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Resurrecting the Ruins of Japan's Mythical Homelands: Colonial Archaeological Surveys in the Korean Peninsula and Heritage Tourism

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The development of Japanese archaeology as a field discipline paralleled territorial expansion and the establishment of modern cultural institutions, such as museums and cultural preservation committees, not only in Japan but also in its colonies. The first modern-era heritage legislation was introduced during the Meiji era (1868–1911) when Japan's newly established Education Ministry and Exposition Office imported classifications systems, museum inventories, and exhibition formats from Europe. Following the Japanese occupation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910, the Colonial Government-General Office in Korea (CGK 1910–1945) sponsored the first systematic archaeological surveys to be carried out in the empire (Table 7.1). The Korean Peninsula was the only Japanese colony where the colonial government and academics spent more than four decades conducting annual surveys and nationwide excavations, building museums, and launching massive tourist restoration projects ranging from burial mounds to Buddhist temples and palaces (Pai 1994, 2000). Here, I have only space enough to introduce the major archaeological discoveries made by the first generation of professionally trained archaeologists, ethnologists, and art historians who were sent to conduct fieldwork in Korea at the turn of the century. Their archaeological discoveries between 1900 and 1915 were critical in the creation of the CGK Committee on Korean Antiquities and the promulgation of the first comprehensive set of archaeological heritage management laws in the peninsula. I then discuss the pivotal role that print media, from picture postcards to travel guidebooks, played in the dissemination of archaeological information targeted toward Japanese tourists as

Table 7.1 Chronology of Heritage Management in Japan and Korea (Fieldwork, Disciplines, Institutions, and Tourist Industry)

1874 .5	Meiji government bans excavations of legendary "burial mounds" and sacred sites.
1884	The Tokyo Anthropological Society is established at Tokyo University (prehistoric archaeology specimens deposited).
1887	Japan's racial origins debate begins: Ainu vs. Prehistoric Koro-pok-guru (Pre-Ainu).
1888	Imperial Office sets up office in charge of preliminary survey of treasures.
1893	Tokyo Imperial University Anthropological Society establishes specimens laboratory under Tōrii Ryūzō.
1895	Sino-Japanese War. Torii undertakes first survey of Taiwan and Manchuria. Preservation Laws governing Temples and Shrines are promulgated. Government takes over the management and preservation of nationally registered art, artifacts, and documents belonging to temples and shrines (beginning of national treasures system).
1901	Yagi, Sōzaburō sent to conduct first archaeological survey of the Korean Peninsula.
1902	Sekino Tadashi is sent by Tokyo University to survey art and architecture in Korea.
1904	Keifu-sen [Pusan-Seoul] Railways Line is completed.
1906	Imanishi Ryū surveys Keishū (Kyŏngju) Silla capital in southwest Korea.
1907	Excavations of Kimhae Shellmound in Korea are undertaken by Imanishi Ryū.
1908	Yi Royal Museum, zoo, and botanical garden are built in Ch'anggyŏng-won, Keijō [Seoul].
1910	Annexation of Korea.
1911	Colonial Governor-General commissions Tōrii Ryūzō to conduct first systematic survey of prehistoric archaeological remains and ethnographic surveys. The Shiseki Meisho Tennenkinnenbutsu Hozonkai [Historic Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments Protection Committee] is established in Japan.
1911	Temples Protection Act is promulgated in the Korean Peninsula by the Colonial Governor-General.
1912. 3. 12	Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) is established at Tokyo Railway Station and is the first bureau to issue a pamphlet printed in English (2,000 copies) and French (3,000 copies)
1912. 11-12.	JTB sets up branches in Dalian at South Manchuria Railroad office (SMR), Keijō (Chōsen Railways office), and Taipei office (Taiwan Railways)
1912	Reconstruction of Sŏkkuram funded by the Colonial Governor-General begins.
1913. 6. 10	*Tourist* is published as a bimonthly magazine with bilingual (English/Japanese) articles.
1914.1	English maps of Keijō, Dalian, and Formosa (3,000 copies) are distributed.
1914. 2	JTB agents/branches are set up in 30 locations around the world.
1914. 10	The Keijō Chōsen Hotel, managed by the Chōsen Railways, is established.
1915.2	JIR "through" pass is offered, linking ship and rail services to Manchuria/Chōsen, sold at Tokyo train station branch (up to 30% discounted tickets valid for six months).

Table 7.1 (*continued*) Chronology of Heritage Management in Japan and Korea (Fieldwork, Disciplines, Instituions, and Tourist Industry)

1915.8	Kŭmgangsan Station Hotel opens in Onjŏngni in North Korea.
1915.12	The Colonial Governor-General Fine Arts Museum is established in Kyŏngboggung Palace.
1916	Colonial Governor-General Committee for the Investigations of Ancient Remains and Relics [Chōsen Koseki Chosa ininkai] is established. Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics are promulgated. These are the first comprehensive preservation laws governing art and archaeological remains, predating Japan by three years. Measurement are taken of Kyŏngju Hwangyongsa temple remains and Sach'ŏnwangsa temple, Chŏlla-namdo Songgwangsa temple. Koguryŏ tombs in Jian are investigated by Sekino Tadashi.
1918	Major reconstruction of Pulguksa begins; Colonial Governor-General Construction department takes eight years.
1918	Kyŏngju Silla tombs excavated (by Kuroita Katsumi and Harada Yoshito).
1921	Kyŏngju Museum is established.
1926	Chōsen Manchuria Office sets up in Tokyo, Shimonoseki, and Shinjuku stations.
1926	Kyŏngju branch museum is established; Keijō tram service begins.
1932	Chōsen Hotel Company is formed to run former Chosen Railways hotels: Keijō Chōsen, Fusan Station, Shingishu Station, Kumgangsan Onjŏngni, Changanri, Keijō station restaurant, and train restaurants.
1943	JTB shuts down branches due to the expansion of the Pacific War.

well as foreigners. Colonial-era tourist publications featuring Korea's ancient remains *(koseki)* and customs *(fūzoku)* and advertising the peninsula as the most "historically scenic" destination transformed the colony into the most popular Japanese tourist destination in the 1920s and 1930s. Since the end of the Pacific War in 1945, many South Korean archaeologists have continued to condemn the prewar-era Japanese archaeologists' activities as "systematic plunder," without understanding why and how ruins and relics were reclaimed as part of "Japanese racial and imperial heritage" in the colonial era.[1]

Empire Building, Heritage Management, and Field Research in Northeast Asia

Cultural nationalism focusing on emperor worship *(tennosei)* and divine imperial sovereignty (*kokutai*) were the two main ideological forces dictating the direction of the prewar Japanese government's legislation of museum antiquities, temples, shrines, and legendary burial mounds *(kofun)*. Kofun sites became the earliest targets of government regulations because the Imperial Household Agency *(Kunaichō)* appropriated them as sacred national symbols (*seiseki*) vouching for the unbroken succession of emperors since mythical times *(kami jidai)*. Fabricated monuments and imperial tombs dedicated to successive mythical founding emperors soon became the main political stage upon which the Meiji emperor, as a living deity, performed reenacted ancient rituals.[2] The Meiji government banned unlawful excavations of all "imperial mounds," real or legendary, in 1874 so as to ward off any contentious claims to state ownership of imperial burials, which became indispensable in legitimizing the new imperial order for both domestic consumption and the world media (Fujitani 1996; Suzuki and Takagi 2000; Takagi 1997). The Ministry of Education and the Interior Ministry began sponsoring nationwide art and architectural surveys in the 1880s in order to create a "national" registry (*taichō dōroku*) so they could monitor the circulation of the buried properties, antiquities, documents, and buildings to prevent looting and smuggling by antiquity dealers and collectors. University-trained specialists such as art historians, architects, and archaeologists were hired for the first time to identify, authenticate, document, and collect antiquities to be displayed at international expositions and imperial museums as "national treasures" for all to see and learn about (Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 1976). By 1899, the Imperial Household Agency reigned over a trio of state institutions: the Education Ministry; the three imperial museums (*teishitsu hakubutsukan*) in Tokyo, Nara, and Kyoto; and the Tokyo Imperial University–based Anthropological Society Laboratory (Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai 1884–present). They were charged with micromanaging "national properties," from the issuing of excavation permits to registering and monitoring the circulation of antiquities and the preservation of imperial palaces, temples, and shrines. The state monopoly over all aspects of heritage administration and limited access to archaeological sites and research collections resulted in the dearth of stratigraphic excavations, severely impeding the progress of scientific field archaeology in Japan (Teshigawara 1995).

Field opportunities first opened up in Taiwan, Korea, Northeast China, and the Russian Maritime Provinces following Japan's military victories over Qing China and Russia in the Sino-Japanese (1894–1895) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904–1905). In 1895, the Tokyo University–based Tokyo Anthropological Society (Tokyo Jinrui Gakkai) became the first learned society given permission by the Meiji government and colonial army officials to conduct art/archaeological surveys and ethnographic expeditions outside their borders (Sakazume 1997).[3] Tsuboi Shōgorō (1863–1913), who was a world traveler, polymath, and charismatic founder of the Anthropological Society (1884–present), supervised the first graduates of the Anthropological Specimens Laboratory (Pai 2004). The young, ambitious students he sent to Korea, China, Taiwan, and inner Asia in the early 1900s, such as Yagi Sōzaburō (1866–1942), Imanishi Ryū (1875–1932), and Torii Ryūzō (1870–1953), represented an entirely new breed of field scholars, trained in the imported disciplines of prehistoric archaeology and biological and physical sciences (Matsumura 1934). Torii Ryūzō's wide-ranging ethnographic surveys all over Asia also resulted in the accumulation of archaeological and ethnographic collections of sherds, stone tools, and weapons, which were required by Meiji buried properties laws to be deposited at the Tokyo University anthropological laboratory, the predecessor to the current University Museum of Tokyo (Akazawa 1991; Akazawa et al. 1993). Torii's vast collection of ethnographic and prehistoric materials, now housed at Tokyo University and the National Museum of Ethnology in Osaka, reflects some 60 years of continuous fieldwork inside and outside of Japan. He was also the first Japanese anthropologist to take a camera into the field in 1896. He recorded thousands of glass plate images of megalithic tombs, stone cist graves, and racial portraits of Indigenous peoples from Siberia, Mongolia, Taiwan, and South China (Pai 2009). By the 1910s, these field collections from the colonies constituted the primary "scientific" evidence for understanding the much debated origins of the Japanese race (*Jinshūron*) and civilization (Hudson 1999; Kudō 1979).

Reclaiming "Imperial Ruins" in Colonial Korea (1900–1945)

In the search for archaeological evidence for the origins of Japanese civilization, the Korean Peninsula became the field of choice even before the official annexation of the Korean Peninsula in 1910 (Mokuyō Club 2003). Sekino Tadashi (1867–1935), a Tokyo Imperial University–trained architect, was sent to Korea in 1902 by Tokyo Imperial University (Figure 7.1). He was at the time the most well-trained and experienced field researcher, since in 1897 he had already conducted field surveys of temples and shrines in Nara (710–784), Japan's oldest recorded imperial capital (Hirōse 2003). Though on his first trip he spent only two summer months in the field, he managed to visit, sketch, and photograph all the known ruins located at the former dynastic capitals of Keishū (Kyŏngju), Kaijō (Kaesŏng), Heijō (P'yŏngyang), and Keijō (Seoul). On his return, his prodigious results were published by the Tokyo University Engineering College Research Reports in 1904. This report, entitled *Kangoku Chosa Hokoku*, consisted of 250 pages filled with descriptions, sketches, and photographs of Korean art and architecture, including hundreds of tombs, sculpture, temples, gates, palace buildings, and royal burials (Sekino 1904). Impressed by Sekino's spectacular results, the newly appointed Colonial Resident-General of Korea, Itō Hirobumi (1841–1909), commissioned Sekino and his three assistants to rank 569 heritage remains, sites or artifacts (Sekino 1919), following the same criteria devised for the 1897 preservation laws for Japan's National Treasures *(Kokuhō)* worthy of preservation and protection: (1) *kō:* artwork designated as possessing "superior workmanship" *(saisaku yūshū)*; (2) *ōtsu:* objects reflecting historical origins and legendary accounts *(yūisho)*; and (3) *hei:* remains that can serve as historical evidence (Bunkachō 1997: 197–215).

Korea's archaeological finds were officially registered as Japan's imperial possessions with the 1916 Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics of

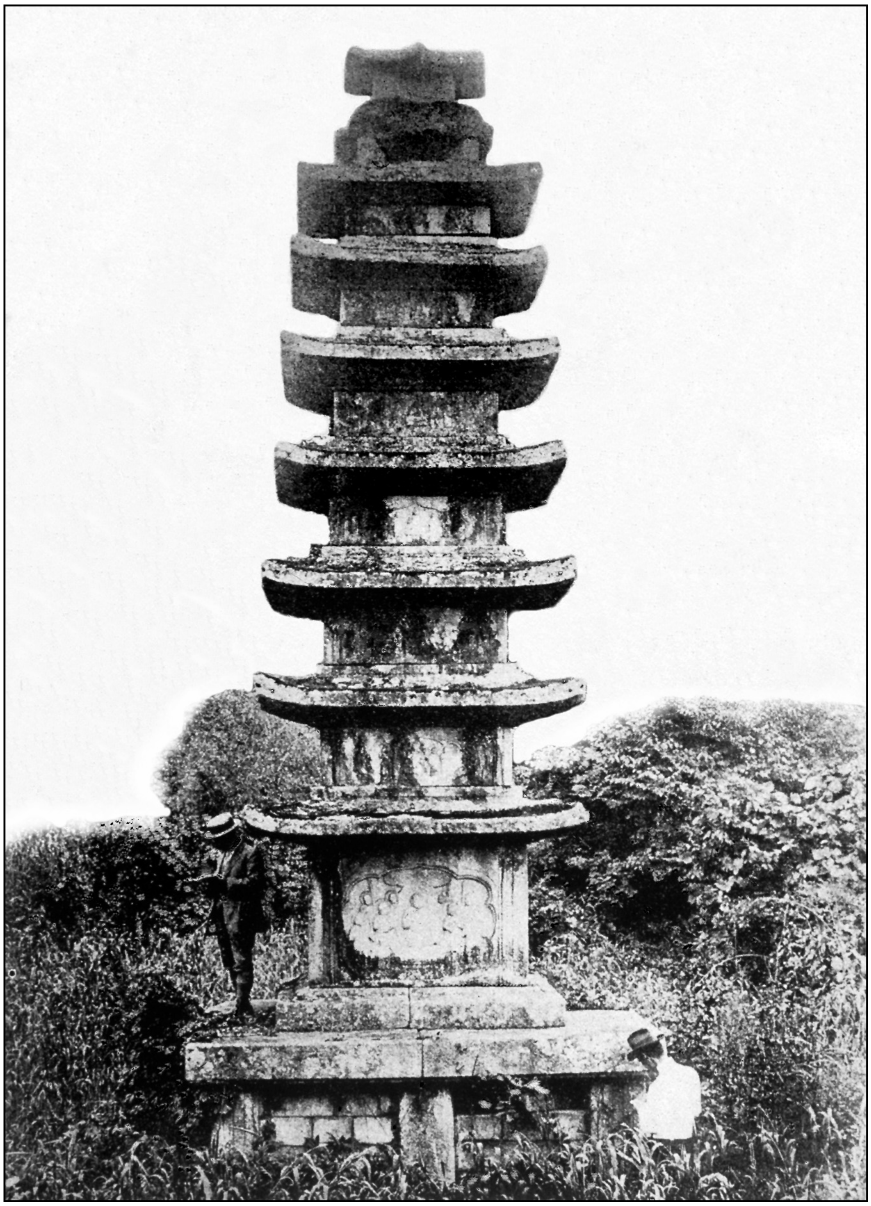

Figure 7.1 Professor Sekino Tadashi of Tokyo Imperial University surveying pagodas in Korea (ca. 1932).

Chōsen (*Koseki oyobi ibutsu hozon kitei*) (CGK 1924). As the first comprehensive archaeological heritage management laws to be promulgated in the empire, they were applied to Korea three years before they were reenacted in Japan.[4] This act was accompanied by the formation of the Committee on the Investigation of Korean Antiquities (*Chōsen Koseki Chosa Ininkai*), which was charged with overseeing the administration of the 1916 laws, ranging from the investigation of archaeological remains to the planning of exhibitions, the preservation and reconstruction of monuments, the registration of national remains, and the publications of their research activities (Pai 2001). The Colonial Governor-General Museum, the first fine arts museum in Korea, also opened on December 1, 1915, in a new Western-style building erected on the grounds of the former Yi Dynasty's (1392–1910) royal palace of Kyŏngboggung, situated in the heart of Seoul (Chŏn 1999).

The 1916 laws were also instrumental in classifying which Korean remains were to be considered for registration, preservation, and research. The first article defined "koseki" (ancient remains) as prehistoric sites containing shell mounds and implements made of stone, bone, and horn; as well as subterranean dwellings, ancient tombs, town fortresses, palaces, barricades, barrier gates, station posts, stages for setting signal fires (beacons), sites of government offices, sites of shrines, mausolea, temples, ruins of ceramic industry (kilns), old battlefields, and other ruins; and also sites associated with historical facts. The category of "ibutsu" (relics) encompassed old pagodas, stele, bells, stone and metal images of Buddha, flagpole supporters, stone lanterns, and other artifacts that may have historical, artistic, and archaeological value (Sekino 1931: 7)

The CGK was also heavily involved in publicizing their discoveries of "Korea's thousand-year old ruins," not only for scholars but also for the citizens of the empire at large (CGK 1915: 1). The CGK raised money from a wide variety of public and private sources—including the Imperial Household Agency, CGK Museum, and the Yi Royal Household Agency, to name the most prominent few—to fund excavation budgets, purchase the latest photographic equipment, hire professional photographers and sketch artists, and provide publication subsidies.[5] Consequently, even by today's standards, these CGK-published annual excavations reports (CGK 1918–1937, 1919–1930), museum exhibition catalogs (CGK 1918–1941), and photo album series featuring monumental ruins (CGK 1915–1935), are striking in the number as well as technical quality of photographs, colored maps, and artifact drawings, surpassing any other contemporary publications available for Japan's remains. The CGK's contributions to the field of archaeology were eventually recognized, even among nonspecialists, as superior in methodology, excavation technique, and state-of-the-art equipment and achieved international acclaim (Reischauer 1939).[6]

The main political objective of the CGK in promoting architectural surveys and touting Korea's ancient discoveries to a world audience was clearly articulated in the preface to the first volume of the *Album of Korean Antiquities* (*Chōsen Koseki Zufu*) published in 1915 (CGK 1915–1935). The preface begins with a declaration of how the 1910 annexation of Korea as part of the Japanese Empire became the catalyst for launching the first systematic surveys of the peninsula. It also states that the CGK's assigned mission was the "recovery" of "historical proof" (*rekishi chokyo*) and "artistic models" (*bijutsu no mohan*) "hidden amongst the mysteries of the past" (CGK 1915, Vol. 1: 1). Though it is never mentioned explicitly whose past the CGK editorial team is describing, it is implied that the remains from Korea were reclaimed as empirical evidence for tracing the continental origins of Japanese art and civilization (Pai 2006). This is because, unlike in Japan, where the Imperial Household Agency had imposed censorship by restricting access to protected sites or research collections, the archaeological materials from Korea were excavated stratigraphically and preserved in situ (Yoshii 2006). The published works, biographies, and autobiographies penned by prominent colonial-era archaeologists and art historians—such as Sekino Tadashi (1868–1942), Hamada Kōsaku (1881– 1938), Umehara Sueji (1893–1983), Harada Yoshito (1885–1974), and Fujita Ryōsaku (1892–1960—as well as my interview session with the last surviving CGK-employed archaeologist, Arimitsu Kyōichi (1907–present), support the CGK's official stance that the preservation and restoration of Korean remains represented the high point of Japanese cultural administration in Korea (Pai 2000; Mokuyō Club 2003).[7]

Advertising Common Ancestral Terrains: Imperialists' Nostalgia, Archaeological Photography, and Tourism in the Empire

Images of the monumental ruins of pyramids and temples of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and India have captured the imagination of colonialists, commercial photographers, scholars, tour operators, and tourists for more than two centuries (Lyons et al. 2005; MacCannell 1976; Pelizarri 2003). Similarly, beginning at the turn of the century, Korea's "picturesque" remains served as the favorite backdrop for commemorative group photos, including official visits by foreign dignitaries, imperial family members, colonial administrators, heads of multinational corporations, missionaries, and organized tour groups. Clearly, for both photographers and paying customers there was an "irresistible" pull of the romance of ruins (Roth 1997). Commercial photographers, as businessmen first and artists second, were keenly aware that visually striking and attractive settings, whether natural or exotic landscapes manufactured in the studio, sold prints and postcards (Ryan 1997). In the case of Korea, the most widely manufactured, collected, and mailed tourist postcards representing "local color" (*fūzoku*) were images of peasant women, cute children, and *kisaeng* (professional dancers/entertainers), who were arranged as "native cultural markers" amid the scenic ruins of pagodas, temples, palace gardens, and fortresses (Kwŏn 2005). By the late 1910s, exotic photographs depicting the "quaint" customs and "backward" images of Koreans were reprinted in business almanacs issued by major colonial enterprises such as the Bank of Chōsen and the South Manchuria Railroad Company (Bank of Chōsen 1919); CGK published in-house newsletters, gazetteers, and local daily newspapers and circulated them throughout the major colonial cities from Seoul to Taipei and Singapore.

The marketing of Korea's ancient sites as tourist attractions began in earnest in 1912, with the founding of the Keijō (Seoul) branch of the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB). Japan's oldest travel agency, the JTB (founded in 1912 and still operating today) began working together with Colonial Government Railways of Chōsen (CGR), Taiwan Railways, and South Manchuria Railroad (SMR) to build transportation networks (railways and trams) and accommodations (hotels, spas, and mountain resorts). The main business goal of the JTB, then as now, was to bring in foreign revenue by enticing visitors to travel to remote archaeological sites, famous places, natural monuments, summer resorts, and hot springs (JTB 1982). In order to advertise Korea's archaeological sites to a world audience, local newspapers, the JTB, and travel magazines hired leading specialists, journalists, writers, professional travelers, tour group operators, and educators to write travelogues and guidebooks.[8] Their articles and photos were widely disseminated in CGK monthly newsletters, daily newspapers, guidebooks printed in the colonies, Japan Imperial Railway maps (JIR 1925), and JTB publications such as *Tabi* (Travel) (JTB 1924–present) and *The Tourist* (JTB 1913–1942).

All travelers, be they Japanese, Europeans, or Koreans, raved that the most authentic "Korean" experience could be had by taking a few extra days to visit the oldest historical capitals discovered by archaeologists at Keishū (Kyŏngju), Fuyu (Puyō), and Heijō (P'yŏngyang) (Keishū Koseki Hozonkai 1922, 1936). The Tomb of the Gold Crown in the Old Silla Kingdom capital of Keishū (ca. 5th century A.D.) was excavated in 1921. The event was widely promoted in travel magazines, newspapers, and guidebooks as the greatest archaeological discovery of the century. The site was excavated by Professor Hamada Kōsaku (1881–1938) and his student Umehara Sueji (1893–1983), the two most influential Kyoto Imperial University–trained archaeologists working for the CGK Committee on Korean Antiquities. The preservation of Sŏkkuram and Pulguksa temples (ca. 8th century A.D.) took the CGK construction engineers more than a decade to complete. Furthermore, the entire temple grounds were designated as famous scenic places *(meishō)* and promoted in many tourist brochures and travel magazines as equal to Japan's oldest capital of Nara in beauty and historicity (JTB 1934: "Tabi"). By the 1930s, the restored ruins of Keishū and the Keishū Museum (1926–present), built in the center of the concentration of Silla royal burial mounds (ca. 3rd–9th centuries A.D.), became the favorite setting for photo-ops by visiting imperial family members (Figure 7.2) and foreign royalty, including Crown Prince Adolf Gustaf VI of Sweden, an amateur archaeologist and collector (Figure 7.3) who founded the Museum of

Figure 7.2 Imperial family relatives taking official tourist commemoration portrait in front of Sokkuram after reconstruction, October 1935.

Figure 7.3 Japanese archaeologists assisting Prince Gustaf of Sweden at Sobongch'ong.

Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm (Hamada and Andersson 1932). Cities along the northeast railway lines such as P'yŏngyang and Kaesŏng also became popular tourist destinations because of the abundance of ancient tombs. The restored tombs of the Han Dynasty commandery of Rakurō (ca. 2nd century B.C.–2nd century A.D.), situated south of the Taedong River and Koguryŏ painted tombs (ca. 5th–6th centuries A.D.) outside of P'yŏngyang city, were also featured in many guidebooks and tourist maps for their historical importance as the most "scientifically" excavated tombs in Asia (Pai 2000: 127–236). The ancient Paekche (Kudara) capitals of Puyŏ and Kongju (ca. 4th–7th centuries A.D.) were also promoted in tourist brochures as the holiest of Japanese heritage sites because of the kingdom's close diplomatic and cultural relations with emperors in ancient times.

In conclusion, Japanese field researchers spent more than four decades in the Korean Peninsula searching for "imperial treasures and remains," which they were not allowed to excavate in their own country. The "ethnocentric" and aesthetic biases practiced by Tokyo University–based architects and archaeologists have therefore resulted in the preservation and promotion of a select number of royal burial sites, artifacts, and Buddhist architectural monuments most resembling those of Japan. The locations of Korea's archaeological remains, which included shell mounds, bronze mirrors, and burial sites as "key ethnic markers," were plotted and mapped as the conquest route of Japan's mythical emperors whose imperial authority had extended to the southern half of the Korean Peninsula in the protohistoric period (Kuno 1967; Pai 1999a; Umehara 1923).[9] The photographic images and the meanings of Korea's archaeological discoveries were also manipulated by powerful colonial policy makers (Yamamichi 1910) to justify the annexation of Korea as a predestined "return" and reunion between the two races of Japanese and Koreans, who had once shared common ancestors (*Nissen Dōsoron*) (Kita 1921) and thus, a shared cultural patrimony since time immemorial (Pai 2006). The JTB and CGK also propagated a nostalgic image through the "rustic" appeal of Korea's decaying sites and "beautiful" customs in printed postcards and tourist brochures to market their imagined mythical "imperial terrains," luring rich businessmen, as well as foreign and domestic visitors, to invest and settle in the colonies. From the perspective of ordinary Japanese leisure tourists,[10] the conscious act of visiting, absorbing, and experiencing firsthand Korea's customs, peoples, and ancient sites also became part of their search for their own national identity, pride, and belonging as citizens of the growing multiethnic and multicultural Japanese Empire during the 1930s (Weisenfeld 2000).

Epilogue

This recurring theme of imagined "imperialist nostalgia" that romanticized the conquered "other" in time and space, though not unique to the Japanese Empire (Abu El-Haj 2001; Trigger 1984), left a lasting legacy on archaeological heritage management practices not only in Meiji Japan, but a century later in South Korea today (Pai 2001). In the postcolonial era, the contentious topic of "who is to blame for the plunder of Korean remains?" continues to be one of the most controversial debates hindering bilateral diplomatic relations since the end of the Pacific War in 1945 (O 1996).[11] Many prominent archaeologists, historians, and art historians (Kim 1966) over the past five decades have denounced colonial-era archaeologists' activities, and their reports are the "smoking gun" that reveal how systematically the occupation government had utilized knowledgeable scholars' research for the political objective of assimilating Koreans (Nishikawa 1970; H. J. Yi 1964; K.Y. Yi 1996). Thus, Japanese archaeologists as a professional group became the main scapegoats and have been demonized in the press and media for their active role in depriving Koreans of their cultural patrimony and, thus, racial identity (Ch'oe 1997).

Despite such anti-Japanese rhetoric, we have to acknowledge that there are many indelible intellectual, aesthetic, and disciplinary legacies of this "shared" history of colonial-era discoveries. First, we have to acknowledge that the concepts of prehistory, social evolution, unique "indigenous" culture, and periodization schemes based on material culture and artifact typology were all introduced to Japanese archaeologists in the early colonial era. Before the arrival of Japanese collectors and archaeologists in the early 20th century, there was a lively antiquarian tradition practiced by the landed aristocracy, rich merchant classes, and civil officials of high status (*Yangban*). Objects such as strange-looking stones *(kiseki)*, jade, and bronze vessels were dug up and collected mainly for their ritual and symbolic value and/or aesthetic appeal. Rubbings of inscriptions on stone and bronze were made in order to decipher records that would link them to heroes or kings, and not for their "archaeological" value in the modern sense of the word. Furthermore, the *Yangban* scholars believed that stone and jade objects were made by natural forces and/or supernatural elements (e.g., lightning, earthquakes, or the gods), but were definitely not man-made, much like the beliefs of antiquarians in 18th-century England and France. Therefore, it is my opinion that "Koreans were not cheated out of their archaeological heritage by the Japanese looting scholars" as most postcolonial-era nationalistic scholars have asserted (Kim 1966, 1973; Yi 1964); rather, they simply had no knowledge or appreciation of prehistoric objects or ancient sites to be excavated, preserved, and promoted as a body of national heritage. The emergence of a "Korean consciousness" of their own traditions and culture only occurred in the late 1920s and 1930s, when a new generation of Korean-born but Japanese-educated colonial elite started acquiring their own collections. For example, Song Sŏk-ha, now regarded as the "father of Korean ethnology," accumulated his own Korean ceramics collection by emulating the tastes and preferences of sophisticated and urbane Japanese collectors and connoisseurs such as the Asakawa brothers and Yanagi Sōetsu (Brandt 2007; Han 1997).

In August 1945, with Japan's surrender, the U.S. Army Military Government in

Korea (USAMGIK) oversaw the peaceful handover of the CGK Museum collections from the last director, Arimitsu Kyōichi, to the new Korean director of the National Museum of Korea, Kim Chae-wŏn (1909–1992). Arimitsu was asked to stay behind to train the new generation of young Korean graduates of Seoul National University (formerly Keijō Imperial University) so they could return to their excavation sites in Keishū in 1946 (Mokuyō Club 2003). Consequently, my research of colonial-era archives indicates that the most celebrated, reported, documented, and excavated artifacts were inherited mostly intact by the National Museum of Korea leading up to the outbreak of the Korean War (1950–1953), when the museum was evacuated to Pusan in 1951 (Pai 2000: 237–243). However, we still do not have any accurate estimates of the status of the other colonial museum branches located in North Korea (P'yŏngyang, Kaesŏng) or the southern cities of Puyŏ, Kongju, and Kyŏngju during the chaotic period of violence and plunder following the division of the peninsula in 1945. We will probably never know how many artifacts, documents, displays, storage buildings, and sites were destroyed, burned, and/or looted during the chaos of the Korean War years, when the whole peninsula was bombed. Finally, since the 1960s, especially in South Korea, there has been even larger-scale destruction of the landscape in the name of economic and industrial development, with massive infrastructure constructions such as dams, railroads, freeways, factories, airports, and apartment buildings (Pai 1999b). As a result, these early 20th-century-documented photographs, maps, and drawings of archaeological remains preserved in colonial reports, museum catalogs, tourist brochures, and postcards are now consulted as invaluable research and preservation tools as portraits of Korean monuments frozen in time (Pai 2006).

Conventions

The names cited in this work follow the Japanese convention of placing the family names first. Most place-names adhere to their original colonial-era sources, such as Formosa for Taiwan; Japanese pronunciations for colonial cities and addresses such as Keijō, the former name for Seoul, the capital of the Republic of Korea, etc. Their current names are added in parentheses when first appearing in the text. The lesser-known proper nouns, as well as names of archaeological sites, palaces, temples, institutions, customs, etc., are transcribed in Korean. The Korean romanization system here follows the McCune-Reischauer system adopted by scholars in the West, not the current system used by the Republic of Korea. All translations in this paper are the author's own.

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Notes

1. The Japanese archaeologists mentioned here also conducted field surveys in northern China, Mongolia, and Taiwan during the 1900s–1930s. However, their archaeological activities were not as systematically organized or sustained over 40 years, as was the case with the Korean Peninsula.
2. The Imperial Household Agency launched the construction of large-scale national mausolea dedicated to mythical founding emperors beginning in the late 1870s. The first to be built was the Tomb of Jimmu (ca. 2,660 B.C.), known as the fifth descendent of the sun goddess, Amaterasu, the legendary founder of Japan (Suzuki and Takagi 2000). However, today there are "nearly 900 locations in Japan that are currently treated as imperial tombs, that is, as mausolea containing the remains of an imperial family member, with 250 being listed as predating the start of written history, in fact their actual connection with the imperial line is still largely open to question" (Edwards 2003: 11). Please consult the Imperial Household Agency website for a complete registry of imperial tombs through the ages (*tenno rekidai ichiran*) and a map of their locations: *http://www.kunaicho.go.jp/ryobo/index.html* (last accessed September 16, 2008).
3. The Meiji government had embarked on foreign military expeditions extending their frontiers into the northern islands bordering on Russia, south to the islands of Taiwan, and into the hinterlands of the Korean Peninsula and northeast China beginning in the late 1870s. The initial goal, as it was with European imperial powers, was to obtain concession rights to natural resources—fisheries, timber, and tropical agricultural products such as tea and camphor. Newly appointed colonial administrators, army officials, and local police, faced with ruling sometimes hostile populations from Siberia to Taiwan, took an active part in supporting anthropologists' surveys. They supported the scholars financially and logistically by providing transportation, equipment, guides, interpreters, and bodyguards. They understood that ethnographic knowledge gathered by experts on local languages and customs (kinship system, class structure, land tenure, religious practices, etc.) had practical applications for controlling, exploiting, and eventually assimilating the natives (Barclay 2001; Ch'oe 1997; Eskildsen 2002; Howell 2004).
4. Kuroita Katsumi (1874–1946), the father of modern Japanese historiography and head of the Meiji Education Ministry historical textbooks compilation committee, was instrumental in drawing up the first

recommendations in 1912 and later adapting them for Korea in 1916. According to the 1912 draft paper he sent to the ministry, his proposed classification and inventory system had been inspired by studying the antiquities laws and national preservation efforts he witnessed during his "fact-finding" trips to France, Germany, and England between 1909 and 1911 (Kuroita 1912).

5. It is important to note here that CGK-sponsored publications, from archaeological reports to magazines and tourist guidebooks, were published only in the Japanese language and sometimes in English, French, or German. There are no Korean-language sources, since the use of written or spoken Korean was not permitted at Japanese schools, officials events, or CGK offices during the colonial period.
6. In 1917, Sekino Tadashi was awarded the prestigious Le Prix Stanislas Julien prize by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Institut de France, for his editorial work on the architectural photo albums of Korea. The original drawings, maps, and photographs are now housed at his alma mater, Tokyo University Architecture Department and Museum Archives.
7. The CGK-employed archaeologists did not train Koreans in field excavations. However, my readings of the many memoirs of archaeologists and the hundreds of original archaeological reports and recorded excavation photographs demonstrate that the local population, including peasants, laborers, museum staff, and university students, played an active role as day laborers, museum security guards, and laboratory assistants. However, only CKKK Japanese staff members were permitted by 1916 laws to conduct surveys and excavations of sites (Pai 2001). Such racially discriminatory hiring practices were, in fact, a widespread institutionalized phenomenon practiced among the upper echelons of CGK administration and Japanese-owned companies throughout the colonies.
8. Empire guidebooks, postcards, maps, and train and shipping timetables were distributed worldwide by the Japan Tourist Bureau and Japan Imperial Railways Offices at their outlets at ports, train stations, hotels, department stores, and travel agencies (e.g., Thomas Cook and Sons, American Express Co.) from Japan to New York and Paris (see Table 7.1) (Pai forthcoming).
9. Prewar Japanese historians calculated the dates of the conquest genealogy of Japan's imperial lineage based on the legendary records of the 8th-century text of the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), and inferred that an empress named Jingu established the colony of Mimana in the southern part of Korea around 201 A.D. After more than a century of controversy, it has still not been resolved as to whether the empress and her expedition to Korea are fact or fiction (Kuno 1967: 1–13). The fact remains that the calculations of such a mytho-historical divine lineage was indispensable to the rewriting of the dynastic record, which had to be chronologically brought up in time and spatially plotted so as to overlap with their newly

occupied territories in Manchuria and Korea (Pai 1999a).

10. I have not been able to track down reliable statistics for the number of Japanese tourists who traveled to Korea in the 1920s and 1930s. I suspect this is because by the late colonial period, all citizens who were part of the official empire (Naichijin), including Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Manchuria, could travel throughout the empire without passports and visas. There is one published source by the JTB office in Manchuria that I have located, which gives the following numbers for the year 1940: (1) the total number of organized JTB-led tour groups to Manchuria and Korea: 9,109; (2) total number of group members, including Manchurians, Japanese, and foreigners: 398,299; (3) total number of train schedules distributed: 320,000; and (4) total number of tourist pamphlets distributed: 548,905. A glance at these statistics gives us a sense of the vibrant tourist industry in the late 1930s and early 1940s, before its sudden collapse following the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1943 (Namigata et al. 2004).

11. The-CGK assigned archaeologists were sent to sites that were reported to be under immediate threat of destruction because of infrastructure development during the Taishō period (1915–1925). These archaeologists reported witnessing many tombs belonging to the Three Kingdoms era (ca. 3rd–7th centuries A.D.), including Koguryŏ, Rakurō, and Silla tombs, which showed telltale signs of being raided by looters prior to their arrival. By the 1910s, antiquities from bronze vessels, Koryŏ-era celadon ware (ca. 13th–14th centuries), and Yi Dynasty porcelain (ca. 18th–19th centuries) were much sought-after souvenirs collected by rich Japanese entrepreneurs, colonial administrators, and tourists. To meet the demand, a new occupational class of professional gravediggers started working for antiquities dealers who were engaged in the black market trading at the newly opened ports of Wŏnsan, Pusan, Shinŭiji, and Seoul (Han 1997).

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