums.<sup>257</sup> The reality of the museum did not change after the enactment of the new law in 1961 and kept the same numbers for the academic staff, 5 in Seoul, and 1 in each of the branch museums.<sup>258</sup> Nevertheless, such centralization of functions can be better seen through the structure of the museum.

The NMK in 1949 was organized in four departments, General Affairs, Exhibition, Research, Diffusion, and three branch museums.<sup>259</sup> This configuration of the museum organized researchers in three different departments, the department of Diffusion

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<sup>257</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, "Kungnip Pangmulkwon Kaeram," 1959:21

<sup>258</sup> Kungnip Pangmulgwon, "Kukchŏng kamsa charyo," 1961:24

<sup>259</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon Chikchae Kongp'o, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng n°234, 1949.12.12, Art. 7-10. The law does not specify the functions of the branch museums.



(Pugŭpkwa), the department of Research (Yŏn'gukwa), and the Department of Exhibition (Chinyŏlkwa). The Department of Diffusion had the mission “to care of the matters related to the dissemination and education about the projects of the museum.”<sup>260</sup> The Department of Research was in charge of “researching and investigating of ancient relics; printing and editing academic books and reports; copying, recording surveying and salvation of ancient relics.”<sup>261</sup> Thus, it was the department in charge of conducting most of the archaeological field work of the NMK. Finally, the Department of Exhibition was in charge of the “arrangement and collection of artifacts for exhibitions; management of the exhibiting artifacts, register cards and conservation and custody of cultural properties; elaboration of books analyzing exhibition artifacts; organization and management of lectures and projection of documentaries; organization of special exhibitions and permanent exhibition; other museum projects related with education.”<sup>262</sup> This description, led the department to conduct the post-excavation management of the pieces recovered from any excavation or field research. However, the organization of the Museum in 1959 shows that the dept. of Exhibition had disappeared, and its functions were performed by the dept. of Diffusion.<sup>263</sup> That same document states the functions of the branch museums in three areas: administration of the facilities, budget and visitors; “conservation, management and exhibition of the artifacts, the research of ancient sites and relics;” and the other museums projects oriented to the public educations.<sup>264</sup> Thus, the duty of the branch museums to conduct research was only stated in an internal document of the NMK. This point, and the

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<sup>260</sup> Ibid., Art. 10

<sup>261</sup> Ibid., Art. 9

<sup>262</sup> Ibid., Art. 8

<sup>263</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, “Kungnip Pangmulkwon Kaeram,” 1959: 19

<sup>264</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, “Kungnip Pangmulkwon Kaeram,” 1959: 20



limited human resources at the branch museums to conduct research, should make us think that most of the research was done from the main museum in Seoul.

The II Republic started with the intention of cleaning the state administration from the political cliques promoted by Rhee during his tenure. In the area of the NMK, this aim was translated into a reform directed to its rationalization and reduction of size.<sup>265</sup> Thus, the revision of the museum act would be an instrument to do so. The rationalization and reduction of the institution came through the modification of the departments at the museum. The NMK was organized following the same principle of centralization in Seoul against the branch museums in the provinces, so the main transformation happened in the organization of the main museum in Seoul. The law organized the Museum in three departments, the Department of Administration (kwallikwa), the Department of Archaeology (kokohahkwa) and Department of Art (misulkwa).<sup>266</sup> Such reorganization of departments transformed the nature of research by eliminating the Department of research and dividing its functions along specific areas of study (Archaeology and Art), and joining the functions of artifacts management and exhibition. The act states that the Department of Archaeology was in charge of “the education, publicity, research, restoration, reparation, imitation, copy, photography, cartography, judgment, evaluation, historical investigation, display custody and collection of materials related to the areas of archaeology, folklore and anthropology.”<sup>267</sup> In addition, the Department of Art was in charge of “the education, publicity, research, restoration, reparation, imitation, copy, photography, cartography, judgment, evaluation, historical investigation,

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<sup>265</sup> Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwan, *Kungnip Pangmulkwan 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwan, 2005):65

<sup>266</sup> Kukmuwönnnyöng, chae 185 ho, 1961.1.16, Art. 5

<sup>267</sup> Ibid., Art. 7

display custody and collection of materials related to the areas of arts and crafts.”<sup>268</sup> As in the previous law, the function of the branch museums were not defined in the museum act, but an internal document of the museum states that the functions of the branch museums were organized in three areas: administration of the facilities, budget and visitors; “conservation, management and exhibition of the artifacts, the research of ancient sites and relics;” and the other museums projects oriented to the public educations.<sup>269</sup> Therefore the reorganization of 1961 did not change the centralization of the structure, but it meant a strong step in the specialization of the institutional organization of the museum to conduct research.

The level of specialization among the researchers within the SSAR was one of the most important problems that the system had to face during this period. The reason was that most of the first scholars involved in the SSAR had some level of higher education, but most of them were not specialists educated on archaeological research. Kim Chae-wŏn was an exception but with some lights and shades in terms of its education. He had effectively a PhD degree from a European university, and he had some training in archaeology, but both facts were not related. Kim went to study to Germany, graduating in 1934, and then moved to Belgium for 6 years. Schirmer argues very convincingly that the lack of clarity of Kim’s thesis topic is related with his intention to make believe that he was a PhD on archaeology. However, he present solid evidences that his studies at Munich were mainly on education, and his PhD thesis versed on a balanced critique of the politics of assimilation conducted at the time in Korea by the Japanese government. Thus, his training in archaeology would have happened when he worked as personal assistant for Carl Philipp Hentze, a sinologist teaching

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<sup>268</sup> Ibid., Art. 8

<sup>269</sup> Kungnip Pangmulgwan, “Kukchŏng kamsa charyo,” 1961:23



and researching at the University of Ghent.<sup>270</sup> In any case, the level of training that Kim could achieve under the supervision of Hentze must be put to question especially on the practical side of research. Hentze, being a sinologist in Belgium, did not conduct any field research in China, what made impossible for Kim to earn from him any field research experience, even though he could have studied archaeology under his guidance. This state of affairs turned important when he became director of the NMK, an institution dedicated to conduct among other tasks archaeological research, and there were no other specialists in archaeology.

The limited number of trained specialists was a serious problem that the USAMGIK tried to solve in order to complete the decolonization of the NMK. As stated above, most archaeologists were Japanese, and they left after Japan surrendered. Steinberg expressed the situation quoting Major Sickman's report on the situation of the NMK:

There are no Koreans associated with the Korean Bureau of Arts and Religion or with any of the Seoul museums who have training or experience in museum work. The undersigned was unable to learn whether or not this was also the case with provincial and branch museums. Apparently there are few if any Koreans who were trained by the Japanese to occupy key positions in museums and in field archeology.<sup>271</sup>

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<sup>270</sup> Schirmer, A. "Verschwiegene Doktorarbeit. Zu Text und Kontext der Dissertation (München 1934) des späteren Direktors des südkoreanischen Nationalmuseums über die japanische Assimilationserziehung in Korea" in Andreas Schirmer and Philipp Haas, *Wiener Beiträge zur Koreaforschung = Viennese Contributions to Korean Studies* (Wien: Institut für Ostasienwissenschaft / Koreanologie, 2010):9-21

<sup>271</sup> "Inspection of Cultural Institutions in Korea." a memorandum from Major Laurence Sickman, Arts and Monuments Division, CIE, December 29, 1945, p. 2 in Steinberg, David I., "The National Museum of the Republic of Korea," *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch*, no. 44 (1968):22-23

In fact, there were some other Koreans with experience in archaeological research, and some publications about archaeology during the colonial period. Academics such as Son Chin-t'ae, Han Hŭng-su or To Yu-ho were the first Koreans to work in the area of archaeology under the colonial period, but their later influence for the development of archaeology in South Korea was very small. Han Hŭng-su and To Yu-ho decided to go to North Korea after the division of the peninsula, meanwhile Son Chin-t'ae decided to live in South Korea. However, Son Chin-t'ae was kidnapped by North Korea during the Korean War, and moved to North Korea.<sup>272</sup> Thus, their influence over the later specialization of researchers at the SSAR was very limited, even more when neither of them was part of the NMK staff or the Committee after the Liberation.

The first task for Director Kim and the officer in charge of the Cultural and Art Section of the American Military Government Cap. Eugene I. Knezevich was to ensemble a team of people to staff the Museum. Director Kim took an active stand to increase the level of training by developing the in-house human capital, and bringing trained archaeologists to the NMK from the very first moment. Kim Chaewon searched for the most qualified academics and graduated he could find in Korea, but the precarious conditions of the job did not help his cause, and the lack of archaeologists make it more difficult. He sought his new staff in related academic fields such as history, art practitioners, or even social sciences. However, “after the Liberation usually there were few specialists in those academic fields in Korea.”<sup>273</sup> The biography of the first archaeologists is full of examples of this initial lack of training, making the director to take special care in the training of his own staff in order to fulfill their

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<sup>272</sup> Kim Chŏng-bae, *Han'guk Kodaesa Wa Kogohak*, Ch'op'an, Saeron Sŏwŏn 219 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Sinsŏwŏn, 2000):14-15

<sup>273</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan kwa hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992):91



institutional duty. This situation forced the NMK to promote the formation of their staff through activities and programs specially oriented to that purpose, and many efforts were put to curate its human capital, and develop it. Due to the country did not have any institution of higher education where students could be trained in the field of archaeology, the NMK had to provide with some sort of alternative for its own researchers. Thus, director Kim promoted several activities to promote such training. The first of those activities was the lobbying to the USAMGIK to keep Arimitsu in order to help in the reorganization of the Museum, and train the staff in archaeological research.<sup>274</sup> Another project was the support of museum researchers to study abroad, and more specifically in the USA, such as the cases of Kim Won-yong.<sup>275</sup> Finally, the third kind of project that director Kim set in motion was the hiring of scholars already trained to increase the internal level of expertise at the NMK. This was the case of Kim Chŏng-gi, who worked in archaeological excavations in Japan and was approached to work at the NMK.<sup>276</sup> These quesitons had an important impact too in terms of the continuity and discontinuity of colonial archaeology in relation to post-Liberation archaeology, as well as the international influences that affected Korean archaeology in the period considered here. However, these questions are dealt in more depth later.

The NMK represented the key element of the SSAR until Park Chung Hee's government. However, the system grew through the NMK's enhancing. The conditions of the NMK did change over time in terms of budget facilities, and more importantly, in terms of human resources. During the years under the American military government, the main

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<sup>274</sup> Arimitsu Kyoichi, "Arimitsu Kyoichi kyosuüi hoego" in Kim Chae-wŏn, *Kyongbokkung Yahwa* (Seoul: Tamkudang, 1991): 98-99

<sup>275</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Silla T'ogiüi Yŏn'gu* (Soul: Üryu Munhwasa, 1960) :i-ii

<sup>276</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008): 159-169



objective was to reopen the institution and give some basic ground for its autonomy. It was only after the constitution of the Republic of Korea that the dire economic situation of the country was completely felt by the NMK. Later, due to the war, the government did not feel that the NMK was one of the priorities in the organization of the national budget, what meant very small operative budgets for the NMK. The main consequence of this was the incapability to sustain and train a team of researchers, because their financial needs made them find better paid jobs somewhere else. Thus, in a letter to the Rockefeller Foundation from August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1951, Kim claimed that the “main trouble for us is not, however, the destroyed buildings, but the starvation salary of our government for the employees.” Looking at the budget of the museum between 1946 and 1961 it is possible to see a very steep increase in the total budget of the NMK. In 1946 the total budget of the NMK was 2,544,100₩, and in 1950 it was 14,217,900₩.<sup>277</sup> The devaluation of the won at the time forced in 1953 a monetary reform that substituted the won with the hwan to an exchange rate of 1 hwan per 100 won.<sup>278</sup> That year the NMK budget was 3,064,356 hwan, and it escalated to 26,021,600 hwan in 1955, and 66,355,700 hwan in 1960.<sup>279</sup> However, this enormous increase must be seen cautiously. In 1951, Kim Chae-won wrote a letter to Charls B. Fahs, Assistant Director of the Rockefeller Foundation, putting in perspective his salary. There he said “[M]y own salary is still 40.000 won, i.e. about 6\$, while I need for me and my family around 500.000 Won. The government is paying 20.000 Won for our museum guard. But in reality he needs for his own person alone monthly rice for 45.000Won.”<sup>280</sup> In fact, instead of looking at the budget, if the staff records

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<sup>277</sup> Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwon, 2005):672

<sup>278</sup> Lee Sang Woo, *The Bank of Korea: A Sixty-Year History* (Seoul: Bank of Korea, 2010):156

<sup>279</sup> Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwon, 2005):672

<sup>280</sup> Letter to Mr. C. Fahs August 5<sup>th</sup>, 1951, Folder 25, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center



are reviewed, a different picture emerges. The staff at the NMK in the main museum in Seoul were 31 persons, of which 23 were from the Department of General Affairs. In addition, the branch museums had one curator each and 13 supporting staff members (clerks, guards, and janitors). Thus, there were six members doing academic work at the museum, excluding the director.<sup>281</sup> In 1959, the NMK had 34 members, and eight were part of the academic staff, excluding the director, and three of them were directors of branch museums.<sup>282</sup> In fact, one of them was Yun Mu-byōng, who joined the NMK in 1954,<sup>283</sup> and the other addition to the team was Kim Chōng-gi, who joined in 1959.<sup>284</sup> Two years later, the total staff number increased to 46, and the academic staff remained the same number with the addition of three new members at the Department of Archaeology (Han Byōng-sam, and Lee Nan-yōng) and Art (Maen In-jae) as part-time employees (*ch'okt'ak*).<sup>285</sup> In conclusion, the growth in terms of new research members was concentrated almost exclusively at the end of the period between 1959, and 1961.

In conclusion, this first period was one of general adjustment to the new political situation of the peninsula in relation to the ongoing fragmentation of Korea, and the construction of a new Korean state in its southern half. The origins of the Korean archaeological research state system came, but from an early moment it is possible to note modifications from the colonial period, and the beginning of new trends. In that sense, the origins of the National Museum of Korea were deeply rooted in the colonial system, but with

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<sup>281</sup> National Museum of Korea, 1950, Folder 24, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

<sup>282</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, "Kungnip Pangmulkwon Kaeram," 1959:21

<sup>283</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wōllo Ege Tūnnūn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yōn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yōngnon, 2008):140

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 237

<sup>285</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, "Kukchōng kamsa charyo," 1961:24



the addition of other important museums to that system. This had as the positive connotation that the Museum could restart some sort of work very early, but the negative side was the lack of a proper decolonization of the institution. However, in a different aspect the institution was decolonized. The expulsion by the USAMGIK of all the Japanese at the museum made very limited the continuation of internal practices. Only the presence of Arimitus Kyoichi contradicted this situation, but it must be considered the limited time he had as adviser, and the beginning of a new source of influence. Since the beginning of the occupation, Americans had started to bring in their methods and ideas. In the area of archaeology, and archaeological heritage management, the presence of Cap. Knezevich and the grant provided by the Rockefeller Foundation were the beginning of a new and long relationship between American academics and Korean archaeologists.

### **Park Chung Hee, the development of the Republic of Korea (1961-1967)**

The II Republic of Korea ended with the coup d'état led by Park Chung Hee and the military. The coup was justified by the alleged incapability of Chan Myōn's government to stabilize the situation after the April 19<sup>th</sup> Revolution, lead the economic development of the Republic, and work for the unification of the Peninsula. The elected government led by Chan Myōn had to face an increasing unrest and lack of popular support. The new democratic reforms launched to revert the authoritarian system of Syngman Rhee was not radical enough for a faction of students who demanded harsher methods to punish the collaboration with Rhee's regime. At the same time, the educated urban elite observed warily how the situation was turning into what they interpreted as social chaos. In the end, the military took control of the

situation escalating what was at the beginning a petition for internal reform in the military to a coup d'état. The military regime of Park Chung Hee started in May 16<sup>th</sup>, 1961.

The new regime showed a strong interest in cultural management, as it can be observed from the measures taken to reconfigure the administration of cultural heritage, to fund new institutions and to promote its research. Thus, this new attitude reflected upon the SSAR in the enlargement of the system, administrative relationship with the government, and the level of specialization. In terms of new institutions, the SSAR grew with the establishment of two new elements related with archaeological research, the Office of Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Kwalliguk), and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Seoul National University. The enlargement of the SSAR, and its administrative reorganization allowed a greater degree of specialization. The establishment of the Office for Cultural Properties allowed the concentration in the office of specific expertise regarding the management and research of archaeological heritage, and the establishment of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU was the first program to train archaeologist in Korea. Furthermore, the last reform of the NMK structure advanced the specialization of research with the division of the department of research into a department of archaeology, and a department of art history. The following passages take in consideration the process of change the SSAR suffered during the period within 1961 and 1967.

The establishment of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology was very significant for the future development of the SSAR, as it allowed formal academic training for the later researchers working at the SSAR. Its beginning was intimately related with Kim Won-yong earning his Ph.D. degree at New York University. Once he graduated, he renounced to his position at the NMK to become assistant professor (pukyosu) at SNU, and



director of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology.<sup>286</sup> This new department was in charge of a degree on anthropology and archaeology, imparted by Kim Won-yong, professors from other departments and members from the NMK such as Yun Mu-byōng and Kim Chong-gi.<sup>287</sup> In terms of students, the department accepted about 10 students each year, graduating by 1967 24 students.<sup>288</sup> The time necessary to train those students in a 4 year-long degree, and the option that some of the male students took of going to the military service during their college years explains the limited impact of the department graduates in the field during this period. Nevertheless, thirteen students pursued an academic career among the students from the promotions of 1961, 1962 and 1963.<sup>289</sup> This high number of students turning into an academic (*hakkyae*) position makes the department the most important institution for the reproduction of the field. Thus, graduates from the department were many times first options for the new positions that the growing SSAR opened years later. However, the full impact of these new archaeologists started mildly from 1965 with some of the first graduates starting their careers at the SSAR, and only in the 70s there was any significant number of these graduates already within the SSAR. In any case, it was from the 80s that the first of those graduates, Kim Byōng-mo, Ch'oe Mong-nyong, Chi Kōn-gil, among many others, got into positions of responsibility in field at large, and the SSAR in particular.

The OCP was the first administrative body in Korea to centralize the management of cultural and natural heritage. It was established as early as October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1961, and the law envisioned a Department of General Affairs (*sōmukwa*), a Department of Cultural Properties

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<sup>286</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haruūi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munūnsa, 1985) 198-199

<sup>287</sup> Sōul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-yōn P'yōnjip Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Sōul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-Yōn, 1961-2011*, Ch'op'an (Sōul-si: Sōul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa, 2011):132-134

<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 164

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 200



(munhwakwa), a Department of Management (kwanlikwa), and specific Departments for the management of Changdökkung, Töksukung, Kyöngbökkung, and the Royal Tombs.<sup>290</sup> Consequently, the impact of its organization on the development of the SSAR was very important, in as much as archaeological research was regulated by the Office. The Department of Cultural Properties was in charge of archaeological research, as evidenced on the law when it says

the facts related to palaces, temples, royal tombs, cemeteries, treasures, art objects, national treasures, historical sites, places of scenic beauty, natural monuments, conservation and use of historical literary, and other written cultural properties, animal, plants and tourism.<sup>291</sup>

The OCP had important means to promote archaeological research, concentrating large amounts of human and economic capital. In 1962, the budget of the OCP amounted to a total of 132 million won, or the 0,15% of the national budget. This budget got translated into 252 staff member by October, 1961. However, such number was revised, and in December of the same year the total staff members were 294.<sup>292</sup> Thus, the OCP was a formidable administrative structure on its own.

The position of the NMK within the SSAR was still central, as it was the main institution responsible for field researches in terms of number of interventions and size of

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<sup>290</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk chikchae, Kangnyöng chae 181 ho, 1961.10.2, Art. 4

<sup>291</sup> Ibid., Art. 6.2

<sup>292</sup> Munhwachech'ön, *Munhwachech'ön 50nyönsa 1961-2011: Ponsap'yön* (Taejön Kwan'yönsi: Munhwachech'ön, 2011):702

research. Thus, this period can be characterized by the stability of the institution in terms of budget and staff, but with a progressive change in the origin of the research budget. The analysis of the annual budget for the NMK reveals an increasing investment in the institution throughout the period. Thus, the only reduction of the budget happens in the annual budget of 1964 in relation to the previous year. The rest of the years the total amount is considerably higher, with strong increases by the final years of the period here considered.<sup>293</sup> This sustained increase in the budget of the institution allowed the NMK to organize research projects funded with their own resources. Thus, the balance of foreign research funds and national research funds started changing in this period in favor of national funds. Yun Mu-byōng remembers how the research of Kamūnsa and other sites in the 50s was possible thanks to funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, but “after the military government entered, it was calculated the costs of excavations in the budget of the state.”<sup>294</sup> The use of mixed funds made possible the direction of ambitious research project such as the investigation of dolmens (chisōkmyo) in Korea. In the introduction of the report the authors states

[o]ur excavation of dolmens has taken about 6 years with funds provided by the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Asia Foundation as well as from our own budget and carried out by the Archaeological Department under

<sup>293</sup> Considering that the monetary reform exchanged hwan to won in a ratio 10:1, the annual budget of the NMK would be as follow: 1961: 69,045,900hwan; 1962: 77,691,400hwan; 8,690,000won; 1964: 8,304,400won; 1965: 9,662,600won; 1966: 12,004,100won; 1967: 18,429,400won. Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwān, *Kungnip Pangmulkwān 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung’ang Pangmulkwān, 2005):672

<sup>294</sup> Han’guk Pangmulgwān 100-yōnsa P’yōnch’an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Pangmulgwān 100-yōnsa. Charyopyōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwān : Han’guk Pangmulgwān Hyōphoe, 2009):335



the direction of Chewon Kim, the Director and Moo-byong Youn, the Chief Curator of the National Museum of Korea.<sup>295</sup>

The most ambitious research project up to date was possible to a dual source of funding, from the government and from an international organization. At this point, the problem is to discern the level of involvement of the new government to fund specific archaeological research, and in this regard, the memoirs of Lee Nan-yŏng are quite relevant. She claimed “Director Kim Chae-wŏn received the research budget from the Harvard-Yenching Institute, and executed the excavations.”<sup>296</sup> Later, she adds that “director Kim Chae-wŏn executed the academic research plan with a grant supplied by a foreign country. It was for archaeological research at Kamŭnsa, the Dolmen research project, and others. However, emergency research was possible also with state funds, and the Dolmen research was considered as a plan with two branches.”<sup>297</sup> These passages make clear that the funds for research at the NMK increased during this period to an amount that allowed the configuration of a 7-year-research plan. It also makes clear that the involvement of the new government in that funding was related with emergency research. On the one hand, academics at the NMK had the initiative to program a large research project over a long period, seeking economic resources where they could find them. On the other hand, the greater involvement of the government should be linked to the greater number of rescue archaeology in relation to construction projects led

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<sup>295</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn and Yun Mubyŏng, *Han'guk Chisŏkmyo Yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan, 1967):3

<sup>296</sup> Lee Nan Yŏng, *Pangmulgwan Ch'anggo Chigi* (Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn Munhwasa, 2005):27

<sup>297</sup> *Ibid.*, 29



by the government, and greater budgets linked to the economic developed, specially from 1966.

The good economic perspectives allowed the consolidation of the research teams. Those years did not see any major change in the research personal except the resignation of Kim Won-yong. Thus, the Department of Archaeology at the main branch kept the same numbers as in 1960, and very likely the same people. In this regard Yun Mu-byōng said that during these years in relation to the departments at the NMK that “the employees of a Department were 4 or 5 people. The director of the Department, under him, one person from the department of General Affairs, and two researchers (hak’yaesa).”<sup>298</sup> This consistency of the staff can be related to the nature of the budget increase. Due to the sources of the increase were project based, the direction of the NKK very likely did not wanted to hire new researchers without the means to keep them after the end of those projects. Consequently, this period was for the NMK one of stability, and even slight growth, as the permanence of researchers and the budget shows.

The period between 1961 and 1967 represents a moment of consolidation and expansion for the SSAR. The system expanded orderly with the establishment of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU, the OCP, and the enactment of the Cultural Properties Protection Act that meant the reorganization of the Committee of Cultural Property (the Committee hereafter). Furthermore, the NMK could consolidate its research teams within the structure of two Departments that the II Republic provided for the NMK, at the same time that it enlarged its research funds from foreign grants and salvation projects

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<sup>298</sup> Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa P’yōnch’an Wiwōnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-yōnsa, Charyopyōn* (Sōul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han’guk Pangmulgwan Hyōphoe, 2009):335



funded by the government. This growth, however, is related to new administrative controls and hierarchies, product of the new cultural management policy that the government starts implementing.

The new interest of the government after 1961 on the management and regulation of cultural heritage, and archaeological heritage by extension, produced a renovated administrative structure to manage cultural heritage that shared the administration with academics, but government bureaucrats and politicians controlled the situation. It is also in this time when the SSAR grew enough to produce a complex interconnection among institutions. As it has been presented above, the Committee of Cultural Properties was in charge of granting the authorization to do archaeological excavations. The OCP became the administrative office in charge of supervising those excavations and even executing some of them. The NMK and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology were quite independent research institution that developed their own research agendas. However, they still needed the authorizations from the Committee, and they sometime collaborated with the Committee or the OCP in specific research projects.

The enlargement of the SSAR and the regulation of archaeological research relocated the NMK within the system. The NMK developed a hybrid excavation strategy. On the one hand, the OCP relied on the Museum to carry out archaeological research, mostly through the format of rescue archaeology excavations. However, thanks to the ability of Director Kim to draw research funds from international agencies, the NMK could direct an independent and complete research project beyond the resources given by the Ministry or the OCP. In this regard, Lee Nan-yǒng remembered



the excavations of the Museum were being divided between emergency research (kinŭp chosa) on sites about to be destroyed (p'akoe yujök) and academic excavations, and thus academic research was enforced mainly by academic funds raised by director Kim. The excavation of Kamŭnsa and the 7 year long Dolmen (Chisökmyo) research project, among others. However, emergency excavations was possible also with funds from the government, and it was devised a plan to use both in the Dolmen research project.<sup>299</sup>

The possibility of getting funding from an alternative source other than the government allowed the NMK to develop their research objectives beyond the means provided by the government.

The ties of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU with the SSAR were back on the position that the department held in that fuzzy space of intellectuals pointed out previously. This space of collaboration between the government and universities did not started with the Department. Members of Koryo University, or Dongguk University were also members of the Committee as it has been already seen. However, the number of interventions directed by the Department, and its function to educate new archaeologists with a degree on archaeology makes the Department a fundamental institution of the SSAR.

The Department was an administrative, academic and research unit within the Liberal Arts College at the University. Therefore the legal connection between the government and the Department was at its best quite indirect. However, the informal connection was much

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<sup>299</sup> Lee Nan-yöng, *Pangmulgwan Ch'anggo Chigi* (Seoul: T'ongch'ön Munhwasa, 2005): 29



stronger. Individual careers had a lot to do with those connections. The director of the Department was Kim Won-yong who had been before director of the Department of Research at NMK, and its vice-director. Consequently, Kim Won-yong did know very well the workings of the SSAR before he joined the Department at SNU. Moreover, once he joined the University he did not left completely the SSAR, as he was appointed member of the Committee in 1962. Nevertheless, the most important contribution at this point of the Department to the SSAR was in terms of human capital first, and research later.

The establishment of the Department had a great impact on the SSAR on the long term, because, as stated before, it facilitated the reproduction of the system. The Department formed trained archaeologists under certain standards. The educative program through the syllabus of each class, the practical experience acquired at the Department, and the degree were important tools for many graduates to find jobs within the SSAR. Therefore, the establishment of the department helped considerably to the fast development of the SSAR in later periods. Looking at the career of some of its graduates, many of them worked at the NMK, the OCP or the later established National Institute for Cultural Property Research (Munhwachae Yŏn'guso), such as Kim Byŏng-mo (OCP), Kim Chong-ch'ŏl (NMK), Im Hyo-chae (SNU), Chŏ Kŏn-gil (OCP) among others. However, it is also true that most of them started their careers after 1967, and during the great expansion of archaeological activity that the government unfold during those years. This late effect was because of the time expended at college, and many of them either in the military service or doing post-graduate studies. The first promotion started in 1961 and graduated in 1965, and some even later such as An Hwi-jun who graduated in 1970. In consequence, their impact on the field as professionals integrating the SSAR as fully trained scholars did not happen until slightly



later. Despite of this, the Department did in fact conduct research from a very early time as part of the practical training of students. But this research seems to have been part of their curriculum, and therefore financed by the university.

The articulation of the SSAR in this period followed a strong reorganization of the legal framework by the government, as already presented. The objective of those changes was to apply the new cultural policy developed by the government, more interested in the control from government institutions of a “national culture.” The NMK continued its privileged position as the main researcher institution of the system, but it lost its exclusivity. The legal reorganization created a new agent to manage archaeological heritage in the form of the OCP, becoming one of the active actors in research and the funding agency for rescue archaeology, and, summing up, the institution for the management of archaeological research. Furthermore, it was an important instrument in channeling the objectives of the Committee into specific excavations. Finally, the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology fulfilled a double activity in the system. It became another important research agent in the field, contributing with many excavations. Moreover, it also trained a new generation of archaeologists that contributed to the ranks of the SSAR since 1965. In consequence, this period can be considered as the beginning of the SSAR in the form it is known today. This system also advanced in its institutional specialization in this period.

This moderate but systemic specialization was paralleled with steps along the line of internal specialization, and aspect affecting mainly to the NMK, and the OCP. The new regimen took several steps to further the level of internal specialization of the NMK, following in some sense the path started during the II Republic. The new organization of the NMK divided the Department of Research into the Department of Archaeology, in charge of



the areas of archaeology and anthropology, and the Department of Art history, following an international tendency to technical archaeological specialization. This adjustment of the institutional structure of the NMK was followed under the new regime by several modifications directed to rise the academic profile of the institution. The first of these changes started with the issuing of a Cabinet Order on June 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961 that regulated the category of public officer from which directors of the Archaeological Department and Art Department could be drawn. This cabinet order stated that they have to be selected from the Art and Science Department (haknyaekwan).<sup>300</sup> The second Cabinet Order was issued later that year, on Dec. 18<sup>th</sup>, 1961, and made the scientific staff the core group within the administration of the museum.<sup>301</sup> These orders had as effect to promote the academic staff within the Museum, stressing as well the character of the museum as a research institute.

The OCP structure during this period was organized along several departments in charge of specific aspects of cultural and natural heritage management. The institution kept its form during this period unchanged, conferring to the institution stability. The internal structure of the institution represented the following elements: the Director, the Department of General Affairs, the Department of Cultural Properties, and the Department of Administration, an specific office for each of the palaces (Ch'angdökkung, Döksukung, Kyöngbökkung) the Royal Tombs, an Office for the Defence of Mountains and Forests (Sannim pohogu), and an Office of Official Trips (Ch'ulchangso) .<sup>302</sup> Within this structure, the Department of Cultural Property was in charge of “conservation and uses of Cultural

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<sup>300</sup> Kangnyöng chae50ho, 1961.1.18

<sup>301</sup> Kangnyöng chae309ho, 1961.12.18; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, 2005):66

<sup>302</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk chikchae, Kangnyöng chae 181 ho, 1961.10.2, Art. 4

Properties, and matters related to tourism, plants and animals.”<sup>303</sup> Consequently, the OCP was equipped from its foundation with a specific department to deal with Cultural Properties at large, and also archaeological heritage. The tasks of this Department are better stated in the modification of the OCP structure act in 1964, where it is stated that the Department of Cultural Property tasks are “1. Cultural property selection and cancellation; 2. Cultural property research and investigation; 3. Cultural property protection and administration; 4. Cultural property use and propaganda; 5. Cultural property conservation and support; 6. Cultural Property Committee management; 7. Matters related to tourism, plants and animals.”<sup>304</sup> This specification is relevant because it links this department with research in general, and archaeology in particular through the consideration of material cultural properties.

Summing up, the system adopted during these years its basic form for the rest of the period researched here. The OCP, NMK, and the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology made the backbone of the SSAR, showing as well the links of the government system with universities. Given the new cultural policy bolster by Park Chung Hee’s regime, cultural heritage in general earned greater degree of attention, translated into greater budgets for these key institutions. Also the PhD earned by Kim Won-yong made possible the organization of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. The important growth of the system called also for its articulation into a coherent one. The establishment of the OCP as managing office, and the increasing interest on rescue archaeology by the government represented the main elements that organized the relationship among institutions. Nevertheless, each of the agents involved still kept great degrees of independency among

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<sup>303</sup> Ibid., Art. 6

<sup>304</sup> Ibid., Art. 5.1



them in terms of designing their research. The basic structure of the SSAR and its tendencies continued evolving over the next period, but under a new cultural policy, highlighting not just cultural heritage in general, but specially archaeological heritage.

### **Park Chung Hee, the construction and development of Yusin (1968-1979)**

The regime started its political drift towards an authoritative regime as early as 1968, due to several direct threats to the President and the state. The security situation in Korea and the region started a chain of reactions that finally concluded with the promulgation of the Yusin Constitution in 1972, and the Heavy and Chemical industrialization. The ride to the Blue House on January 21<sup>st</sup> 1968 was followed by the USS Pueblo incident on the 23<sup>rd</sup>. Kim Hyung-A claims that those events and Park's reaction to establish the Home Guard were at the root of the later Heavy and Chemical Industrialization.<sup>305</sup> The assault to the Blue House left an important impression on Park that led him to put the security issue at the top of his agenda. In addition, the unilateral negotiation between the US and North Korea to solve the USS Pueblo incident, and the lack of support from the US to retaliate against North Korea, furthered Park's idea that the US had become less reliable in ensuring Korea's security against North Korea. This policy was confirmed when Nixon declared his Guam Doctrine in 1969 of lower degree of US engagement in Asia. Thus, it emerged the idea of producing Korean-made weapons, but Korea did not have the infrastructure to do so. Park ordered a

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<sup>305</sup> Kim Hyung-A, "Heavy and Chemical Industrialization, 1973-1979: South Korea's Homeland Security Measures" in *Reassessing the Park Chung Hee Era, 1961-1979: Development, Political Thought, Democracy & Cultural Influence*, Hyung-A. Kim and Clark W. Sorensen, eds., (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2011):19-42

plan to construct what Kim Hyun-A calls the Four Great Core Factories, but without the support of the US to go ahead, that was impossible to follow. Finally, the solution was to develop “independent defense industries by restructuring South Korea’s industries within the framework of heavy and chemical industrial development.”<sup>306</sup> Consequently, Kim links directly the security problem aroused from the 1968 assault to the Blue House with the Heavy and Chemical Industrialization through the development of an independent defense industry, and pinpoint the turning point in a year as early as 1968.

These changes at the political and economic structure of the regime were felt as well in the national discourse and the cultural management sphere. The regime started to provide a different version of the nation around this period between 1968 and 1970, highlighting a golden age of Korean culture around the period of Silla. Thus, archaeological heritage became a rather important element for the national discourse. Park Chung Hee’s celebration of the rich historical and cultural legacies of Korean culture can be traced before 1968, but it is from this period on that it fully developed, as it was

aimed to mobilize society to put forth the necessary effort to build up heavy and chemical industries. Park’s plans derived not only from confidence built up during his country’s recent high economic growth but also from a sense of crisis precipitated by the U.S. desire for military disengagement from East Asia and the erosion of alliance ties with the United States [...] Park’s political ambition to

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<sup>306</sup> Ibid., 24

prepare for and then consolidate his authoritarian *yushin* regime also factored into his decision to invoke nationalism.<sup>307</sup>

The promotion of this new political discourse had also consequences to the structure of cultural heritage management, and to the SSAR structure. The reorganization of the Ministry of Culture and Education into a new Ministry of Culture and Public Information represented changes for the OCP, and even the NMK.<sup>308</sup> This new ministry was in charge of “culture, arts, national and international public opinion research, and the affairs related to broadcast, news and propaganda.”<sup>309</sup> As a consequence, heritage management was more tightly related with the political propaganda of the regime, facilitating its mobilization for political purposes. The result was that heritage, and archaeological heritage from Kyōngju specially, was used to construct and promote certain ideas about Korea and its people that could support the state effort.

The new discourse about the nation, and its connection with the political and economic situation were the new circumstances under which the SSAR faced this new period. On the one hand, Park’s regime located Korean archaeology at the center of the national discourse through the glorification of Silla as the golden age of Korean culture and national unification. That discourse was at the rationale for the intensive research that the government promoted, as well as the economic development that it sought to relate to that. The result was the Kyongju Tourism Development Plan, a government lead project aimed at the recovery of the

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<sup>307</sup> Moon Chung-in and Jun Byung-joon, “Modernization Strategy: Ideas and Influences” in *The Park Chung Hee Era: The Transformation of South Korea* Pyōng-guk Kim and Ezra F. Vogel, eds., (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2011):123-124

<sup>308</sup> Presidential Order n° 3519, 1968, 7, 24

<sup>309</sup> Presidential Order n° 3519, 1968, 7, 24, Art. 1



old capital of Silla as a tourism center. The project was part of the 5-years economic development plan, showing the importance that Park Chung Hee gave to the project.<sup>310</sup>

The celebration of ancient Korean past under such a positive light, and the identification of Silla in particular, influenced the conservation logics regarding archaeological heritage. Given the importance of archaeology to represent materially such past, and its mobilization to represent the government's discourse, the state had to adopt a stronger stance regarding the conservation of such heritage in general. This was translated into important transformations in the architecture of the government, institutional changes in the SSAR and legislative modifications that translated into a greater interest of government for archaeology. These transformation affected more intensely to the OCP and the NMK, due to their direct dependency from the government. The Department also suffered important transformations in this period, but the connection to the government cultural policy of this period was more indirect. These changes led to a general growth of the SSAR and allowed different strategies of specialization in each institution. In any case, a general characteristic of this period was the more intense participation of the government in the organization of the SSAR and its research projects.

The OCP benefited greatly from the new cultural policy that the government was leading. The government increased its budget and that allowed for the expansion of the institutions. The budget grew consistently since the late 60s and throughout the 70s. That growth was the direct result of the new cultural policy of the government, and the Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan as a specification of such policy. Thus, the budget shows an

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<sup>310</sup> Ch'oe Kwang-sūng, "Park Chung Heeüi Kyōngjukodo Kaepal Saob," *Chongshin Munhwa Yongu* 35, no. 1 (2012):194



important increase due to the addition of a new source of funds since 1969 in concept of “5-years Economic Development Plan,” but those funds only lasted until 1976.<sup>311</sup> However, the budget of the OCP was increased consistently until 1979. The budget in 1968 amounted to a total of ₩834,213,000, and the next year added a total of ₩1,559,745,000. By 1974 that amount reached ₩3,040,120,000, and by 1979 it almost tripled, reaching ₩11,585,631,000.<sup>312</sup> This spectacular increase answers to the general economic growth of Korea, and therefore the greater amount of the state budget. But it also shows the great interest of the government to invest on the OCP specifically. In this regard, the proportion of the national budget is a good indicator of such interest. In 1961 and 1981 the OCP budget represented a 0.15% and a 0.13% of the total government budget. In 1971 the OCP budget represented the 0.36%.<sup>313</sup> The important increase of the OCP budget throughout the period indicates the increasing interest of the government on the protection of cultural heritage. That provided the necessary funds to expand the institution.

The new budgets allowed the institution to hire more people and grow. The number of employees at the OCP remained within a range of 295 and 347, as the different amendments of the law regulating the structure of the OCP show.<sup>314</sup> The first important expansion of the

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<sup>311</sup> Munhwachaech’ong, *Munhwachaech’ong 50nyonsa. Bonsap’yon* (Taejŏn: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2011):703

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 703

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 702

<sup>314</sup> Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 3526ho, 1968, 7, 24, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 5522ho, 1971, 2, 8, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 6065ho, 1972, 2, 16, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 6537ho, 1973, 3, 9, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 7600ho, 1975, 4, 17, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 8417ho, 1977, 1, 19, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 9166ho, 1978, 9, 23, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo; Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet’ongnyŏngnyŏng chae 9419ho, 1979, 4, 13, Pyŏlp’yo Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnp’yo. See <http://www.law.go.kr/main.html> (consulted on January 7, 2016; 15:43)



OCP in this period happened in 1975, when the RICP and the National Folk Museum of Korea became separated institutions under the supervision of the OCP.<sup>315</sup> The number of employees at the OCP also grew in 1977 and 1978, reaching 366 employees. The academic staff also expanded along the institution to carry out a greater involvement in field archaeology, among other new task that the institution had to perform on the academic field.

Table 4.1 Academic staff at the OCP and dependent institutions<sup>316</sup>

Year. Month	1968.7	1971.2	1972.2	1973.3	1975.4	1977.1	1978.9	1979.4
Staff n°	11	18	19	20	28	30	29	22

The increase of these bureaucratic categories at the OCP and subsidiary institutions show the increasing role in research played directly by the OCP. Nevertheless, they did not represent all archaeological positions, or archaeology related positions. The enumeration of staff positons from 1975 showed the allocation of academic staff at the OCP, RICP and National Folk Museum of Korea. The distribution shows that the academic staff working at the OPC was limited to four people, at the RICP 19, and at the National Folk Museum of Korea seven people. This unbalance between the OCP and the RICP in favor of the last one persisted in later years. The academic staff decreased the following year, with the particularity that the National Folk Museum of Korea became independent from the OCP in

<sup>315</sup> Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng chae 7600ho, 1975, 4, 17, Art. 8-8.2

<sup>316</sup> Here, the term academic staff considers the following categories of the Korean bureaucracy: in 1968, hakyekwanbo, hakyesa, hakyesabo; from 1971 onwards hakyeyön'gukwan, hakyeyön'gusa, hakyeyön'gusabo, hakyeyön'guwön, hakyeyön'guwönbo.



1979, but most of the academic staff was concentrated at the RICP.<sup>317</sup> Thus, there were still 17 researchers working at the RICP by 1979. Most of the research done by the RICP focused on four aspects, archaeological research, material culture conservation, research on art history and architecture, and finally folk studies.<sup>318</sup> Therefore, the number of archaeologists had to increase in parallel to the general growth of institute, given the importance of the field in the output of the RICP. The greater capability of the OCP in terms of budget and archaeologists translated in greater capacity to conduct archaeological research. In fact, the new cultural policy used the new capabilities of OCP to direct important archaeological research. That translated into institutional changes.

The new cultural policy and economic development requested from the government greater investment in its structure to do archaeological fieldwork. For that reason, the OCP created new departments within its structure. The result was the establishment of two new offices, the Research Institute of Cultural Properties and the Archaeological Excavation Team of Ancient Sites at Kyōngju. The Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan, and the many public construction projects such as the Seoul-Pusan Expressway, dams and similar projects justified the configuration of these new two offices, although their specific life and evolution within the SSAR was very different. Finally, this period was an important step towards the specialization of institutions and researchers.

The Research Office of Cultural Properties was established in 1969 as an office within the OCP in relation to the excavation of the Mangdōksa temple site in Kyōngju.<sup>319</sup> In 1975,

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<sup>317</sup> Munhwachae Kwanliguk Chikchae, Taet'ongnyōngnyōng chae 9419ho, 1979, 4, 13, Art. 8.2

<sup>318</sup> Kungnip Munhwachae Yōn'guso, *Kungnip Munhwachae Yōn'guso 20nyōnsa* (Seoul: Kungnip Munhwachae Yōn'guso, 1995): 33-135

<sup>319</sup> National Research Institute of Cultural Properties, *30th Anniversary, National Research Institute of Cultural Properties* (Seoul: Kungnip Munhwachae Yōnguso, 1999):40



the office became an independent institute under the supervision of the OCP, becoming the RICP, an independent institution still active today.<sup>320</sup> Chōng Chae-hun, a high-ranking official at the OCP, remembers in an interview that the origin of the archaeologist group at the OCP was related with an incident in relation to the construction of the Kyōngbu Expressway, one of the Park Chung Hee's key projects in his economic development policy. In the interview, he remembered how the construction of the expressway around Kyōngju discovered and destroyed partially an archaeological site of *kobun* (tumulus), but under the Cultural Property Protection Act, such actions were illegal without previous consideration. Thus, the OCP stopped the bulldozers at the site. The President was briefed about the situation, and as Chōn remembers, a compromise was reached. At that time the OCP did not have any budget to conduct archaeological excavations, but Park Chung Hee made the department responsible of the construction to pay the research expenses. Thus, the first excavations that the OCP conducted under this formula was the excavation of *kobuns* (tumuli) at Pangnaeri-kun at Kyōngju.<sup>321</sup> The excavation of Pangnaeri-kun under this formula started in 1969, as an archaeological report written years later mentions when it says "there were many important artifacts excavated from about 60 kobun big and small during the construction of the Kōngbu Expressway in the part that was incorporated to the road in October, 1969."<sup>322</sup> The history of Pangnaeri-kun excavations illustrates the interest of the government to preserve the heritage at Kyōngju, as well as the new economy behind a very important part of the archaeological research done during this period. In addition, it sets the

<sup>320</sup> Ibid., 24-25

<sup>321</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wōllo Ege Tūnnūn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yōn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yōngnon, 2008):411-413

<sup>322</sup> <http://www.gch.go.kr/site/kyungju/menu/31.do?scene=detail&researchNo=169> Consulted on-line Dec. 6<sup>th</sup>, 2016. Munhwachae Yōn'guso, "Pangnaeri Kōnch'ōnhyugaeso Sinsōlyaejōnbuji Chip'yochosa" *Yōnbo 4* (Munhwachae Yōn'guso, 1994)



political and economic environment where the RICP was created in the first place. The OCP created a few months later a new department in this environment, the Research Office of Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Yŏn'gusil) as a response to the necessities of the government in a moment when the economic policy was producing a large array of construction and engineering projects that could potentially destroy many archaeological sites unknown yet.

The government policy regarding the research and conservation of archaeological heritage depended on two contradictory logics. On the one hand, the economic development was the main objective of the regime at all cost. That meant that archaeological sites were razed if necessary to make room for development projects. On the other hand, the government's nationalistic discourse and its cultural heritage legislation made necessary to research those sites before their complete destruction. The resulting compromise were rapid excavations of the areas that were affected by government development projects. RICP aimed to execute efficient and rapid archaeological research before the construction works of those projects began. The interventions of the RICP in excavations related to the Kyŏngju Tourism Development Project, the construction of dams (Tamokchŏk dam, Soyanggang dam, Taech'ŏn dam), industrial complexes (Ch'angwŏn Mechanic Complex, Pohang Integrated Steel Mill), Seoul urban development (Jamsil, Pangi-dong, Sadang) show such strong connections.<sup>323</sup> The OCP equipped itself with a unit of researchers that could be sent to perform rescue archaeological research under severe time constraint. As an example, the archaeological survey and excavations previous to the construction of the Soyang Dam were done from May to June, 1971, and the research previous to the construction of the P'altang

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<sup>323</sup> Munhwachae Yŏnguso, *30th Anniversary, National Research Institute of Cultural Properties* (Seoul: Kungnip Munhwachae Yŏnguso, 1999):42



Dam from July to October, 1972.<sup>324</sup> The excavations at Söngsan, in Masan, in relation to the Ch'angwön Mechanical complex were organized in two campaigns, the first 26 days long, and the second 55 days long.<sup>325</sup> The time constraints were not exceptional, but the normal conditions under which those kind of projects were performed. The RICP was used to solve the potential controversies between a rapid process of industrialization and its destructive tendencies of archaeological heritage, with the new discourse that highlighted the importance of cultural heritage. This institution acted as the efficient agent able to save archaeological heritage through its excavation, at the same time that it cleared the area before the bulldozers. Obviously, that had repercussion for the protection of archaeological heritage and its future research.

The strong activity of the Research Office for Cultural Properties resulted in its transformation into an independent research institute under the authority of the OCP. This new autonomy came with the capability of managing their own budget, an indicator of government's interest in archaeology. A brief look at the budget shows a strong increase since its establishment until the end of the period. Its budget in 1975 amounted to ₩51,577,000, of which ₩5,247,000 were allocated directly to archaeological research. In 1980 the RICP budget amounted to ₩493,209,000 of which ₩47,823,000 were assigned to archaeological research.<sup>326</sup> This important increase is a clear indicator of the extensive archaeological research done in this period.

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<sup>324</sup> Lee Ch'i-sun, "Palgansa" in *Munhwachae Yön'guso*, P'altang·Soyang daem sumul chigu yujök palgul chonghap chosapogosö (Seoul: Munhwachae Yön'guso, 1974): i

<sup>325</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Masanwoedong Söngsan P'aech'ong Palgul Chosa Pogosö" (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1976):5-6

<sup>326</sup> Kungnip Munhwachae Yön'guso, *Kungnip Munhwachae Yön'guso 20nyönsa* (Seoul: Kungnip Munhwachae Yön'guso, 1995):28-29

The OCP also established an *ad hoc* office in relation to the Kyōngju Touristic Development Project, the Archaeological Excavation Team of Ancient Sites at Kyōngju (Kyōngju Kojōk Chosadan). This office had the mission of conducting archaeological excavations before the construction works began.<sup>327</sup> Thus, once the Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan finished, the office closed as well. The office opened in 1973 under the name of Kyōngju Mich’u Royal Tomb Area Excavation Research Group (Kyōngju Mich’u wangnŭng chigu palgulchosadan), but it changed its name in 1975 into the Kyōngju Archaeological Site Research Group. This group was responsible for some of the most important archaeological excavations of the 1970s such as the excavation of Kobun n° 155, better known as the Heavenly Horse Tomb (Ch’ōnmach’ong) in 1973, and the excavation of Kobun n° 98 (Hwangnamdaech’on).<sup>328</sup> Archaeological reports of excavations in that area of the Mich’u Royal Tomb made clear that the OCP and the RICP were leading a complex research operation involving most of the major archaeological institutions.<sup>329</sup> This organization was one of the instruments used by the government to mobilize non-government archaeological actors in its projects.

<sup>327</sup> Kōnsōlbu Kyōngju Kaepal Kōnsōl Saōpso, *Kyōngju Kwankwang Jonghap Kaepal Saōbji* (Seoul: Hanguk Jonghap Kisul Yōnguso, 1979): 468

<sup>328</sup> Munhwachae Yōnguso, *30th Anniversary, National Research Institute of Cultural Properties* (Seoul: Kungnip Munhwachae Yōnguso, 1999): 40

<sup>329</sup> The excavation of Ch’ōnmach’ong involved a leading committee form by Kim Won-yong (SNU), Chin Hong-sōp (Ewha Woman’s University), Kim Yu-sōn (Atomic Energy Research Institute), Han Byōng-sam (NMK), Ch’im Chae-wan (Yōnnam U.), and Park Il-hun (Kyōngju NMK branch museum), an excavation team formed by Kim Chōn-gi (RISC), Kim Tong-hyōn (Cultural property expert committee member), Chi Kōn-gil (RICP), Park Chi-myōng (OCP) with a support team formed by Yun Kūn-il, Ch’oe Byōng-hyōn, Nam Shi-jin, and So Sōng-ok. See Munhwachae Kwalliguk, “Ch’ōnmachōn. Palch’ulchosa Pogosō” (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1974):2. The same year a total of 6 universities (SNU, Koryo U., Ewha Woman’s U., Tanguk U., Pusan U., Kyōngbuk U.) 1 university museums (Yōngnam U. Museum) and 2 NMK branch museums (Kyōngju and Puyō) were undertaking archaeological research under the umbrella of the OCP, and the Kyōngju Archaeological Site Research Group excavations in the same area. See Kyōngju kojōk kwallisamuso, “Palgansa” Kyōngju Chigu. Kobun Palch’ulchosa Pogosō <Chae Ichib> (Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1975): 3





These two offices represent in a sense the direction took by the OCP regarding its specialization in this period. Firstly, the institution aimed to develop a specialized unit to lead independently archaeological research. In that regard the configuration of the RICP was a major success. The institution itself had greater objectives than archaeological research, but looking at their evolution it is clear the intention of the legislator. The task of the Research Office for Cultural properties in 1969 was rather large, and archaeological research was just one of the many tasks under its care.<sup>330</sup> However, the institution turned into a mainly archaeological research officially after its redefinition in 1973. That year, the art. 8 was modified, and the Office came to be called Authority for the Research of Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Yŏn'gu Tamdangkwan), changing as well its duties, stating that they were “1. The scientific investigation (haksul chosayŏn'gu); 2. The archaeological research (palgul chosa) of buried cultural properties (maejang munhwachae); 3. The development of conservation techniques for cultural properties; 4. The conservation and collection of materials related to the administration of cultural properties.”<sup>331</sup> This process was completed in 1975 with the creation of independent institutions under the supervision of the OPC, the RICP, and the Folk Museum (Minsok Pangmulkwon). Thus, the OPC roughly divided the research of cultural materials along the line of material and immaterial heritage. This division was encapsulated in the departments of the institute against the folk museum. Art. 8 of the OCP structure law stated that the RICP has as a mission the “development of research about scientific conservation techniques and the academic investigation about cultural properties,” and in order to satisfy that objective, the institute was organized in a “a Laboratory of Art

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<sup>330</sup> The law states that the office would research cultural heritage in general (material and immaterial heritage), and would protect it. See Munhwachae Kwankliguk chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng n° 4203, 1969, 11, 5, Art. 8

<sup>331</sup> Munhwachae Kwankliguk chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng n° 6537, 1973, 3, 9, Art. 8

and Crafts (misul·kongyaeyön'gusil), a Folk Crafts Laboratory (yaenüŋg yön'gusil), and a Laboratory of Conservation Science (pojon kwahak yön'gusil).<sup>332</sup> This organization of these departments consolidated the research of material culture in a broad sense within the limits of the RICP. Moreover, within those limits, and considering the extensive archaeological research conducted by this institution, the RICP became one of the leading institutes in terms of archaeological research.

Secondly, it aimed to manage as efficiently as possible the localized research at Kyöŋgju, creating a regionally specialized unit. The conjugation of these lines defined the institutional specialization of the OCP, and it was consolidated on time. However, the temporality of the Kyöŋgju Tourism Development Project conditioned the continuity of the regional specialization, once the project itself was finished. Once the government set the Kyöŋgju Tourism Development Project, the OCP needed to develop some mechanism to coordinate all the research efforts in the area of the project. Thus, it came out with the establishment of an office within the OCP, the Kyöŋgju Historical Site Management Office in 1973.<sup>333</sup> The aim of the office was the management of historical sites at Kyöŋgju “to establish unified management projects for the historical sites in zones at Kyöŋgju; to lead and direct repair works of cultural properties in zones at Kyöŋgju;” and “to lead the administration of cultural properties in zones at Kyöŋgju.”<sup>334</sup> The organization of this office had an important role on the management of some key projects at Kyöŋgju, such as the excavations of the Heavenly Horse Tomb, or Hwangnam Taech'ong (kobun n° 98), but once that the project itself finished it was closed in 1981.

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<sup>332</sup> Munhwachae Kwankliguk chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng n° 7600, 1975, 4, 17, Art. 8

<sup>333</sup> Munhwachae Kwankliguk chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng n° 6537, 1973, 3, 9, Art. 9

<sup>334</sup> Ibid., Art. 9.2.1-3

The NMK suffered the effects of the new cultural policy of the government, being a period of higher government intervention than previous years. The new cultural policy targeted the NMK as an important instrument in the education of the population. Right after the new Ministry of Culture and Public Information was established, the NMK was located under its control.<sup>335</sup> As in the case of the OCP, the inclusion of the NMK under this ministry indicates the intentions of the government to mobilize the resources of the museum in the configuration of the government national discourse.<sup>336</sup> In order to do so, the government decided to unify the NMK with the National Gallery of Art at Töksukung, in May 1969.<sup>337</sup> The result was a larger collection of art objects that balanced the archaeological collections of the NMK.<sup>338</sup> Consequently, the archaeological collections at the NMK were balanced by the art collections from the Gallery of Art. Another government initiative was the relocation of the NMK to a new building on the grounds of Kyöngbokkung. The NMK could inaugurate the building on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 1972.<sup>339</sup> A building designed to resemble several national monuments such as the famous stairs Ch'öng'unkyo and Paek'unkyo from Pulguksa, among others.<sup>340</sup> In this regard, both decisions, the unification of both museums into a larger NMK and the relocation of the NMK to Kyöngbokkung into a building resembling national monuments, were part of a government operation directed to reinforce its nationalist discourse.

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<sup>335</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon Chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng chae 3525ho, 1968, 7, 24, Art. 1

<sup>336</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, 2005): 67

<sup>337</sup> *Ibid.*, 68

<sup>338</sup> *Ibid.*, 100

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*, 129

<sup>340</sup> Munhwachae Kwanliguk, *Kungnip Chungang Pangmulkwon Chun'gong Pogosö* (Söul-si: Munhwachae Kwanliguk, 1972): 25



In the middle of these changes, the NMK lived the first director change. Kim Chae-wŏn retired in 1970 from his position as director of the NMK, due to the limited years that a person could serve in a position, after 25 years.<sup>341</sup> For the first time in the history of the NMK a different person would direct this symbolic institution and fundamental actor in the field of archaeology. The first option to succeed him was Kim Won-yong, former researcher at the NMK, member of the Committee for Cultural Properties and then professor of the Department. However, he only accepted to take over the museum for a limited period, until a more permanent candidate could be found. From May 1970 to September 1971, Kim Won-yong directed the museum, leaving temporarily his position as professor at SNU, returning after that to his position as chair of the Department.<sup>342</sup> Then, the Ministry chose Hwang Su-yŏng, professor at Dongguk University, and reputed professor on Buddhist Art. His tenure ended in 1974, when he was substituted by Ch'oi Sun-u, until then director of the Department of Research (hakyeyŏn'gusil).<sup>343</sup> The succession of directors at the NMK shows that, despite the possibility of choosing a bureaucrat for the managing of the institution, the government always chose a researcher, from the fuzzy space between the government and the field or from the NMK. On the one hand, this highlights the preference of the government to appoint researchers, potentially to earn their collaboration and their influence over the field. On the other hand, researchers tried to keep the quality of the research as heads of the most important research actor in the field of archaeology.

The new government cultural policy led it to invest heavily in the NMK. In addition to the fusion with the Gallery of Art and the construction of a new building, the government

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<sup>341</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992): 238

<sup>342</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haru'ii Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munŏnsa, 1985): 319

<sup>343</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, 2005): 619



also increased the budget of the institution. The increase implied greater resources to portray the new narrative about the nation that the government aimed to consolidate. The first indicator of such growth was the increase of the museum budget to a completely new level. The general budget of 1967 amounted to ₩23,776,600, and in 1968 increased to ₩42,104,900. This trend continued throughout the period with the addition of special funds coming from the 5-year economic development plan limited to the period between 1969 and 1974. Thus, the general budget of the NMK rose to ₩56,134,000 in 1971, ₩88,783,000 in 1973, and up to 203,181,000 in 1975, showing a strong increase each year. In addition, the funds from the 5-year economic development plan in 1969 added ₩39,025,300, ₩60,000,000 in 1971, but as much as ₩326,660,000 in 1974.<sup>344</sup> This budget allowed for a greater engagement in archaeological activities, the increase of the academic departments to carry it out, and even the expansion of the museum network.

The new budget allowed also an important expansion of the human resources at the NMK system. The revision of the Regular Staff Table from 1968 to 1979 shows that it is possible to identify several key moments in the expansion of the human resources.<sup>345</sup> The NMK started 1968 with 51 employees in the whole system of the NMK, of which just 16

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<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 672

<sup>345</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 3525, 1968, 7, 24, Kungnip Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 4301, 1969, 11, 21, Kungnip Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Pangmulkwan Chikchae, President Order, n° 4894, 1970, 4, 10, Kungnip Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 5652, 1971, 5, 28, Kungnip Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnmyo; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 6380, 1972, 11, 9, Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 7302, 1974, 11, 2, Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 7745, 1975, 8, 20, Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 9271, 1978, 12, 30, Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo; Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng, n° 9419, 1979, 4, 13, Pangmulkwan Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo. See <http://www.law.go.kr/main.html> (consulted on January 8, 2016; 16:24)

were academic staff (hakyae<sup>346</sup>kwan, puhakyae<sup>346</sup>kwan, hakyae<sup>346</sup>kwanbo, hakyae<sup>346</sup>won, hakyae<sup>346</sup>wonbo), and in 1972 there were 115. However, that year the number of academic employees was just 15. The reason is that the increase was mainly on administrative staff, and hired workers, related to the relocation of the NMK main museum in Seoul to a new building within the grounds of Kyōngbokkung.<sup>346</sup> The first real increase of the academic staff at the NMK happened in 1975 when the NMK reached a total of 167 employees and 26 academics from different fields (hakyae<sup>347</sup>yōn'gukwan, hakyae<sup>347</sup>yōn'gusa, hakyae<sup>347</sup>yōn'gusabo). A clue to understand the important increase of academic staff that year is to break down the numbers by regional museum. The result of this is that the Main museum at Seoul led the academic research at the NMK with twelve academics, keeping the traditional preeminence of the capital within the system. However, the regional museums shows an unbalance in terms of staff. Thus, the museum at Kyōngju had eight researchers, meanwhile the museums at Puyō and Kongju only had three researchers each. In fact such academic preeminence the the museum at Kyōngju was legally supported. Thus NMK structure law stated that the Kyongju regional museum had to have a more complex structure than the other museums, specifying a Department of Archaeology and Art History (Kokomisul yōn'gusil).<sup>347</sup> The next moment of expansion happened in 1978 and it was related to the creation of a new regional museum at Kwangju, collaborating to the increase of employees up to 218. The Regional Museum at Kwangju followed the same structure as the museum at Kyongju, with a Department of Archaeology and Art History.<sup>348</sup> The NMK finished this period in 1979 with

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<sup>346</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan, *Kungnip Pangmulkwan 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan, 2005):129

<sup>347</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyōngnyōng n° 7745, 1975, 8, 20, Art. 11.1 and 11.4

<sup>348</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwan Chikchae, Taet'ongnyōngnyōng n° 9271, 1979, 12, 30, Art. 11.1 and Art. 11.4

a total of 249 employees of whom 44 were researchers, meaning that in just 10 years the NMK multiplied by 5 the total number of employees, and almost multiplied by three the numbers of researchers.

The creation of the new Ministry of Culture and Public Information did not affected much to the internal structure of the NMK at the beginning, but the structure of the NMK did change significantly in this period. The direction of that change happened along regional specialization by the enhancement of regional research centers. The institution kept its department structure up to 1972, when the relocation of the museum to Kyönbokkung encouraged a reform of the institution. Thus, the NMK gave away the independent Department of archaeology to centralize all academic work into a Laboratory of Academic Research (*hakyae-yön'gusil*).<sup>349</sup> This laboratory was in charge of many different tasks grouped in three areas, the first group related to the fields of anthropology, archaeology and folk studies; the second to art and crafts; and finally the third group to the management of artifacts.<sup>350</sup> The unification of the previous departments could seam the dissolution of the previous specialization, but beyond the legal specifications the museum kept the areas separated with a person in charge of it. Thus, looking at the title of some of the most important excavations of the period after the enactment of this law, it is possible to identify the title of Official in charge of Archaeology (*kogohak tamdangkwan*),<sup>351</sup> suggesting the separation of fields within the Department at the museum. Nevertheless, the NMK specialization did not followed along the line of area specialization, but turned to regional specialization.

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<sup>349</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon Chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng n° 6380, 1972, 11, 9, Art. 4

<sup>350</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon Chikchae, Taet'ongnyöngnyöng n° 6380, 1972, 11, 9, Art. 8

<sup>351</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk. Kyöngju kojök kwallisamuso, "Kyöngju Hwangnamdong 155ho Kobun Palgul Yakpogo" (Seoul: Munhwachae Kwalliguk, 1973):3

The regional specialization passed through the decentralization of archaeological research by bolstering the research capabilities of regional museums. The NMK had concentrated during much of its history all the research capability on the main museum at Seoul, leaving the branch museums with just a testimonial research capability. However, that structure changed when branch museums turned into regional museums. In addition, the reform included a Laboratory of Academic research with a Department of Archaeological and Artistic Research (Kogo·misul yŏn'gukwan) at the Regional Museum of Kyŏngju.<sup>352</sup> The review of the academic staff at the NMK after that reforms broken down by individual museums shows the following concentration of researchers: at Seoul 12 researchers, at Kyŏngju 8, and 3 at Puyŏ and Kongju, summing up 26 in total, without counting the Director and Vice-director of the NMK.<sup>353</sup> Therefore, after 1975 the Regional Museum at Kyŏngju started playing a much active role in the research conducted at the city within the Kyŏngju Tourism Development Project. In fact, it is logic to think that the development of the Regional museum in the first place had to be related with the extensive research in the area. A few years later, another special archaeological project was the cause behind the extension of this model of regional specialization. The underwater archaeological site at Sin'an, Chollanam-do, in 1976 sparked the necessity of a new museum in the area to exhibit the pieces, and also lead the research.<sup>354</sup> For that reason, a new museum in Kwangju was added to the NMK system. In 1979 the NMK structure changed to accommodate this new museum, coping for that the same pattern already experimented in Kyŏngju. Thus, the art. 15 stated that both regional museums, Kyŏngju and Kwangju, had a Laboratory of Academic research

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<sup>352</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng n°7745, 1975, 8, 20, Art. 9, 11

<sup>353</sup> Ibid., Kongmuwŏn Chŏngwŏnpyo

<sup>354</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, *Kungnip Pangmulkwon 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon, 2005):131



with a Department of Archaeological and Artistic Research (Kogo·misul yŏn'gukwan).<sup>355</sup> These modifications strengthened the research capabilities of the NMK, and boosted the specialization of each regional museum into specific areas of archaeological research conditioned by their regional location.

The new cultural policy of the government did not affected directly to the Department, but this period saw the promotion of the institution as a research university. Such transformation came under the specialization of the Department, and the expansion of its curriculum with the inclusion of postgraduate courses. In terms of the population of the department, this process affected differently students and professors. While the former suffered an important reduction of enrollment during the second half of the 1970s after the division of the Department, the later expanded with the hiring of people for new positions. The new direction of SNU as a research university led it to invest in the specialization of its students, as it can be seen by the relative growth of subjects dedicated to archaeology offered by the Department in this period.

The Department of Anthropology and Archaeology suffered a serious reorganization that led to its division in 1975 into two different departments, the Department of Anthropology and the Department of Archaeology. The report of the 30<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the College of Humanities at Seoul National University locates the administrative change of the Department in relation to a deeper reorganization of the university.<sup>356</sup> The relocation of the university campus to Kwan'ak was considered a good opportunity to reorganize the division of departments and colleges. Thus, the old Art and Science College (Mullihakkwa) was

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<sup>355</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulkwon Chikchae, Taet'ongnyŏngnyŏng n° 9419, 1979, 4, 13, Art. 15.4

<sup>356</sup> (Sŏul Taehakkyo) Inmun Taehak 30nyŏnsa, *Sŏul Taehakkyo Inmunhak 30nyŏnsa* (Sŏul-si: Sŏul Taehakkyo Inmun Taehak, 2005): 7



dissolved, and divided in a new College of Humanities (Inmun Taehak), College of Social Science (Sahoekwahak Taehak), and College of Natural Science (Chayönkwahak Taehak). In the middle of that process of reorganization of departments, the university government decided to divide the old Department of Anthropology and Archaeology into a new Department of Anthropology and a Department of Archaeology. The Department of Anthropology was located under the College of Social Science,<sup>357</sup> and the Department of Archaeology under the College of Humanities.<sup>358</sup> This reorganization affected the level of new enrollments into the department.

The Department extended its teaching programs with a postgraduate master degree on archaeology. This program started in 1969, and the first student, Ch'oe Mong-nyong, graduated in 1971.<sup>359</sup> Despite the new program, the level of enrollment was very low during this period. Since the beginning of the program in 1969, only in 1979 the number of enrolled students reached a total of for students. The most frequent rate of students was two per year (1969, 1971, 1975, 1977, 1978), a year with just one new student (1974), and some years with none (1970, 1973).<sup>360</sup> Thus, the number of students of the department did not rise significantly with the establishment of the postgraduate program. However, the number of professors at the department increased.

Kim Won-yong had been the only full-time professor teaching at the department since the establishment of the Department in 1961. He led the department with the support of part-time professor who taught specific subjects of archaeology. In 1969, the department hired a

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<sup>357</sup> Söul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-yön P'yönjip Wiwönhoe, ed., *Söul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-Yön, 1961-2011*, Ch'op'an (Söul-si: Söul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa, 2011): 23

<sup>358</sup> (Söul Taehakkyo) Inmun Taehak 30nyönsa, *Söul Taehakkyo Inmunhak 30nyönsa* (Söul-si: Söul Taehakkyo Inmun Taehak, 2005): 380

<sup>359</sup> Ibid., 380

<sup>360</sup> Ibid., 392



former graduate from the department to teach archaeology related subjects, Im Hyo-chaе. He joined the department as a full-time lecturer (chŏn'im kangsa).<sup>361</sup> Despite Kim Won-yong's period of study abroad (1968-1969), and Im Hyo-chaе's absence for his master program in USA (1973-1976), the presence of these two scholars at the department represented the backbone of the teaching program. Thus, it is possible to observe the consolidation and specialization of the curriculum offered by the department in the field of archaeology.

The number of new students who could enter in the department was during the whole period limited to 10 students per promotion, as it was set in 1961. The new enrollments after the division were very similar to those before the division, and in 1975 the Department had 8 new members. However, since that year, the number of new students decreased substantially, and in 1976 there were only 3 new students. This trend continued until the end of the decade with two new students in 1977, two in 1978, but none in 1979.<sup>362</sup> Thus, the full size of the Department shrank by the end of the 70s in terms of students, even though a new postgraduate program opened in the early 70s.

The Department was able to increase the number of subjects offered during this period by bringing lecturers from outside to teach. These lectures complemented the task of professors at the department, and reinforced the connections of the institution with other members of the SSAR.<sup>363</sup> The result was the expansion of subjects offered in the field of archaeology. In the period between 1968 and 1970 there were taught nine different subjects related with archaeology.<sup>364</sup> The period within 1971 and 1974 saw that number expanded to

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<sup>361</sup> Sŏul Taehakkyo 40nyŏnsa P'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, *Sŏul Taehakkyo 40nyŏnsa (1946-1986)* (Sŏul: Sŏul Taehakkyo 40nyŏnsa P'yŏnch'an wiwŏnhoe, 1986):729-730

<sup>362</sup> Ibid., 403

<sup>363</sup> See chapter 5 and 6 for a deeper analysis of this point.

<sup>364</sup> Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-yŏn P'yŏnjip Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-Yŏn, 1961-2011*, Ch'op'an (Sŏul-si: Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa, 2011):133-134



14 subjects.<sup>365</sup> Finally, the Department taught 17 different subjects in the period after the division of the department between 1975 and 1979.<sup>366</sup> Considering the reduction of students by the end of the period considered here, and the lack of full time lectures, this increase in the number of subjects available is a sign of the institutional commitment to the degree. In addition, it represents a potential specialization of students graduating from the department, thanks to the wider variety of courses.

The new interest of the government in archaeological heritage led to a greater degree of investment in the SSAR. This policy represented an important bust of the OCP and the NMK, making possible the enlargement of the research staff in each institution. Moreover, this new cultural policy was the reason for the institutional expansion of the system with the establishment of the RICP and the Archaeological Excavation Team of Ancient Sites at Kyōngju. These offices were the main instruments for the government to carry out its most important projects regarding archaeological excavation, either in relation to rescue archaeology, or the Kyōngju Tourism Development Project. The same cultural policy was behind the fusion of the Gallery of Art and the NMK, and the relocation of the NMK inside Kyōngbokkung, stressing the role of the museum as curation of the national heritage.

This new cultural policy also heavily mobilized the fuzzy space between the field and the government through many projects. Excavations at Kyōngju and the large construction project required of complex research teams that included archaeologists from many different institutions. Furthermore, the directorship of the NMK also targeted that fuzzy space as a preferred pool for choosing candidates. Kim Won-yong and Hwang Su-yōng were highly

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<sup>365</sup> Ibid., 135

<sup>366</sup> (Sōul Taehakkyo) Inmun Taehak 30nyōnsa, *Sōul Taehakkyo Inmunhak 30nyōnsa* (Sōul-si: Sōul Taehakkyo Inmun Taehak, 2005): 388



respected scholars with strong links to the NMK, as well as members of the Committee for Cultural properties, while Ch'oi Sun-woo was always member of the NMK.<sup>367</sup> Thus, after Kim Chae-wŏn's retirement, the NMK directorship became something very similar to the Committee for Cultural Properties in the sense that it represented a connection point between archeologists and the government. Therefore, it implied a highly political position with the necessity to keep the academic standards of a research institution.

Finally, the specialization paths of the SSAR took two forms, the definition of institutions dedicated mainly to archaeological research and the bolstering of archaeological institutions outside Seoul. The OCP, NMK and the Department specialized their structures to produce units dedicated mostly to archaeology, defining greatly the functions of those researchers as archaeologists. This was an important advance, because before many of the researchers had to work within more generalist units, integrating research functions closer to anthropological studies and art history. In that sense, that specialization helped to the definition of the field as something different to other disciplines such as the mentioned above anthropology and art history. This period also bolstered the institutionalization of archaeology outside Seoul with the organization of research units in Kyŏngju and Kwangju. The role of the OCP in this was tightly linked to the Kyŏngju Tourism Development project, and it finished with the end of that project. It took still some time to developed the regional network of centers that it enjoys today. The NMK was more important in this aspect with the development of the branch museums at Kyŏngju and Kwangju with their own Research Departments.

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<sup>367</sup> See Chapter 1 and 6

## Conclusions

The organization of the SSAR involved in the form that it took by 1979 was the result of the decolonization process and the successive cultural policies established by the governments. The evolution of those policies designed an ecosystem of research at the service of the government, but not limited to the government interest. The different degrees of autonomy that each institution enjoyed allowed them to design their particular research plans beyond government's necessities. The system also developed, as result of the cultural policies, a high degree of functional specialization.

The decolonization of the Japanese General-Government Museum after the Liberation in 1945 established the first institution of the SSAR, and meant the continuity of some colonial characteristics but not all. The reorganization of the General-Government Museum into the NMK continued many colonial practices of internal management. As it has been exposed, no Korean had previous experience managing an institution of the size of the NMK, and for that reason, the USAMGIK, with Kim Chae-wŏn's participation, kept Arimitsu Kyoichi, former director of the Museum during the colony, to help in the transition. Arimitsu helped greatly in this uncertain period, being remembers with great esteem by Kim Che-wŏn and other Korean scholars. His contribution to that transition, nevertheless, should be read in terms of continuity of previous colonial practices of museum management, classification of pieces and exhibition. Equally, his participation as advisor for the Korean research team who excavate Ho-U and Silver Bell tombs meant the continuity of Japanese research practices.

However, it is possible to identify important areas of discontinuity in the organization of the Museum. The institutional position of the NMK changed radically under the USAMGIK in relation to the previous position of the General-Government Museum. Since

1945, the NMK became an independent institution under the authority of the Ministry of Culture and Education, managing its own budget. This change in the administrative position of the Museum conferred a new degree of autonomy to the institution because it did not depend from the bureaucrats at the Ministry to organize its internal life. That autonomy was the foundation over which the NMK could develop its own research projects beyond government's projects.

Kim Chae-wŏn's handling of the Museum during the power vacuum and its appointment as director of the Museum by the USAMGIK marked the starting point of an uninterrupted line of academics at the front of the institution. Kim Chae-wŏn's long tenure as director of the museum and his excellent work normalized the idea of a renowned scholar as director of the NMK. The academic-director profile of all NMK directors allowed that the institution always defended an independent program of research in addition to that imposed by the government, differentiating the NMK from the OCP and RICP years later.

In addition, the reorganization of cultural heritage management under the USAMGIK opened the museum structure to its reorganization. During the colonial period, the General-Government Museum had under its control three branch museums: Kyŏngju, Kongju and Puyŏ branch museums. The USAMGIK included to that structure the municipal museum at Kaesŏng, enlarging the collections under NMK's control, and the personal. In fact, the inclusion of the Kaesŏng Museum to the NMK system meant that Chin Hong-sŏp and Ch'oi Sun-u became part of the NMK staff, remaining at the institution after the Korean War even though the Kaesŏng remained under North Korean control.

The integration of Japanese institutions into the South Korean government administration was not an automatic process. There were situations when Korean scholars



could lead initiatives with an impact on the process. In addition, the political situation of the Peninsula between 1945 and 1953 left much autonomy to Kim Chae-wŏn.

The SSAR evolved over the years in relation to the different cultural policies established by the different governments, increasing budgets, setting institutions and regulation their relationship with the government. The SSAR lived a rather autonomous period under the Syngman Rhee's regime (1948-1960), but it kept the system under very limited operability. In this period, the SSAR was limited to the NMK. This institution had to use foreign funds to conduct an important part of its research, due to the budget constraints of government funding.

Park Chung Hee's government designed a new cultural policy directed to the centralization of cultural heritage management through the establishment of the OCP. This new period saw greater funding available which translated in an important expansion of the system in terms of budget and people. The political organization of the OCP allowed a more direct control over research by the government. The NMK kept its relative autonomy in the form of an independent budget to pursue its own research project with important increases. This period saw also the mobilization of the Museum through the OCP to conduct the first salvation projects related to economic development projects such as the highway Seoul-Pusan.

However, the most important transformation of the SSAR came in 1968 when Park Chung Hee's government prepare for its shift towards the Yusin regime and the Heavy-Chemical Industrialization. The new cultural policy stressed the development of Kyŏnju as a symbol of the "unification" of the Peninsula under the kingdom of Silla in correlation to





the government's nationalist discourse.<sup>368</sup> In addition, the rapid economic development planned important engineering projects that meant the construction of dams and large industrial complexes. Due to the own cultural heritage law logic and nationalist discourse, the government prepared large salvation projects.

The increase of government led projects in archaeology required a serious expansion of the SSAR and its administrative reorganization. The government allocated important increases for NMK and OCP budgets, including special resources linked to the economic development plans. In addition, the government transformed the OCP into a more active actor in field research. That was the origin of the Research Office for Cultural Properties, antecedent of the RICP. The expansion of the system and its administrative reorganization allowed the government an important power of intervention in the research done in archaeology.

The Department played an important role in the expansion of the SSAR. Since the graduation of the first promotion of students, the Department was an important source of trained archaeologists for the SSAR. As it will be shown below in chapter 6, many of those graduates integrated in the NMK, OCP or RICP. In addition, the Department was with the NMK between 1961 and 1967 one of the institutions coordinated by the OCP for the salvation projects. After 1968, the Department took part in many of the projects led by the OCP and the RICP as many other universities.

The transformations of the government cultural policy led to a progressive expansion of the SSAR, at the same time that the government adopted a more active role. However, not

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<sup>368</sup> The period known as Unified Silla (668-935) did not control the totality of the Peninsula, leaving the Northern most regions of the Peninsula under the control of Palhae.



all the institution fell into the same degree of control. The most dependent SSAR institution was the OCP. The political direction of this institution made it very permeable to government directives. In fact, that was the reason why later on the government decided to expand more vigorously this section of the SSAR, creating the RICP in last term. Following this ladder, the NMK started its life with a high degree of autonomy that dwindled over time, but never completely. Thus, it always could develop its own research projects born in its own internal logic. Such positions was thanks to the double character of the NMK directors, administrators of a public institution and renowned scholars. The Department at SNU remained always the most autonomous institution of the SSAR due to its insertion in a university since its establishment in 1961.

The SSAR evolution also shows a process of specialization related to disciplinary boundaries, structural function functions and territorial decentralization. The disciplinary specialization of SSAR institution is present in the reorganization of internal departments at those institutions. The NMK started with a Department of Research in 1949 without more disciplinary specialization. By 1979, the Museum already had a unit dedicated almost exclusively to archaeological research. The OCP saw a similar process in its units of cultural heritage to the point that develop the RICP, institution that established internally another unit dedicated to archaeological research. But the most clear identification of an administrative unit with the discipline of archaeology happened at the Department. This university department changed from teaching and researching in anthropology and archaeology to focus on archaeology. The progressive identification of administrative units with archaeology shows the process of consolidation of archaeology as a defined discipline different from history or anthropology.



The expansion and diversification of the SSAR also granted the possibility of a functional specialization. The establishment of the OCP and the Department of SNU in 1961 opened the door to the division of activities among SSAR institutions. The OCP developed into the institution in charge of translating government objectives regarding archaeology into a reality, coordinating the necessary actors to do that. Such role reached its maximum expression with the establishment of the RICP and the Archaeological Team of Ancient Sites at Kyōngju. Meanwhile, the training of professional archaeology was the task of the Department, providing trained human resources to the rest of the SSAR when necessary.

Finally, the specialization also happened in terms of regional decentralization. The multiplication of archaeological projects throughout the country forced a constant deployment of research from the geographical center of SSAR institutions in Seoul. The importance of Kyōngju as a sustained site of research in the 1970s conducted the OCP to start this geographical decentralization within the frame of the Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan when it established a temporary office and research unite to manage archaeological works at Kyōngju. The NMK followed suit developing its own network of branch museums, first the Kyōngju National Museum, and later with the Kwangju National Museum. Even though this decentralization was linked to specific research projects led by the government, they also consolidated research units outside Seoul. Therefore, they set the infrastructure for in depth regional research to complement the projects developed from institutions at Seoul.



## **Chapter 5: The Constitution of a community of practitioners of archaeology in South Korea (1945-1979)**

### **Introduction**

The establishment of the Society for Korean Archaeological Studies (Han'guk Kogohak Yŏn'guhoe) in 1976 represents an important landmark in the history of Archaeology in the Republic of Korea. The organization of the first national association for archaeologists culminated a long process of association. On the one hand, it represented the consolidation of a community of practitioners that recognized its members as equal contributors to Korean archaeology. In other words, there was a movement of convergence between different academic groups to establish a single organization, a national association open to all archaeologists in Korea. On the other hand, it represented the articulation of an intellectual space in which archaeology finally emerged as an independent space of research, separated from others such as history, art history or anthropology. Even though the idea of 'Korean archaeology' started under the Colonial period when Japanese archaeologists began their excavations, the intellectual space that Japanese and Korean scholars reclaimed for their studies was different. The present chapter is going to consider the organization of this community and their activities to carve out an independent space for archaeological inquire, the construction of the field of archaeology in the Republic of Korea.

The articulation of this double phenomenon, social and intellectual, is at the core of establishing any discipline, and it is condensed as its professionalization. Perry summarizes

this process for the field of archaeology. She starts her argument from the idea of a foundational body of knowledge that articulates a community of individuals. This system of knowledge was generated by a group of individuals who interacted together based on their common interest. The production of knowledge refined their terminology and methodologies, starting a cycle of collective practice and sophistication. This practice created a complex enough cognitive base that required manuals and formal means of conveying it. Specific methods of communication also supported the consolidation of a community of practice that participated of them. Furthermore, claims Perry, that practice becomes a rite of passage, socializing individuals and making them part of the community. At the same time, people who has demonstrated competence in the field trains students towards advancing specific agendas related to such preexisting competencies. This process reproduces the field and sets certain directions in its growth. Nevertheless, the social practice leads those trainees to connect with more people and develop new networks that further the nature of the practice. That community would become a profession when the production of knowledge and the production of producers become part of the same structure. In addition, that profession would develop a disciplinary culture, an interlinked and self-reinforcing set of cognitive and cultural identities.<sup>369</sup>

This definition of professionalization highlights the main points necessary to consider for the Korean case, a community of practitioners joined by their common interest on Korean archaeology, a core knowledge system, and a system of communication for that knowledge to new members of the community. The understanding of this process in the Korean case

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<sup>369</sup> Perry, Sara, "Professionalization: Archaeology as an 'Expert' Knowledge," *Encyclopedia of Global Archaeology* (New York: Springer New York, 2014): 6151

after the Liberation can provide an insight about the continuities and discontinuities between the colonial and postcolonial periods, at the same time that it can testify about the role of the government. In that sense, the study of the construction of the field in Korea can provide important information about the level of autonomy of the field regarding the colonial legacy and the postcolonial government.

The present chapter will present an account on the establishment of archaeology as a field in Korea from 1945 to 1979. Methodologically, this phenomenon is going to be studied through the analysis of several elements: the definition of the community of practitioners, the configuration of a communicative space, the definition of the field.

Firstly, the study will define which was the core group of the community of practitioners. These were the most active scholars in the field and the leaders in the configuration of a clear group of researchers. Thus, this group was also at the vanguard in the professionalization of the field. In order to present the historical configuration and development of this community, the chapter will reconstruct the careers of some of the most successful archaeologists and the several initiatives that articulated them into a group. This study will be based on published interviews to key players in the field. Furthermore, it will consider the history of professional associations that articulated the field in different moments of its history until the culmination of the process in 1976 with the organization of the national association that englobed most of the professionals engaged in the field at that time. These two elements can provide a start point to define the main group within the community of practitioners.

The second point of research are the academic journals that constitute the first space of communication for the community. Journals were the direct product of the associative

movement that some members of the community were leading. At the same time, they were fundamental elements in the consolidation of the community because they created a communicative space, allowing therefore its separation from other academic communities. Furthermore, that same space of communication helped define the intellectual space by guiding the academic debate.

The third element is the definitions of the field. These definitions can provide the necessary arguments to delimit the field of archaeology from other academic fields, specially art history, history and anthropology.

### **The organization of the social space: the community of practitioners**

The constitution of a community of practitioners of archaeology evolved from different groups and followed a process of association among different scholars and group of scholars. The process of association and field definition created different networks of scholars within the field of archaeology until they gathered within the umbrella of the Society for Korean Archaeological Studies. The present section is going to look at the organization of those social groups, the mechanism in place for their early constitution and letter interconnections, the long process over which the number of practitioners in the field of archaeology expanded and organized themselves. In such process, it is necessary to consider the role of different leaders that promoted such expansion and later association, representing points of reference for other scholars.



This process of expansion and association looks at the configuration of research groups within different organizations and the configuration of formal and informal relationships among scholars. Such process will be reconstructed from the consideration of two aspects, professional careers and their evolution over time, and the configuration of professional associations.

The consideration of personal careers in the field can provide information about the connections that archaeologists developed during the exercise of their research. Those connections indicate the participation in different academic networks that can map part of the community of practitioners. Furthermore, the study of the main pioneers' career can provide an explanation about the expansion of the field to new institutions, and the integration of new scholars trained by those "pioneers." In addition, the social connections of those scholars can provide the frame for more or less informal collaboration that later on could provide an explanation for the execution of joint academic projects.

The study of professional associations represents the necessary complement to the study of professional careers. Professional associations mean the consolidation of academic relations. The limits and objectives of those associations reflect the evolution of the field and the different forces in play that affected the configuration of the community of practitioners. In addition, these associations are some of the clearer indicators of the limits of the community. Associations help define the community of practitioners through the configuration of a community of people who accepts the association objectives, and through the inclusion/exclusion policy that defines the own community. Thus, even though associations are most of the time indicators of process already in place for some time, they represent indispensable items to consider the evolution of a profession.



This process is marked by several highlights that defined the direction in which the community of practitioners evolved over time. The establishment of the National Museum of Korea marked beginning of the first period. This period, limited between 1945 and 1961, is characterized by the centrality of the museum in terms of connecting the main actors, although there were already signs of other actors outside the museum. Thus, it started with the establishment of the Museum in 1945 and finishes in the early 60s with the establishment of the OCP and the Department. The institutional changes from the early 1960s created a new space. On the one hand, the new institutions demanded new scholars to fill in research positions. On the other hand, the transformation in the public system of archaeological research was coincidental in time with the consolidation of other nucleus of practitioners around universities unrelated to the National Museum. In addition, this expansion was followed by the organization of the first professional associations related with the practice of archaeology. The third period represents the clear consolidation of a limited community of practitioners identified with the term “archaeologist.” The organization of these communities followed previous patterns of association and collaboration that produced two separated associations. The internal politics of those associations delayed their consolidation until 1976 when both associations formed a society. In that regard, the organization of the association marks the consolidation of a nation-wide community of practitioners connected through their own professional association. Even though professional limits were still somehow porous with the participation of non-archaeologists in the association, its declared objectives, activities and the amount of members of the community show the end of the process.



*The beginning of the community, 1945-1960*

The National Museum of Korea hosted the first community of scholars interested in the field of archaeology as early as the organization of the first archaeological excavation accomplished in Korea after the Liberation, the excavation of the Silver Bell tomb and the Ho-U tomb in 1946. However, the institution and that community suffered the effects of the Korean War and its divisive effects. Consequently, it is necessary to consider the effects of the decolonization, the war and reestablishment of the Museum back in Seoul after the War in order to understand the organization and evolution of this first community of practitioners.

Kim Chae-wŏn had to face the problem of finding suitable staff to fill the research positions at the museum after the Liberation. In 1947, there were research staff at the main museum in Seoul, and the branch museums in the provinces. The main museum concentrated in the Academic Department (Hakyekwa), the Department of Exhibition (Chŏnsilkwa), and the Branch museums. This first group included Sŏ Kap-nok, Im Chŏn, Lee Kŏn-chung, Lee Kyu-su, in the Academic Department, and Lee Hong-jik and Chang Uk-chin in the Department of Exhibition. Meanwhile, the branch museums employed scholars such as Park Il-hun (Kyŏngju), Ch'oe Hŭi-sun (Kaesŏng), Hong Sa-jun (Puyŏ) and Kim Yŏng-bae (Kongju). In addition, Ch'oe Sun-u and Hwang Su-yŏng also started in the main museum in 1947.<sup>370</sup> They represented the first research body at the National Museum of Korea, and a selection of them directed the first archaeological excavation. However, the limited economic

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<sup>370</sup> *Kwanbo 1* (1947) in Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa. Charyop'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009): 427; Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa. Charyop'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009): 320



resources of the National Museum then and the political situation resulted from the division of the Peninsula and later Korean War forced a reorganization of the staff.

The occupation of Seoul during the Korean War, and the years of economic penury that followed imposed a restructuration of the academic community at the museum. The first reason behind this restructuration is related to the actions during the first invasion of Seoul after the outbreak of the war in 1950. In a report to the Rockefeller Foundation written by Kim Chae-wŏn, he presented a detailed account of his experience under the first communist occupation of Seoul. Regarding the situation of the staff, Kim said

Through whole occupation period all other museum employees were hired officially by the communists and our employees got salary and rice ration from red authority. They did not [the negative is handwritten in a gap] collaborate with Reds to protect art treasures except few real communists. Some of my employees did sabotage to delay intentionally the packing of museum collection.<sup>371</sup>

In this regard, the political beliefs of some staff members affected its relations with Kim Chae-wŏn. In his memoirs, Kim recalled enrolling Lee Hong-jik as one of the most qualified scholars under his direction, giving him the direction of the Department of Exhibition. However, when the North Korean army controlled Seoul, a political representative of the Communist party went to the Museum to organize the institution under the new power. The

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<sup>371</sup> Letter by Kim Chae-wŏn to Charles B. Fahs, Jan. 22, 1952, Folder 26, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center



result was, Kim explained, the election of Lee Hong-jik as a director of the museum.<sup>372</sup> After that declaration, Kim hints in his report the willing participation of Lee in the communist management of the museum with sentences such as “Lee Hong Zik, elected chairman, made a speech under North Korean flag; “If Rhee Syngman and American ever come again into Seoul, I would commit suicide...” Choy Hisoon advise me to go to Museum and to say something to Lee Jai Ki and Lee Hong Zik” adding “Two Lees were rather kind towards me.” He also said “Lee Hong Zik came to me and asked to submit self-confession, which I never did, but it was very difficult time.” And he continued later “Lee Hong Zik came a couple of times and told me of my ‘aristocratic attitude’ and how he felt of communism since college days. Kim even declared in his report that Lee told him “I was quite prepared for this time to receive communism and I felt it necessary to shake hand with the first North Korean soldier who came in museum area.”<sup>373</sup> Kim Won-yong also presented an account about the events under Communist control, but he did not single out Lee Hong-jik as a pro-communist in the same terms that Kim Chae-wŏn used.<sup>374</sup> Kim Won-yong recalled those days declaring his personal fears of communists due to his family and the possibility of being identified as a reactionary against communism. Once he decided to go back to the Museum and find out what was the situation there he declared that

[a]ll of them [coworkers],it seemed, were kind to me and shook my hand which probably meant for celebration of both their survived lives and the new change.

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<sup>372</sup> Ibid.

<sup>373</sup> Ibid.

<sup>374</sup> Report by Kim Won-yong, 1952, Folder 25, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

Lee Hong-zik was elected to the chairman. He, later, told me to come back to the former official residence since there is, he said, no reason to live in outside that means to fear the communists.<sup>375</sup>

The accusation of collaboration with communists actually extended to other members of the research staff. In another letter to Fahs, Kim declared

Now I am sitting in my destroyed office again with few remaining employees. Some of them had collaborated with Reds, they were even for me worst kind of enemies, since they knew exactly and better than anybody else what I was. I am very sorry indeed to inform you that Mr. Huang Soo Yong for whom I requested you a fellowship in my last letter was one of collaborators at museum. He is fired now. I am deeply disappointed in Huang, since I did everything for him and recommended him to you even while I was in New York City. I am very glad, however, that Mr. Kim Won Yong remained cordial friendship with me through all the difficult days.<sup>376</sup>

In total, the museum had to fire five members of his original staff due to their collaboration with North Koreans during the occupation of Seoul,<sup>377</sup> although only two of them were

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<sup>375</sup> Ibid.

<sup>376</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn to CBF, Oct. 19, 1950, Folder 24, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

<sup>377</sup> Gregory Henderson to CBF, Oct. 26, 1950, Folder 24, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2 Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

researchers. Later Rhee's government pardoned collaborators during the first Communist occupation on the ground that most of them acted under duress.<sup>378</sup> That could explain the successful career that Lee and Hwang developed even after they were fired from the museum. Very close chronologically was Sŏ Kap-rok's decease. Kim Won-yong inform us that he got sick in 1950, and passed away.<sup>379</sup> In addition to political reasons, the economic situation of the museum during the war was a hindrance for the consolidation of a research team at the National Museum. The life in Pusan as refugees was difficult for all the staff members, and the limited budget on those days made difficult for Kim Chae-wŏn to keep decent salaries. Fortunately, several consecutive grants from the Rockefeller Foundation allowed Kim to pay a supplement to the salary of the department directors, keeping functioning the institution during the war years.<sup>380</sup> The war affected to the researchers at the Museum, changing the composition of its staff substantially after the war.

The NMK suffered a severe reorganization of personal and resources after the War, and especially with the fall of Kaesŏng. The fall of the city meant that some of its researchers were distributed among the main museum and the branch museums. A report from 1959 on the organization of the National Museum declared that Kim Won-yong, aided by Im Chŏn and Yun Mu-byŏng, directed the Department of Research, and the Department of Diffusion was directed by Choe Hŭi-sun, from Kaesŏng. Moreover, Chin Hong-jin passed from being at the Kaesŏng branch museum to direct the branch museum at Kyŏngju, aided by Park Il-

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<sup>378</sup> CBF (Charles B. Fahs) Diary excerpt, April 9, 1952, Folder 26, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

<sup>379</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haruüi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munŭnsa, 1985): 190

<sup>380</sup> Letter to Kim by Charles B. Fahs, April 29, 1949, Folder 24, Box, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center; Letter to Kim by Charles B. Fahs, Nov. 16, 1950, Folder 24, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center; Letter to Kim by Charles B. Fahs, Dec. 20, 1951, Folder 25, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center



Hun, and the rest of branch museums remained as before. The consequences of this reorganization of researchers at the National Museum left Kim Chae-wŏn, and Kim Won-yong, two of the few scholars in Korea with field experience, as the main directors of excavations with the aid of the Department of Research. The Korean War meant for the group of researchers at the National Museum the purge of its pro-communist members and the need to assimilate the loss of the Kaesŏng branch museum. In addition, the loss of researchers such as Sŏ Kap-rok forced the reorganization of the research team in archaeology.

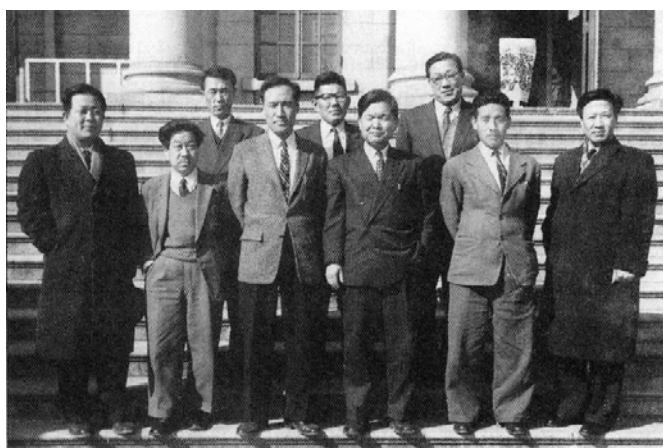


Figure 5.17 Researchers at the NMK 1957. From left to right: Hwang Su-yong, Im Ch'on, Kim Won-yong, Kim Chae-won, Hong Sa-jun, Ch'oe Sun-u. Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn*, 88

Once the NMK returned to Seoul after the war, Kim Chae-wŏn had to recompose the research department after firing Lee Hong-jik and Hwang Su-yŏng. However, the problem at this time was still the lack of qualified scholars to fill in the positions. Fahs recalled that Kim even thought of reinstalling in their

original positions some of the people he had to fire, after Rhee granted a pardon to those who collaborated with North Koreans during the first occupation of Seoul.<sup>381</sup> In the end, Kim did not rehire them, but searched for promising candidates. The first new member of the Department of Research was Yun Mu-byŏng in 1954. Thus, Kim Won-yong, Im Chŏn and Yun formed the department. In addition, Kim Chae-wŏn scouted through Hwang Su-yŏng

<sup>381</sup> CBF (Charles B. Fahs) Diary excerpt, April 9, 1952, Folder 26, Box 3, Series 613R Korea, Group RG 1.2, Rockefeller Foundation, Rockefeller Archive Center

the possibility of hiring an archaeologist with experience in excavating Buddhist temples. During one of Hwang's trips to Japan as part of the Korean-Japanese conversations regarding Korean cultural heritage, he contacted with Kim Chŏng-gi, a Korean who had been studying at Meiji University and who excavated in several sites in Japan, including the excavation of Shitennō-ji. That first meeting motivated Kim Chŏng-gi to prepare his return to Korea and apply formally for a position at the NMK.<sup>382</sup> He later entered the Department of Diffusion under the direction of Ch'oe Hŭi-sun, but took part in archaeological excavations as an archaeologist, until the reorganization of departments.<sup>383</sup> This group also included punctually staff from the branch museums, such as Chin Hong-sŏp.<sup>384</sup> Consequently, a new team of archaeologists established their position within the institution, constructing solid links that lasted even after some of them left the museum.

The situation outside the NMK was very different, due to the lack of expertise among people interested. The organization of the discipline, in that sense depended primarily of university professors who developed an interest on archaeology and finally gathered the means to conduct archaeological excavations. In addition, university museums, as the institutions in charge of researching material culture, preserving and displaying it to the public, promoted strongly those activities. Looking at the government records on excavations during the 1950s there were several agents conducting research in that period, and only one

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<sup>382</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008): 167

<sup>383</sup> Kungnip Pangmulgwan, "Kungnip Pangmulgwan Kaeram," 1959 in in Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa. Charyop'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009):575

<sup>384</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn and Kim Won-yong, *Kyŏngju Nosŏri, Ssangsangch'ong, Mach'ong, Kobun n° 136* (Eulyoo Munhwasa, 1955); Chin Hong-sŏp, "Kyŏngju Hwangori Kobun Chosa," *Misulcharyo* 2 (1960); Kim Chae-wŏn and Yun Mu-byŏng, *Kamŭnsa. A Temple Site of the Silla Dynasty* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1961); Kim Chae-wŏn and Yun Mu-byŏng, *(The)ancient tombs in Tapni Uisong Kun, Kyongsang Pukdo* (Seoul: Eul-yu Publishing co., 1962); Kim Won-yong, *Ullong-do Pu Yŏng'am-gun Naedong-ri Ongkwanmyo* (Seoul: National Museum of Korea, 1963)





was not part of a university.<sup>385</sup> After those interventions, it is not clear if he continued excavating in association to a university. Other than this, the rest of excavation in this period were done by university professors.

The first archaeological excavation by universities usually followed the same model: the museum of the university programmed an excavation, and the CCP sent a member of the NMK to aid in the actual excavation. Two examples of this system were the excavations conducted by Koryo University, the first one, and Kyungpook National University the second. Koryo University's library had gathered around its facilities a range of scholars from other

universities interested on archaeology and art history, due to the quality and quantity of books on those topics, difficult to find somewhere else.

In 1959, Kim Chǒng-hak applied for an authorization to excavate a shell mound in Ung-ch'ǒn. In that project, Kim prepared the excavation with Ch'oe Yǒng-hŭi, then at Sungsil University, Yun Sae-yǒng, member of



Figure 5.18 Ung-ch'ǒn Shell Mound 1959. From left to right Kim Yang-sǒn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Chǒng-hak. Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wǒllo Ege Tǔnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyǒn*, 377

the museum staff, and two other students.<sup>386</sup> Due to their initial lack of practical experience in field excavations, Kim Won-yong was assigned by the CCP to guide their excavation.<sup>387</sup>

In the case of Kyungpook National University, the promoter of the excavation was the director of the recently established university museum, Park Ŭl-yong, a professor at the

<sup>385</sup> See Chapter 3

<sup>386</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wǒllo Ege Tǔnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyǒn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yǒngnon, 2008): 376

<sup>387</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk. Kyǒngju kojǒk kwallisamuso, "Munhwajae Wiwǒnhoe Hoeŭirok (1952nyǒn 12wǒl 19il Put'o 1959nyǒn 10wǒl 21il Kkaji)" (Munhwachae Yǒn'guso, 1992): 81; Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haruŭi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munŭnsa, 1985): 195-196

Department of Mathematics. Park asked for help to his former student, Yun Yong-jin, regarding measurements, and the CCP sent Chin Hong-söp to guide the excavation.<sup>388</sup> These first field experiences promoted the constitution of archaeology research groups in those universities.

Neither university developed full fledged departments of archaeology, but an already established department and the university museum organized a core group of university professors who started researching, sometimes even with the support of students. After the first excavation by Koryo University, students organized the first association (tong'ari) focused on archaeology called *inlyukogohoe* in 1961. This association was under the guidance of Kim Chung-hak and Ch'ae Pyöngsö, then professors at Koryo University. In addition, the association appointed Ch'oe Yöng-hüi, Yun Sae-yöng and Im Pyöng-t'ae as honorary members.<sup>389</sup> This group gathered not only people from Koryo University, but also some people from Sungsil University (Im Pyöng-t'ae graduated from that university and Ch'oe Yöng-hüi, a professor there). Furthermore, despite the professional mobility of its members to other institutions, their connection was never broken. The consolidation of a group of practitioners at Kyungpook National University was not as successful as the situation at Koryo University, but that intervention was the beginning of a career in archaeology for Yun Yong-jin, first with the publication of the excavation report, and later on with a position as a professor at Kyunpook National Universtiy. These are just but two examples of the consolidation of several groups at different universities and in different cities. Similar process happened also at Kyung Hee University or Pusan University with early

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<sup>388</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyön* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yöngnon, 2008): 243-244; "Kogo Misul Nyusü" *Misul Charyo* 2 (1960)

[http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive\\_6135](http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive_6135) Consulted on-line on Sept. 1, 2016

<sup>389</sup> Yun Sae-yöng, "'Han'guk Kogohakhoe'üi T'onghab T'anaeng Kwajöng," *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 266



interventions in the late 1950s. However, the level of connection among all of them in this period was still dim, but rising to new levels.

These researchers were integrated in networks of academics larger than those of their hosting institutions, and in 1960 a new association tried to get closer to the interest of archaeologists. After the Liberation and the Korean War scholars interested in the field of archaeology did not have an association of their own to connect with other scholars and to forward their research. However, some of them integrated in other institutions where they could create a space for their interests: the Chindan Academic Society (Chindan Hakhoe) and the Korean Historical Association (Yöksa Hakhoe).

The Chindan Academic Society was first established in 1934 by a group of scholars from different areas such as history, linguistics and literature under the idea of developing Korean Studies during the colonial period. The organization was shut down during the worst part of the Pacific War in 1942, and, after the Liberation, a group of scholars made important efforts to reorganize its work. Among them was Son Chin-t'ae, a graduate in history from Waseda University and author of one of the first academic articles on Korean archaeology written by a Korean, although his main area of research was ethnology (minsokhak). However, his impact on archaeology was very limited, due to he was kidnapped and taken to North Korean during the war.<sup>390</sup> The implication of other researchers interested in archaeology came first with the restructuring of the association. Most of the member escaped to Pusan with the North Korean advance during the War. In a meeting in Pusan, the association decided to reorganize its structure and include new members (imwŏn) to the

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<sup>390</sup> Kim Chŏng-bae, *Han'guk Kodaesa Wa Kogohak*, Ch'op'an, Saeron Sŏwŏn 219 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Sinsŏwŏn, 2000): 12-14



association. Among the new selected members were Kim Won-yong and Lee Hong-jik, refugees also in Pusan.<sup>391</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn started his relationship with the association when the Rockefeller Foundation became interested in funding the Chindan Academic Society to produce a history of Korea. He then was appointed member of the direction board (isa) in 1954.<sup>392</sup> Consequently, members of the archaeological community became part of the association, reaching the board of direction. Such participation concentrated in the main projects of the association, the publication of an academic journal, and the edition of a multivolume history of Korea. However, they were not capable to create a particular space for archaeology or archaeologists within the association.

The Korean Historical Association was born in 1952 with the purpose of connecting scholars in the field of history within Korea and abroad.<sup>393</sup> The integration of researchers working on archaeology happened from its beginning. Thus, Kim Won-yong was elected in 1953 new secretary (kansa) for the archaeology section.<sup>394</sup> A year later, Yun Mu-byŏng and Ch'oe Sun-u joined the executive, while Hong Sa-jun, and Chin Hong-sŏp were elected regional secretaries for Puyŏ and Kyŏngju respectively.<sup>395</sup> In 1957, researchers active in the field of archaeology were present in the association in greater numbers. Kim Chae-wŏn was appointed special member (t'ŭkpyŏl hoewŏn), Kim Won-yong was awarded a permanent

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<sup>391</sup> Min Hyŏn-gu, *Han'guk sahak ui sŏngkwa wa chŏnmang* (Soul T'ukpyolsi: Koryo Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006): 51-53

<sup>392</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yŏngsaeng* (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1992): 142

<sup>393</sup> "Hoebo Chung," *Yŏksa Hakpo* 1 (1952) [http://kiss.kstudy.com/journal/list\\_name.asp](http://kiss.kstudy.com/journal/list_name.asp) Consulted on-line in Sept 1, 2016

<sup>394</sup> "1953nyŏn 4wŏl 5il Yŏksahakhoe chae2hoe Ch-onghoe – Sin'imwŏn sŏnch'ul" [http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=9&page=9&\\_\\_M\\_ID=23&sfied=&sword=](http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=9&page=9&__M_ID=23&sfied=&sword=) Consulted on-line Sept. 1, 2016

<sup>395</sup> "1954nyŏn 9wŏl 5il Yŏksahakhoe chae3hoe Ch-onghoe – Kansa Chinyŏng hwaktae wa chibang kangsaüi sŏlch'I" [http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=10&page=9&\\_\\_M\\_ID=23&sfied=&sword=](http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=10&page=9&__M_ID=23&sfied=&sword=) Consulted on-line Sept. 1, 2016



position (sang'im kansa) in charge of research presentations meetings. Meanwhile, Yun Mu-byōng, Hwang Su-yōng, Chin Hong-sōp and Hong Sa-jun were appointed secretaries (kansa) of the association.<sup>396</sup>

In addition, the National History Conference (Chōnguk Yōksahak Taehoe) organized a section dedicated to archaeology and art (kogomisul). For example, Kim Won-yong, Ch'ae Pyōng-sō and Hwang Su-yōng presented papers in that section at the conference celebrated in 1960.<sup>397</sup> This shows the level of implication of those researchers in the association and the possibility to connect to each other. However, they were still dependent of historians who were the majority of scholars and in its organization. In that regard, it cannot be considered a professional association for the community of practitioners interested in archaeology, even though it played an important role in its first steps. The majority of archaeologists that belonged to the organization of the association were related with the NMK. In fact, only Hwang Su-yōng was appointed secretary of the association and did not belonged to the NMK. Thus, an unbalance representation of the early archaeologists in this association favored members of government institutions.

The first association organized with a clear interest in doing archaeological research was the Archaeology and Art Group (Kogo Misul Tong'inhoe), which years later became the Korean Art History Association. It was established in 1960 by Chōng Hyōng-p'il, Hwang Su-yōng, Ch'oe Sun-u, Chin Hong-sōp and Kim Won-yong.<sup>398</sup> Their main objective was the

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<sup>396</sup> “1957nyōn 2wōn 17il Chamsi ch'imch'ae ae Ppajyōttōn Hakhoeūi Hwaldongūl Swaesinhagoja Ch'onghoerūl Kaech'oeham”

[http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=11&page=9&\\_\\_M\\_ID=23&sfied=&sword=](http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=11&page=9&__M_ID=23&sfied=&sword=) Consulted on-line Sept. 1, 2016

<sup>397</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwan, “Kogomisul Nyusū” *Misul Charyo* 2 (1960, Dec.)

[http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive\\_6135](http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive_6135) Consulted on-line on Sept. 1, 2016

<sup>398</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Harūi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munūnsa, 1985): 197

edition of a journal aiming to present the recent archaeological and artistic discoveries through short articles.<sup>399</sup> Kim recalled that the production of the monthly pamphlet depended on volunteer workers from the group and some people from outside such as Chŏng Yŏng-ho. They all met at the house of one of the group members and prepared the edition altogether.<sup>400</sup> The organization of this first group orientated to archaeology and art shows the increasing dynamism of the field on those early days with enough readers to support a monthly publication. However, the group represented a rather small section of the community of practitioners. It represented the consolidation of certain interest among some of them, which were already connected. Looking at the members of the group, the first characteristic is the connection of most of them at with the NMK in that period (Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Ch'oe Sun-u), or in the past (Hwang Su-yŏng). In that sense, this group represented the consolidation of certain academic interests born at the NMK and projected outwardly through the publication.

#### *The Growth of the Community, 1961-1967*

The community of practitioners grew greatly after 1961 with the expansion of government institutions, the reorganization of the NMK, the establishment of the first university department of archaeology and the participation of greater number of universities. The connections increased also to a new level, but they structured different networks of scholars, though they were not completely isolated from one another, and promoted greater degree of internal communication and collaboration than with external members of the network.

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<sup>399</sup> Kogomisul Tong'inhoe, "Ch'angkansa," *Kogomisul* 1 (1960: Aug.): 1

<sup>400</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haruüi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munŏnsa, 1985): 197-198



The reorganization of the NMK meant not just the restructuring of departments, but also the relocation of people within the institution and to other institutions. Kim Won-yong's returned from the USA with a PhD, leaving his position at the NMK, and started working at the newly established Department of Anthropology and Archaeology. Internally at the NMK, people was transferred from the old Department of Diffusion to the Department of Archaeology, and this department hired two new members. Consequently, in 1961, the new Department of Archaeology included Yun Mu-byōng (dir.), Kim Chōng-gi, Lee Nan-yōng (first Korean woman to do participate in an archaeological excavation), and Han Byōng-sam. Meanwhile the Department of Art counted with Ch'oe Hŭi-sun as director, Im Ch'ōn, Maeng In-chaе, and Chin Hong-sōp. However, Chin soon left the NMK, and in the spring of 1961 he transferred to the newly established OCP.<sup>401</sup> Despite the functional division of departments, the truth is that both departments lead archaeological excavations, and sometimes members of both department joined to do it. An example is the excavation of a kiln in Ch'unghyodong. First, Im Ch'ōn surveyed the area in 1961, and later in 1963 a team formed by Ch'oe Sun-u, Kim Chōn-gi, Chōng Yang-mo and Kim Tong-hyōn. The investigation of kilns and Buddhist temples by the Department of Art and its collaboration with the Department of Archaeology was a constant during the 1960s.<sup>402</sup> This reconfiguration of departments and people had as a result the concentration of archaeological research focused on prehistorical themes at the Department of Archaeology. The Department of Art History also excavated sites related to art history concentrated, but they both collaborated.

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<sup>401</sup> Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan and Tonga Ilbosa, eds., *Pangmulgwan E Salda: Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-Yōn Ŭi Saramdŭl*, 1-p'an ed. (Sōul-si: Tonga Ilbosa, 2009): 60

<sup>402</sup> Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan, *Kungnip Pangmulgwan 60nyon* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan, 2005): 118-121



The new regime of 1961 meant an important growth for government institutions, as it has been seen above. One of the consequences was the expansion of the academic personal at the NMK and the OCP, meaning that new archaeologists started their careers at both institutions in this period. Shortly after the reorganization of the NMK, the museum could hire people, and Chŏng Yang-mo, a graduate from the Department of History at SNU, joined the institution in 1962 after passing a public service exam for academic positions in the administration (*hakyaeckwanbo*, *puhakyaeckwanbo*, *hakyaeckwan*).<sup>403</sup> The OCP also meant opportunities for new scholars. As an example, Lee Ho-kwan sit the official exam to become part of the OCP administration, following Min Sŏk-hong and Ko Pyŏng-ik's advice. When he passed the exam, he was assigned to the OCP where he became acquainted with researchers at the NMK, and he took part in an archaeological excavation at Kyŏngju.<sup>404</sup> The consolidation and expansion of government institutions with responsibilities on archeological heritage expanded also the community of practitioners.

The NMK also played an important role in this direction through the transfer of some of its researchers to other institutions, helping the expansion of the community of practitioners. Two good examples of this were Chin Hong-sŏp and Kim Won-yong. The new regime of 1961 organized the OCP as an independent institution to manage Korean heritage. In that moment, Chin was transferred from his position as director of the NMK branch museum in Kyŏngju to the Department of Heritage (*Munhwachaekwa*) at the OCP, becoming even director for a short time between 1962 and 1963.<sup>405</sup> He, then, in 1963 went to Ewha

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<sup>403</sup> Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa. Charyop'yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han'guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009): 351-352

<sup>404</sup> Ibid. 353-354

<sup>405</sup> Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan and Tonga Ilbosa, eds., *Pangmulgwan E Salda: Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-Yŏn Ŭi Saramdŭl*, 1-p'an ed. (Sŏul-si: Tonga Ilbosa, 2009): 60



Woman's University and became director of the university museum. His transference from the OCP to the university was a transition instead of a sharp change. When he moved to Seoul to work at the OCP, Chin had the chance to work also as a part-time lecturer at Ehwa Woman's University. From that position, he had the chance to create strong links with professors at the university. Thus, when the former director of the university museum passed away in an accident, Chin was appointed director of the museum and included in the Department of History as a professor. The new director spent much effort organizing the internal structure of the museum, employing not just researchers, but also engaging with graduate students.<sup>406</sup> Chin became the main promoter of forming a group of practitioners at Ehwa around the university museum. That group continued active throughout most of the period.

The same year that Chin was transferred to the OCP, Kim Won-Yong moved out from the NMK to start his career as a university professor. After he obtained his PhD from New York University, Kim Won-yong presented his formal resignation to Kim Chae-wŏn, in order to start as a chair of the new Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU. The responsibility of training archaeologists made the university increase the number of courses about it. Due to the limited number of specialists in the subject at SNU, the Department relied on scholars working at other institutions to teach as part-time lecturers. Thus, subjects on archaeological themes were mainly taught by members of the NMK or ex-members of the NMK such as Kim Chae-wŏn, Yun Mu-byŏng, Kim Chŏng-gi, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng, Han Byŏng-sam. From 1970 onwards, graduates from the own department started

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<sup>406</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011): 77-78



teaching there as well (Im Hyo-cha, Ch'oe Mong-nyong, Chŏng Yŏng-hwa, Kim Ri-na) different subjects related to archaeology.<sup>407</sup> The constant presence of members of the NMK as professors at the department shows the strong connection between the NMK and the department, even after Kim Won-yong's departure from the museum. Consequently, the core group of archaeologists at the NMK became very relevant in the training of the archaeologists formed at SNU.

The Department of the SNU started with ten students as upper limit, and nine graduated from the department in 1965, becoming its first promotion of graduates. Outside government institutions, the community around the department was the largest, including students in different degrees of training and experience of professors. Over the years the department graduated 147 students, of which 57 from 1965 to 1979.<sup>408</sup> Therefore, it represented a very large network of senior and junior student in archaeology. The professional career of those who kept related to the field of archaeology followed two paths: to government institutions (the NMK or the OCP) and to universities after achieving a PhD, although these two paths were not mutually exclusive, as some started working at a government institution and then moved to a university after achieving a PhD. Some examples of those who worked at the NMK are Son Pyŏng-hyŏn, Kim Chong-ch'ŏl and Lee Paek-kyu. Meanwhile, other graduates found a position at the RICP such as Kim Byŏng-mo, Chi Kŏn-gil, Cho Yu-jŏn or Yun Tŏk-hyan. Some of those graduates decided to pursue their PhD and went abroad, leaving completely or temporally their position at those institutions. For example, Chi Kŏn-gil went to France to receive his PhD, and after that he returned to the RICP, and later on to the NMK.

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<sup>407</sup> Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50-yŏn P'yŏnjip Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa 50nyŏn, 1961-2011*, Ch'op'an (Sŏul-si: Sŏul Taehakkyo Illyu Hakkwa, 2011): 132-135

<sup>408</sup> Ibid., 200-203; (Sŏul Taehakkyo) Inmun Taehak 30nyŏnsa, *Sŏul Taehakkyo Inmunhak 30nyŏnsa* (Sŏul-si: Sŏul Taehakkyo Inmun Taehak, 2005):403



Meanwhile, Kim Byöng-mo and Son Byöng-hön left their positions at the NMK and RICP to study abroad. Son received his PhD from Harvard, and Kim from Oxford, following later careers at Korean universities. Son became professor at Sungkyunkwan University, and Kim at Hanyang University. Furthermore, there were students who followed a purely academic career such as Im Hyo-chaе (SNU), Chöng Yöng-hwa (Yeungnam University) or Ch'oe Mong-nyong (Chonnam National University, SNU). In the case of Chin Hong-söp or Kim Won-yong, the different positions that these graduates occupied at different institutions contributed to the extension of the community of practitioners in as much as they remained engaged in the field working with other scholars with less experience as archaeologists. In addition, the individual careers of these scholars and their filiation to their former university created an informal group of academics tied together by their relationship with their professors and their connections as SNU alumni.

The community of practitioners also expanded in other universities thanks to the promotion of university museums. In 1961, a group of university museums gathered to establish a new association that would join and promote the efforts of universities for establishing a museum. The Korean Association of University Museums in 1961 was born. The establishment prospectus of the association drafted in 1961 declared that the reason behind the association was the promotion of museums as instruments to promote an inductive education

It is not necessary to stress how important is the intuition through real objects in education. Up to now, in the education of our country, we know very well the abuses of leaning towards an abstract and idealistic methodology of education.



The development and high regard for museum work in all European and American countries is something to admire.

The document continues declaring the main objectives of the association saying that

[t]he association will provide the regulations of the association together with other projects, and plans to help specially with the technical and academic management of each university museum and reference material room. Furthermore, each university will make an effort to achieve a museum or reference material room in case it does not have one yet.<sup>409</sup>

With those ideas as guiding principles, the association became an important agent for the establishment of new university museums, and the academic work associated with them. The founding meeting gathered members of the following universities: Konkook University Museum, Kyungpook National University Museum, Kyung Hee University Museum, Koryo University, Dankook University Museum, Dong-a University Museum, Pusan National University, Seoul National University, Sungkyungwan University, Sookmyung Women's University, Soongsil University Museum, Yonsei University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, Chonnam National University Museum, Chung-Ang University,

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<sup>409</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulkwon Hyöphoe, "Ch'angkansa," *Komunhwa* 1 (1962): 1



Chungnam National University Museum, Hanyang University, Hongik University.<sup>410</sup> Not all these institutions did have archaeologists directing them or researching at them, neither all these universities had actually a museum when they joined the association. However, those that did not have a museum reach the compromise to establish one as soon as possible.

The direction rotated among the members of the association with a mandate for two years. The first president was Sin Hyöng-gu, director of the Ewha Woman's University museum, and one of the promoters of the association in the first place. Unfortunately, he suffered an accident when swimming, and passed away.<sup>411</sup> Due to that accident, Kim Chöng-hak (Koryo University) was elected to substitute the deceased, remaining in that position for the remaining year of Sin's mandate, and another mandate. Thus, he held the presidency from 1962 to 1965. Then he was substituted by Lee Hong-jik (Koryo University).<sup>412</sup>

The participation of these university museums in archaeological excavation followed previous trends but maximized with the proliferation of new museums. By 1961, only Pusan National University, Koryo University, SNU and Kyunpook National University had taken part in archaeological excavations. By 1967, all the members of the original meeting had done it, except Sungkyungwan University, Sookmyung Women's University, Chonnam National University Museum, Chung-Ang University, Chungnam National University Museum, Hanyang University and Hongik University. Some other universities that joined the association later, also started excavating archaeological sites. Such was the example of

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<sup>410</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa P'yöngch'an Wiwönhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyöksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe, 2011): 14

<sup>411</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe, "Chönhoechang Sin Hyöng-gu Kyosurül Ch'udoham," *Komunhwa 2* (1963): 1

<sup>412</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa P'yöngch'an Wiwönhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe 50-yönsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyöksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyöphoe, 2011): 22



Dongguk University, that joined the association in 1964, and that same year took part in an archaeological excavation. Their massive participation in archaeology was the result of Park Chung Hee's regime limitation to buy artifacts to display in the newly established museums. Yun Sae-yŏng recalled that some university museum directors saw in archaeological excavations the means to collect artifacts.<sup>413</sup>

These new members of the community, most of them directors of those university museums, entered the field following a similar process. The university museum organized an excavation, and Kim Won-yong took also part under the rule of the CCP. After that first experience, following authorization for other excavation did required the presence of Kim Won-yong. Representative examples are the cases of Pusan, Yonsei and Kyung Hee University. The Pusan National University Museum was established in 1963, and opened its doors in 1964 under the directorship of Kim Yong-gi, professor at the Department of History of the same university.<sup>414</sup> The first archaeological excavation of the university was the excavation of a shell mound near Kimhae in 1964. The Committee for Cultural Properties authorized that excavation in September:

The application for the authorization of an excavation (requested by Pusan National University) of a shell mound at South Kyŏngsand province, in the whereabouts of Kimhae-gun, Chuch'on-myŏn, Nongsori has been authorized

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<sup>413</sup> Ibid., 74

<sup>414</sup> Ibid., 518

under Kim Won-yong's guidance (Chidoha); an academic report must be presented within a year as a condition.<sup>415</sup>

Later, the report of the excavation published in *Komunhwa*, the journal of the Korean Association of University Museums, claimed that the following researchers took part in the excavation: Kim Yong-gi, Kim Won-yong, Dong Mun-sŏng, Kim Dong-ho, Cha Dong-nyŏng, and students.<sup>416</sup> Despite the particular problems that had to face Son Po-gi to achieve the authorization to excavate the Paleolithic site at Sŏkchang-ri, the process of dispatching Kim Won-yong was the same. The CCP gave its authorization at the meeting on Oct. 30, 1964, and appointed him to lead the excavation.<sup>417</sup> Kim guided the excavation organized by Son Po-gi and his students, and for 20 days they proceed to the excavation of the first Paleolithic site in South Korea.<sup>418</sup> The first excavation organized by Kyung Hee University museum also followed the same pattern. In 1965, Kyung Hee Historical Association (Sahakhoe) excavated a Silla *kobun* under Kim Won-yong's guidance (chidoha). The Historical Association was led by Ŏm Yŏng-sik and Kim Ki-ung and 30 students took part in that excavation.<sup>419</sup> This system of guidance by Kim was limited to the first excavation of the institution. The Committee for Cultural Properties granted after that first excavation authorization without requesting the guidance of an experienced archaeologists. Other university museums could enter the field because they had already experienced archaeologist

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<sup>415</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe Hoeüirok [1962,1963nyŏndo]," *Munhwachae* 2 (1966):110 on-line Consulted Sept. 6, 2016

<sup>416</sup> Kim Yong-gi, "Nongso-ri P'aech'ongüi Palgul Chosa Kaebo," *Komunhwa* 4 (1966): 17

<sup>417</sup> Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Munhwachae Wiwŏnhoe Hoeüirok [1962,1963nyŏndo]," *Munhwachae* 2 (1966):110 on-line Consulted Sept. 6, 2016

<sup>418</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tünnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008): 41-42

<sup>419</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwan, "Kogomisul Nyusŭ" *Misul Charyo* 10 (1965): 32



that were not subjected to Kim Won-yong's guidance such as Koryo University museum under Kim Chŏng-hak's direction or Ehwa Woman's University under Chin Hong-sŏp's direction.

The leading practitioners at each of one of those university museums started creating groups of interested students who in some cases followed the academic career in the field of archaeology. In Pusan, Kim Yong-gi became one of the most active archaeologists working at Pusan National University, and under his position he trained students in the field of archaeology. One of the most successful students in the field was Chŏng Ching-wŏn, who excavated and published with Kim several sites near Pusan, and who became in the 1970s professor at Hanseong Women's University. Another example of this is present at Yonsei University. Son Po-gi brought a group of graduate students from the Department of History to help him in the excavation: Lee Byŏng-hŭi, Sin Sŏng-uk, Lee Yung-jo, Kim Sang-hŏn, No Ho-jun, and Chŏng Myŏng-ho.<sup>420</sup> Among them, Lee Yung-jo finished graduate school in 1967, but remained working at the university museum until 1976. Then he achieved a position as full-time lecturer (Chŏnin kansa) at Chunbuk National University in 1976.<sup>421</sup> The expansion of the community of practitioners reached thus a new level with the multiplication of active archaeologists engaged also in the education of new practitioners. Those relationships marked the first line of association and collaboration among archaeologists, but it was not the only one.

The organization of archaeologists in this period, despite the associations in place, was rather limited. Scholars related to the NMK, and the CCP shared a rather high degree of

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<sup>420</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008): 41

<sup>421</sup> Lee Yung-jo, *Han'gukŭi Sŏnsa Munhwa – Kŭ Punsŏk Yŏn'gu* (Seoul: T'amkudang, 1981):513





integration and collaboration in their projects, especially between the NMK and SNU. The NMK concentrated some of the most experienced archaeologists in this period, followed closely by the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of SNU led by Kim Won-yong. As it has been shown above, the relationships between both institutions remained quite close after Kim Won-yong's departure to the university. The involvement of NMK researchers in the teaching of the department students is a strong evidence of that. This network did not stop at SNU, and the NMK still kept in contact with other ex-members of the institution such as Chin Hong-söp and Hwang Su- yöng. In that period, Kim Chae-wön, Kim Won-yong and Hwang Su-yöng were part of the Sub-Committee 1 of the CCP, and Chin Hong-söp was part of the Specialist committee for material cultural properties associated with the same Sub-Committee 1 of CCP at the same time that he directed Ehwa's university museum.<sup>422</sup> Their experience working at the NMK, and their collaboration at SNU and the Committee for Cultural Properties created an informal network separated from other academics in the field of archaeology.

Scholars at university museums without connections with the NMK made a more intensive use of the opportunities that the Korean Association of University Museums could offer them in terms of sharing information and collaboration. However, such collaboration was done from the perspective of the museum, and not necessarily focused on the interest of archaeologists. In fact, the most important activity of the association in this period was the annual joint exhibition organized in a different university museum each year. This activity was hold for the first time at Ehwa Woman's University in 1963, changing its location every

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<sup>422</sup> Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan and Tonga Ilbosa, eds., *Pangmulgwan E Salda: Han'guk Pangmulgwan 100-Yön Ŭi Saramdül*, 1-p'an ed. (Söul-si: Tonga Ilbosa, 2009): 61



year. In order to organize such event, each member of the association loaned artifacts for the exhibition, and the hosting museum prepared the display.<sup>423</sup> Thus, such collaboration were mostly limited, in the field of archaeology, to the general meetings of the association and the publication of an academic journal, *Komunhwa*. This dynamic continued until 1967, when the association organized a joint excavation with different university museums.

In parallel to the activities and connections established within the frame of the Korean Association of University Museums, some scholars created their informal connections during this period. In this regard, Koryo University library became an important meeting point for scholars interested in the field, because it hold one of the few comprehensive collections on archaeology. Thus, many scholars visited the library in order to conduct their own researches. As a result, Yun Sae-yŏng recalled that Kim Ki-ung (Kyung Hee U.), Hwang Yong-hun (Kyung Hee U.), Im Byŏng-t'ae (Sungsil U.) and Yun himself (Koryo U.) meet frequently at the library, consolidating a professional relationship around their meetings.<sup>424</sup> They even went to field trips with members of the *Kogoinlyu Tonghohoek*, a student's association at Koryo University that gathered students interested in archaeology.<sup>425</sup> These informal connections were the beginning of later collaborations between those archaeologists.

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<sup>423</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011): 47-49

<sup>424</sup> Yun Sae-yŏng, "'Han'guk Kogohakhoe'ui T'onghab T'anaeng Kwajŏng,'" *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 266-267

<sup>425</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):391



*The Consolidation of the Community, 1967-1979*

The community of practitioners expanded greatly during the earlier period, reaching a point of great maturity. The result of that evolution was the organization in 1967 of the first archaeological professional association in the field, separating from other association with broader interests. The history of archaeological associations in Korea is the history of a divided community that gathered in two competing associations, the Archaeological Society of Korea (Han'guk Kogohakhoe), and the Association of Korean Archaeology (Han'guk Kogohak Hyōphoe). The field had to wait until 1976 to see the establishment of the Society for Korean Archeological Studies (Han'guk Kogohak Yōn'guhoe). In addition, the informal group Archaeology and Art Group, formed in 1960, officially became an association under the name of Art History Association of Korea (Han'guk Misulsa Hakhoe) in 1967. The combination of these associations separated formally both fields of academic inquire, although some members kept participating in both. These transformation in the social organization happened at the same time that the government promoted an aggressive policy of construction projects that enlarged even more the community of practitioners. This time, the enlargement of the field happened under a fully structured field with clearer criteria of membership.

The first of the academic association was the Archaeological Society of Korea (Han'guk Kogohakhoe), established on Sept. 7, 1967. The foundation of the association happened at the National Museum, where the general meeting elected Kim Chae-wōn, director of the NMK, president of the association, as well as the other members of the board.<sup>426</sup> The regulation of the association established that the objective of the association

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<sup>426</sup> Han'guk Kogohakhoe, "Kogohak Nyusū" *Kogohak* 1 (1968):155



was to carry out “the development and research of Korean archaeology.” In the same regulation, the association established that to fulfill its objectives it would undertake the following tasks: publishing an academic journal, holding academic lectures and conferences, cooperating and contacting with foreign academic associations, and any other necessary task.<sup>427</sup>

These specifications clearly define the association as specific for archaeologists. It included among its first members the following scholars: Kim Chae-wŏn (NMK), Kim Won-yong (SNU), Kim Chŏng-gi (OCP - RICP), Yun Mu-Byŏng (NMK), Chin Hong-sŏp (Ehwa Woman’s University), Ch’oe Sun-u (NMK), Hwang Su-yŏng (Dongguk University), Han Byŏng-sam (NMK), Im Hyo-chae (SNU), Chŏng Yang-mo (NMK).<sup>428</sup> The association in the end grouped together the circle of scholars around the Department and NMK with its director as the president of the association. This was not a fact the passed unnoticed to the rest of researchers, and Yun Sae-yŏng claimed regarding the organization of that association, that “from the moment of its inauguration, the Archaeological Society of Korea closed the human composition to the National Museum, shutting out archaeologists established at universities.”<sup>429</sup> Behind that division of the community of practitioners in Korea, Yun identifies a desire on the side of Kim Chae-wŏn and his followers to differentiate themselves from dilattantes and amateurs, feeling expressed in the first number of the association’s journal:

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<sup>427</sup> Han’guk Kogohakhoe, “Han’guk Kogohakhoe Hoech’ik” *Kogohak* 1 (1968):159

<sup>428</sup> Han’guk Kogohakhoe, “Han’guk Kogohakhoe Ch’angnip Imwŏn” *Kogohak* 1 (1968):161

<sup>429</sup> Yun Sae-yŏng, “Han’guk Kogohakhoe’üi T’onghab T’anaeng Kwajŏng,” *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 266



Now our journal *Kogohak* does the job of guidepost for the pioneers of this field [hakmun], and for that reason it persists the path of legitimate [chöngt'ongchög'in] archaeology. It assures naturally the straight path timidly without falling into dilettantism, and more than in other areas of the humanities, it fixes the development of this field [hakmun] that has a shaky sense.<sup>430</sup>

The factual limitation of practitioners of archaeological research outside the government institutions and a few selected universities, and Kim's critique of dilettantism shows in a sense the consideration that the director of the NMK had about the practitioners outside this association. Therefore, it was the first try to limit professionally the field, but that intention was shortly undermined by the reaction of those excluded practitioners.

The reaction from the rest of the community did not wait. On Dec. 21, 1967, a group of scholars established the Association of Korean Archaeology. The academic journal *Misul Charyo* recorded the event as follows

On Dec. 21, 1967, it was hold the foundational general assembly, and elected Kim Sang-gi [the famous historian] as president, Kim Chöng-hak, Kim Yang-yön and Lee Hong-jik as vice-presidents, Kim Ki-ung and other 29 people

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<sup>430</sup> Kim Chae-wön, "Ch'angkansa" *Kogohak* 1 (1968): ii



trustees, Yun Sae-yŏng, Hwang Yong-Hwi and Im Byŏng-t'ae as permanent secretaries. Furthermore, it elected nine people as general secretaries.<sup>431</sup>

The list of officers highlights the importance of Koryo University in the organization of the association with three members (Kim Chŏng-hak, Lee Hong-jik and Yun Sae-yŏng), Sungsil University (Kim Yang-sŏn), and Kyung Hee University (Kim Ki-ung, Hwang Yong-Hwi). This indicates the continuity and consolidation of the early connections created around Koryo's university library. In fact, Yun recalled how Kim Ki-ung, Hwang Yong-hun, Im Byŏng-t'ae and Yun himself were involved in the gestation of the association.<sup>432</sup> In this regard, the establishment of the Association of Korean Archaeology meant the consolidation of an alternative network to the archaeologist grouped around the NMK and the Department based on the informal relationships that started earlier.

The idea of organizing an alternative association to that promoted by Kim Chae-wŏn came as reaction to the membership limitations imposed by Kim, but there was also the idea of uniting both associations. During a meeting with other scholars, Yun Sae-yŏng claimed that in response to Archaeological Society of Korea Kim Ki-ung proposed to make a "force of opposition" (taehyang saeryŏk), organizing as a result the Association of Korean Archaeology. Under that idea, Yun continued, the interest of the association to elect Kim Sang-gi as president aimed among other concerns to counterbalance Kim Chae-wŏn's

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<sup>431</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, "Chappo," *Misul Charyo* 12 (1968): 33. The document mentions specifically Hwang Yong-hwi (黃龍揮), but Yun Sae-yŏng mentions the participation in the association of Hwang Yong-hun (黃龍渾). See Yun Sae-yŏng, "'Han'guk Kogohakhoe'ui T'onghab T'anaeng Kwajŏng," *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 267

<sup>432</sup> Yun Sae-yŏng, "'Han'guk Kogohakhoe'ui T'onghab T'anaeng Kwajŏng," *Kogohakpo* 60 (2006): 266



charisma with someone equally charismatic.<sup>433</sup> This rivalry conditioned the evolution of both associations, and the configuration of a national professional association of archaeologists. Despite members of different associations took part in projects promoted by the government, both associations remained separated. Nevertheless, there were several initiatives to join them. Yun Sae-yŏn claimed that the reason to keep them apart was Kim Chae-wŏn's negative to open the Archaeological Society of Korea to other members. Yun continues arguing that after Kim's retirement in 1970, later NMK directors did not have the time to consider the problem (Kim Won-yong was director for about one year), or their center of interest leaned more towards art history (Hwang Su-yŏng, Ch'oe Sun-u), leaving the real decision to Han Byŏng-sam.<sup>434</sup> Despite their division, 1967 highlights the level of professionalization of the field. It represents the moment when archaeologist decided to separate their professional associations from other fields.

This movement was reinforced by the consolidation of the Archaeology and Art Group into a formal academic association directed to art history. In Feb. 17, 1968, the Art History Association of Korea (Han'guk Misulsa Hakhoe) was born to succeed the old group, and pursued the objectives of continuing art history research and editing a proper academic journal,<sup>435</sup> an important event in the configuration of an art history field. Even this did not mean a radical break from archaeology, as there were still many scholars working on both fields simultaneously (Kim Won-yong), it marked the beginning of a change in the interest

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<sup>433</sup> Kim Sang-gi was a professor of the Department of history at SNU, and one of the leading academic figures in Korea at the time. Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011): 85

<sup>434</sup> Ibid., 267

<sup>435</sup> Kungnip Pangmulgwan, "Chappo," *Misul Charyo* 12 (1968): 33

of the association. Thus, the association focused progressively on art history to the point that stopped its activity on archaeology.

As stated before, in 1976, members of both associations finally decided to form a new organization open to all the community. Yun Sae-yŏng claims that the unification was thanks to the receptiveness shown by Han Byŏng-sam, marking the difference with previous members of the association and directors of the NMK.<sup>436</sup> This initiative must be considered as well in the context of a greater degree of collaboration between archaeologists from different institutions, due to the mobilization of the field by the government in different projects.

Members from both associations decided to organize a new structure to represent the whole field, providing a new support for their research projects. For that reason, 38 scholars met on August 28, 1976 at Koryo University Museum, establishing the Society for Korean Archaeological Studies.<sup>437</sup> In order to see the level of representability of the association, it is worthy to look at the sponsors of this initiative. Those 38 scholars were

Table 5.1 Han'guk Kogohak Yŏn'guhoe, "Hwibo," *Han'guk Kogohak* 1 (1976): 135

Kan In-gu (NMK)	Son Po-gi (Yonsei U.)	Chŏng Yŏng-ho (Dangook U.)
Kim Kwan-su (Konkook U.)	Song Sŏk-pŏm	Chŏng Yŏng-hwa (Yeungnam U.)

<sup>436</sup> Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-nyŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):392

<sup>437</sup> Han'guk Kogohak Yŏn'guhoe, "Hwibo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 1 (1976): 135





Kim Ki-ung (Kyung Hee U.)	An Sŭng-chu (Kongju Nat' U.)	Chŏng Ching-wŏn (Hansung Women's U.)
Kim Byŏng-mo (RICP)	An Ch'un-pae (Soongsil U.)	Cho Yu-jŏn (OCP)
Kim Tong-ho (Dong-A U.)	Yun Mu-byŏng (NMK)	Cho Kŏn-gil (NMK)
Kim Yŏng-ha (Kyungpook Nat' U.)	Yun Sae-yŏng (Koryo U.)	Chin Hong-sŏp (Ehwa Woman's U-)
Kim Wong-yong (SNU)	Yun Yong-jin (Kyungpook Nat' U.)	Ch'oe Mong-nyong (Chonnam Nat' U.)
Kim Chŏng-gi (RICP)	Lee Ŭn-ch'ang (Yeongnam U.)	Ch'oe Mu-jang
Kim Chŏng-bae (Koryo U.)	Lee Yung-jo (Chungbuk Nat' U.)	Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng (Incheon Metropolitan Museum)
Kim Chŏng-hak (Pusan Nat' U.)	Lee Ho-kwan (RICP)	Han Byŏng-sam (NMK)
Kim Chong-ch'ŏl (NMK)	Im P'yŏng-t'ae (Soongsil U.)	Hwang Su-yŏng
Mun Myŏng-dae (Kyungpook Nat' U.)	Im Hyo-jae (SNU)	Hwang Yong-hun
Park Yong-jin (Kongju Nat' U.)	Chŏn Yŏng-rae (Chŏnju Museum)	

The list shows not just members of both associations, it also presents a wide number of archaeologists from universities and museums in Seoul and the provinces. The idea of representativeness kept a balance in the association. The regulations of the association stated

that “in order to form the executive, there is an election, and each university and institution rotates each year.”<sup>438</sup> This system forbade the preeminence of any single institution or group of researchers over the others. The election for the association president shows such balance. The founding meeting elected Kim Won-yong as first president for the period 1976-1977. In a sense that election represented the recognition of Kim as archaeologist, but also as member of a network of scholars. In the same meeting, the members also elected the second president for 1978, Kim Chŏng-hak, former professor at Koryo University and one of the leading archaeologists of the network of scholars that gathered around that institution. Thus, the elections found a way to share the influence over the direction of the association. That same interest to keep the balance within the organization is present in the election of the rest of positions. The permanent secretaries for the period 1976-1977 were Im Hyo-jae and Yun Sae-yŏng for the administration of the association, Kim Byŏng-mo and Kang In-gu for research, and Im Pyŏng-t’ae, Chŏng Ching-wŏn and Ch’oe Mong-nyong for publication.<sup>439</sup> These names represents some of the same founding members and promoters of the previous organization, keeping an equilibrated distribution of positions between both associations.

The informal networks present since the early 60s matured enough over the years to impulse the configuration of formal associations. However, they continued integrating just limited networks of scholars, based on an interpretation of being “rigorous” archaeologists. In the end, a generational renovation of the field and the progressive collaboration of members from different networks created the conditions for a reorganization of those associations.

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<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

<sup>439</sup> Ibid., 136

The community of practitioners evolved from a limited group of scholars with interest in the field into a complex array of trained and experienced archaeologists, and into the organization of an academic space centered in archaeology as a discipline. Academic journals are important evidences to understand the connections between the community of practitioners and the definition of that independent space.

### **The Academic Journals**

The configuration of the community social base and its associative efforts were the foundation over which the community of practitioners created a specific communicative space. Researchers constructed a multiplicity of structures to communicate and debate ideas about Korean archaeology, taking a variety of formats from academic journals to conferences. The power of this sphere was not just the communication of ideas and research. This sphere of communication gave also consistency to the community through the act of participating in it, consolidating a group of academics who made public contributions to the field. In addition, it was fundamental in the differentiation of archaeology from other fields of research through the process of edition and publication of topics. The progressive specialization of journals in the configuration of this communicative sphere casts light upon this process.

Academic journals were not the only elements in this communicative sphere. Public talks, lectures, monographs, reports and communications at conferences were also important elements in the configuration of this specific communicative space. However, academic journals present certain advantages to study the double dynamic of community construction



and field differentiation. Firstly, the journals are collective projects. Editors and contributors gathered around those projects consolidating academic networks of active researchers that composed the field. In this regard, this study supplements the associative process presented above. Secondly, the research of the focus of each journal can provide a sense about the experienced evolution of archaeology regarding other fields.

This chapter presents the evolution of the communicative sphere of archaeology through the academic journals that published articles on Korean archaeology since the Liberation of Korea until the consolidation of this communicative sphere through the publication of a regular academic journal on archaeology in 1976. The specialization of academic journals and academic networks play a fundamental role in the consolidation into a nation-wide community of archaeologists. The selection of journals has been limited to those where Korean scholars published articles about Korean archaeology in South Korea, excluding colonial and North Korean publications. Colonial publications are disregarded, because they were always controlled by Japanese scholars. Even though they were important elements in the configuration of the first theories about Korean archaeology, their editorial committees and contributors were mainly Japanese scholars. Consequently, they did not contribute to the configuration of the Korean community of practitioners in the field of archaeology. A similar reason is behind the elimination of North Korean publications. Despite the early contributions that scholars such as Han Hŭng-su or Do Yu-ho made to the field during the colonial period, their contributions to the configuration of the community of practitioners in South Korea was rather limited because of the division of the Peninsula.

The research will focus its attention on the main publications of national reach related to the field of archaeology: *Chindan Hakpo* (1934), *Kwanbo* (1947-1949), *Yŏksa Hakpo*

(1952), *Kogomisul* (1960), *Misul Charyo* (1960), *Komunhwa* (1962), *Munhwajae* (1965), *Han'guk Kogo* (1967-76), *Kogohak* (1968), and *Han'guk Kogohakpo* (1976).

Looking at the dates of their first publications, it seems evident that two moments indicate substantial changes in the organization of this communicative sphere. The first moment is around the early 1960s with the publication in a very short amount of time of three new journals focused on material culture. The second moment is around the year 1967-1968, when the first academic journals specialized on Korean archaeology were published. These two dates articulate the transformation of the archaeological communicative sphere.

The period before 1960 represents the first steps in the communicative sphere of archaeology, but in a process completely dependent from other fields, and where the community of practitioners represented a minimal fraction of contributors to those journals. The period between 1960 and 1967 represents the construction of the first space dedicated to construct an archaeological debate, but it was not autonomous yet. In fact, this period saw a rather blurry separation between archaeology and art history that stressed the similarities between both fields, then defining a space focused on the artifacts. In addition, the archaeology community of practitioners articulated that communicative space around two main academic networks with some degree of mutual collaboration. Finally, 1967 marked the beginning of the first journals specialized on Korean archaeology, but one of the academic networks that began to consolidate in the early 1960s. This archaeological communicative space only became open to all the community of practitioners when in 1976 the new Society for Korean Archaeological Studies launched *Han'guk Kogohakpo*, a new journal open to the professional community.

The construction of this communicative sphere was a long process promoted by academics, and influenced by the government. Previously, there were journals in the field that depended directly from government institutions such as the NMK and the OCP. Those journals represented not just the interest of academic research, but also those of the government to some point. In that regard, it is necessary to assess the means and objectives of the government to collaborate in the constitution of such communicative space.

*Journals before 1960: a limited space dependent of other fields*

The communicative sphere of archaeology before 1960 was limited to a few journals with broader interest than archaeology. In that regard, it started as a subspace within a larger community of scholars working on fields that could be related to archaeology. The main journals that published articles on archaeology were *Chindan Hakpo* (1934-present), *Yöksa Hakpo* (1952-present), and *Kwanbo* (1947-1949). However, those contributions were not the main interest of the journals, dedicated as they were to either more general topics than just archaeology. That made that the publications on archaeology were few in number and apart in time of publication. These characteristics indicate the limitations of the field, and its subordination to other interests beyond those of the archaeological community of practitioners.

The oldest publication including articles on archaeology was *Chindan Hakpo*, published for the first time in 1934 by the *Chindan Society*. In fact, To Yu-ho, Han Hŭng-sun and Son Chin-t'ae published there their first articles related to Korean archaeology during

the colonial period.<sup>440</sup> After the Liberation, the Society resumed its activities since the first day after the Japanese surrender, but due to complications, it did not published another number until 1947. Then it published another one in 1949, but the Korean War stopped the publication of more until 1955. Even then, the next number came out in 1957, when it became an annual publication. During this new era, the editors of the Journal published articles from many different fields. Min explains that the Journal was devoted to the study of Korea in general, but with a concentration on fields such as history, language, literature and art history. Later on, it increased the diversity of articles including new themes such as Chinese history and culture, and articles by foreign scholars. Kim Chae-wŏn played a very important role, Min continues, in the society, taking charge of the publication of the journal and securing international grants to make it possible.<sup>441</sup> However, the closest articles to the field of archaeology published in this journal were three papers authored by Kim Chae-wŏn, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng, but they were closer to the field of art history.<sup>442</sup> The rest of articles published in the journal before 1960 focused on history (kuksa), linguistics (kuk'o), literature (kukmun), ethnography, Chinese history and Chinese culture. During that time, the Journal published 22 articles, of which only three were marginally related to archaeological material.<sup>443</sup>

*Yŏksa Hakpo* received much larger number of contributions dedicated to the field of archaeology, but the journal itself focused mainly on history. The Korean Historical

<sup>440</sup> Kim Chŏng-bae, *Han'guk Kodaesa Wa Kogohak*, Ch'op'an, Saeron Sŏwŏn 219 (Sŏul T'ŭkpyŏlsi: Sinsŏwŏn, 2000):11-18

<sup>441</sup> Min Hyŏn-gu, *Han'guk sahak ui songkwa wa chonmang* (Soul T'ukpyolsi: Koryo Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006):56-62

<sup>442</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, "Suksusaji Ch'ult'o Pulsangae Taehayŏ," *Chindan Hakpo* 19 (1958): 5-23; Kim Won-yong, "Koguryŏ Kobun Pyŏkhwaŭi Kiwŏnae Taehan Yŏngu," *Chindan Hakpo* 21 (1960): 40-106; Hwang Su-yŏng, "Sŏsan Ma'ae Samjon Pulsang'ae Taehayŏ," *Chindan Hakpo* 20 (1959): 189-192

<sup>443</sup> Min Hyŏn-gu, *Han'guk sahak ui songkwa wa chonmang* (Soul T'ukpyolsi: Koryo Taehakkyo Ch'ulp'anbu, 2006):57



Association was constituted in March, 1952, with the aim of consolidating a space for history.

<sup>444</sup> That same year, the association published the first issue of the journal. The community of scholars related to this publication and publishing on subjects related to the field of archaeology were mainly affiliated to either the NMK or Koryo University. The Journal published studies by Kim Chae-wŏn, Kim Won-yong, Lee Hong-jik and Chin Hŏng-sŏp. In addition, it also published the results of the first excavation conducted outside the NMK by Park Kyŏng-wŏn. These contributions were either academic articles or publication reviews of relevant literature for the field published by Korean, or Japanese scholars. In addition, the journal also published research on subjects other than archaeology done by academics who became significant members of the field such as Kim Chŏng-hak or Yun Mu-byŏng.<sup>445</sup> Regarding the weight of archaeology in the general publication, these articles summed up to 11 out of 120 until 1960. Thus, archaeology was just a rather minor topic within the general interest of the Journal on history. Nevertheless, it gathered the greatest number of publication on the topic in this period, and the most diversified community in terms of institution of origin.

The third journal, *Kwanbo*, was a short lived publication edited by the National Museum of Korea dedicated to inform about the progress of the institution, and about novelties interesting for the academic life of the institution.<sup>446</sup> It was a rather short publication

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<sup>444</sup> The Association was established with the following aim: “In order to seek firm solidarity in the field of history (*sahakkye*) inside the country (*kuknae*), and enlarge the international cooperation to the outside through the unification of fellow scholars scattered in all places, it is put the foundation for the establishment of history (*yŏksahak*).” See

[http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=5&page=9&\\_\\_M\\_ID=23&sfield=&sword=](http://www.kha.re.kr/modules/bbs/index.php?code=his&mode=view&id=5&page=9&__M_ID=23&sfield=&sword=) Consulted July 19<sup>th</sup>, 2016

<sup>445</sup> See for example Yun Mu Byŏng, “Koryŏ Pukkye Chirigo,” *Yŏksa Hakpo* 4 (1953): 37-70; Kim Chŏng-hak, “Tangun Sŏlhwa wa T’oot’aemijŭm” *Yŏksa Hakpo* 7 (1954): 273-298

<sup>446</sup> A reproduction of the 7 numbers is reproduced in Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Pangmulgwan 100-yŏnsa. Charyop’yŏn* (Sŏul-si: Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwan : Han’guk Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2009): 410-512





with just seven numbers between 1947 and 1949, that stopped because of the Korean war. The journal communicated important news for Korean archaeology, such as news of excavations, recent studies on material culture, or bibliographical references. However, the interest of the publication did not stop at archaeology, as it also provided similar coverage for other fields of interest to the Museum such as art history. In fact, the publication took a lot of effort to inform about the daily life of the institution. It described collections of exhibitions, or presented to the public. In addition, this publication did not allowed external contributions to the NMK, because it was really the communication instrument of the museum. These characteristics of the publication limited its power to form a community of contributors outside the NMK, or to contribute to the autonomy of the field.

All in all, the publications of this period show the limited size of the community of practitioners active in contributions to the communication of archaeological research, and the low level of autonomy that the field had regarding others. At the head of the field was clearly Kim Chae-wŏn as director of the National Museum, editor of the *Chindan Hakpo*, and author of several articles published at *Chindan Hakpo* and *Yŏksa Hakpo*. He was followed by members of the NMK such as Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp and Yun Mu-byŏng. However, other publications also show how the field extended beyond the Museum. Articles by Park Kyŏng-wŏn and Lee Hong-jik showed how the interest on the field sparkled. However, that interest was small and scattered. The number of articles, and its integration in journals with only tangential interest on archaeology limited the possibilities of development. South Korean scholars had to wait until the early 1960s to see a significant change.



*Journals between 1960 and 1967: The first steps, a discipline of objects*

The early 1960s saw the configuration of new journals that provided a space to disciplines centered on material culture. That space was a platform from which the communicative sphere of archaeology could grow considerably, but such growth was not followed by the autonomy of the field. Those new journals shared the characteristic of being devoted to material culture, including articles of archaeology, art history and museum related themes, as a result of the relationship between art history and archaeology, and among the practitioners. As Chŏng Yŏng-ho recalled in a meeting with other senior scholars, “in those days archaeology (*kogohak*) and art history (*misulsa*) were not different.”<sup>447</sup> The relationship between art history and archaeology, and its connection with museums had a direct relation to the environment in which those new publications emerged. Between 1960 and 1962, three new journals were established *Kogomisul* (1960), *Misul Charyo* (1960) and *Komunhwa* (1962), and all of them were highly related to museums and cultural heritage in their origins. *Kogomisul* was the result of the Archaeology and Art History Group, formed by scholars related with the NMK and the CCP. *Misul Charyo* was established by Kim Chae-wŏn as the academic journal published by the NMK. Finally, the Korean Association of University Museums edited as one of its main projects the academic journal *Komunhwa*. These three journals created for the first time a communicative sphere where archaeology represented one of the main topics published. Later, the OCP reinforced the tendency when it launched its own journal in 1965 under the name *Munhwachae*. These four journals created the base of the archaeological communication sphere in the period between 1960 and 1967. It attracted

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<sup>447</sup> Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011):78



the community of archaeology practitioners to publish their results in them, as well as it cultivated the seed for a greater degree of autonomy for the field.

*Kogomisul* and *Misul Charyo* were launched at the same time in August 1960. *Kogomisul* was the main project of the Archaeology and Art Group (Kogo Misul Tong'inhoe), starting as a pamphlet. During the first period of the Journal, from 1960 to 1968, the group started the publication of a short monthly publication dedicated to present artifacts and sites. The editors of the Journal justified the publication on the development of a historical consciousness among Koreans. In the editorial of the first number, the group claimed “[d]ue to the research of Korean history has developed, and the self-conscious and knowledge of people’s history has also developed, we congratulate on the natural increase of interest in art and archaeology.” Due to such new interests, new discoveries were made around the country, the editors claimed, and for that reason, the objective of the journal was to “leave a simple memo on new discovered and promoted sites and artifacts (yujök · yumul).”<sup>448</sup>

The memos where short articles, most of the time no longer that three of four pages and sometimes as short as one page. The table of content of the first number can illustrate the points of interest of the Journal and the characteristics of the memos.

Table 5.2 *Kogomisul* 1 Table of Contents (August 1960)<sup>449</sup>

Name of the Article	Translation of the name of the article	Author	Pages
Ch'angkansa	Foreword	Editors	1-1

<sup>448</sup> Kogomisul Tong'inhoe, “Ch'angkansa” *Kogomisul* 1 (1960):1

<sup>449</sup> <http://www.dbpia.co.kr/Journal/ArticleList/VOIS00046327> Consulted on-line on Sept. 19, 2016 (17:09)



Yŏngju Sŏkp'o-ri Samyŏn Pulsŏk	Yŏngju Sŏkp'o-ri Samyŏn Buddhist Sculpture	Chin Hong- sŏp	1-2
Koryŏ Ŭnipsa Ch'ŏngdong Pulgiŭi Sinlye	New Examples of Koryŏ Ŭnipsa Bronze Buddhist instruments	Hwang Su- yŏng	2-3
Kyŏngju Ch'ult'o Chŏnpul Yŏrae Sam Chonsang	Continuation of some three Buddhist bricks excavated at Kyŏngju	Chŏn Hyŏng- p'il	4-5
P'illadaelp'ia Misulkwan Sinsup'um Kuchado	New paintings of puppies at the Philadelphia Art Gallery	Ch'oi Sun-u	5-6
Tokapsa Haet'almun Sangnyangmun	Tokapsa Haet'almun Sangnyangmun	Yun Mu- byŏng	6-7
Chŏnpuk Iksan Ch'ult'o Yukchokyŏng	Mirror of the Six Dynasties at Iksan, North Cholla Province	Hong Sae-sun	7-7
Wŏnjuŭi Sajŏk: Hŭngpŏp·Pŏpch'ŏn·Kŏdon	Temple sites in Wŏnju: Hŭngpŏp·Pŏpch'ŏn·Kŏdon	Chŏng Yŏng- ho	7-9
Kyŏngju Chibangŭi Chisŏkmyo Suye	Numerous examples of Dolmens in the area of Kyŏngju	Kim Won- yong	10-11
Kogomisul Nyusŭ	News of Archaeology and Art	Editors	11-11

The table of content shows that the main focus of the Journal were just artifacts and monuments, collections or sites, but disciplinarily there were no barriers between the articles on archaeology and those on art history. The later numbers of the Journal kept the same focus on the presentation of single materials within a rather diversified range of topics. It helped the community of interested people and scholars to keep up with the discoveries, but it was hardly a space for specialized academic discussion.

Notwithstanding, the continuous publication of *Kogomisul* during this period allowed the configuration of a community of contributors. Between 1960 and 1967, the Journal published 92 different authors, responsible for more than 700 articles. These numbers provides an idea of the large community that formed around the journal. However, the contribution of each of those scholars was uneven. Fourteen scholars contributed 503 of those articles. Meanwhile, the rest of scholars contributed to the Journals with less than 10 articles.

Table 5.3 *Major contributors to Kogomisul*

Author	Institution	Nº of Publications	Author	Institution	Nº of Publications
Hwang Su-yǒng	Dongguk U.	82	Chǒng Myǒng-ho		31
Chǒng Yang-mo	NMK	72	Kim Won-yong	SNU	27



Chin Hong-byŏn	NMK – Ehwa Woman’s U.	58	Maeng In-chaē	NMK	25
Sin Yŏng-hun	Specialist for the Committee for Cultural Properties	42	Kim Yŏng-bae	NMK	18
Hong Sa-jun	NMK	39	Park Il-hun	NMK	12
Lee Ŭn-ch’ang		39	Chŏn Hyŏng-p’il	Committee for Cultural Properties (1955, 1960)	11
Ch’oi Sun-u	NMK	37	Yun Yong-jin	Kyungpook Nat’ U.	10

This disparity should not surprise too much, because some of these 14 scholars were members of the group of editors responsible for *Kogomisul* as saw above. Furthermore, it highlights the importance the group of scholars around the NMK and the CCP had in the configuration of field.

The journal was also open to foreigners. Their collaboration were marginal in relation to the total amount of articles of the publication, but they testify for the construction and reconstruction of transnational networks of academic collaboration. Harriet C. Mattusch

contributed the first note by a foreigner in 1962.<sup>450</sup> She lived in Korea for a short period, between 1959 and 1963, accompanying her husband, Kurt R. Mattusch, who worked for the State Department and later for the American-Korea Foundation.<sup>451</sup> She had been dean of Briarcliff Junior College in New York before moving to Korea, and in the country started to be interested in Korean art.<sup>452</sup> Despite this early collaboration, the largest foreign community to participate in the Journal were Japanese scholars, summing a total of eight contributions among which Umehara Sueji was the most prolific and important scholar. It is significant that Umehara's first article in the journal was coauthored with Chin Hong-söp, as this collaboration indicates a close connection between both authors.<sup>453</sup> After that first article, two other Japanese authors participated with individual contributions. The contribution by Mattusch represented the new relationships between Koreans and Americans that emerged around American institutions in Korea. Mattusch's personal connections with people from the Journal can be related to her husband's connections with the State Department or the American-Korean Foundation, institutions related to the NMK. Meanwhile, the participation of Umehara and the other two Japanese scholars represent the first steps in the reconnection of Korean academics with Japanese scholars under the environment of the Korean-Japanese conversations to normalize their diplomatic relationships. Both cases are hints to the timid intents of Korean practitioners to construct transnational connections with American and Japanese scholars.

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<sup>450</sup> Mattusch, Harriet C., "Ansöng Ichukmyönüi Posal Ipsangkwa Taechwa," *Kogomisul* 28 (August, 1962): 310-311

<sup>451</sup> Washington Post, April 30, 1979 "Kurt R. Mattusch dies, Ex-State Dept. Official," <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/local/1979/04/30/kurt-r-mattusch-dies-ex-state-dept-official/a3364c54-eea7-406d-807f-2f84cd8d961b/> Consulted on-line Sept. 20, 2016;

<sup>452</sup> Mattusch, Harriet C., "Yi Dynasty Roof Tiles," *Korea Journal* 2, n° 3 (March, 1963): 18-19

<sup>453</sup> Chin Hong-söp, Umehara Sueji, "Iksan Ch'ult'oüi Yongssijak Panlyongkyöng," *Kogomisul* 44 (March, 1964): 498-499



The community of contributors to *Kogomisul* had a conspicuous absence that points out the limits of the projects. During the period between 1960 and 1967, Kim Chae-wŏn did not contribute to the journal, despite being very active in the reconstruction of Korean academic life. Such attitude would be consistent with Kim's intentions of keeping the Journal and the group responsible separated from the NMK, despite the great number of NMK researchers involved in it. These intentions of keeping the NMK and *Kogomisul* separated can be seen in the question of to the physical location of the journal. Chŏng Yŏng-ho recalled how at the beginning of forming the group they thought of meeting at the NMK. However, Chŏng continued, Kim Chae-wŏn made very clear that the museum was not the right place for that. As a result, they decided to meet in Chŏng Hyŏng-pil's house.<sup>454</sup> This interest to keep both projects separated can be related to the museum's own project of launching an academic journal that same year.

Kim Chae-wŏn as director of the NMK organized a new academic Journal dedicated to the publication of research on art history and archaeology. That journal was *Misul Charyo*. The editorial note of the Journal states the needs detected by the editors and the objective of the journal.

[E]ach year a good many new archaeological (*kogohak*) and artistic (*misul*) material (*charyo*) appears, although in great part it is shown in front of just few eyes and then it is forgotten. In addition, the duty of presenting it properly and

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<sup>454</sup> Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P'yŏnch'an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han'guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011): 78



quickly to the academic word (*hakkye*) is not carried out, and frequently they are not presented until several years later. The mission of *Misul Charyo* is to avoid that, help in the research of our heritage (*munhwachae*), and let know to the public the work of the museum.<sup>455</sup>

This evidences that the objective was very similar to that of *Kogomisul*, but the execution was a bit different. The extension of the articles was longer than the memos published at *Kogomisul*, although still quite short at the beginning. The journal had different sections. The most important included academic articles, but it also left space for the publication of “materials” (*charyo*). This section published short memos in the same form as *Kogomisul* introducing recently discovered or excavated artifacts. This difference is relevant in as much as it states an important difference with *Kogomisul*. The separation of academic articles from the presentation of artifacts and the greater weight in the journal of the articles made clear the tone and aspiration of the journal. At the beginning, the academic articles were still quite short, but later they became lengthier.

The Journal grouped a community of scholars heavily related with the NMK. For the period between 1960 and 1967, the Journal published 22 authors of whom ten were related directly with it, either because they had worked there in the past, or were still working at the museum. These 22 authors signed 66 pieces, of which as many as 43 were written by six scholars.

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<sup>455</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwa, “Ch’angkansa” *Misul Charyo* 1 (1960)

Table 5.4 Major contributors to *Misul Charyo*

Author	Institution	N° of Publications	Author	Institution	N° of Publications
Hwang Su-yŏng	Dongguk U.	9	Ch'oe Sun-u	NMK	7
Kim Won-yong	NMK-SNU	9	Chin Hong-sŏp	NMK-Ehwa Woman's U.	6
Kim Chae-wŏn	NMK	8	Yun Mu-byŏng	NMK	4

These six scholars had a connection with the NMK, although it changed over time. By the end of this period only Kim Chae-wŏn, Yun Mu-byŏng and Ch'eo Sun-u remained at the NMK, meanwhile Hwang Su-yong, Kim Won-yong and Chin Hong-sŏp were employed as university professors. In summary, the main body of authors of the Journal for this period can be related to a basic network of scholars related to the NMK.

As stated before, the Korean Association of University Museums (*Han'guk Taehakkyo Pangmulkwon Hyŏbhoe*) started in 1961 in a meeting with professors from 18 universities and university museums, including some of the most prestigious universities (Konkuk U., Kyungbuk National U., Kyung Hee U., Koryo U., Dangoon U., Dong-A U., Pusan National U., Seoul National U., Sungkyunkwan U., Sookmyung Women's U., Sungsil U., Yonsei U., Ehwa Woman's U., Chonnam National U., Chung-Ang U., Chungnam U., Hanyang U., and Hongik U.). As the interest of the association focused on the promotion of university museums and their research in order to improve education in the universities, the association



promoted several projects, among which was the publication of an academic journal. Such Journal aimed to promote “the study, conservation and collection of historical, artistic, ethnological, archaeological (*Kogohak*) and natural materials.”<sup>456</sup> In order to do so, one of its first measures was the publication of an academic journal *Komunhwa*. The journal aims to “cover the fields of history, archaeology, art, ethnology, because it [sought] to fulfill the duty of researching the ancient culture of our country.”<sup>457</sup> As the previous publications, it did recognized a space for archaeological research, but it shared it with other disciplines, indicating that the common denominator of the journal were the museums behind the association and their collective interest, keeping archaeology just as one angle from which research their collections.

The community of scholars around this journal was smaller than around *Misul Charyo* and related to the university museums taking part in the association. There were 15 scholars who published in *Komunhwa* between 1962 and 1967. Among these scholars some prominent members of the community of archaeology practitioners appear such as Kim Chŏng-hak, Im Pyŏng-t’ae, Kim Tong-ho, Kim Yang-sŏn, Lee Ŭn-ch’ang or Kim Yong-gi. As a significant difference from other journals, the number of articles published by each author remained quite distributed among the scholars. The Journal published 23 articles in four numbers, of which five scholars wrote eleven. Proportionally to the total number of articles, the publication of four articles by Kim Chŏng-hak locates him into the center of the Journal.

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<sup>456</sup> Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa P’yŏnch’an Wiwŏnhoe, ed., *Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe 50-yŏnsa, 1961-2011* (Pusan Kwangyŏksi: Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, 2011):15

<sup>457</sup> Han’guk Taehak Pangmulgwan Hyŏphoe, “Ch’angkansa” *Komunhwa* 1 (1962):1

However, the distribution of published articles by author shows a greater collegiality in the contributions than other journals already reviewed.

Table 5.5 Major contributors to *Komunhwa*

Author	Institution	N° of Publication	Author	Institution	N° of Publication
Kim Chõng-hak	Koryo U.	4	Chõng Chung-hwan	Tong-A U.	2
Chõn Sang-un		3	Lee Ũn-ch'ang		2
Kim Yang-sõn	Sungsil U.	2			

In addition, many of the contributions to the Journal came from university professors without connections to the NMK or the OCP. None of the authors came from the NMK or the OCP, and the few of them with some connection with those institutions had a very low level contribution to the journal. For example, Chin Hong-sõp and Kim Won-yong were professors at a university, members of the University Museum Association and attended the association meetings. However, neither of them actually submitted any article to *Komunhwa*. It is possible to find other authors with a connection with government institutions by looking into the CCP, but there were not many. For example, Kim Tu-chong was member of that committee and published one article in the journal. In conclusion, the connection of the journal with government institutions was rather low.

*Munhwajae* was the publication of the OCP, established in 1965. Therefore, it was a publication under the administrative organization in charge of managing Korean cultural heritage. The Ministry of Culture and Education wrote the foreword of the first number explaining the objectives of the OCP and the Journal. There he claimed that “[w]e, who are carrying the sacred and generational task that will transmit to our future generations the cultural heritage (munhwachae) received from our ancestors, get pride through the historical culture of the nation (yöksachök munhwa minjok).” He connects the idea of national heritage and its transmission to the necessity of studying it, claiming “[i]n order to preserve and administer cultural heritage it is necessary to research it, repair it, and manage it scientifically.” Then, he presents the utility of the Journal in terms of creating a platform from which to enlighten society and transmit the advances in terms of cultural heritage, describing *Munhwachae* as a “document for the propagation of cultural heritage enlightening.”<sup>458</sup> The arguments around the organization of this Journal and the author of the foreword situates *Munhwachae* in a close position to the political project of the government. The Journal is not only published and edited by a government agency, it explicitly relates the project with the national project too. Meanwhile, the rest of journals explained the motives for their publication in the increase in the historical and/or artistic awareness of the population, and focused rather on its academic value. That closeness to the government influenced the editorial line of the journal and the community of scholars who published there.

The Journal gathered in its pages a rather heterogeneous community of scholars who published articles on apparently very different topics. Its main topic was cultural heritage at large, which included material cultural heritage, immaterial cultural heritage and natural

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<sup>458</sup> Kwön O-pyöng, “Ch’angkansa” *Munhwajae* 1 (1965)



heritage, covering all the possibilities that the Cultural Property Protection Act allowed for the designation of a cultural property. Its structure accommodated to that diversity through different types of articles and sections. Thus, the Journal published academic articles authored by experts on a given topic, special reports, concept and definitions provided by its editors, poetry, and literary works. Such heterogeneity of topics is the reflection of the varied community of contributors responsible for the pieces. *Munhwachae* published 56 different authors between 1965 and 1967. Most of them contributed with one or two articles and only one author, Chin Hong-söp, published three. The journal also published pieces without an author on topics such as single national treasures, or cultural heritage related concepts. These pieces were authored by editors, making them the largest contributors to the publication.

Beyond that, it is possible to identify authors who were active publishing in other journals dedicated to the field of archaeology and art history such as Kim Won-yong, Kim Chöng-gi, Maeng In-chaeh, Min Yöng-kyu, Yae Yong-hae, Lee Tu-hyön, Lee Hong-jik, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'eo Sun-u, Hong I-söp, Hwang Su-yöng. These scholars are mainly related to the NMK network and the CCP. Therefore, the members of the archaeological community of practitioners involved in this publication were mostly also members of some official organization linked with the heritage protection system. Regarding the total number of contributions, their number only represented 17 articles out of 66 on archaeology. Consequently, the Journal did not represent a big step in the autonomy of the field, but it was relevant in as much as it represented another outlet for the academic communication of the field in a highly politicized journal.



The analysis of the authors who contributed to the new journals of this period provides identifies a core group of scholars who contributed to the shared field of archaeological and artistic analysis of artifacts. The four new journals established in this period published 141 different authors. *Kogomisul* and *Munchachae* published the largest number of authors, but they cannot be considered all core members of the community of practitioners. The short length of articles published in *Kogomisul* provided a low requirement to get published. Moreover, the diversity of topics in *Munhwachae* included publication of many scholars and artist without relation to archaeology. Therefore, these publications can indicate an estimation about the maximum size of the community. If that information is cross-referenced with the authors who published in journals such as *Misul Charyo* and *Komunhwa*, it will provide a clearer image about the core group of researchers. Table 6 shows the authors who published in more than one journal relative to the archaeological communicative sphere.

Table 5.6 *Main authors and Journals*

	Misul Charyo	Kogomisul	Komunhwa	Munhwachae
Kim Kwang-su		X		X
Kim Tu-jong		X	X	
Kim Yōng-bae	X	X		
Kim Won-yong	X	X		X
Kim Chōng-gi	X	X		X
Maeng In-jae		X		X
Min Yōng-kyu		X		X

Park Kyōng-wōn	X	X		X
Park Il-hun	X	X		
Yae Yong-hae	X	X	X	X
Yun Mu-byōng	X	X		
Yun Yong-jin		X	X	
Lee Kyōng-sōng	X	X		
Lee Tu-hyōn			X	X
Lee Ŭn-ch'ang	X	X	X	
Lee Hong-jik		X		X
Im Ch'ōn	X	X		
Chōng Yang-mo	X	X		
Chin Hong-sōp	X	X		X
Ch'oe Sun-u	X	X		X
Hong Sa-jun	X	X		
Hong I-sōp		X		X
Hwang Su-yong	X	X		X

The results show that only one scholar published in the four journals (Yae Yong-hae), and that very few published in three (Kim Won-yong, Kim Chōng-gi, Park Kyōng-wōn, Lee Ŭn-



ch'ang, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'oe Sun-u, Hwang Su-yong). At the same time, scholars who published in *Misul Charyo* did not publish in *Komunhwa* and vice versa, except the case of Lee Ŭn-ch'ang who published in both journals and *Kogomisul*. The exclusivity of those publication spaces is talking about the configuration of two separated networks of scholars around two different journals. In this environment, Lee Ŭn-ch'ang and Yae Yong-hae's cases seem to indicate particular examples of very well connected scholars able to publish and relate with both networks. Furthermore, the predominance of authors from the NMK network published in *Munhwachae* points out to a closer relationship of this network with institutions. Not in vain many members of this network were members of a public institution such as the NMK and/or members of the CCP.

The intervention of the government in the expansion and autonomy of an archaeological sphere of communication was present, but limited. It is possible to trace its influence in the establishment of two journals, but with very different degrees and objectives. Government institutions established *Misul Charyo* and *Munhwachae*, but the nature and objectives of each institution represent different degrees of involvement in those projects. *Munhwachae* had a strong public sanction from the Ministry of Culture and Education and an explicit mention to the utility of cultural heritage to represent the nation. Thus, the source of interest to begin with the journal was related to the identity policies of the government. Meanwhile, *Misul Charyo*, as stated above, aimed to fill a gap in the publication sphere and public information about archaeological and artistic artifacts of public interest, pointing out to an initiative closer to the academic world. This difference does not prove that one journal defended more explicitly a nationalist discourse than the other, but it presents different



degrees of government interventions in the establishment of each journal, despite being both born within government institutions.

*Journals between 1968 and 1979: The definition and unification of the field*

As stated above, the field of archaeology consolidated greatly after the graduation of the first promotion from the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at Seoul National University in 1965. In a parallel move, a larger group of researchers with professional training and interest on the field of archaeology emerged by the end of the 1960s. This group of trained archaeologists transformed the ecosystem of publications dedicated to the field, becoming the catalyst for new academic journals. These new journals consummated the separation of the field from others, consolidating an autonomous sphere of communication and a community of practitioners that recognized archaeology and archaeologists as a separated field of academic research. This moment of maturity came through the establishment of four new journals *Han'guk Kogo* (1967-1976), *Kogohak* (1968-1979), *Han'guk Kogohak Yŏnpo* (1973) and *Han'guk Kogohakpo* (1976-present). The rest of journals considered above continued with the publication of papers on archaeology, although some of them also started their own specialization, content of archaeology until its marginality or even elimination, such as the case of the re-established *Kogomisul* since 1968.

The graduation of the first class from the SNU Department of Anthropology and Archaeology in 1966 encouraged the creation of a new academic journal. The project culminated when Kim Won-yong, then director of the Department, published the first number of the new Department journal dedicated exclusively to archaeology and named it *Han'guk*

*Kogo*. The journal had a rather short life, limited to three numbers. The first number was published in January 1967, the second number in September 1967, and the third number in June 1976. Despite this short and somewhat barren life, the Journal was the academic outlet in Korea specialized in archaeology. The objective of the Journal from the beginning, as it stated Kim Won-yong in the first number of the journals was:

The name of the journal is *Han'guk Kogo* and it is obvious that our main force is inclined to natural Korean archaeology (chayŏn Han'guk kogohak), but in addition to Korean archaeology, other regions, and fields included in general archaeology are going to be treated, with special interest on archaeological methodology. We will make an effort to publish recently excavated sites and artifacts and discoveries in Korea, as well as overseas.<sup>459</sup>

These broad objectives located the Journal as the first academic channel dedicated exclusively to the field of archaeology. It was born around the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology at SNU, and it targeted mainly students and alumni from the department as its contributors and readers. The centrality of this community for the journal was stated from the beginning when Kim Won-yong wrote the journal aimed to be an “academic and educative journal on archaeology by our students of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology.” In the same piece, Kim also opened the door for other scholars to contribute in the journal when he is said “the bulletin is not just for our department students, is for the

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<sup>459</sup> Kim Won-yong, “Chae il ho naemyŏnsŏ” *Han'guk Kogo* 1 (1967)

diffusion to students and scholars of the whole country interested in this field.”<sup>460</sup> The reality was that only professors and students from the Department published articles in the journal. The only exception to this was a joint article signed by Kim Chŏng-gi, staff member of the National Museum and part-time professor at the Department, and Kim Won-yong. Thus, we find in its pages some of the earliest articles by Im Hyo-chae, Kim Chong-ch’ŏl, Ch’oi Mong-nyong, or Chŏn Yŏng-hwa. The centrality of the department students and its alumni in the life of the journal went beyond the articles when the second number of the journal needed to the donations from alumni and students in order to be published.<sup>461</sup> In the end, the editorial space for journals on archaeology and the limited resources that the department had to publish it made the Journal disappear, after the publication of its third and last number in 1976.<sup>462</sup>

The trend of field differentiation started with *Han’guk Kogo* and continued with the establishment of *Kogohak* by the Archaeological Society of Korea (*Han’guk Kogohakhoe*) in 1968. The organization of the journal is related to the early introduction of archaeology in Korea, claiming the long tradition of the discipline. However, Kim Chae-wŏn, author of the first foreword of the journal, explains the chronological gap saying

[e]ven if Western archaeology came to Korea several decades ago, and the establishment of Korean archaeology is an old issue, the organization of an academic association on Korean archaeology (*Han’guk Kogohak*) for the first time, and the publication of the first number of the organization journal,

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<sup>460</sup> Kim Won-yong, “Chae il ho naemyŏnsŏ,” *Han’guk Kogo* 1 (1967)

<sup>461</sup> Illyu·Kogohakkwa, “Han’guk Kogo Chaeichip Palhaeng Ch’ancho Pangmyŏng,” *Han’guk Kogo* 2 (1967): 54

<sup>462</sup> Editors of the third number, “Sokkansa” *Han’guk Kogo* 3 (1976):i

*Kogohak*, it is a belated regret. However, more than the scholarship from other fields, there were no scholar field that met the monopoly from foreign scholars like the scholarship from the field of archaeology, and until the day of the Liberation it could not be thought of archaeological research done by our hands.<sup>463</sup>

Kim thus claims the long tradition of archaeology in Korea, linking its origins to the colonial period, and blames that period as the reason why the post-Liberation archaeology developed so slowly, including its communicative sphere. In this case, the author does not feel the necessity to explain the theme of the Journal as it was already self-evident by its title. Nevertheless, he differences two kinds of archaeology. In the foreword Kim Chae-wŏn wrote “due to our journal, *Kogohak*, has the job of being a guidepost for the leaders of the field, it persists on the path of legitimate archaeology (chŏnt’ongchŏgin kogohak) [...] without falling into dilettantism.” Thus, Kim differenced a professional archaeology to which the journal was devoted and amateur research that is presented as the evil to avoid. Due to the text of the foreword does not give more details on this matter, it is necessary to look into the community that contributed to the Journal to get a better sense of whom was considered a professional archaeologist.

The number of authors that contributed to the journal in its life was very limited, and mostly related to the NMK and SNU, although over time the Journal also accepted

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<sup>463</sup> Kim Chae-wŏn, “Kanghaengsa,” *Kogohak* 1 (1968):i

publications by authors from other institutions. I published in its six numbers just 15 authors of whom only few published more than one article.

Table 5.7 *Contributors to Kogohak*

Author	Year(s) of publication	Author	Year(s) of publication
Kim Won-yong (SNU)	1968, 1969	Yun Sae-yŏng (Koryo U.)	1974
Kim Chŏng-gi (OCP)	1968, 1974	Kim Byŏng-mo (OCP)	1977
Han Byŏng-sam (NMK)	1968, 1969	Chŏng Ching-wŏn (Hansŏng Women U.)	1977
Yun Mu-byŏng (NMK)	1968	Lee Kyu-san	1977
Park Il-hun (NMK)	1968	Cho Yu-jŏn (OCP)	1979
Im Hyo-chae (SNU)	1968	Chŏn Yŏng-nae (NMK)	1979
Kim Yŏng-bae (NMK)	1969	Sŏ Sŏng-hun	1979
Lee Baek-kyu (NMK)	1974, 1977, 1979		

The institutional filiation of the authors shows a clear preference for the network related to the NMK and SNU. Despite Kim Chae-wŏn did not published any article besides the foreword to the first number, NMK researchers were the greatest group of authors, publishing in the journal, followed by members of the OCP and SNU. The domination of authors from those three institutions was complete in the first two numbers of the Journal, published in 1968 and 1969 when Kim Chae-wŏn was still director of the NMK. Kim's retirement and the selection of a new director of the NMK concurred with a hiatus in the annual publication of the journal. The association only published a new number as late as 1974. That number published for the first time an article by a member outside the NMK, the OCP or SNU. The publication of an article signed by Yun Sae-yŏng in 1974 should be interpreted in the context of the conversations to merge the two professional associations that organized the field after Kim Chae-wŏn's retirement.<sup>464</sup> The two last numbers published in 1977 and 1979 happened in a new context where a single association the articulated the field, and where previous exclusivism that limited author's publications in *Kogohak* was not relevant anymore.

In conclusion, the association discriminated part of the community, and considered those scholars amateur archaeologists, in opposition to the members of the Archaeological Society of Korea. However, since Kim Chae-wŏn's retirement positions between both networks started to approximate.

The merge of both associations and the constitution of the Society of Korean Archaeological Studies created the platform to articulate the whole field through a new academic journal on Korean archaeology, *Kogohakpo*. After the years of division, the new

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<sup>464</sup> Yun Sae-yŏng, "<Han'guk Kogohakhoe>ŭi tonghap tangsaeng kwajŏng" *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 60 (2006):267-268



association, and the journal, aimed to “unite and concentrate the academic field, and unfold a cooperative effort, so it is original, establishes a scientific academic tradition (*kwahakchökin hakp’ung*) and an image of a new archaeology that does not fall behind internationally.”<sup>465</sup>

This new objective of unity and cooperation in the field was reflected in the community that this Journal fostered. A new community beyond the limits of the previous networks of scholars, overcoming previous divisions and indicating a more cohesive field. Table 8 shows the diversity of authors who contributed to the Journal. Among them, we find in almost equal terms members who belonged to the Archaeological Society of Korea and the Association of Korean Archaeology. In addition, the journal published the results of excavations signed by research groups organized by both association, such as the Research Group for the excavation of Jamsil and Panwöl Excavation Group.

Table 5.8 *Contributors to Kogohakpo (1976-1979)*

Author	Year(s) of publication	Author	Year(s) of publication
Kim Byöng-mo (OCP)	1976, 1979	Im Hyo-t’aek (Pusan U.)	1978
Kim Won-yong (SNU)	1977, 1979	Research Group for the excavation of Jamsil	1977, 1978

<sup>465</sup> Palgiin, “Hakhoe Ch’angnip Ch’wiji,” *Han’guk Kogohakpo* 1 (1976)





Kim Chǒng-hak (Pusan U.)	1977, 1978	Yóu Xiūlíng (Chǒn Yǒng-nae trans.)	1977
OCP	1979	George Bass (Ch'oe Mong-nyong trans.)	1978, 1979
Park Yong-an (SNU*)	1977	Chǒng Yǒng-ho (Dangook U.)	1979
O Chi-yǒng	1976	Chi Kǒn-gil (NMK)	1977
Yun Mu-byǒng (Chungnam Nat' U.)	1979	Ch'oe Mong-nyong	1978
Lee Kang-sǔng	1979	Ch'oi Mu-jang	1979
Lee Chong-sǒn	1976	Han Yǒng-hǔi (NMK)	1978
Im Hyo-chae (SNU)	1976, 1977, 1979	Panwǒl Excavation Group	1979
Sara Nelson (Univ. of Denver)	1976	Hwang Yong Hun (Kyung Hee U.)	1979

\*College of Natural Science, Dept. of Oceanology

This journal represents the consolidation of a community of practitioners and their academic space as separated from any other field, and a community aware of itself as a professional group.

## Conclusions

The social configuration of the community started within the NMK in 1946 with the organization of the first archaeological excavation. This early community suffered a direct impact during the Korean War, and Kim Chae-wŏn wide out the staff members who collaborate with the North Koreans during the occupation of Seoul, keeping only those who remained loyal. That forced the institution to remake their archaeology research team with new researchers. For most of the postwar, that research team at the NMK was the whole of the community of practitioners, until in 1956 Park Kyŏng-wŏn organized his first excavation. In the late 1950s university professors organized as well their first archaeological excavations, receiving often support from the CCP in the form of expert guidance by Kim Won-yong. At that time, the community was still very small and circumscribed to the NMK, the Committee for Cultural Properties and some university professors who started showing their interest in the field. The expansion of the community came hand in hand with the expansion of university museums under the auspices of the Korean Association of University Museums. The necessity of many of these museums to find artifacts for their exhibitions, the legal limitations for purchasing them, and the intellectual curiosity of the professors involved led to an increase in the number of excavations. In addition, SNU established in 1961 the first department of archaeology in the country, becoming one of the most important center of archaeological research in the country in parallel with the NMK. The growing interest on archaeology among university professors, and the expansion of institutional support for the field helped in the expansion of the community of practitioners.

The growth of this early community did not mean, however, its unity. Two clear networks of scholars grew over the whole period separately, until they unified in 1976. One



of those networks was formed by the NMK, RICP and SNU, acquiring some sort of “official” status, due to the presence and involvement of government officers and institutions and the prestige of their members. The second network started to grow around Koryo University and soon included members of Soongsil University and Kyung Hee University. Finally, these two networks consolidated in the form of professional associations with the intention of representing the field, configuring the Archaeological Society of Korea (Han’guk Kogohakhoe), and the Association of Korean Archaeology (Han’guk Kogohak Hyŏphoe). These two associations only merged when the founders of the Archaeological Society of Korea left the direction of the association to a younger generation more receptive to form an inclusive association open to all members of the community of practitioners.

The role of the government in the configuration of the community of practitioners was important, but rather tangential. Scholars at the NMK, OCP and RICP constituted the bigger network of archaeologist with Kim Chae-wŏn at its center until 1970. Kim Won-yong played also a crucial role, as chair of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of the SNU with close ties with Kim Chae-wŏn and the rest of archaeologists working at government institutions, he was able to include SNU students in the official network. Therefore, government institutions were the main locus of that professional network, channeling the first level of academic organization. In addition, the interconnection of those institutions in their projects promoted also the organization of practitioners working within them. In this sense, the main intervention of the government in the organization of this network was to provide the context.

However, university professors without those close connections with government institutions also organized a parallel network. Kim Chŏng-hak, Kim Ki-ung, and Im Pyŏng-



t'ae played a similar role to that played by Kim Chae-wŏn and Kim Won-yong as developers of the field. In a sense, their initiatives balanced the excessive weight that archaeologists related to government institutions represented. This community of practitioners started their network construction on the base of their interest to build the academic field, and only at some points as a reaction to the network led by Kim Chae-wŏn and Kim Won-yong. Nevertheless, both networks followed a similar process of organization and maturation.

These two networks joined in almost equal terms, as evidenced from the power distribution within the new association. The elitist character that scholars such as Kim Chae-wŏn tried to give to the government related association faced the challenge from those left out. The new generation of scholars were more receptive to the reconfiguration of restrictive definitions of the community of practitioners. It is very likely that the collaboration on the field through projects led by the OCP since 1969 helped archaeologists to developed closer links. What is clear is that the process was the result of internal interests within the community of practitioners beyond the government initiative.

The configuration of an autonomous archaeological communication sphere was a process that needed of successive publications, each one of them more specialized. The first journals that published articles on archaeology were rather broad in their themes. *Chindanhakpo* , *Kwanbo* and *Yöksahakpo* were the first spaces where Korean scholars could publish their archaeological research, but they also published articles on many other topics. Later, the new journals that were established limited the themes until the configuration of the first specialized journals on archaeology. This process of progressive specialization was the result of the own specialization of the community of practitioners responsible for the journals.



The consolidation of this group of scholars into consolidated groups, and their interconnections provided the environment that propitiated the creation of these journals.

The history of academic journals on archaeology also shows the configuration of two different networks of scholars since 1960: the activity of two networks of scholars interested in the broad theme of material culture working on different journals and with limited contact between them. *Misul Charyo* and *Komunhwa* represent two separated spaces of academic communication where different networks of scholars connected and consolidated as communities.

The network associated to the government was able to publish a specialized journal on archaeology limited to their group. The first publication of *Han'guk Kogo* and *Kogohak* represents important event in the conformation of the community and the configuration of the communicative sphere, because they are the product of the network of scholars closer to the government and because they dedicated exclusively to archaeology. Their multiplication with the institutional expansion led by the government and the configuration of the Department of Anthropology and Archaeology of the SNU provided the basic public to make the publications useful for a community of scholars. The reaction of the university network of scholars provoked more than the mere configuration of an alternative journal, the struggle to open up the limits of the network led by Kim Chae-wŏn, Kim Won-yong and years later Han Byŏng-sam.

The role of the government in this process is always rather indirect, and through members of the field in their own right. There were no politicians involved in the process, and the government did not issue any consistent policy on the organization of the field or its communicative sphere. However, some of the most active members in the organization of

the community and in the establishment of journals were either part of government institutions, or part of the fuzzy space of relationship between the government and the field. In this regard, the role and status of Kim Chae-wŏn as director of the NMK and Kim Won-yong as chair of the Department Anthropology and Archaeology of the SNU must be acknowledge. This said, their initiatives were directed by their particular understanding of what academic scholarship was, and their personal connections in the field. Nevertheless, their actions was balanced by the initiative of members of the field outside those positions. The establishment of *Han'guk Kogohakpo* is an example of the capability of those scholars to challenge the limited vision of the field defended by Kim Chae-wŏn and create a more open platform for academic debate.

The definition of the academic space advanced in the period under research, as it is evident by the journals here presented and their thematic, but the configuration of that space was only partial. The organization of more specialized journals was fundamental in the construction of a space dedicated to archaeology. In that regard, it is possible to establish a progression from *Chindan Hakpo* to *Misul Charyo* and *Komunhwa* to conclude in *Han'guk Kogo* and *Han'guk Kogohakpo*. However, the configuration of this communicative space focused on archaeology does not mean necessary the establishment of the academic field of archaeology as completely independent from other academic fields. Such relationships shall be object of an analysis that will be presented below.



## **Chapter 6: Achieving Professional Credentials: South Korean Archaeology and University Degrees (1945–1979)**

Botella, L. y Doménech, A., “Achieving Professional Credentials: South Korean Archaeology and University Degrees (1945–1979),” *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies* 30, no. 1 (June 2017): 71–96

The professionalization of archaeology is an understudied research topic in the history of South Korean archaeology. Literature on the subject has so far focused on the mechanisms that separate amateurs from professional archaeologists—in other words on the academic recognition and the credential system of the discipline. However, researchers have not considered the effect those mechanisms have on the social organization of the field. This paper claims that university degrees are not only important elements in the professionalization of archaeology, but also mechanisms of social organization within the field itself. The study of archaeological education and training in South Korea from 1945 to 1979 shows how academic education and degrees affected the subject, creating social networks and different positions in the field represented by different specializations within it. In order to study this process, this article focuses on Seoul National University’s Department of Anthropology and Archaeology, the first of its kind in South Korea.

## Conclusions

### **Lines of Power in the creation of an academic field**

From 1945 to 1979, Korean archaeology developed structures that allowed the consolidation of the discipline as an area of research by the end of the 1970s; the process of institutionalization and professionalization were behind the configuration of those structures. Since 1945, Korean archaeology was fully integrated in a comprehensive system of institutions in which research and training was done systematically. The government established a legal system that regulated archaeological research and its relations with the discipline. In addition, it developed over time several institutions (NMK, OCP, RICPP) dedicated to archaeological research and supporting activities for archaeological research. Some of them were established originally under the colonial period, but others were the result of new needs of the government. Moreover, the government took good care to integrate scholars interested in the archaeology in regulatory institutions to collaborate in the protection of archaeological heritage. Non-government institutions also collaborated closely with government institutions in task related to research and heritage management (the Department), configuring the SSAR. Moreover, Korean universities showed a great interest to integrate archaeological research in their institutions, indicating an interest in archaeology beyond government's projects. Many universities opened university museums from where archaeological research was directed, and some even developed formal or informally training





programs in archaeology. Thus, the field became as the result of a colonial legacy, and the initiative of government and non-government actors.

The institutionalization and professionalization of Korean archaeology summarize the process in which the structures above mentioned became to place. The institutionalization of Korean archaeology was the result of the collaboration between government and non-government agents, these last actors sometimes from abroad. The multiplicity of agents allowed for multiple strategies for the institutional development regarding archaeology. Government institutions followed the development of its heritage management institutions to deal with archaeological research. This trend is already present in the establishment of the NMK as an institution in charge of research and educating the public. With the expansion of the SSAR archaeological research was accommodated into more specialized sections of institutions. Non-government agents followed a similar trend in which universities approached archaeology from the development of their own museums, copying somehow the mission of the NMK.

Professionalization of archaeology expanded through the association and training of academics interested in archaeology, creating several networks that finally ended in a single professional organization. The interest of Korean academics in archaeology led them to engage in academic discussions with other scholars, publishing journals dedicated to that debate. The publishing of those journals tells about the process of defining archaeological research as a separated area, and about the associative movement behind them. That associative movement created networks of archaeologist that furthered research and allowed the reproduction of the field integrating new members. However, those networks imposed also a hierarchy among its members.

The multiplicity of agents brought different logics and objectives to approach archaeological heritage, explaining the reasons behind their development. The government, understood as the president and ministers with their bureaucracies, balanced between the economic development of the country, and the construction of a national discourse useful for their political interests. They defined the cultural policy in each moment, setting the resources and objectives for the institutions in charge of archaeological research under their direct control. Meanwhile Korean academics were interested in archaeology as a new area of inquiry, and as an academic space to decolonize.<sup>532</sup> Those objectives made them work in the basic structures that allowed them to do their research. Sometimes, these interests overlapped creating a basic consensus for government-archaeologists cooperation, without limiting independent work outside that collaboration. The interconnection of all these elements were the result of three main dynamics: the relationship between government and academics, the relationships among academic networks, and the relationships within those networks. All those connections created a space in which actors could occupy different positions depending on their power.

The community of practitioners evolved over the same period from a disperse group of scholars with interest in this discipline to an organized community of professional archaeologists. The community started with researchers at the NMK and a few university professors. Their growing interest in the field led the different networks of scholars to organize associations to support their activities, culminating into the establishment of the Society of Korean Archaeological Studies (Han'guk Kogohak Yŏn'gu Hakhoe) in 1976.

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<sup>532</sup> Pai, Hyung Il, "Re-surrecting the Ruins of Japan's Mythical Homelands: Colonial Archaeological Surveys in the Korean peninsula and Heritage Tourism," in *The Handbook of Post-colonialism and Archaeology*, pp.93-112, Lydon, Jane and Rizvi, Uzma (ed.) (Left Coast Press, Walnut Creek, CA. 2010):103-105



Those efforts were related to the configuration of intellectual boundaries for the community, defining the limits of their research and that of the community. The academic movement started intertwined with other disciplines such as the study of art history, anthropology and ancient history, but archaeologists started to create the instruments to separate themselves from those other disciplines. Academic journals played an important role in that process of academic boundary construction in correlation with other institutional initiatives. Despite archaeologists working at public institutions played an important role in these processes, the transformations were the result of internal dynamics within the community of scholars.

This thesis has shown that the government was deeply involved in the development of Korean archaeology, and for that reason, it constructed several channels to influence archaeological research. The mechanisms that created those channels of influence were multiple. Firstly, the government inherited and developed on its own a legislation that gave it much control over archaeological research. The Regulation from 1933 and its reviewed form from 1962 gave the government the authority to control who could excavate. In addition, the establishment of the OCP in 1961 reinforced the administrative control of the government over archaeological heritage. The government also established new institutions to exercise its influence over the discipline. The OCP was a bureaucratic institution with specific instructions to make reality the cultural policy of the government, becoming the main representation of the government in archaeology. Other channel of influence came from the colonial period. The old the General-Government Museum became the NMK and the continuity of Regulation 1933 secured as well the continuity of the Committee for Cultural Properties. These institutions integrated researchers in public institutions with the aim of carrying out the government cultural policy. In that sense, they are also the more solid

expression of the fuzzy space of relationships that the government developed to influence the field.

Despite the power of the government to influence Korean archaeology, it also left for large periods of time a great degree of autonomy to archaeologists, and even during the most interventionist period, it did not aim to control the discipline completely. The directors of the NMK were Kim Chae-wŏn, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng and Ch'oi Sun-woo who were all archaeologists and/or art historians. The Committee for Cultural Properties, and its Subcommittee 1 were staffed by academics and intellectuals. The first director of the RICP was Kim Chŏng-gi one of the most important archaeologists of that time. In addition, it included many university professors who integrated the Committee for Cultural Properties or participated along public institutions in specific research projects. The only major mechanism of control over the field directed by the public administration was the OCP. This situation depicts a complex relationship between the government and scholars. Even though the government had the upper hand in that relationship, and the last decision, it needed the active participation of those scholars in the system. In fact, these institutions should be considered as fuzzy spaces of interaction between the political and the academic actors. That interaction was not on equal terms, but it allowed academics to integrate their objectives in the government plans.

Even within government institutions, it is possible to identify different degrees of autonomy in different periods. The study of the government institutions in charge of archaeological research and their evolution shows different level of autonomy. The NMK and the Department always enjoyed a greater autonomy in front of the government than the OPC and the RICP. That allowed the first two institutions to pursue research projects born



from their own academic interests, while the OCP and the RICP were more permeable to the cultural policy of the government and its research interests. However, the level of autonomy is not only related to the institution, it also answers to the cultural policy of each period. Since 1968, the government pursued a much more aggressive cultural policy that mobilized a large number of actors in archaeological research projects. The mobilization of the SSAR for those projects reduced the space of those institutions to carry out their own research projects, limiting, thus, their autonomy.

The government, however, did not control or influence completely archaeological research. The structure of the field left always areas relatively free of government interventions. In fact, it is possible to identify several institutions that did not engage in government projects, and were left mostly alone. This space of autonomy from the government involved most of the agents that started their activity in the late 50s and 60s, and began to reduce when the new cultural policy of the government asked for a greater degree of implication from archaeologists. The first excavation led by Park Kyöng-Wön, Koryo University Museum or Kyung Hee University Museum, just to name a few, are good examples of members belonging to this space. Despite this reduction of autonomy, the field always had actors that continued researching under their own research objectives. In this regard, the research activity developed by Yonsei University Museum is a paradigmatic example. Consequently, it is possible to identify a section of research developed outside the interest of the government regarding archaeology.

The structure of the field had important repercussions on the research trends in archaeology. The government and the projects led by it after 1968 were important factors in the development of archaeological research. The Kyöngju Tourism Development Project and



all the salvation projects linked to government infrastructures and development projects are the reason for an important multiplication of excavations and the increase of actors doing archaeological research. Thus, the consolidation and expansion of the field in the 1970s owes a lot to the economic development and the imposition of the Yusin regime. The result of that was the excavation of sites able to mobilize symbols that supported the government's national discourse. In terms of archaeological projects that represented a great effort to excavate Silla related sites, mainly Kyōngju, and other sites related to characters or events important in that narrative such as sites related to Yi Sun-sin. In addition, the concentration of development projects along the line Seoul-Pusan concentrated excavations around Kyōngi province, and North and South Kyōngsang provinces.

On the opposite side of the structure, some agents developed important research outside government projects. The most important example was the development of Paleolithic studies. Despite the initial interest to confirm the first human inhabitants of the Peninsula in the Paleolithic Age, the government did not carry out a similar research agenda to that of Silla for this period. In fact, the largest research actor for this period, Yonsei University Museum, developed its research activity without much external support. This shows that the government did not invest in the research of this period, but did not stop others to investigate it. Therefore, it is possible to claim a large degree of autonomy for the research carried out by researchers at Yonsei University. The result was that Paleolithic studies remained a rather marginal research area for the largest part of the period between 1945 and 1979, in correlation to the position that Yonsei University occupied in the field.

Other example of how relationships between the government and archaeologists left areas of autonomy for Korean scholars, who could develop independent studies that changed



trends of research from the colonial period. The first important departure from colonial trends of research was the research project designed by the NMK on megalithic culture in Korea that had as a result the establishment of the Bronze Age in Korean archaeology. The project was born at the NMK under Kim Chae-wŏn's initiative, who could fund the operations thanks to international funding and salvation projects commissioned by the government. The efforts to frame a multiyear project with specific research objectives answered to the internal logics of academic research, giving as a result the consolidation of new territorial trends of excavations. This project inaugurated a new period in Korean archaeology, attracting much attention by researchers to the point of its consolidation as the period with greater number of excavated sites after the Three Kingdoms Period. In addition, areas such as Ch'ungch'ŏng and Cholla provinces became important areas for archaeological research, due to the great number of sites from this period.

The closest structure to government influence, the SSAR, evolved over time as the result of a complex set of causes, showing in the process a different relationship to the government. The growth and expansion of the SSAR was the result of new cultural policies stated by the government, backed on the economic development of the country, and the professionalization of the community. The first institution of the SSAR was the NMK, established by the USAMGIK when it took control of the old General-Government Museum and appointed Kim Chae-wŏn as its director. The Korean War and the sluggish economic development of Korea after conditioned the growth of the system, making the museum highly dependent of foreign support, at the same time that very autonomous from the government regarding its research.



The new regime of 1961 changed the government cultural policy and ordered the reorganization of its institutions. This new policy aimed to provide legitimacy to the new regime led by Park Chung Hee. The result was the expansion of the SSAR with the establishment of the OCP, and the legal reorganization of archaeological research with the enactment of a new law for the protection of cultural heritage. The interest of the new regime to defend its nationalistic credentials, and the new economic development of the 1960s fueled a new interest in archaeological research. However, the OCP did not develop at this point any research capability, depending on the other members of the SSAR to conduct archaeological research.

The system got richer in this period when Kim Won-yong returned to Korea after his sojourn in the USA with the support of the NMK director, making possible the establishment of the Department. The Department was an initiative led by SNU with Kim Won-yong as Chair. Due to Kim Won-yong's connections to the NMK and his membership in the Committee for Cultural Properties, the Department secured a position within the SSAR. From this moment, the Department developed a strong cooperation with the rest of the SSAR, but it never forfeited its own research agenda separated from government projects.

It was the change in the cultural policy after 1968 that transformed the relation system between the SSAR and the government, stressing the control of the later over research and the rest of SSAR institutions. In the context of the new Yusin regime and the rapid economic development, the government designed the new cultural policy to earn legitimacy on the eyes of Korean society. This cultural policy aimed to bolster some national symbols, for what archaeology became instrumental in that process. Thus, the government invested heavily in the SSAR in order to achieve its objectives.





It also transformed its relationship with SSAR institutions. Such transformation meant the inclusion of the NMK under the control of the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, stressing the museum function as educative institution for the public. In addition, the government stressed the role of the OCP as an active actor in research with the establishment of the Research Office for Cultural Properties, and later RICP. This institutional change made the OCP a research actor of first order, but the political nature of the institution kept the organization under the direct control of the government. The Department kept the same institutional relation to the government, but since the graduation of the first promotion, it provided the SSAR one of the most important sources of trained archaeologists.

The analysis of SSAR growth and relationship to the government provides a nuanced view of government institutions. The most sensible institutions to government projects were by far the OCP and the RICP. The bureaucratic direction and their direct control by the ministry made them the most direct agents of the government to engage in archaeological research. The NMK would be also very sensible to changes in the cultural policy of the government, but the access to international funds under Kim Che-wŏn's tenure provided some degree of autonomy in terms of research. Finally, the Department was the most independent institution of the SSAR to government changes in its cultural policy. However, the participation of Kim Won-yong as a key member of that fuzzy space, open channels of influence beyond the scope of administrative orders.

The specialization of the SSAR evolved along the needs of the system to provide more defined instruments to tackle archaeological research. The internal organization of the department at the NMK, OCP, RICP and the division of the Department are the result of their adequacy to the necessities of cultural policy and archaeological research in a context of



knowledge accumulation. The reorganization of departments at the NMK in 1961 represented the interest to develop the field of archaeology as separated from that of art history when researchers at the institutions had already a long experience doing archaeological research. Later on, the basic division between the art history department and the archaeology department continued, although within a larger structure. More interesting is the development of some regional museums (Kyōngju and Kwangju) as research centers, because that represented the first steps towards a decentralization of the research units.

The OCP followed a similar path of specialization to that of the NMK. The increasing interest of the government in archaeological research made the institution to develop a department for the management of that kind of heritage. Since 1968, the government decided to increase the role of the OCP in archaeological research and developed a department for archaeological excavation, the Research Office for Cultural Properties, which later became the RICP. At the same time, it opened an office to manage the archaeological excavations done under the Kyōngju Tourism Development Plan.

The specialization of the Department answered to the professionalization of archaeology and the university policy. The division of the Department was possible thanks to two reasons. Firstly, the growth in the number of professors working at the Department before 1975 made possible to keep offering enough courses to allow the graduation of students. Secondly, the relocation of the university to a new campus was the occasion that the university government decided to reorganize the institution. During that process, the university decided to divide that Department, creating the Department of Archaeology in the College of Humanities. This specialization process was the result of the internal dynamics of professionalization and university policy.



The institutional structure of archaeology has shown the influence of the government to develop it, but it has also evidenced some of its limits, even in the SSAR. Those limits create the space for Korean archaeologists build their own academic area of research. The SSAR played an important role to structure a first group of scholars working on archaeology around the NMK. The Korean War affected heavily the composition of the initial group of researchers, forcing to find new researchers to fill up the vacant positions. Since then, the network expanded to other institutions and grew to the point of establishing the first professional association of archaeologists in 1967, the Archaeological Society of Korea (Han'guk Kogohakhoe).

Furthermore, individual scholars did also archaeological research outside the SSAR since the late 1950s. These individual scholars acted without any coordination, and answering just to their personal interests. Eighteen university museums established the Association of University Museums in 1961, linking many of the scholars engaged in archaeological research at the time. Nevertheless, their interconnection was looser than the organization around the NMK and the Department. In fact, it only galvanized into a full professional association of archaeologist as a reaction to the establishment of the Archaeological Society of Korea in 1967. Shortly after the establishment of that association, scholars associated to Koryo University, Kyung Hee University and Sungsil University promoted the organization of the Association of Korean Archaeology (Han'guk Kogohak Hyöphoe). The organization of this association evidence a vibrant community of scholars outside government institutions interested in archaeology.

The organization of these two professional associations tells about the limits of the government influence in the organization of the professional community of archaeologists



and the power relations between them. Most of the members of the Archaeological Society of Korea worked at government institutions, had worked at one or were closely related to them. However, most of the members affiliated to the Association of Korean Archaeology worked at universities, many of them private institutions. Thus, the government acted as an important sponsor for many of the archaeologists in the community, but there were many other archaeologists who could develop professionally without that support.

Despite the limits of that support, government backing represented a point in terms of influence in the field. The belonging of many members of the Archaeological Society of Korea to public institutions gave that association an official aura. Furthermore, that same association was born with a clear interest in separating its members from “amateurs,” as it was stated on the first number of *Kogohak*. These two aspects reinforced the internal cohesion of the group, to the point of avoiding their dissolution even after the establishment of the new Society for Korean Archaeological Studies in 1976. Thus, they remained as coordinated group within the new association. The organization of all these associations are evidences of the level of professionalization that Korean archaeologists were achieving, but it is also an evidence for the power dynamics that played in their organization.

The organization of the archaeological communication sphere showed similar dynamics to that of the community. The process of establishing a system of journals specialized on archaeology evidences that the networks of academics also affected the publication patterns in archaeology. The first articles on archaeology were published in journals with broad disciplinary limits or were focused on other discipline. New journals were launched with a the broad interest on topic related to material culture, such as art history,



archaeology, museum studies and even anthropology. The last period saw the publication of the first journals specialized in archaeology.

This specialization of academic journals duplicates the organization of the archaeological community to a large extent. The early publications on archaeology were mainly the result of scholars with interest in the field who found different spaces of publication to start a conversation on Korean archaeology. That role was played by *Chindan Hakpo* and *Yōksa Hakpo*. Member affiliated to the SSAR were predominant in this period of publication, but were not the only scholars publishing on the subject.

Since 1960, the publication space grew sensible with the organization of *Misul Charyo*, *Kogomisul*, *Komunhwa*, and *Munhwachae*. These new spaces allowed for a greater specialization of the communicative sphere dedicated to archaeology, and they mirror the academic networks of the period. *Misul Charyo* and *Munhwachae* depended directly from the NMK and the OCP respectively, while *Kogomisul* and *Komunhwa* were the publication of associations that represented mainly members of the alternative network to that of the SSAR.

The comparative study about where the most prolific authors published their articles shows that the two networks had specific patterns with just a couple of scholars publishing in every journal. These patterns evidently gave greater exposure to scholars affiliated to the SSAR in as much as they published in three out of these four journals. Meanwhile, authors more related to the alternative network limited their activity mainly to *Kogomisul* and *Komunhwa*. The government intervened in this process by managing directly *Munhwachae* through the public administration at the OCP. It is possible to claim the intervention of the government also in the publication of *Misul Charyo* as a project directed by the NMK.

However, organization of each institution locates each publication at difference distance from government influence. On the other hand, *Kogomisil* and *Komunhwa*, were the result of associations without direct connection to any government institution.

The SSAR led the specialization of this communicative sphere when the Department launched *Han'guk Kogo* in 1967, and the Archaeological Society of Korea launched *Kogohak* in 1968. This was completed with the transformation of *Kogomisul* into a full academic journal in 1968. Nevertheless, the association process among archaeologists transformed those projects to the point of making *Han'guk Kogohakpo* the leading journal in archaeology, open to all. The journal *Han'guk Kogohak Yŏnpo* completed this ecosystem of publications with its annual review of research done in archaeology.

The network of scholars researching under the SSAR led the specialization of the communicative sphere of archaeology at this point, but this leading role was diluted with the consolidation of a single professional association of archaeologists. The Kim Chae-wŏn, as director of the NMK, and Kim Won-yong, as chair of the Department, were key figures in the growth and specialization of the communicative sphere of archaeology. They launched and supported the first journals dedicated exclusively to archaeology, but these projects were soon engulfed under the new reality of archaeologists since 1976.

The last number of *Han'guk Kogo* was published in 1976. The publication frequency already shows the problems that Kim Won-yong had to face in order to publish the journal. If the new publication of *Kogohakpo* is factored in, the discontinuation of this publication is not difficult to understand. *Kogohak* continued a bit after the establishment of Society of Korean Archaeological Studies in 1976, but the previous exclusivity that characterized *Kogohak* stopped after that year. The publication accepted articles authored by members of



the alternative network of scholars until its last number in 1979. Consequently, the publication ecosystem soon adapted to the new reality of professional archaeologists and their professional associations. *Kogohakpo* soon became the most representative journal for the field, but it also represented the integration of the communicative sphere under the logic of the fuzzy space of relations between government and archaeologists. This is evidenced by the publication in this journal of the research done for the Jamsil Development project explained above.

The history of these publications show the process of differentiation of archaeology from other close disciplines, creating a boundary that established the autonomy of archaeology against other disciplines. The publication of archaeology articles depended in this early period from generalist journals, such as *Chindan Hakpo*, and journals specialized on other disciplines, such as *Yöksa Hakpo*. The period between 1961 and 1967 saw the establishment of new publications focused on material culture, but without a clear differentiation among the several disciplines involved, art history, history, archaeology and even anthropology. Publications such as *Kogomisul*, *Komunhwa*, *Munhwachae* and *Misul Charyo* were important elements in the configuration of a communicative structure for the field during those years. The field had to wait until the period between 1967 and 1979 to witness the consolidation of the first journals dedicated exclusively to archaeology. The publication of journals such as *Kogohak* and *Han'guk Kogohak* represented the consolidation of the disciplinary boundary of archaeology. One of the most important reasons behind this process was the consolidation of a large group of professional scholars in the context of SSAR institutions, and a spectacular growth of the discipline outside the SSAR. In other words, it was a moment when there was enough readership to sustain a publication of those



characteristics. The consolidation of this readership must be also related to the expansion of archaeological activity since 1968 thanks to the new cultural policy launched by the government too. Therefore, the government influenced this consolidation, but it was just a part of the process. The actors involved in the details of all the operation were the Korean archaeologists defining the communication space.

The basic structure of the community of practitioners were several networks of scholars, which were internally hierarchized. The analysis of the network of scholars around the Department shows that internally, that network was a complex system of power relations, articulating the relations between professors and young graduates. Those relations built around the Department and the education process at the University established different positions that located some professors at the top of the system, and a gradation of graduates with different capabilities to affect the field.

The Department became one of the most important education centers for archaeology in Korea. The constant flow of graduates with a bachelor degree coming out of the education with professional training made them important elements in the expansion of archaeological research in Korea. These young graduates filled many positions in the swelling ranks of the SSAR, contributing to the archaeological activities of those institutions. However, there was an imbalance between the number of graduates and the opening positions in related to the discipline. That imbalance created a situation that increased the competition among graduates to find a job.

An important element in that competition were the professors who taught at the Department. The effective mobilization of these professors' support represented a comparative advantage that could mean further education and/or a position in an





archaeological institution. Professors within the network related to the Department had access to resources and connections that could promote the careers of their pupils. They could use their resources and connections to find jobs for them, becoming important brokers in the job market for archaeologists. Their influence also included the promotion of some students to keep studying for MA degrees and PhDs. These degrees differentiated their holders from other graduates symbolically—a university degree higher to the bachelor degree—and in terms of specialization—each degree meant another layer of specialization. Therefore, those professors had an enormous influence over the selection process of the next generation of university professors, consolidating their role as gatekeepers within the discipline.

The professional careers of some of the students that got that support from their professors shows how they became very soon part of the academic elite of the discipline. The composition of the Society for Korean Archaeological Studies foundational meeting in 1976 shows the presence of many graduates from the Department. Their presence in that meeting contrast powerfully with the conspicuous absences of Lee Nan-yǒng.

The consideration of women in Korean archaeology is a research topic that needs further research, but there are reasons to believe that they did have greater difficulties than men to progress. Graduated women from the Department were as well trained as their male counterparts, and sometimes were even better students than them. However, none of them actually reached the academic elite as fast their male colleagues. Statistical probability may be one of the reasons, but Lee Nan-yǒng's story may add another layer to the explanation. Her story shows the inclusion of two elements regarding women in archaeology, the consideration at the time of fieldwork as a basic and privileged activity for archaeologists and women's difficulties to work in that environment. This connection between fieldwork



and gender-based attitudes towards it may provide a starting point to understand women's position in archaeology. Lee's story also shows another position for members of the community of archaeologists. At the margins of the network, there were members of the community that participated from ancillary positions in relation to fieldwork archaeologists.

The Department promoted the construction of social relations that created different positions within the same network of scholars. Those connections implied different opportunities and professional careers that consolidated different positions within the network. The most powerful elements were those archaeologists able to mobilize resources of different kind that could support students in their first steps as professionals. Their capacity to select who would receive their support was an important factor in the professional evolution of graduates. Then, students who received that support could advance in their careers more quickly than other students, reaching positions as professors or lecturers relatively soon in their careers. This group was a minority of graduates, leaving a larger group of graduates working as archaeologists who could not achieve the same status. Graduate women from the Department either belonged to that group, or more likely were relegated to auxiliary positions for field archaeologists.

In summary, the government transformed its interest on archaeological heritage over time from a limited interest that allowed a great degree of autonomy to those researchers interested in the field, to a more interested attitude. That transformation used the instruments inherited from the colonial period to keep the possibilities of a high degree of intervention, but it looked for the cooperation of researchers interested in the field. That cooperation was promoted through the configuration of a fuzzy space of contact between government and scholars, and mobilization of non-government actors in archaeological projects led by



government institutions. In addition, the greater interest in archaeological heritage over time made the government invest in the public institutional structure of archaeological research in order to have greater instruments of intervention in archaeological research.

Furthermore, the dynamics within the community of practitioners worked under two complementary trends. Firstly, there was an aggregative dynamics towards the consolidation of academic networks. At the same, another dynamic tended to the stratification of individuals within the network. The result was the consolidation of archaeology as a discipline and the configuration of a multiplicity of positions from which archaeologists contributed to academic debates.

In this account of Korean archaeology institutionalization and professionalization, this research has tried to show the main power mechanisms that created different positionalities in the field and organized the academic community. This research has tried to advance our understanding of the history of Korean archaeology beyond the study of interpretations and discourse under the understanding that social positions affect the elaboration of those interpretations. To understand the power structure of archaeology can provide a more nuanced interpretation about how those archaeological discourses and interpretations were elaborated. Thus, it would be possible to move away from simplistic explanations about government political interest, or academic nationalism.



### **Field Structure, nationalism and space**

The present research open questions for the development of several lines of research. Here, we want to present just two: the first is the connections between the sociopolitical structure of the discipline and the development of archaeological interpretations. The second is the organization of the transnational connections of Korean archaeology in relation to its sociopolitical structure and historiography. These two are just some of the possible continuations for the present research. However, their significance deserve some comments, due to their implications for our understanding of the Korean intellectual life after the Liberation.

Connections between the sociopolitical reality of the discipline and the configuration of archaeological interpretations at different levels is one of the most pressing questions derived from the analysis here presented. The segmentation and articulation of Korean archaeology shows that not all the actors were equal in their access to academic debates, or had the same interests in those debates. The main questions that follows after this research is how the sociopolitical structure of archaeology is related to the construction of archaeological interpretations. Archaeological discourse depended on several elements: archaeological excavations, archaeological reports on those excavations, analysis of archaeological collections, research questions addressed by archaeologists, to mention just a few. Before archaeologists are capable to develop their interpretations of the record, they must engage in those previous activities, which are heavily conditioned by the structure of the discipline. The consideration of the mechanism working behind the production of those intermediate pieces of scholarship cast light on the process and interest behind the development of specific archaeological interpretations. At the same time, the analysis of discourse production from



the perspective of its sociopolitical structure represents a standpoint to understand the configuration of the hegemonic discourse in archaeology. Therefore, it is also a key element to understand the relegation of alternative explanations to the margins.

Relations between the sociopolitical structure of the discipline and academic interpretations can provide important clues about the dynamics of the academic debate. This research has already shown how academic interests and interests external to the discipline developed specific trends of archaeological excavations nationwide. The interaction of these logics in research should be researched also in the academic debate in order to define the structure of their relation at a discursive level. The consideration of the sociopolitical structure of archaeology and the dynamics of academic debate would be an important advance in the understanding of the political influences over archaeology and the degree of autonomy of the discipline from political power.

Another study related to the connections between the sociopolitical structure of archaeology and interpretations is the problem of innovation. Academic systems innovate consistently as a mean to improve research, but such innovation does not always happen in the same places, and sometimes had to face even resistance from elements in the academic system. The sociopolitical structure of archaeology could cast light on this kind of issues, providing a map of institutions and researchers with greater and lower investment in keeping their research methods updated. A study of these characteristics can further our understanding about the evolution of archaeological interpretations.

The second line of research here presented involves the transnational networks related to Korean archaeology. This research has limited its scope to Korean archaeology done by Korean archaeologists in South Korea, but the fact is that many other researchers engaged in

Korean archaeology, mainly North Korean, Japanese and American scholars. The degree and influence of those connections was different in their format, intensity and influence, but their research can improve our understanding of the intersectionality of Postcolonialism and Cold War in the Peninsula.

Those connections were the result in part of the geopolitical situation of Korea and its positions in the new international order after 1945. USA supported Korea as a bulwark against communism, and as part of that support, there were efforts to connect Korean scholars with American researchers in many disciplines. For example, The Rockefeller Foundation supported several institutions related to archaeological research, and funded scholarships to study in the USA for Korean students and scholars. Furthermore, American students also went to Korea to do research. These connections may not have been very intense in time, but they were important avenues for knowledge transmission between American and Korean archaeologists.

Korean scholars engaged in academic conversations with Japanese scholars very soon after the Liberation. In some cases, these conversations were the continuation of previous relationships from the colonial period or the period right after the Liberation. Some examples were Arimitsu Kyoichi's visit in 1966 to Seoul, and the joint project between Koryo University and Umehara Sueji in 1967.<sup>533</sup> Kim Won-yong also maintained important contacts with Kyushu University, concluding in some Japanese students doing research at SNU.<sup>534</sup> These connections represent in some cases the reconnection of Korean scholars with old

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<sup>533</sup> Kungnip Pangmulkwon, "Kogomisul Nyusŭ," *Misul Charyo* 12 (1968): 34

<sup>534</sup> Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haruŭi Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Munŭnsa, 1985): 200-201

colonial archaeologists, and in others represent connections with younger scholars trained in the new intellectual environment of the postwar Japan.

More difficult were the connections between South and North Korean scholars, but there were some. The division of the Peninsula and the regimes North and South of the 38° parallel prevented joint archaeological research project up to 21<sup>st</sup> century.<sup>535</sup> However, Korean scholars in South Korea tried to keep up with the research done in North Korea and other communist countries. In order to do that, they had to overcome the censorship that South Korean government imposed on North Korea publications. Japan was an important element for this, due to the connections of Korean communities in the country with North Korea, facilitating the import of North Korean publications to Japan where South Korean scholars could have access to them.

The study of these transnational connections can provide a larger picture of the power dynamics affecting archaeological research on Korea. Firstly, it would provide information about the continuity of colonial connections at the social and intellectual level, as some scholars have already considered. But it would also provide the opportunity to think about the influence of new interpretations on Japanese archaeology developed from a Marxist perspective, if any.

Secondly, it would present the effects of the Cold War system over archaeology. The division of the Peninsula and the influence of the USA are important factors in the

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<sup>535</sup> The Sunshine policy led by Kim Dae-jung allowed some of the first archaeological teams working in North Korea alongside with North Korean scholars. However, the deterioration of the political situation stopped those efforts up to today. For an account of these early collaborative projects see Chebanol, E., "Heritage management in the Kaesŏng special economic zone," in *De-bordering Korea. Tangible and intangible legacies of the Sunshine policy*, Gelézeau, V., De Ceuster, K., and Delissen, A. eds. (New York: Routledge, 2013): 50-67

development of Korean archaeology. The impossibility of doing research in the North limited South Korean scholars to the archaeological reports and bibliography on the subject that they could access. The research of the channels used to bring that information to South Korea and its correlation with the structure of the discipline could add another layer to our understanding of Korean archaeology development as a discipline.

In addition, despite the connection with the USA was limited to few archaeologists, its impact on research should not be underrated. The positions of those few archaeologists in Korean archaeology invite us to consider how much influence did they received from American archaeology, how did they deployed it, and how was received. Archaeologists such as Kim Won-yong, Im Hyo-chae or Ch'oe Mong-nyong, to name just a few, all studied in the US and were exposed to the intellectual debates of their time, as they were unfolding in the USA. These Korean archaeologists became some of the most influential researchers and university professors from their positions at SNU, giving them a great capacity to transmit ideas gathered from the USA. The research of these transnational connections could add to our understanding of how Korean archaeology evolved at the intersection of postcolonial relations and Cold War era academic politics.

This research on the sociopolitical structure of Korean archaeology in South Korea represents a starting point for a deeper analysis of the history of Korean archaeology after the Liberation. In addition, it goes beyond the identification of nationalism in the understanding of the basic structures that organized the discipline. Thus, it has been possible to advance our understanding of the mechanisms that transmitted sociopolitical interest into academic discourse without falling into simplistic explanations of government influence. In addition, this study would help to the better understanding of how Cold War politics organize





the transnational space of academic influences for Korean archaeology done in South Korea. At the same time, it could be an exercise to reconsider the limits of the community of Korean archaeology practitioners beyond its Korean practitioners.

In summary, this research is a contribution to the history of Korean archaeology, providing a structural analysis of the discipline. Based on this study, research can go further into different questions regarding the configuration of nationalist discourses based on archaeology, the internal dynamics of academic debate among archaeologists, or the implications of transnational connections active in the discipline, just to mention a few. In the end, the aim of this research project has been to provide a starting point to develop more nuance considerations about the research of Korean archaeology.





## **El Campo de la Arqueología en Corea del Sur (1945-1979). Relaciones de poder en la Institucionalización y Profesionalización de la Arqueología**

### **Resumen**

La presente tesis doctoral plantea un estudio sobre la historia de la arqueología en la República de Corea, centrándose en el periodo comprendido desde la Liberación de la península en 1945 hasta la muerte de Park Chung Hee. El objetivo principal de este estudio consiste en establecer cuáles fueron las estructuras y dinámicas principales que permitieron la configuración de la arqueología como disciplina académica en la República de Corea. Para ello se centra en los procesos de institucionalización y profesionalización de la arqueología.

El interés del periodo comprendido entre 1945 y 1979 reside en que fue el momento en que tanto la República de Corea como la disciplina arqueológica se consolidaron como tales en la mitad sur de la península de Corea. El Imperio Japonés colonizó la península de Corea en 1905 cuando confirmó su protectorado sobre la Gran Imperio Han (1897-1910) (hanja, 大韓帝國; coreano. Taehanchaekuk), gobierno autóctono sucesor de la dinastía Chosŏn (1392-1897). En 1910, el Imperio Japonés formalizó su dominio sobre Corea con la anexión de la península y su conversión en colonia. Desde ese momento y hasta el final del Imperio Japonés en 1945, la península de Corea estuvo bajo el control de administradores japoneses.

Tras la derrota de Japón en la Guerra del Pacífico (1941-1945) y su ocupación por las fuerzas Aliadas, el Imperio Japonés se desmembró y la península de Corea se dividió a lo

largo del paralelo 38°. La URSS controlaba la mitad norte de la península, mientras que los EE.UU. controlaban la mitad sur. A pesar de diversos intentos, la lógica de la guerra fría estaba fuertemente instalada en la dinámica política dentro de la península y en vez de un gobierno conjunto para toda la península se crearon dos estados separados y antagónicos en cada una de las mitades con apoyo de las dos superpotencias.

En 1948, Syngman Rhee proclamó la I República de Corea en el sur, y como reacción, Kim Il Sung hizo lo propio en el norte al declarar la República Popular Democrática de Corea. La consolidación de estos dos estados en la península se hizo bajo la acusación mutua de usurpación de la legitimidad para representar a la nación coreana. Esto hizo que el régimen de Syngman Rhee (1948-1960), primer presidente de la República, nunca reconociese el estado norcoreano, y que Kim Il Sung (1948-1994), primer presidente en el norte, hiciese lo mismo con Rhee. Las tensiones entre ambos regímenes alcanzó su cénit en el verano de 1950 con el inicio de la Guerra de Corea (1950-1953). Además de la destrucción por la guerra y la división nacional, una de las consecuencias más patentes de la guerra fue la imposibilidad durante muchísimo tiempo de que surgiese en la República de Corea un movimiento político progresista tolerado por el estado, ya que cualquiera de los intentos que surgieron eran rápidamente tildados de procomunistas.

Tras una cruenta guerra, el régimen de Rhee en el sur tuvo que enfrentarse a los problemas de la reconstrucción, dependiendo enormemente de la ayuda estadounidense. Rhee estableció un gobierno de corte autoritario en el que por medio de redes clientelares se aseguró el control de los aparatos y sectores claves de la sociedad y política coreanas. Eso hizo que, aunque el régimen era formalmente una democracia, Rhee no dudase en usar a la policía y otros grupos para hacer fraude electoral a su favor. La manipulación política, el



crecimiento de la población urbana y alfabetizada junto al abuso policial y una falta de crecimiento económico, provocó que en abril 1960 y en el contexto de las elecciones vicepresidenciales surgiese una revolución popular que derrocó al gobierno de Rhee. El Movimiento del 19 de abril de 1960 fue el detonador del fin de la I República y el surgimiento de la segunda.

Tras el Movimiento del 19 de Abril, surgió un nuevo gobierno que redactó una nueva constitución de corte parlamentarista y que limitaba el poder del presidente de la república. La oposición a Rhee fue el sector político que capitalizó el éxito del Movimiento, pero políticamente no se diferenciaba demasiado de Rhee y sus colaboradores por situarse dentro del sector conservador-liberal. Esto hizo que el nuevo régimen se situase entre las demandas populares de cambios sustanciales y de calado hacia una política más progresista y las reticencias y resistencia del sector conservador-liberal al que pertenecía el propio gobierno. A pesar de las fuertes presiones que tuvo que soportar el gobierno, su caída no se debió a problemas internos, sino a un golpe militar.

El General Park Chung Hee (1961-1979) promovió un golpe militar dirigido a eliminar el gobierno de la II República. El golpe de estado del 16 de mayo de 1961 aupó al poder a una junta militar conocida como el Consejo Supremo para la Reconstrucción Nacional (1961-1963) y que Park presidía. Durante el gobierno militar Park declaró que su intención al dar dicho golpe de estado fue el de erradicar la corrupción y desarrollar económicamente el país. A cambio de prometer un gobierno civil, Park consiguió el apoyo de EE.UU. Con dicho apoyo, y el dinero obtenido por la firma del Tratado de Normalización con Japón y por la participación en la Guerra de Vietnam al lado de EE.UU., Park pudo financiar sus

ambiciosos planes de desarrollo quinquenales con los que desarrollar económicamente el país, obteniendo tasas de crecimiento anuales superiores al 7% del PIB.

En vísperas a la implementación del III Plan de Desarrollo Económico Quinquenal dirigido a la industrialización pesada y química, Park dirigió un golpe de estado interno con la promulgación de la Constitución Yusin en 1972. Esta constitución hacía de Park el gobernador vitalicio de la República de Corea, dándole el control de la Asamblea Nacional y enormes poderes ejecutivos. Dicho poder lo utilizó el presidente para controlar a la población y movilizarla en sus planes de desarrollo económico. Finalmente, y tras años de ciclos económicos de fuerte crecimiento en 1979 el gobierno se enfrentó con amplias movilizaciones de trabajadores en el sureste de la península, en torno a Pusan. Ante el aumento de los disturbios Park declaró la Ley Marcial el 18 de octubre de 1979, a pesar de lo cual las protestas crecieron y se diversificaron socialmente con la participación de estudiantes universitarios y profesionales liberales de clase media. En ese contexto, Park fue asesinado por su director de la Central de Inteligencia Coreana, Kim Jae-gyu.

Dentro de este contexto político la arqueología coreana fue desarrollándose y encontrando un espacio académico propio como disciplina autónoma. La arqueología en Corea llegó de la mano de investigadores japoneses a finales del s.XIX y posteriormente aumentaron con la declaración de Corea como colonia del Imperio Japonés. Un resultado colateral de ese proceso fue la obstrucción a académicos coreanos a participar en los múltiples proyectos arqueológicos realizados en la península durante el periodo colonial.

Durante el periodo colonial (1905-1945) algunos coreanos lograron formarse en universidades e instituciones del Imperio Japonés o fuera de él en disciplinas cercanas a la arqueología (historia, historia del arte, antropología, etc.) o directamente en arqueología. Esto



permitió que tras la Liberación en 1945 existiese un conjunto pequeño de académicos con ciertos conocimientos arqueológicos, pero sin experiencia de campo en excavaciones o prospecciones arqueológicas. Además de ese pequeño grupo de académicos, el periodo colonial legó a los distintos gobiernos de Corea del Sur un conjunto de instituciones, colecciones e interpretaciones sobre la arqueología coreana que fueron la base de la que partió la investigación posterior.

Los inicios de la arqueología en Corea del Sur se enmarcan dentro de una situación general de incertidumbre política, trauma y medios limitados. En 1945, tras la Liberación de Corea, Kim Chae-wŏn fue al museo colonial en Seúl para tomar posesión y proteger las colecciones hasta la organización de un esperado gobierno coreano. La división de la península, las influencias de las superpotencias y las disputas políticas entre los coreanos impidieron la conformación de un gobierno, pero consolidaron la transición del museo colonial a la nueva República de Corea, el gobierno formado en el sur de la península en 1948.

A partir de esta primera institución se fue poco a poco articulando un sistema institucional y profesional de académicos interesados en la investigación arqueológica. A su vez, académicos ajenos al museo fueron también interesándose en la disciplina y organizando sus propios instrumentos institucionales para poder dar expresión a esas inquietudes. La evolución de estas instituciones y la organización de los académicos interesados en la arqueología se pueden organizar históricamente en tres periodos. El primero abarcarían desde la Liberación de Corea en 1945 y la organización del Museo Nacional de Corea hasta la organización del Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Seúl en 1961, en el contexto de la Revolución del 19 de Abril de 1960 y el posterior golpe

de estado de Park Chung Hee. El segundo periodo empezaría en 1961 y continuaría hasta 1968, momento en que la política cultural del gobierno de Park Chung Hee se tradujo en un incremento muy importante del apoyo y la financiación prestada a la investigación arqueológica. Finalmente, el tercer periodo concluiría en 1979 con el asesinato de Park Chung Hee.

El primer periodo del desarrollo de la arqueología en Corea del Sur se plantea en el contexto de un nivel muy bajo de apoyo directo por parte del gobierno a la investigación arqueológica y el surgimiento en distintos centros de pequeñas comunidades de investigadores interesados en la arqueología. Además plantea una fuerte continuidad legislativa con respecto a la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico. El centro de investigación más importante y activo en este periodo fue el Museo Nacional de Corea (MNC a partir de ahora) bajo la dirección de Kim Chae-wŏn. Esta institución fue una plataforma para el desarrollo inicial de los estudios arqueológicos en Corea del Sur. Por una parte, a pesar de las limitaciones presupuestarias impuestas desde el presupuesto del gobierno, Kim fue capaz de captar gran cantidad de fondos internacionales para desarrollar una actividad excavadora nada desdeñable dadas las circunstancias. Esta actividad permitió formar un primer grupo de investigadores con experiencia de campo ligado al MNC y que se convertirá en un grupo fundamental dada su cercanía a las instituciones del gobierno reguladoras de la arqueología.

Este periodo también contempló como investigadores, normalmente asociados a universidades, empezaron a tomar interés en la investigación arqueológica y empezaron a dirigir sus propias investigaciones arqueológicas. En 1956, se llevó a cabo la primera excavación arqueológica que no dirigió el MNC. Un par de años más tarde esa iniciativa fue seguida por profesores de la Universidad Nacional de Seúl (1957), por la Universidad Koryo





(1959) o por la Universidad Nacional de Kyungpook (1960). De esta forma, se puede concluir que el periodo vio el nacimiento de la arqueología dentro de instituciones gubernamentales y extragubernamentales.

En este periodo, la gestión del patrimonio arqueológico se rigió por medio de las leyes promulgadas durante el periodo colonial, es decir la ley de Conservación de Tesoros, Sitios históricos, Paisajes y Monumentos Naturales de 1933, junto al Comité para la Conservación de Tesoros, Sitios históricos, Paisajes y Monumentos Naturales. Esta continuidad legal, hizo que determinadas visiones sobre el patrimonio arqueológico y su gestión continuasen en el periodo posterior a 1945.

El segundo periodo de desarrollo de la arqueología entre 1961 y 1968/9 viene marcado por la formación del primer departamento universitario dedicado a formar especialistas en arqueología, finalizando con un importante cambio de la política cultural del gobierno. 1961 vio la organización de dos instituciones muy importantes dentro de la arqueología coreana en este periodo de estudio, el antes señalado Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología y la Oficina de Bienes Culturales (OBC a partir de aquí). Además un año después 18 universidades organizaron la Asociación Coreana de Museos Universitarios, una institución dedicada a la promoción de la actividad científica y educativa de los museos universitarios, apoyando así también la actividad arqueológica fuera de instituciones gubernamentales.

El establecimiento del Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología supuso el primer órgano dedicado a la reproducción de la disciplina por medio de la educación de nuevos especialistas en la propia disciplina. De esta forma, fue muy importante para el crecimiento y consolidación de la arqueología como disciplina independiente. Kim Won-yong, antiguo investigador del MNC fue nombrado director del departamento en 1961 tras haberse

doctorado en la Universidad de Nueva York. Alrededor del Departamento Kim logró formar un grupo de jóvenes investigadores que posteriormente irían empleándose en otras instituciones e incluso formando a nuevos arqueólogos. Esta misión educativa fue posible desde muy temprano gracias a la colaboración de instituciones como el MNC, que colaboraron intensivamente en la formación de los estudiantes del departamento. El departamento también fue un centro de investigación activo que integró el trabajo de campo con la formación de los estudiantes desde muy pronto.

La OBC fue la respuesta gubernamental a la plétora de instituciones y oficinas disgregadas dedicadas a la gestión del diverso patrimonio natural y cultural en Corea del Sur. En 1961, el gobierno de Park Chung Hee ordenó una recentralización de distintas oficinas, departamentos e instituciones para conformar un órgano independiente bajo la dirección del Ministerio de Cultura y Educación. El resultado fue una institución con mayor presupuesto de gestión y con mayor capacidad de especialización dedicada a la gestión del patrimonio en general, incluyendo el arqueológico. Esta institución fue la responsable de redactar la nueva ley de Protección de Bienes Culturales de 1962 y que marcaría el marco legal de la protección patrimonial y la investigación arqueológica por extensión. Aunque esta ley significó una cierta continuidad sobre la visión del patrimonio cultural y su protección con respecto al periodo colonial, también ofreció ciertas novedades como el reconocimiento de que actores no gubernamentales llevaran a cabo excavaciones arqueológicas, previa solicitud al Comité para la Protección de Bienes Culturales, el comité que sucedió al Comité para la Conservación de Tesoros, Sitios históricos, Paisajes y Monumentos Naturales establecido en la ley de 1933.

La organización de la Asociación Coreana de Museos Universitarios representó el creciente interés por parte de investigadores ajenos al gobierno por el patrimonio material



coreano, y en particular por el patrimonio arqueológico. Este interés por mejorar y establecer museos universitarios vio en la arqueología como una vía para aumentar los fondos de dichos museos. A la vez, académicos interesados en arqueología vieron esas iniciativas como complementarias a sus propios intereses, si es que no eran ellos mismo los promotores iniciales del establecimiento de museos dentro de sus universidades o de su mayor actividad investigadora.

En conjunto este periodo observa una expansión e incipiente estructuración de la disciplina gracias al impulso regulador del gobierno y el creciente interés entre académicos fuera de las instituciones del gobierno. Sin embargo, el nivel de financiación accesible para los investigadores en instituciones del gobierno o en universidades es aún limitado, repercutiendo en la actividad investigadora del momento. Si bien es cierto, este periodo deja entrever un cierto cambio en la política cultural del gobierno hacia la arqueología que culminará en 1968.

El tercer periodo de referencia en esta investigación empieza con la reorganización de los ministerios a cargo del patrimonio cultural y el inicio de una serie de proyecto de gran calado científico y político en Pulguksa y Sökkuram, en los alrededores de Kyōngju. Estos proyectos administrativos y políticos marcan el punto de inflexión para el nivel de intervención gubernamental en el campo de la arqueología. A partir de este momento, el gobierno invertirá enormes recursos públicos en el desarrollo turístico de Kyōngju como ciudad turística a partir del reclamo de la ciudad como capital histórica del reino de Silla. Este proyecto significó una inversión constante durante 10 años por parte del gobierno en la excavación, reconstrucción y conservación de yacimientos arqueológicos en la ciudad de Kyōngju y alrededores. Además, el gobierno también aumentó su inversión en proyectos de

arqueología de urgencia relacionada con grandes proyectos de obras públicas como presas, complejos industriales o autovías. La conjunción de ambas circunstancias planteó una enorme disponibilidad de fondos para investigaciones arqueológicas en los ámbitos antes descritos. Esta nueva afluencia de fondos en la disciplina aumentó con la enmienda de la Ley de Bienes Culturales de 1973, en la que se obligaba a las empresas responsables de grandes movimientos de tierra a financiar las investigaciones arqueológicas pertinentes si se detectaban restos arqueológicos en el proceso. Todo esto dio un gran dinamismo a la disciplina.

El nuevo interés del gobierno en la arqueología respondía a una serie de intereses económicos y políticos que se tradujeron en la ampliación de los instrumentos de que disponía para llevar a cabo investigaciones arqueológicas. A nivel institucional esto significó la ampliación de las instituciones dedicadas a la investigación arqueológica dependientes del gobierno. Fuera de ese marco gubernamental, la mayor cantidad de fondos permitió que nuevos actores participasen del desarrollo de la arqueología.

En este periodo el entramado institucional del campo entró en su madurez con la organización de las primeras asociaciones profesionales de arqueólogos. En un principio, éstas nacieron como resultado de las conexiones académicas que los arqueólogos del campo mantenían entre ellas, desembocando en dos asociaciones: la Sociedad Arqueológica de Corea y la Asociación de Arqueología Coreana. Ambas terminaron en fundirse en la Sociedad para los Estudios Arqueológicos Coreanos, establecida en 1976 y hoy conocida por el nombre de Sociedad Arqueológica Coreana. Esta nueva organización profesional marca la consolidación de la disciplina, pues muestra a su vez la consolidación de una comunidad de investigadores sobre arqueología.



## **Objetivos de la tesis e hipótesis**

El objetivo de esta tesis consiste en el análisis de las principales estructuras de poder que conformaron el campo de la arqueología en Corea del Sur. Para ello se centra en el estudio de la institucionalización y profesionalización de la disciplina durante sus momentos formativos. Este objetivo y foco de atención se ha conceptualizado a partir de una serie de objetivos específicos de investigación que se plantean a continuación.

En primer lugar, la tesis se plantea cuál fue la situación de la disciplina antes de la Liberación de 1945, pues indicará cuál es el punto de partida para los primeros inicios de la arqueología coreana. En segundo lugar, se quiere definir cuáles fueron los mecanismos de influencia del gobierno sobre la tesis. A continuación, surge la pregunta de cómo desarrolló el gobierno instituciones dedicadas a la investigación arqueológico y en qué forma lo hizo. Esta tesis también cuestiona cuáles fueron las tendencias generales de investigación en términos de agentes involucrados, distribución cronológica y geográfica, así como periodos arqueológicos investigados. Después, se plantean los procesos relacionados con la construcción de una comunidad de investigadores interesados en arqueología y las dinámicas internas de poder dentro de la propia comunidad y muy centrado en la composición de redes de investigadores. Este estudio se plantea en base a las organizaciones sociales de los propios investigadores y el ecosistema de revistas académicas en las que se planteó el debate

arqueológico. El último objetivo de investigación se centra en las estructuras de poder dentro de redes de investigadores específicos.

Esta tesis defiende que la organización de la disciplina académica fue un proceso que se inició en 1945 con la Liberación de Corea y la transferencia de las antiguas estructuras coloniales a un gobierno coreano. A partir de este primer paso, los intereses del gobierno y de los investigadores de la disciplina confluyeron y chocaron a veces, hasta consolidar un campo autónomo de investigación arqueológica. De esta forma, se debe reconocer el impacto del gobierno en modelar la forma de dicho campo de investigación, pero también la iniciativa de los propios investigadores en plantear sus propios objetivos e intereses.

Sin embargo, no se puede plantear los intereses de las agencias gubernamentales implicadas, ni de los investigadores como homogéneos. Un estudio detallado de las distintas instituciones gubernamentales implicadas en arqueología demuestra una relación diferente con la administración del gobierno y con diferentes niveles de permeabilidad a la influencia del gobierno. Al mismo tiempo, un estudio de la comunidad de investigadores activos en arqueología plantea una estructuración del campo alrededor de redes de investigadores con distintas posiciones e internamente jerarquizados. Esta situación describe el campo de la arqueología como campo en donde existen múltiples posicionalidades para sus ocupantes en función de la cantidad de poder que pudiesen amasar.

Para llevar a cabo este estudio se han consultado una gran variedad de tipos documentales. La estructura legal de la arqueología se ha estudiado a partir de la base de datos en línea del Centro para la Transferencia Legal ([www.law.go.kr](http://www.law.go.kr)). Dentro de esta base de datos se han analizado especialmente las *Regulaciones para la Conservación de Tesoros, Sitios históricos, Paisajes Pintorescos y Monumentos Naturales* de 1933 y la ley de



Protección de Bienes Patrimoniales de 1962 y sus diferentes enmiendas y desarrollos legales en reglamentos o leyes paralelas. También se han estudiado las distintas organizaciones legales de las instituciones públicas estudiadas en esta tesis, particularmente las del Museo Nacional de Corea, la Oficina de Bienes Culturales y el Instituto Nacional de Investigación para Bienes Culturales.

También han sido muy usados los informes oficiales emitidos por instituciones públicas relacionadas con la arqueología en Corea. En especial, se han usado los distintos anuarios de actividades editados por el Museo Nacional de Corea, la Oficina de Bienes Culturales, el Instituto Nacional de Investigación para Bienes Culturales, la Universidad Nacional de Seúl, la Facultad de Humanidades de la Universidad Nacional de Seúl, el Departamento de Antropología de la Universidad Nacional de Seúl y la Asociación Coreana de Museos Universitario. Estos documentos han aportado importantes datos estructurales sobre las instituciones de las que trataban, aunque estaban muchas veces estructurados dentro de una narrativa acrítica y laudatoria que debía cuestionarse.

También se ha hecho un trabajo de archivo en el Rockefeller Archive Center que ha arrojado información externa para uno de los periodos más complejos del Museo Nacional de Corea y la arqueología coreana. Este archivo y la correspondencia que estableció el primer director del Museo, Kim Chae-wŏn, con la Fundación Rockefeller permiten ampliar la información sobre los primeros proyectos arqueológicos en Corea desde una visión diferente a la de los propios participante coreanos involucrados en el proceso.

Los informes arqueológicos publicados en la época también han sido muy importantes para plantear algunas de las condiciones en las que esos trabajos de campo fueron realizados. Junto. En especial se han usado los informes publicados por el Museo Nacional de Corea, la

Universidad Nacional de Corea, la Oficina de Bienes Culturales y el Instituto Nacional de Investigación para los Bienes Culturales. Además, gracias a estos informes se ha podido reconstruir algunas de las relaciones de colaboración que no quedaban claras en la base de datos de excavaciones *Palgul* *Yõnp'yo* (<http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566>). Esta base de datos ha sido fundamental para los análisis de las dinámicas de investigación en el campo.

También se han usado un importante cuerpo documental de revistas académicas relevantes para la arqueología en el periodo investigado. Las revistas analizadas en detalle han sido *Kwanbo* (1946-1949), *Misul Charyo* (1960-Today), *Kogomisul* (1960-Today) *Komunhwa* (1962-Today), *Munhwachae* (1965-Today), *Han'guk Kogo* (1967-1976), *Kogohak* (1968-1979), *Han'guk Kogohak Yõnpo* (1973-Today), *Han'guk Kogohakpo* (1976-Today). Además se han analizado en algunos periodos las revistas *Chindan Hakpo* (1934-hoy) y *Yõksa Hakpo* (1952-hoy). Estas revistas han sido estudiadas a partir de originales y por medio de la base de datos académica dbPia ([www.dbpia.co.kr](http://www.dbpia.co.kr)). La base de datos ha sido especialmente útil por los datos bibliográficos agregados que proporciona.

Finalmente todos estos documentos han sido contrastados con los distintos documentos biográficos y autobiográficos sobre los protagonistas de este proceso histórico, los primeros arqueólogos coreanos. Datos biográficos y textos autobiográficos sobre arqueólogos como Chi Kõn-gil, Ch'oe Mong-nyong, Kim Chae-wõn, Kim Chõng-gi, Kim Chõng-hak, Kim Won-yong, Lee Nanyõng, Son Po-gi, Yun Mu-byõng and Yun Sae-yõng han sido fundamentales durante la investigación de esta tesis.



## Capítulos

La organización de este estudio se organiza en seis capítulos centrados cada uno en uno de los objetivos concretos de investigación antes señalados. El primer capítulo analiza los orígenes coloniales de la disciplina en la Península de Corea. Primero presenta las principales instituciones encargadas de llevar a cabo investigación arqueológica, para repasar después los principales investigadores involucrados en investigación arqueológica en Corea. A partir de dicho análisis, se quiere plantear las principales influencias disciplinares que lideraron el establecimiento de la arqueología en Corea. Además se consideran los trasfondos formativos de los primeros intelectuales coreanos involucrados con la arqueología, mostrando como existe una relación formativa con algunas instituciones educativas japonesas, pero también extranjeras, principalmente del mundo germano-parlante. De esta forma, se presentan el legado colonial con respecto a la estructura sociopolítica de la arqueología para el periodo posterior a 1945.

El segundo capítulo evalúa los términos de relación entre el gobierno tras la Liberación y los arqueólogos en relación a la investigación arqueológica. Este capítulo muestra una relación compleja entre ambos estamentos, creando un espacio de relaciones en los que se confunden los límites del gobierno y la comunidad de investigadora. A partir de las relaciones de los agentes investigadores con el gobierno se puede plantear una estructura de tres niveles. El primer nivel representaría a los actores que son parte del gobierno al estar agrupados en instituciones directamente dependientes del gobierno. El segundo nivel representa los agentes investigadores que sin pertenecer a la estructura gubernamental fueron movilizados por éste para participar en distintos proyectos de investigación que representaban los

objetivos del gobierno. Finalmente el tercer nivel representa a los agentes investigadores que sin ser parte del gobierno no participaron de los proyectos promocionados por éste. Esta estructura evolucionó a lo largo del tiempo, desde un momento en el que el gobierno mostró un interés en la disciplina muy limitado, siendo el número de miembros en el primer y segundo nivel bastante reducidos. A partir de 1968, se aprecia un aumento substancial del interés del gobierno, aumentando el número de agentes en el primer y segundo nivel. Algunos de esos agentes provenían del tercer nivel y fueron movilizados bajo los proyectos gubernamentales, mientras que otros solo aparecieron en el campo gracias a esos mismos proyectos gubernamentales. En base a estos tres niveles se aprecian también distintas estrategias de conservación con consecuencias a largo plazo para la investigación arqueológica en Corea. Este capítulo presenta los principales instrumentos por los que el gobierno pudo influir en el campo, y los límites de dichos instrumentos para influir en él. Además, este capítulo plantea los desequilibrios entre los agentes investigadores dentro de la disciplina, mostrando como unos fueron capaces de usar sus relaciones con el gobierno para favorecer sus intereses investigadores.

El tercer capítulo plantea un estudio pormenorizado sobre la evolución institucional de las principales instituciones investigadoras en arqueología y más relacionadas con el gobierno. Este estudio se centra en la historia del Museo Nacional de Corea, la Oficina de Bienes Culturales, el Instituto Nacional de Investigación para Bienes Culturales y el Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Seúl. El estudio histórico de estas instituciones a través de distintas fases históricas permite comprender la lógica detrás del crecimiento, especialización y tipo de relación con el gobierno, mostrando una imagen más heterogénea de las instituciones del gobierno.



El cuarto capítulo estudia las tendencias generales de investigación a partir del análisis de los intervenciones arqueológicas realizadas tal y como están registradas en la base de datos *Palgul Yŏnp'yo* (Anuario de Excavaciones). Esta base de dato permite realizar un análisis de la distribución cronológica, geográfica y por periodo arqueológico investigado. Estos vectores de análisis permiten ver qué actores fueron los más activos en la disciplina y en que momento. También permiten mostrar las áreas que recibieron mayor atención por parte de los investigadores y qué periodos fueron más investigados por cada agente. A partir de estos estudios es posible estudiar patrones de investigación individualizados. Este capítulo refuerza la idea de un campo de investigación altamente desequilibrado y permite ver también el impacto de los cambios en la política cultural del gobierno, especialmente a partir de 1968.

El quinto capítulo presenta un estudio sobre la formación de la comunidad de practicantes de arqueología tratando la composición social y su organización y la conformación de un espacio comunicativo propio para la arqueología. La primera parte del capítulo se centra en analizar los orígenes de los primeros arqueólogos y los distintos movimientos asociacionistas entre ellos. Este estudio demuestra la existencia de al menos dos grandes redes de académicos conformando la disciplina, uno que podría ser definido como la red del Museo Nacional de Corea-Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología de la Universidad de Seúl, y la otra centrada en torno a la Universidad Koryo, la Universidad Sungsil y la Universidad Kyung Hee. La segunda parte del capítulo traza la evolución de las revistas académicas centradas en arqueología. Este estudio muestra cómo se empezó en un ambiente de muy baja especialización, en donde los artículos sobre arqueología se publicaban junto a artículos de otras disciplinas y como hubo un proceso de especialización en la temática que llevó hacia un periodo centrado en artículos sobre cultura material (1960-1967) hasta desembocar en un periodo en donde la arqueología ya tenía su espacio propio de



comunicación académica desde 1968. Además el estudio de este ecosistema de revistas académicas muestra como las redes académicas quedaban reflejadas también en distintas revistas hasta la conformación de una única asociación profesional en 1976 conocida como la Sociedad para los Estudios de Arqueología Coreana. Este capítulo plantea así las estructuras básicas que organizaron la comunidad de practicantes durante el proceso de profesionalización de la arqueología coreana.

El sexto capítulo plantea un estudio más pormenorizado de la red de académicos centrados en el Museo Nacional de Corea y el Departamento de Antropología y Arqueología en la Universidad Nacional de Seúl. Este capítulo analiza cómo los títulos universitarios fueron mecanismos eficaces en la profesionalización de la arqueología, permitiendo la formación de nuevos que podían integrarse rápidamente en la disciplina. Pero también muestra cómo la estructura jerárquica de títulos desde el grado hasta el doctorado también jerarquizaba la comunidad de graduados del departamento. En este sentido, la capacidad de algunos de ellos para conectar con miembros establecidos de una red académica les permitía un rápido ascenso en sus carreras profesionales. En el caso de las mujeres, hay indicios que parecen indicar a cierta discriminación, aunque este capítulo concluye la necesidad de mayor investigación a este respecto para concluir definitivamente dicha discriminación. Este capítulo concluye como los títulos universitarios ayudaban a la profesionalización de la disciplina, pero también la estructuraban. También demuestra que la red académica entorno al departamento estaba organizada en niveles jerárquicos. En resumen la tesis ha demostrado como la arqueología coreana se conformó en disciplina gracias a la confluencia de varias dinámicas de poder.



## Annex 1 Members of the Sub-Committee 1 for Cultural Heritage

Cultural Heritage Administration, *Munhwachaech'öng 50nyonsa. Charyop'yön* (Taejön: Cultural Heritage Administration, 2011): 911-912

1952	1955	1960	1962
Hö Chün-su, Ko Hui-dong, Kwon Sang-no, Kim Chae-wön, Sö Chae-sin, Son Chae-hyöng, Sin Ku-yöng, O Chong-sik, Lee Kyun-sang, Lee Byöng-do, Lee Sang-baek, Lee Chong-uk, Lee Chong-yuk, Lee Hong-jik, Im Myöng-chik, Chön Hyöng-p'il, Chi Söng-man, Ch'oe Böm-sul, Hwang Su-yöng	Ko Hui-dong, Kim Sang-gi, Kim Yang-sön, Kim Chae-wön, Son Chae-hyöng, Lee Kyun-sang, Lee Byöng-do, Lee Sang-baek, Lee Yong-hui, Lee Hong-jik, Chön Hyöng-p'il, Hwang Su-yöng	Ko Hui-dong, Kim Sang-gi, Kim Chae-wön, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Kyöng-süng, Kim Du-jong, Kim Wong-yong, Kim Chong-yöng, Kim Chung-öp, Sö Chöndök, Sin Sök-ho, Yu Hong-yöl, Lee Sun-sök, Chang U-söng, Chön Hyöng-p'il, Hwang Su-yöng	Kim Sang-gi, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Du-chong, Kim Chung-öp, Hwang Su-yöng, Kim Chaewön, Kim Won-yong and Lee Sang-baek
1963	1966	1969	1971
Kim Sang-gi, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Du-chong, Kim Chung-öp, Hwang Su-yöng, Kim Chaewön, Kim Won-yong and Lee Sang-baek, Kim Yun-gi	Kim Sang-gi, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Yun-gi and Kim Won-yong, Bae Kil-gi, Bae Ryöm, Chöng In-guk, Cho Myöng-gi, Choi Hui-sun and Chin Hüng-söp	Kim Sang-gi, Kim Won-yong, Kim Yu-sön, Kim Yu-gi, Son Po-gi, Lee Hong-jik, Cho Myöng-gi, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'oi Hui-sun, Hong I-söp	Lee Sön-kün, Cho Myöng-gi, Kim Yu-sön, Son Po-gi, Lee Ki-baek, Im Ch'ang-sun, Chön In-guk, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'oi Hui-sun
1973	1975	1977	1979
Lee Sön-kün, Kim Won-yong, Kim Yun-sön, Kim Ch'öl-jun, Im Ch'ang-sun, Chöng In-guk, Cho Myöng-gi, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'oi	Lee Sön-kün, Kim Won-yong, Kim Yu-sön, Kim Ch'öl-jun, Im Ch'ang-sun, Chöng In-guk, Ch Myöng-gi, Chin Hong-söp, Ch'oi	Lee Sön-kün, Kim Du-jong, Kim Won-yong, Chöng Kyöng-un, Ch'oi Hui-sun, Hwang Su-yöng	Lee Sön-kün, Kim Du-jong, Kim Su-kün, Kim Won-yong, Kim Ch'öl-jun, Im Ch'ang-sun, Ch'oi Yöng-hui, Ch'oi Hui-sun, Hwang Su-yöng



Hũi-sun, Hwang Su-yŏng	Hũi-sun, Hwang Su-yŏng		
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## Annex 2: Main Korean and Japanese archaeologists and historians

An Ch'un-pae	안춘배	安春培
An Sŭng-chu	안승주	安承周
Arimitsu Kyoichi		有光教一
Ch'oe Mong-nyong	최몽룡	崔夢龍
Ch'oe Mu-jang	최무장	崔茂藏
Ch'oe Suk-kyŏng	최숙경	
Ch'oe Sun-u	최순우	崔淳雨
Chin Hong-sŏp	진홍섭	秦弘燮
Cho Kŏn-gil	조건길	
Cho Yu-jŏn	조유전	
Chŏn Yŏng-rae	전영내	全榮來
Chŏng Ching-wŏn	정징원	鄭澄元
Chŏng Yŏng-ho	정영호	鄭永鎬
Chŏng Yŏng-hwa	정영화	鄭永和
Do Yu-ho	도유호	
Fujita Ryōsaku		藤田亮策
Hamada Kōsaku		濱田耕作
Han Byŏng-sam	한병삼	韓炳三
Han Hŭng-su	한흥수	



Harada Yoshito		原田淑人
Hwang Su-yǒng	황수영	黃壽永
Hwang Yong-hun	황용훈	
Im Ch'ǒn	임천	林泉
Im Hyo-jae	임효재	任孝宰
Im P'yǒng-t'ae	임평태	
Imanishi Ryū		今西龍
Kan In-gu	강인구	姜仁求
Kim Byǒng-mo	김병모	
Kim Chae-wǒn	김재원	金元龍
Kim Chǒng-bae	김정배	金貞培
Kim Chong-ch'ŏl	김종철	
Kim Chǒng-gi	김정기	金正基
Kim Chǒng-hak	김정학	金廷鶴
Kim Ki-ung	김기웅	
Kim Kwan-su	김관수	
Kim Tong-ho	김동호	金東鎬
Kim Won-yong	김원용	金元龍
Kim Yǒng-ha	김영하	金英夏
Ko Hwa-suk	고화숙	
Kuroita Katsumi		黑板勝美





Lee Chung-Kŏn	이중건	
Lee Ho-kwan	이호관	李浩官
Lee Hong-jik	이홍직	李弘植
Lee In-suk	이인숙	
Lee Nan-yŏng	이난영	李蘭暎
Lee Ŭn-ch'ang	이은창	李殷昌
Lee Yung-jo	이용조	
Mun Myŏng-dae	문명대	文明大
Oda Shōgo		小田省吾
Park Yong-jin	박용진	朴容鎔
Sekino Tadashi		関野貞
Shiratori Kurakichi		白鳥庫吉
Sŏ Kap-nok	서갑록	
Son Chin-t'ae	손진태	
Son Po-gi	손보기	孫寶基
Song Sŏk-pŏm	송석범	
Torii, Ryūzō		鳥居龍藏
Tsuboi Shōgorō		坪井正五郎
Umehara Sueji		梅原末治
Yagi Sōzaburō		八木奘三郎
Yu In-cha	유인자	



Yun Mu-byōng

윤무병

尹武炳

Yun Sae-yōng

윤세영

Yun Yong-jin

윤용진

尹容鎭



### Annex 3 Photos



Figure 19 NMK staff meeting 1950-1953. From left to right: Chin Hong-sop, Ryu Si-chong, Ch'oe Sun-u, Im Ch'on, Kim Sang-ik, Kim Chae-won, Chu Nak-chang, Kim Won-yong, Kim Ho-t'ak, Hong Sa-jun, Park Il-hun. Kim Chae-wön, *Pangmulgwan Kwa Hanp'yöngsaeng*, 135



Figure 20 Chönan Duchöngnip Chari, 1963. From left to right: Yun Mu-byong, Kim Chae-won, Arimitsu Kyoichi, Lee Nan-yong, Kim Chong-gi. Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe and eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön*, 93



Figure 21 Ch'unch'ön Ch'önc'hönni Dolmen Excavation 1965. From left to right: Cho Dong-göl, Lee Kön-sang, Son Byöng-hön, Kim Chöng-gi. Son Po-gi and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe and eds., *Ilgop Wöllo Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön*, 97



Figure 22 Andong Cho T'apdong Tomb, 1969. From left to right: Chi Kǒn-gil, Lee Yǒng-sun, Pyǒng Yǒn-sop, Im Hŭi-suk, Kim Byǒng-mo. Chi Kǒn-gil, *Kogohak Kwa Pangmulgwan Kŭrigo Na: Chi Kǒn-Gil Chǒn Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwanjang Ŭi Pangmulgwan Hoegorok*, 19



Figure 23 Ch'unch'on Soyang Dam Excavation 1971. Chi Kon-gil, Ku Ch'ol-hui, Ch'oe Mong-nyong. Chi Kǒn-gil, *Kogohak Kwa Pangmulgwan Kŭrigo Na: Chi Kǒn-Gil Chǒn Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwanjang Ŭi Pangmulgwan Hoegorok*, 25



Figure 24 Kyongju Hwangnamdong Tomb N°155, 1973. From left to right: Nam Si-ji, Chi Kŏn-gil, Ch'oe Byŏng-hŏn, Park Chi-myŏng, Kim Chŏng-gi, So Sŏng-ok, Kim Dong-hyŏn, Yun Kŭn-il Chi Kŏn-gil, *Kogohak Kwa Pangmulgwan Kŭrigo Na: Chi Kŏn-Gil Chŏn Kungnip Chungang Pangmulgwanjang Ŭi Pangmulgwan Hoegorok*, 43

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