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THE POLITICS OF KOREA'S PAST: THE LEGACY OF JAPANESE COLONIAL ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE KOREAN PENINSULA

 *Hyung Il Pai*

The disciplines of archaeology and ancient history were instrumental in the process of Korean national identity formation in post-colonial South Korea. However, its intellectual legacy can be traced to Japan's empire-building colonial administrators and scholars dating from the period of invasion and colonial occupation of the Korean peninsula in the early twentieth century. This article discusses how changing political agendas, shifting ideological positions of 'colonial racism' and subsequent nationalistic anti-Japanese resistance movements in the Korean peninsula influenced the development of Korean archaeological and historical theories.

The Politics of National Historiography and Archaeology in Korea

The history of the Korean peninsula in the past one hundred years can be characterized as follows: its sovereignty and territory was lost to a foreign aggressor, namely Japan; it was subsequently subjugated as a colonial nation, liberated by the United States and the Soviet Union, and then divided after the Korean War. The succession of violent social and political upheavals has influenced not only the course of Korean civilization, but also the intellectual climate of Korean scholars. In the post-colonial period, academia has been dominated by the school of nationalist historiography (*minjok sabak*) represented by specialists in ancient Korea such as Yi Pyŏng-do, Kim Chae-wŏn, Yi Ki-baek, Kim Wŏl-lyong, Kim Ch'ŏl-jun, Ch'ŏn Kwan-u, and Kim Chŏng-bae. As leading scholars in the disciplines of archaeology, ancient history and art history, they were relied on to provide 'scientific' explanations and material evidence from excavated sites and monuments to prove the origins of a unique and ancient 'Korean' identity. According to the nationalistic scheme, Korea's history can be characterized as one of continuous national

My 1992 research trip to Tokyo was aided by a grant from the Social Science Research Council Committee on Korean Studies, New York. The main sources for this study are found at the Tōyō Bunko [Oriental Library], Tokyo, and the Tokyo University Institute of Oriental Culture Library. The former houses the Umehara Sueji Collection consisting of thousands of files of correspondence, original maps, diagrams, and photographs of excavated sites and artifacts published in the *Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku* [Reports on Investigations of Ancient Sites] series (see Tōyō Gakujutsu Kyōkai [Asian Studies Committee], Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, 1966). Umehara Sueji was the premier archaeologist during the colonial era along with Sekino Tadashi, Hamada Kōsaku, Fujita Ryōsaku, and Imanishi Ryū, to name just a few. His works on Korean archaeology span more than sixty years (Umehara Sueji, "Nikkan heigō no kikan ni okonawareta hantō no koseki chōsa to hozon jigyō ni tazusawatta hito kōkogaku to no kaisōroku" [Remembrances of archaeological investigations and the preservation of Korean sites during the Japanese colonial period], *Chōsen gakubō* 51 [1969]: 95-148). Many of the leading experts in Korean archaeology and ancient history who became pioneers of Korean studies in the early twentieth century were graduates of and professors at Tokyo University's history and architecture departments, and their reports on and collections of Korean artifacts are now preserved at Tokyo University Library and Museum (Tokyo University OVER/

/Museum, *Sōgō kenkyū shiryōkan tenji gaisetsu* [Catalogue of central materials collections] [Tokyo, 1983].

¹ Dates in brackets indicate the years these powers invaded the peninsula. Most historical works play down the fact that Korean dynasties and their invaders conducted many diplomatic exchanges over such matters as the hostage system and military and marriage alliances, in addition to active trade and commerce. For example, the T'ang military alliance with Silla during the mid-seventh century was critical to Silla's success in unifying the Korean peninsula (John Jamieson, "The Samguk Sagi and the unification wars" [PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1969]). During the Silla and Koryō dynasties, many heirs to the throne were sent to the Chinese court for education and as a symbol of Korea's tributary status. These very 'sinitified' princes, who later became kings, were instrumental in introducing many aspects of higher Chinese civilization into Korea, including religion, the fine arts, and literature. They also sometimes became 'double agents' while residing in Chinese courts since they had close access to decision-making at the center of power. Hence the hostage system served the twin purposes of cultural exchange and intelligence-gathering for participating Korean dynasties throughout the ages.

² Yi Sōn-gūn, "Uri minjoksasangkwa ilchemit Ilbonmunhwaūi kwankye" [The relations between our Korean national movement and Japanese imperialism and culture under colonial occupation], in *Han'guk minjoksasang taekye* [A general introduction to the history of Korean national philosophy] (Seoul: Koryō Taehakkyo, 1971), vol. 1; Chang Tae-mu, *Taeban wintjōn* [Great heroes in Korea] (Seoul: Asea Munhwasa, 1981); Tanje Sin Ch'ae-ho sōnsaeng Kinyōm-hoe [Sin Ch'ae-ho Commemorative Committee], *Tanje Sin Ch'ae-ho chōnjip* [The complete works of Shin Ch'ae-ho], 2nd ed. (Seoul: Hyōngsōl, 1987), vol. 1 (hereafter referred to as *Complete works of Shin Ch'ae-ho*).

³ Kim Yong-sōp, "Ilbon Hanguke issōsōūi Hanguksa sōsul" [Historical writings on Korea in Korea and Japan], *Yōksa hakbo* 31 (1966): 128-47; Yoksa Hakhoe, ed., *Han'guk-saūi pansōng* [Reflections on Korean history] (Seoul: Shingu Munhwasa, 1973); Yi Kibaek, *Han'guksa shinmon* [A new history of Korea], revised ed. (Seoul: Ilhogak, 1976);

struggle (*t'uchaengsa*). Consequently, the major turning points in Korean history were pitched battles against foreign invaders: the Chinese dynasties of the Sui (612)¹ and T'ang (645), the nomad powers of the Khitans (1018), Jurchen (1107), and Mongols (1231-73), and the Japanese warlord Hideyoshi Toyotomi (1592-97). Great generals who led Korean armies and rebels to victory are regarded as cultural heroes for having saved the Korean people from foreign subjugation.² According to these scholars, the 'real' history of Korean national struggle and the spirit of independence (Chosōn chuūi/chōngsin) had been obscured by the centuries-old pro-Chinese attitude of 'sadae' (subservience [to a greater nation]) among traditional dynastic historiographers. They further emphasized that even worse damage was caused by the imposition for forty-five years of a Japanese colonial historical framework that had deprived Koreans of their history and national identity.³

In the aftermath of the Korean War, these patriotic historians were responsible for steering the direction of the cultural and historical education of South Korea's students and citizens. Their textbooks determined school curricula at all levels, emphasizing the teaching of national histories and literature that highlighted the bravery of heroes and martyrs who had fought for Korean independence since time immemorial.⁴ As they also served on committees for the management of cultural properties (*munhwajae kwalliguk*), they controlled, in addition, the selection of monuments, fortresses, and shrines to be reconstructed, preserved and promoted as national sites and symbols of independence battles and struggles. These committees also determined the days to be designated as national holidays, such as Kaech'ōn-jōl (Korean Creation Day) and Hangūl-nal (Korean Alphabet Day), which mark the founding of the Korean nation on October 3rd, 2333 BC and the invention of the Korean script on October 9th, 1446, respectively.

The historians' nationalistic agenda was avidly supported by military regimes headed by former generals who came to power through coups and influencing the outcome of presidential elections. The terms in office of presidents Park Chong-hee (1961-80), Chon Du-hwan (1982-86) and No Tae-woo (1986-92) were successive one-man dictatorships that lasted a total of thirty years. These rulers focussed on enhancing their own political prestige and legitimacy by manipulating the government, education, the media, and cultural resources, while their military regimes forged a national solidarity by promoting the uniform state ideologies of anti-communism and anti-imperialism. The Korean economic miracle that has risen from the ashes of the Korean War—which remains a vivid memory for many—has also contributed significantly to boosting a unifying sense of national pride and common historical destiny.

Thus, the nationalistic thrust of historical education and cultural policies, authoritarian governments, and rapid economic development have profoundly influenced South Korea's formation of a unique sense of national solidarity and identity in this century. The main pillar of Korean national identity was founded upon the presumed historical existence of a homogenous (*taniil*) and pure Korean race that occupied the unified Korean territorial state of Kochosōn, centered on P'yōngyang and encompassing the regions of Liao-

ning and Chi-lin in north-east China and the northern part of the Korean peninsula.⁵ The key narrative for this mythical ethnic 'Korean' regeneration drama was derived from the thirteenth-century text of the *Samguk Yusa*⁶ which recorded the legend of Tangun, born of the union between the son of heaven (Hwanung) and a bear-turned-woman (Ungnyō). When Tangun's miraculous birth as the father of the Korean nation (Kukjo) was calculated to have occurred in 2,333 BC,⁷ the dawn of Korean civilization was pushed back to predate that of Japan and rival that of ancient China. Consequently, Korea's cultural heritage and national lineage is commonly described today as being "five thousand years old" because it is traced back in time to Tangun's birth as the founder of Kochosōn.⁸

Tangun's birth was not only magical, it also occurred on top of Paek-tusan, Korea's highest mountain situated between the borders of the PRC and Hamgyōng-pukdo. Traditionally regarded as the most sacred mountain in the realm of Korean geomancy, Paek-tusan is deeply imbedded in Buddhist and Taoist beliefs. It was also chosen as the sacred symbol representing North Korea's state ideology of *chuch'e* (independence and solidarity) because, according to communist revolutionary lore, the 'great leader' Kim Il-sōng had waged anti-Japanese resistance from this mountain top.⁹ In the 1980s, a log cabin was constructed deep in the mountain in consecration of this 'holy site' as the birthplace of Kim Chōng-il, the 'dear leader'. Paek-tusan has therefore played a pivotal role in North Korea in legitimizing the 'traditional dynastic' system of father-to-son linear succession both unheard of in Marxist philosophy nor ever practised in any other communist state. Paek-tusan, as the sanctified homeland of all Koreans, is now North Korea's most popular tourist spot.

The national salvation myth of Tangun originated with the religion of Taechong-gyo, whose adherents worshipped Tangun as the future savior of the Korean race from Japanese oppression. This religion was founded in 1905, the year Korea became a Japanese protectorate, by an anti-Japanese revolutionary and charismatic leader named Nach'ōl.¹⁰ Today's national historians trace their intellectual lineage likewise to such leaders and intellectuals of anti-Japanese resistance movements as Sin Ch'ae-ho and Ch'oe Nam-sōn. Revered as "fathers of Korean historiography," they were the first to put forward theories, in the 1930s, on the ancient mythological racial origins of a 'unified' and 'independent' Korean state.¹¹ The desire of nationalist intellectuals for Korean political independence under Japanese colonial rule was manifested in their claims that an ancient, sacred terrain-zone existed in the "glorious" age of the gods and heroes of the Tangun period.¹² Hence, the school of nationalist historians credit themselves with the "rediscovery" of a new racial history of Korea¹³ traceable directly back to Tangun's Kochosōn and sealed in the common blood lineage of the national spirit of independence and struggle.¹⁴

Since the early twentieth century, therefore, the most important political agenda for national historians was to assert the antiquity, the racial/cultural superiority, and the development of a unique Korean civilization that needed

/idem, *Minjokkwa yōksa* [Race and history] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1977).

⁴ Ch'ōn Kwan-u, *Inmullobon Han'guk kodaesa* [Characters in ancient Korean history] (Seoul: Chōngūm Munhwasa, 1983).

⁵ Kim Chōng-bae, *Han'guk minjokūi kiwōn* [The origins of the Korean race] (Seoul: Koryō Taehakkyo, 1976); idem, *Han'guk kodaesaronūi sinjoryu* [The origins and formation of the ancient state in Korea] (Seoul: Koryō Taehakkyo, 1986).

⁶ Yi Pyōng-do, *Samguk Yusa* [Tales of the Three Kingdoms] (Seoul: Kwangsō, 1981).

⁷ Kim Chōng-bae, "Formation of ethnic Korean nation and coming of the ancient kingdom states," *Korea Journal* 27.4 (1987): 33-7.

⁸ *Han'guk minjok sasangsa taegye* [A general introduction to the history of Korean national philosophy] (Seoul: Koryō Taehakkyo, 1971), vol.1.

⁹ Suzuki Masayuki, *Kita Chōsen shakaishugi to denō no kyōmei* [The resonance of North Korean socialism and tradition] (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku, 1993).

¹⁰ Pak Hwan, *Manju Han'gukin minjok undong* [The Korean nationalist movement in Manchuria], Sōgang Taehakkyo Inmun Kwahak Yōn'guso (Seoul: Taechong Munhwasa, 1991).

¹¹ *Complete works of Shin Ch'ae-ho*; Ch'oe Nam-sōn, *Chosōn ūi sinhwawa sōlbwa* [Myths and legends of Chosōn], Yukdang Kinyōm Saōp [Yukdang Commemoration Committee] (Seoul: Hongsōngsa, 1986).

¹² *Complete works of Shin Ch'ae-ho*.

¹³ Yi Ki-baek, *Minjokkwa yōksa* [Race and history] (Seoul: Ilchogak, 1977).

¹⁴ Han Ki-ōn, "1930 nyōndaēūi kyoyuk chinhūng undong" [National education movements in the 1930s], *Minjok munbwa yōn'gu* 12 (1977): 49-80.

¹⁵ Nishikawa Hiroshi, "Nihon teikokushugika ni okeru Chōsen kōkogaku no keisei" [The establishment of Korean archaeology during the era of Japanese imperialism], *Chōsenshi kenkyūkai ronbunshū* [Bulletin of the Society for Korean History (Tokyo)] 7 (June 1970): 94–114; Yi Ku-yōl, *Han'guk munhwajae'ui pibwa* [Secret stories of Korean cultural relics] (Seoul: Han'guk Misul Ch'ul-p'ansa, 1973); Nishiyama Takehiko, "Kankoku kenchiku chōsahōkoku no mayoi" [The riddle behind the survey report on Korean architecture], in *Kankoku no kenchiku to geijutsu* [Korean architecture and arts], ed. Nishiyama Takehiko and Itami Jun (Seoul: Wōlkan Kōnch'uk Munhwa, 1988).

¹⁶ Yi Kwang-su, "Minjok kaejoron" [Theories of racial improvement], in *Yi Kwang-su chōnjip* [The complete works of Yi Kwang-su] (Seoul: Samjungdang, 1961), pp.169–217.

¹⁷ Shiratori Kurakichi, *Chōsen kenkyū* [Chōsen studies], in *Shiratori Kurakichi zenshū* [The complete works of Shiratori Kurakichi] (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1986).

¹⁸ Torii Ryūzō, *Kyokuūtō minzoku* [Races of the Far East], Tōyōjinshu Gakusōshō (Tokyo: Bunkaseikatsu Kenkyūkai, 1925).

¹⁹ Yoshisaburo Kuno, *Japanese expansion on the Asiatic continent: a study in the history of Japan with special reference to her international relations with China, Korea, and Russia*, 2 vols (1937–40; reprint ed., Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1967); Hatada Takashi, *Chōsen no rekishi o dō osbieru ka* [How should we teach the history of Korea?] (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shōsha, 1976); idem, *Nihonjin no Chōsenkan* [The Japanese view of Korea] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1969); idem, *Shinpojiumu—Nihon to Chōsen* [Symposium on Japan and Korea] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1969).

²⁰ Edwin O. Reischauer, "Japanese archaeological work on the Asiatic continent," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 4.1 (1939).

²¹ Dates for the Three Kingdoms of Silla, Paekche and Koguryō in this article are estimates based on archaeological remains (Kim Wōl-lyong, *Han'guk kogobak kaesōl* [Introduction to Korean archaeology], 3rd ed. [Seoul: Ilchisa, 1986]) and do not rely on traditional historical chronologies. Histories differ considerably on the earlier founding dates for Silla (57 BC–AD 935), Koguryō (37 BC–AD 668), and Paekche (18 BC–AD 660) since they are taken from the thirteenth-century

no outside help. As part of their efforts to prove Korea's "historical independence," they have unanimously denounced the archaeological and historical studies of the Japanese colonial period as all part of an "imperialistic" scholarly conspiracy (*ilche ōyong bakja*) to loot the country of its cultural and artistic objects.¹⁵ Despite their vehement anti-colonial rhetoric, I would suggest that the contemporary Korean national historical framework advocating racial purity, the permanent nature of racial characteristics, and the historical destiny of the nation is firmly entrenched in early twentieth-century Japanese colonial ideologies. This is because post-colonial Korean historians and archaeologists have internalized the basic colonial racist attitudes of Japanese scholars as documented in their earliest 'Chōsenjin' 朝鮮人 (Korean people) studies from the period following the annexation of Korea in 1910.¹⁶ Most importantly, those Korean scholars have adopted the colonial racial hypothesis concerning the 'Tungus/Tong-i' or the 'Manchurian' origins of all Far Eastern races without realizing the inherent racial and colonial biases underlying their assumptions about the 'primitive' nature of the indigenous peoples inhabiting the Amur and North Korea.¹⁷ Such racial theories were proposed by the pioneers of Tōyōgaku such as Shiratori Kurakichi 白鳥倉吉, Torii Ryūzō 鳥居龍三¹⁸ and Sekino Tadashi 関野貞, who were the first to introduce the imported Western disciplines of ethnography, archaeology, and art history into the peninsula, and used their historical and racial arguments to justify not only the annexation of Korea but Japan's invasions of China.¹⁹

The intellectual heritage of Korean nationalist historiography thus dates back to the late nineteenth century and must be understood as part of the colonial legacy of Japanese imperialism in North-east Asia. The turn-of-the-century pioneering Japanese colonial scholars left behind a wealth of first-hand research on many subjects ranging from Korean religion, music, customs, geography, sociology, psychology, agriculture and fishing to finance. Of this published material, it is well known among East Asian historians and archaeologists that the most outstanding scholarship—as regards research, accuracy, and publication record—was the archaeological and cultural properties research of the Chōsen Sōtokufu 朝鮮總督府 (Government-General of [colonial] Korea) and the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai 朝鮮古蹟研究会 (Society for the Study of Korean Antiquities).²⁰

Soldiers, Scholars, and Bureaucrats: a Survey of Korean Archaeology in the Colonial Period (1905–1945)

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Chosōn government showed no interest in the monumental remains of either the Three Kingdoms (fourth to seventh century AD)²¹ or the preceding Koryō dynasty (AD 918–1388). There was, however, some interest in the preservation of burial mounds on account of Yangban ancestor-worship rituals.²² Fujita Ryōsaku 藤田亮榮,

former director of the Chōsen Sōtoku-fu Hakubutsukan (Museum of the Government-General of Chosen) and professor at Keijō Teikoku Daigaku (Keijo [Seoul] Imperial University),²³ attributed this neglect to the penchant of Yi dynasty Confucianists for written documents.²⁴ Their interest stemmed from the Sillak tradition study of inscriptions from pagodas, steles, and Buddhist sculpture. However, even the most enlightened Sillak scholars maintained that prehistoric stone tools were made by lightning bolts²⁵ and were thus manufactured by nature and not by man. Before the arrival of Japanese scholars in the Korean peninsula, therefore, what we know today as the fields of archaeology and ethnography did not exist. Japanese archaeologists who came to Korea all noted this neglect of the physical and cultural relics of former dynasties and constantly deplored the fact that with each passing day, precious monuments were being lost.²⁶

When 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.²⁷ The earliest Japanese Chōsen²⁸ studies in Japan were initiated, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, by Shiratori Kurakichi and Torii Ryūzō,²⁹ who wrote on such topics as the historical tribes of the Puyō, Koguryō, the legends of Chōsen (Tangun, Kija, Wiman, etc.), and the Han-dynasty commandery of Lolang as gleaned from ancient Chinese texts.³⁰ 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.³¹

/records of the *Samguk Sagi*. The first archaeological remains of *kobun* (tumuli burials) and artifacts cannot be dated to as early as the first century BC. Dr Kenneth Gardiner has pointed out to me that Koguryō's historical existence as early as the first century BC is validated by records in the *Hanshu* that mention the kingdom and its ruler during the time of Wang Mang (pers. comm. 1993). Nonetheless, I am not aware of any reliably-dated Koguryō archaeological find from this period.

²² Fujita Ryōsaku, *Chōsengaku ronkō* [On Korean studies], Fujita Ryōsaku Kinen Shagyokaikan [Fujita Ryōsaku Commemoration Committee] (Tokyo: Kasai, 1952), p.68.

²³ Keijō Imperial University was renamed Seoul National University in 1946. Fujita, as head of the museum, was in charge of most of the excavation teams throughout the colonial period.

²⁴ Fujita Ryōsaku, "Chōsen no koseki chōsa to hozon no enkaku" [The process of researching

/and preserving ancient Korean monuments], *Chōsen sōkan* [Korea almanac] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu: 1933), pp.1027–47; idem, *On Korean studies*.

²⁵ Ch'oe Suk-kyōng, "Kogohak sōngnip ijōnūi yujōk yumulkwan" [View of cultural relics and monuments before the establishment of archaeology], *Kim Wōl-lyong kyoosu chōng-nyō n t'oeimkinyōm nonjip* [Essays commemorating the retirement of Professor Kim Wōl-lyong] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1989), pp.747–54.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Hatada, *Japanese view of Korea*, p.182.

²⁸ The word 'Chōsen' is used throughout this article to refer to colonial-period institutions, research organizations, book titles, proper names, etc. because it was the name for the Korean peninsula, the Korean people, and the Yi-dynasty kingdom of 'Chosōn' at that time. I wish to note here that usage of this term is for convenience and historical accuracy only, and

/does not hold any derogatory connotations whatsoever. The rendering of all colonial-period institutions, books, organizations, edicts, etc. is in Japanese. When appearing for the first time in the text, they are translated into English in brackets. Translations are taken directly from Japanese colonial reports unless otherwise indicated.

²⁹ Shiratori, *Complete works*; Torii Ryūzō, *Torii Ryūzō zenshū* [The complete works of Torii Ryūzō] (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 1976).

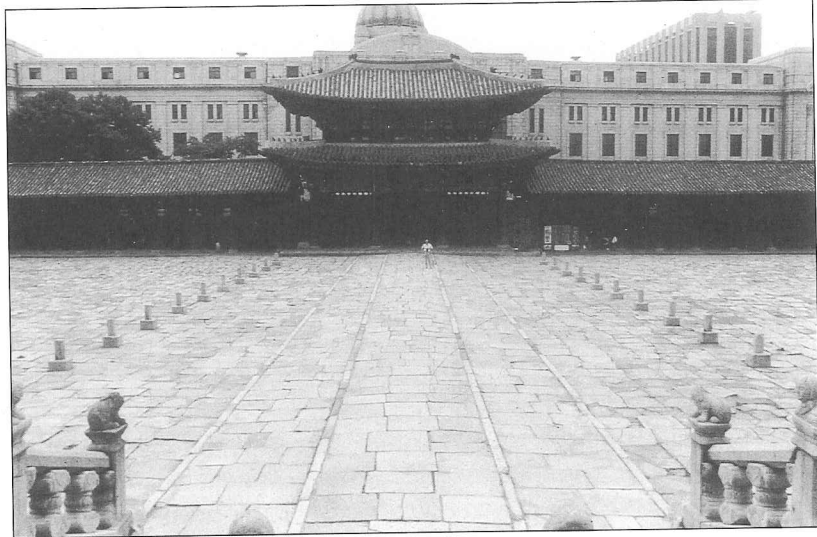
³⁰ Tōyō Bunko 1956; Saito Tadashi, *Torii Ryūzō zōshū* [Collected works of Torii Ryūzō] (Tokyo: Tsukiji Shokan, 1974), pt.1.

³¹ Hatada Takashi questions the validity of the definition of 'Mansenshi' by Japanese scholars. He insists that Manchuria and Korea cannot be classified together as sharing the same history since the basis for a country's history is 'race'. He writes that "Korea is a distinct nation, with a separate language and culture, and to portray Korean history as part of Mansenshi is to deny the existence of the Chōsen race" (Hatada, *Japanese view of Korea*, p.182). He attributes this association with Manchuria as being responsible for the early twentieth-century Korean studies by Ikeuchi Hiroshi, Tsuda Sōkichi, and Imanishi Ryū that focussed on ancient Korea and its relations to early tribes in Manchuria (p.196). I do not agree with the opinion of Hatada and other South Korean scholars that the early Japanese studies of 'Mansenshi' (such as that by Ikeuchi Hiroshi, *Mansenshi kenkyū* [A study of Manchurian and Korean history] [Kyoto: Sōkokusha, 1951]) were all invalid. This is because it has been well documented archaeologically, historically, and ethnographically that the expansive and environmentally diverse regions of North China throughout the ages, from early prehistoric Neolithic times (c. 5000 BC) onwards, was the homeland to innumerable tribal and ethnic groups as well as serving as the center of many successive nomadic conquering states and empires. They have included the empires of the Hsiung-nu, Hsien-pi, Jurchen, Khitans, Mongols, and, most recently, the founders of the Ch'ing dynasty in China. The archaeological, art historical, and cultural remains of the Korean peninsula also reflect direct contact, conflict, and adaptation to the shifting hegemonies that arose in the Ordos, the Mongolian grasslands, and the Inner Asian steppes.

I therefore believe it is futile to search for the origins of the Korean race in these vast regions as Korean historians and archaeo- /OVER

Figure 3

View from the Throne room
(Kunjŏngjŏn) at Kyŏngbok Palace.
Note how the headquarters of the
Japanese Governor-General was built
so as to obstruct the view of the palace
(author's photograph)



/financial strains on the already stretched Olympic budget overruled any nationalistic objections. In 1993, the Ministry of Culture, following more anti-Japanese protests and arguments, made a final ruling that the Chŏsen Sŏtokofu building would be "torn down so that Kyŏngbok Palace will regain its original form, thereby reviving the spirit of the Korean race" (*Museum News*, no.266 [1993.10.1]: 1).

⁴¹ "Koseki oyobi ibutsu hozon kitei" [Regulations for the conservation of ruins and remains], in Kayamoto Tojin, "Han tombs of Lolang—their studies by Japanese scholars," *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Tōyō Bunko* 21 (1962): 97–124, at 107.

⁴² Fujita, "Ancient Korean monuments."

⁴³ Nishikawa, "Establishment of Korean archaeology."

⁴⁴ *Kokubo* is pronounced 'kukbo' in Korean. Throughout this work I have given all terms as they appeared in the original Japanese reports of the colonial period. No report was ever written in Korean since its usage was banned by the Government-General's Office.

In 1916, the first laws regulating cultural properties were promulgated.⁴¹ During the Yi dynasty, strict laws had been applied only to periods postdating the Koryŏ dynasty and purely concerned the destruction of royal burial mounds. An official, without formal government intervention, might occasionally, through love for his village or nostalgia, be prompted to preserve a monument, while temples and government offices were repaired only as needed. As a result, Korean relics and monuments were falling into rapid decay and suffering indiscriminate looting.⁴² It was also reported that during the chaos of the Sino-Japanese and Russo-Japanese (1904–05) wars the Japanese Imperial Army had looted many Korean relics.⁴³ In order to prevent further losses, eight articles were drawn up for enforcement:

– Article 1 defined *koseki* 古蹟 (ancient monuments) or *ibutsu* 遺物 (ancient remains) as follows: prehistoric sites that have yielded bones, neolithic tools, shell mounds, subterranean dwellings, burial mounds, fortresses, palace sites, gates, signal stations, government offices, shrines, ritual altars, temples, and kilns. Artifacts and related historical remains such as pagodas, stelae, bells, bronze Buddhas, stone lanterns, and handicrafts were also included in this category. (The present system of *kokubo* 国宝⁴⁴ [(Korean) National Treasure] designation originated with the Japanese implementation of this article.)

– Article 2 stated that when *koseki* or *ibutsu* remains and artifacts were identified, they were to be registered with their designation, category and size, location, name and address of owner, state of preservation, associated legends and myths, and method of preservation.

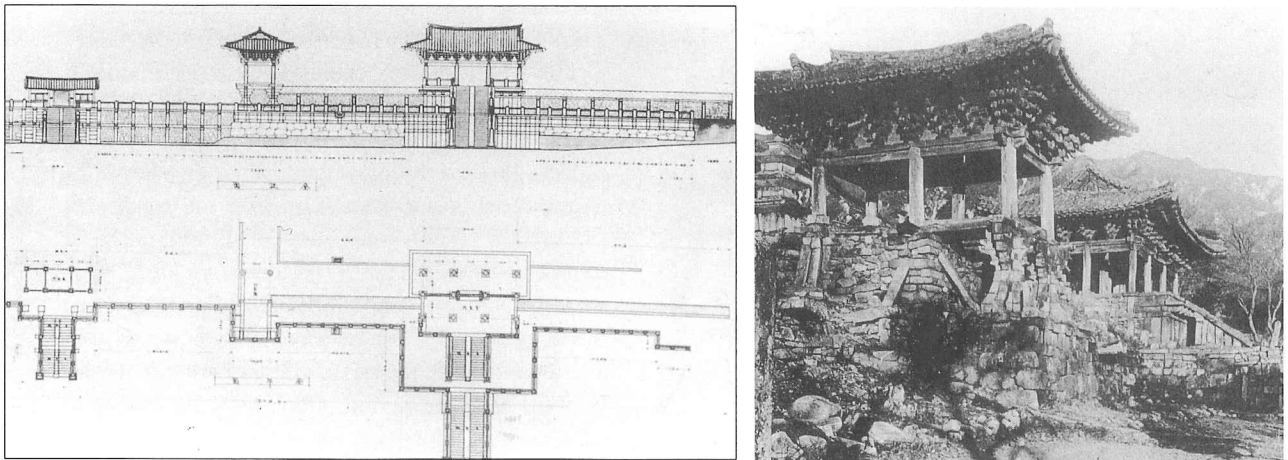
– Article 3 stated that if these remains or artifacts were disturbed or tampered with in any way, the perpetrator was to be reported and taken to the police station within three days. The head of police was then to pass on the report to the Sŏtokofu office.

- Article 4 outlined the procedures for *koseki* registration on special forms.
- Articles 5–8 laid down rules concerning the official permission needed from the Sōtokufu for the removal, repair, and preservation of remains.

The Japanese colonial government was thus responsible for the registration of hundreds of archaeological and historical sites and monuments with the help of rigid and comprehensive laws. These regulations concerning the preservation of Korean cultural properties also prohibited the outflow of materials and antiquities from Chōsen, though smuggling continued at free ports such as Pusan and Sin'uiju. With the promulgation of the preservation laws, the Sōtokufu organized the Chōsen Koseki Chōsa Inkaikai 朝鮮古蹟調査委員会 (Commission for the Investigation of Historic Remains). While the two main purposes of this organization were scholarly research and education and the establishment of cultural facilities for the Sōtokufu, it also served as the main consulting body for all surveys and for the preservation, repair, construction and registration activities of the colonial government. The Commission was also responsible for studies of remains, museum exhibits, collections of articles, measurements, photography, reproductions, and engineering, and for reporting on such activities. Its membership was made up of specialists in Korean and Japanese universities such as Sekino, Kuroita and Imanishi. Hence, some of the best minds in Japan were engaged in scholarship at the frontier in Chōsen.⁴⁵ In 1918 they were joined by Hamada Kōsaku 浜田耕作, Harada Yoshito 原田淑人, Ikeuchi Hiroshi 池内宏 and Umehara Sueji 梅原末治.

⁴⁵ Fujita, "Ancient Korean monuments."

⁴⁶ This tomb is now considered to belong to King Kwanggaet'o (AD 391–413) whose conquests of Silla and Paekche were recorded on his stele erected in AD 414.



The years 1916–21 saw major discoveries in the excavation of sites from the Lolang, Silla, Koguryō, Paekche, and Imna (Kaya) periods. Excavations in those five years numbered over 110. The first Koguryō fortress was found in the Tung-kou region of Manchuria in 1905 by Torii Ryūzō. He also identified Taewang-myō and Changun-ch'ong,⁴⁶ Koguryō burial types marked by stepped stone-piled mounds and animal-mask-design eave tiles. Artifacts such as eave tiles and architectural and Buddhist sculptural pieces collected

Figure 4
Survey of Koguryō Hanwang-myō
(Album of ancient Korean sites and monuments, vol.2 [1915])

⁴⁷ Tokyo University Museum, *Catalogue*.

⁴⁸ Koguryō moved its capital from T'ungkou to P'yōngyang to facilitate its southern expansion in AD 427.

⁴⁹ These sites are now part of Ch'i-an city in Chi-lin province, People's Republic of China.

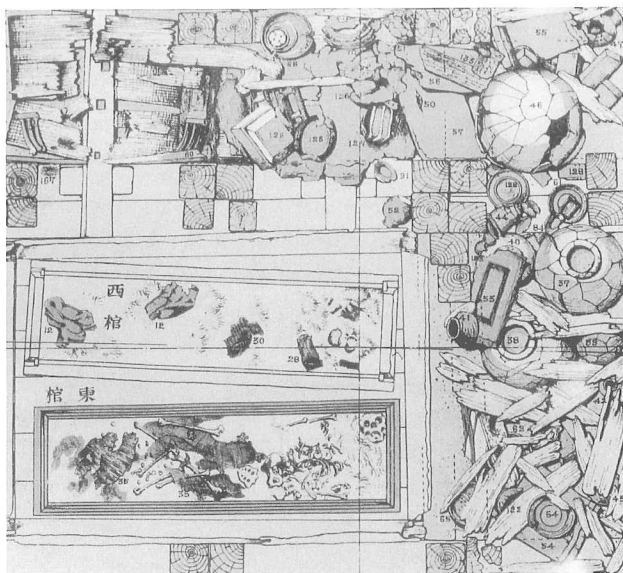
Figure 5

Koguryō eave-tile (Umehara Sueji, Rakurō oyobi Kokuri koga zufu [Album of Lolang and Koguryō eave-tiles] [Kyoto: Benridō, 1935])



Figure 6

Drawing of the burial chamber in the tomb of Wang Guang (Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai, 1935)



in the latter survey now form part of the East Asian collection at the Tokyo University Museum.⁴⁷ In 1909, Imanishi Ryū surveyed Koguryō remains in P'yōngyang⁴⁸ and discovered a fortress at Kangdong-ku Hanwang-myō.

In 1911, the Kangsō *kobun* painted tombs were unearthed by Imanishi, Yatsui, and Kuriyama. These burial frescoes are outstanding for their colors, vibrancy, and dynamic depictions of the Koguryō people at home, in their palaces, dancing, hunting, wrestling, etc. The paintings were also extensively investigated, measured, and copied. Very few Koguryō burial goods were found since they had been looted long before. In 1916, these Kangsō paintings were again copied by Koizumi Akio 小泉顯夫. It was eventually revealed that the vaulted ceilings and paintings had belonged to the tombs of kings. Excavations were conducted by Kuriyama on the first capital of Koguryō in the Tung-kou region on the upper reaches of the Tumen river in southern Manchuria.⁴⁹ These excavations revealed that Koguryō tomb construction had influenced the chamber burials and tomb paintings of Paekche and Silla to the south.

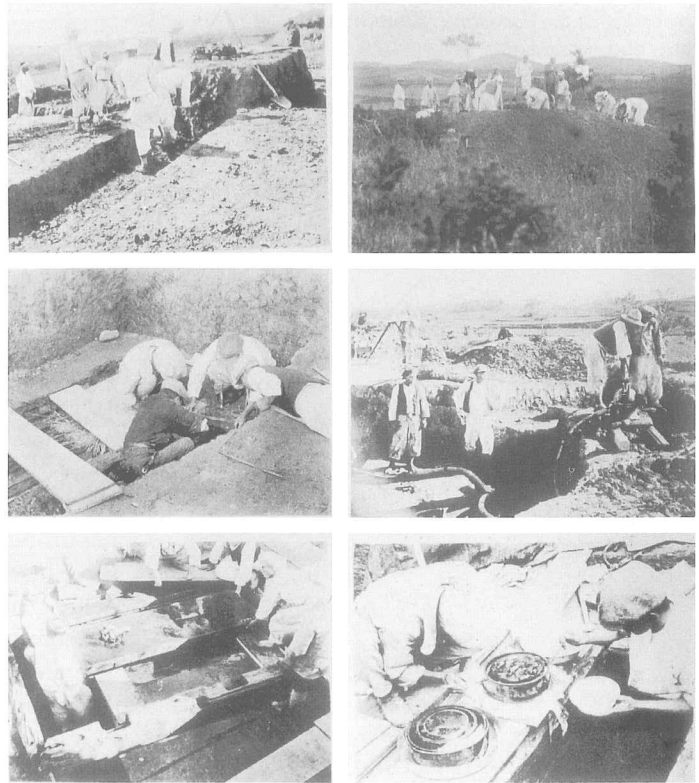
During the 1920s and 1930s, Mikami Tsugio 三上次男 surveyed the Koguryō region for the South Manchurian Railway Company.⁵⁰ In 1938, he reported, the Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai, feeling that they could not just stand by and watch thousands of mounds destroyed by railroad construction, made a strong plea to the railroad authorities for permission to conduct research. Their work and preservation activities helped save the tombs of Taewang-nūng and Changun-ch'ong from being engulfed by city construction.⁵¹

In 1915, Sekino, Yatsui, and Kuriyama excavated ten Lolang burials. These Lolang excavations marked a turning-point in the history of Korean archaeology for they were the first 'scientific' excavations conducted on the peninsula in their use of measuring techniques, movable camps, and photography.⁵² Their excavation reports, too, were unmatched in the excellence of maps, records and drawings, and the quality of publication⁵³ (see Figures 6 and 7). At that time, brick tombs and multi-chambered tombs yielding Han-dynasty (second century BC–second century AD) burial-goods such as lacquer, jade, pottery, gold and jewelry were found nowhere else in the world. By the end of the period of colonial rule, Japanese scholars had identified more than two thousand burials and had excavated hundreds. Their most important achievement was no doubt the identification of T'osōngni, the headquarters of the Lolang commandery south of the Taedong river across from P'yōngyang.⁵⁴ Other Han sites and burials were ascribed dates from the first century BC to the fourth century AD by the inscriptions found on lacquerware, seals, and bricks.

In the last ten years, controversy over the existence of Lolang has fired a lively debate in the Republic of Korea.⁵⁵ This controversy was led by Professor Yun Nae-hyŏn of Tan'guk University⁵⁶ who adopted a position North Korean scholars had already taken for more than forty years.⁵⁷ In 1949, Hong Ki-mun had denied the existence of the Han Chinese commandery of Lolang in the Korean peninsula so as to preclude any 'outside' influence on the prehistoric development of an indigenous Korean sovereign state. He held that the remains found in P'yŏngyang were merely Chinese imports among Koguryŏ remains.⁵⁸ He also dismissed the finds by Japanese scholars of Han Chinese 'Lolang' inscribed bricks and seals as colonial-period forgeries manufactured by locals who sold them to Japanese administrators and soldiers for high prices.⁵⁹ Hong's 'driven by market forces' argument to my mind lacks credibility, however, because the large body of the day-labourers at archaeological sites was made up of illiterate peasants highly unlikely to have been able to paint and inscribe ancient Chinese characters on lacquerware, stone steles and Han bricks. The accusations of nationalist archaeologists that Japanese planted and tampered with archaeological material contradict the evidence of actual museum collect-

Figure 7

Wang-bsŭ Lolang tomb excavations (Harada Yosbito, Rakurō [Lolang] [Tokyo: Tōkyō Sboin and Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku, 1930])



/Archaeological activities and studies continue to be carried out today by Chinese archaeologists on Koguryŏ sites (Li Tien-fu, "Chi-an Kao-k'ou li-mu yen-chiu" [A study of Koguryŏ tombs in Chi-an], in *Tung-pei k'ao-ku yü li-shih* [Archaeology and history in the north-east] (Beijing: Wenwu Ch'u-pan-she, 1982), pp.163-85; Ch'oe Mu-jang, *Koguryŏ, Palhae munhwa* [The culture of Koguryŏ and Palhae] (Seoul: Chibmundang, 1982).

⁵⁰ The South Manchurian Railway Company was the leader in commercial development and territorial expansion in China and Korea. There are numerous studies of this highly influential corporation during the colonial era from a variety of perspectives (John Young, *The research activities of the South Manchurian Railway Company, 1907-1945—a history and bibliography* [New York: East Asian Institute, Columbia University, 1966]). It also established a research

/department (Mantetsu Chōsabu) which employed the brightest minds of the time to conduct geological, geographical, agricultural, economic, ethnographic, archaeological, and historical studies of Manchuria and Korea. Many of the historians and archaeologists mentioned in this work were also employed in this research department (Hara Kakuten, "Mantetsu chōsabu no rekishi to Ajia kenkyū" [The history of the Research Department of the South Manchurian Railroad and the study of Asia], *Ajia Keizai* 20-24 (1976-83); idem, *Mantetsu chōsabu Tōajia* [East Asian Research Institute of the South Manchurian Railroad Company] (Tokyo: Keisō Shobō, 1986); Itō Takeo, *Mantetsu ni ikite*, trans. Joshua A Fogel, *Life along the South Manchurian Railway—the memoirs of Itō Takeo* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1988). The company published its archaeological and historical findings in the series entitled *Manshū rekishi chiri* [Man-

/churian history and geography], *Mansen chiri rekishi kenkyū hōkoku* [Manchurian and Korean geography and history reports], ed. Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku (Tokyo, 1915-41).

⁵¹ Fujita Ryōsaku, "Chōsen kōkōgaku kenkyū" [Studies in Korean archaeology] (Kyoto: Takagiri Shōen, 1948), p.498.

⁵² Chōsen Sōtokufu, *Rakurōgun jidai no iseki* [Archaeological remains of the Lolang period] (Tokyo, 1927). The Chōsen Sōtokufu (abbreviated hereafter as CSTF) was in existence from 1905 to 1945.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Komai Kazuchika, *Rakurōgun chishi* [The seat of local government of Lolang], *Kōkōgaku kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Kōkōgaku Kenkyūshitsu, 1965).

⁵⁵ Hyung Il Pai, "The Lelang interaction sphere in Korean prehistory" (PhD diss., Harvard University, 1989).

Figure 8

"Nien-ti-bsien" inscribed stele dated to the Han dynasty. Nien-ti-bsien was one of the twenty-two Han-dynasty counties in the Korean peninsula as recorded in the Han-shu (Album of ancient Korean sites and monuments, vol.1 [1915])



⁵⁶ Yun Nae-hyön, *Han'guk kodaesa sbinnon* [A new theory of ancient Korea] (Seoul: Ilchisa, 1986).

⁵⁷ Hong Ki-mun, "Chosönüi kogohak taehan Ilche öyonghaksöl üi kömt'o" [A review of Japanese colonial theories on Korean archaeology], *Yöksa Munje* [Journal of historical issues, P'yöngyang] 13, 14 (1949): 53–101.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p.95.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Kim Wöl-lyong, "Nangnang munhwaüi yöksajök wich'i" [The position of Lolang in Korean history], in *Han'guk munhwaüi kiwön* [The origins of Korean civilization] (Seoul: T'amgudang, 1983), pp.166–86; Hyung Il Pai, "Culture contact and culture change: the Korean peninsula and its relations with the Han dynasty commandery of Lelang," *World archaeology* 23.3 (1992): 306–19.

ions made up of thousands of genuine artifacts from hundreds of excavated burials and the architectural remains of Han brick fortresses. The archaeological data consistently corroborate the historical records of Lolang as the center of Han Chinese administration, trade, and technology in the Korean peninsula.⁶⁰ The influence of Han China in writing, military weapons, pottery-making, lacquerware, jewelry and architectural styles imported from Lolang may be seen in the development of the Three Kingdoms in the Korean peninsula and the Early Kofun states in Japan.⁶¹

In 1918, the public was astounded by the revelation of artifacts from Silla tombs—spectacular gold crowns, silver and gold jewelry, imported Roman glassware, and elegant pottery. Nothing of indigenous origin had yet been discovered in the Korean peninsula displaying such splendid workmanship, refined detail, or variety. The burials were accidentally discovered when a solid gold crown was unearthed from the floor of a farmhouse. Kümkwang-ch'ong, Kümnyöng-ch'ong, Söbong-ch'ong, and Yangsan Pubu-ch'ong, around Taegu and Kyöngju in Kyöngsangbuk-do province, were all subsequently excavated. Among the Three Kingdoms-period *kobun* remains, Silla burial-goods are the best preserved because the architecture of Silla tombs placed the mortuary chamber deep beneath the mound, which acted as a deterrent to grave-looters through the centuries.

The great temple site of the Unified Silla period (AD 668–918), Hwangnyongsa-ji, was discovered in 1916. In scale and grandeur it is the largest known temple-complex site in Korean history, and excavations continue today. Japanese archaeologists also measured and recorded the remains of the temple of Sach'önwangsa and Ch'omsöngdae, both in Kyöngju. Paekche remains of earth fortresses and stone burials were found at the bend of the South Han river in the vicinity of Sökch'öndong and Mongch'on-dong in Seoul. The later capitals of Paekche were relocated in the cities of Kongju and Puyö. Pannam-myön, a very large

⁶² W. G. Aston, *Nibongi* (1896; reprint ed., Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1972).

A major exhibition of Kaya artifacts jointly sponsored by the Seoul National Museum, the Tokyo National Museum and the Asahi Newspaper Corporation of Japan, opened in June 1992 at the Tokyo National Museum, later travelling to the Kyoto National Museum as well as the Fukuoka Prefectural Museum of Art (Tokyo National Museum, ed., *Kaya bunka ten* [Asahi Shinbun, 1992]). The exhibition was a landmark for it was the first joint South Korean-Japanese scholarly effort to bring to-

gether in one place Korean and Japanese tumulus artifacts consisting of bronze and iron weapons, armour, mirrors, gold crowns, horse equipment, and *sueki* 須惠器 ware excavated from sites in both Korea and the Japanese archipelago. For the last hundred years, the geographical source and inspiration of early royal burial artifacts have incited fierce debates over 'horse-riders' who supposedly swept through Korea on their way to conquering Japan (Gari Ledyard, "Gallop along with the horseriders: looking for the founders of Japan," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 1.2 [1975]:



Figure 9 (left)

View of Pulguksa before reconstruction (Album of ancient Korean sites and monuments, vol.4 [1916])

urn-burial concentration with gold crowns and jewelry, was found in Ch'ungch'ōngnam-do and was identified as belonging to the Early Paekche period. Royal burials were also found at Nūngsanni.

Kaya stone cist graves covered with mounds were located on high hilltops in south-east Korea in Ch'angnyōng, Koryōng, Sōngju and Kimhae. Archaeologists Hamada, Imanishi, and Kuroita discovered that though these remains were similar to those of Paekche and Silla, there was evidence of strong and undeniable ties to remains in Kyushu, as reflected in the historical records of the *Nihon Shoki*.⁶²

After 1916, preservation activities were carried out by the Chōsen Sōtokufu and the museum. Money was scarce and was therefore spent on only the most important monuments and those in imminent danger of collapse. They repaired the East Gate (Tongdaemun) in Seoul, put fences around burial mounds, and stabilized the foundations of pagodas. The Museum and the Gakumuka (Department of Research Activity) also embarked on an extensive project for the reconstruction of Pulguksa (Figure 9) and Sōkkulam (Figure 10) to counter the erosion caused by hundreds of years of neglect and decay.⁶³ These sites have been praised—deservedly—as the most outstanding architectural monuments of Korea's past in their beauty and engineering.⁶⁴ The restoration of Sōkkulam took sixteen years to complete and that of Pulguksa eight. The colonial engineers were especially careful to preserve the original form and style of these Buddhist monuments which dated to the eighth century, the height of Silla culture and artistic achievement. They also worked on Pusōksa Muryang Sujōn (thirteenth century), which is the oldest wooden monument standing today and dates to the mid-Koryō period.

As one of the Chōsen Sōtokufu's preservation activities, important monuments that were too far away to be safeguarded were moved to the Museum grounds. Included among these were many pagodas, stelae, and stone lanterns which can still be seen during a walk around Kyōngbok Palace in the center of Seoul. The museum staff also determined which monuments, sites and arti-

/217–54). The 'buried discourse' in Japan remains controversial because it is deemed critical to an understanding of the 'sacred' origins of the Japanese state and imperial lineage (Walter Edwards, "Buried discourse: the Toro archaeological site and Japanese national identity in the early post-war period," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 17.1 [1991]: 1–23). *Kofun* 古墳 mounds and burial objects are therefore touted as the earliest material proof for establishing the chronology of the 'mytho-religious' origins of the Japanese. They are consequently promoted as sacred sites and objects of national pride and heritage (Fujitani Takashi, "Inventing, forgetting, remembering: toward a historical ethnography of the nation state," in *Cultural nationalism in East Asia*, ed. H. Befu, Institute of East Asian Studies [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993]). I believe this kind of Korean and Japanese cooperation in displaying common archaeological remains is the first step to opening the future for scholarly discussions. Historians and archaeologists today need to recognize openly the political implications of 'opposing national histories' and their claims to 'legitimate ownership' of archaeological, artistic, and cultural objects.

⁶³ CSTF, Chōsen Sōtokufu Chōsenshi Henshūkai [Committee for the compilation of Korean historical literature], *Chōsenshi henshū jigyō gaiyō* [An introduction to the compilation of Korean historical works] (Keijō: Chōsenshi Insatsu, 1938).

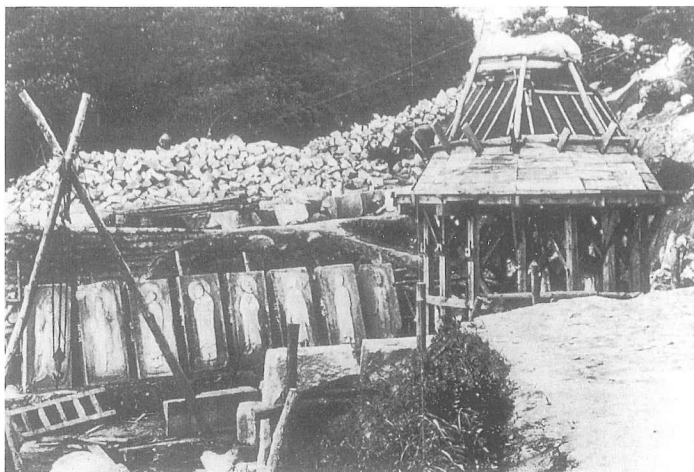
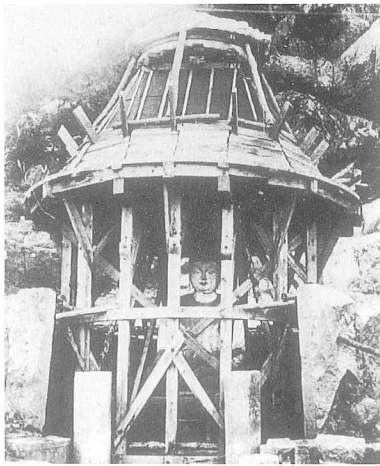
⁶⁴ Sekino Tadashi, *Chōsen bijutsushi* [The art history of Korea], ed. Chōsen Gakkai (Keijō: Chikazawa Shoten, 1932).

⁶⁵ CSTF, *Koseki chōsa hōkoku* [Reports on investigations of ancient sites] (Keijō, 1918–37).

⁶⁶ Translations of these titles are my own.

Figure 10 (below)

Sökkulam reconstruction scene
(CSTF, Bukkokujū to Sekkutsuan
[*Pulguk Temple and Sökkulam Cave*
in Keishū], Chōsen hōmotsu koseki
zuroku [Album of Korean antiquities]
(Kyoto Munseidō, 1938), vol.1)



facts would be designated ‘National Treasures’ (*kokubō*) and displayed in their collections. Museum catalogues were printed with explanations and descriptions of features in Japanese, English, and occasionally classical Chinese, but never in Korean.⁶⁵ It was therefore Japanese colonial scholars and bureaucrats who first defined the aesthetic criteria for the “valuable cultural objects and museum pieces” that would represent Korea’s past.

In 1913, Sekino began work on the first volume of the *Chōsen Koseki Zufu* (Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Monuments) series,⁶⁶ cataloguing photos, maps, and illustrations in fifteen volumes. Over a period of twenty years (1915–35), they covered Lolang remains, Three Kingdoms burials, Buddhist temples, ceramics, Buddhist sculpture, and Yi dynasty paintings. The seven volumes of the *Koseki Chōsa Tokubetsu Hōkoku* (Special Reports on Investigations of Ancient Sites [1919–30]) also documented the major excavations of Lolang graves, Silla tombs and Koguryō sites. The *Koseki Chōsa Hōkoku* (Reports on Investigations of Ancient Sites [nineteen volumes, 1918–37]) were annual surveys and reports of excavations throughout the peninsula. The Chōsen Koseki Kenkyūkai from 1934 to 1940 published additional reports, the *Koseki Chōsa Gaiyō* (Survey Reports on Investigations of Ancient Sites), on the research unit’s activities and excavations of major Lolang sites and Three Kingdoms burials.

The Colonial Racial Framework and the Decline of Korean Civilization

The earliest Japanese scholarship on Korea made immense contributions in the archaeological discovery of the Three Kingdoms by putting the first museum collections on display, classifying prehistoric artifacts, and instituting laws and regulations for the preservation of ancient sites and monuments. Their research publications also defined the standard for scientific archaeological excavations and documentation, surpassing the publications of any other country during that period in the quality of their photographs, maps, and illustrations. These pioneers were also instrumental in schooling, even after independence in 1945, the next generation of Korean archaeologists,⁶⁷ since there was then no Korean adequately trained to conduct excavations.⁶⁸ Japanese excavation and recording techniques in digging, mapping, and illustration styles still influence present-day Korean archaeological training and publications a hundred years later. Even today, Korean excavation reports closely resemble the Japanese colonial

prototypes in their overall presentation, organization, and layout. Present analyses also emphasize artifact illustration and classification (Figure 11) and cultural historical analysis, as did the Japanese. This disciplinary continuity in academic training and reporting has no doubt been facilitated by the similarity between the Korean and Japanese languages, as reflected in their extensive commonality in archaeological and art historical vocabulary.

Despite the contributions of Japanese archaeologists and historians, their overall general interpretative framework left a lot to be desired. Their anthropological surveys, studies of documents, and archaeological data were invariably selectively used to reconstruct a unilinear development of Korean civilization along evolutionary historical lines, dependent on a sequence of racial conquests, that highlighted the following four main themes: (1) the theory of '*Nissen dōsōron*' 日鮮同祖論, i.e. the common ancestral origins of the Korean and Japanese races; (2) the assertion that Japanese emperors ruled Korea in ancient times (fourth–seventh century AD); (3) the idea that the development of Korean history was mainly influenced by the impact of Chinese civilization from without and therefore lacked unique Korean origins; (4) the backwardness/stagnation view of Korean civilization.⁶⁹

Along with historical and archaeological research, ethnographic studies were carried out by Japanese administrators and scholars throughout the period of the annexation of Korea and colonial rule (1905–45). Prominent Japanese specialists conducted '*Chōsenjin*' studies which documented the 'racial characteristics' of the Koreans. They covered every possible aspect of Korean customs, character, philosophy, religion, psychology, and even criminal behavior.⁷⁰ As manuals for colonial rule, *Chōsenjin* studies noted that the study of Korean people and their language, history, customs, etc., was necessary for future success in colonial rule and the eventual benefit of the empire.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Dr. Kim Chae-wŏn, the first head of the National Museum of Korea after 1945, noted in his autobiography that Arimitsu Kyoichi, who had worked on Korean archaeology throughout the colonial period, remained behind in Seoul even after Japan's surrender in order to ensure the safety of these precious artifacts (Kim Chae-wŏn, *Pangmulkwankwa hanp'ōngsaeng* [My life with the National Museum] [Seoul: Tamgudang, 1992], p.96). A representative of the American occupation force was also there to keep a watchful eye when the museum collections were turned over to the custody of Dr. Kim. He further commented on how this event cemented his lifelong friendship with Arimitsu (p.97).

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.96.

⁶⁹ Hatada Takashi, *Introduction to Korean history*; *idem*, *Introduction to Korean history*; *idem*, *Japanese view of Korea*; *idem*, *Shin Chōsenshi nyūmon* [Introduction to a new history of Korea] (Tokyo: Ryūkei Shōsha, 1981).

⁷⁰ CSTF, *Chōsenjin* [The Korean people] (Keijō: Chōsen Insatsu, 1920); *idem*, *Chōsenjin no shisō to seikaku* [The thought and character of the Korean people] (Keijō: Chōsashiryō Dainishu, 1927).

⁷¹ CSTF, *Chōsenjin no shisō to seikaku*.



Figure 11

Classification of Silla pottery by the Society for the Preservation of Kyōngju Antiquities (Album of ancient Korean sites and monuments, vol.3 [1916])

⁷² Ibid., p.71.

⁷³ Ibid., p.58.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.57.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p.70.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

⁷⁷ This represents the standard argument that rationalized colonial rule and cultural oppression and was widely advocated by intellectuals, anthropologists, and archaeologists representing imperial powers including Britain, France and Germany from the nineteenth century well into the early twentieth century. Such arguments were especially pertinent to the development of the school of "colonialist archaeology" in Africa, Latin America, and the Middle East (Bruce Trigger, *A history of archaeological thought* [Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989]). Only recently has there begun a systematic re-evaluation and criticism of many of the leading academic figures at the turn of the century regarding their fieldwork methodologies, attitudes, and motivations that deliberately or inadvertently contributed to colonial causes (George W. Stocking, ed., *Colonial situations: essays on the contextualization of ethnographic knowledge* [Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991]).

⁷⁸ Hatada Takashi, *Symposium on Korea and Japan*, p.13.

⁷⁹ CSTF, *Chōsenjin no shisō to seikaku*, p.71.

⁸⁰ In the early 1980s these historical issues, once confined to academic debates, caught media attention when student demonstrations broke out in Korea, China, Taiwan and chinatowns in the U.S. They were condemning the usage in Japanese textbooks of the euphemism 'advances' (*shinsbutsu* 進出) in place of the more historically accurate word 'invasions' (*shinryaku* 侵略) (Kenneth B. Pyle, "Japan besieged: the textbook controversy," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9.2 [1983]: 298-300, at 298) when describing the Japanese military conquests, wars and atrocities Korea and China during the last century.

⁸¹ I use the word "Japanese" here because "Nippon" is the term used by these scholars when describing the activities of the Wa over 1,500 years ago (Oda Shōgo, *Chōsenshi taikēi—kodaihen* [A general history of Chōsen—the ancient period], Chōsen-shi Gakkai [Keijō: Chikazawa Shoten, 1927]). I realize it is an anachronistic designation

These works attributed Korean backwardness to two main characteristics: *taritsusei* 他律性 (a lack of independence) and *shidai shugi* 事大主義 (a servile attitude towards bigger nations). Other negative racial features identified were a lack of creativity, stress on formality, illiteracy, a tendency to factional strife, an inability to distinguish private possessions and public property, individualism, and authoritarianism.⁷² These faults were traced to the rule of the Yangban literati and their constant striving to be bureaucrats. Thus, according to colonial government reports, the country's decline was due to the entrenched Confucianism and factionalism of the Yi dynasty.⁷³ Japanese administrators pointed out that bad government on the part of the ruling dynasty was to blame for the plight of the Chōsen people.⁷⁴ In their analysis, they also argued that Koreans could hardly be blamed for their faults because they had been surrounded by superpowers since ancient times.⁷⁵ To the north there were the steppe nomads and the Russian empire, to the west the supreme force of China, and to the east Japan. Under such unpromising conditions, the Japanese studies concluded, a Korean civilization could not have developed very far.⁷⁶ Having reached this assessment, the Japanese colonial administration felt obliged to drag the Koreans out of their dark age since they were incapable of doing it themselves.⁷⁷ It had therefore enforced its enlightened rule of assimilation (*dōka* 同化) under which Koreans would become Japanese and subjects of the Emperor (*tennōka* 天皇化).⁷⁸ The argument for Japan's innate racial superiority justified the imposition of Japanese-language education and immersion in the study of Japanese history and culture. As colonial rulers, the Japanese believed that through correct government the Koreans would gradually lose their bad characteristics and be inspired by their superior race.⁷⁹

Among the negative analyses of the Korean people and their history and culture, it is the Japanese colonial interpretations of early Korean history and prehistory that have incited the greatest controversy.⁸⁰ This is because theories concerning invasion and conquest by the early Taika 'Japanese'⁸¹ army during the Mimana⁸² era are considered by historians to be directly tied to the imperial origins of early Japanese states and the formation of Korea's Three Kingdoms. Korean historians still accuse their Japanese counterparts of deliberately fabricating the contents of the King Kwanggaeto stele inscriptions

/since it is well documented that the unified 'Japanese' state in its present manifestation is a product of the Meiji period belonging to the last century (Carol Gluck, *Japan's modern myths* [Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985]). Most Japanese scholars today, however, with very few exceptions (see Amino Yoshihiko, "Deconstructing 'Japan'," *East Asian History* 3 [1992]: 121-42), continue to use the word 'Nihon' because they identify with and believe in an unbroken imperial state lineage (Fujitani Takashi, "Inventing, forgetting, remem-

bering") symbolizing a racial continuity that can be traced back to the ancient and mythical era mentioned in the revered texts of the *Nihon shoki* and *Kojiki* (c. seventh century).

⁸² The Korean pronunciation is 'Imna' and the problem of Imna remains the most important source of controversy among Japanese and Korean scholars of ancient history. Over the decades, Japanese scholars (such as Oda Shōgo, *General history of Chōsen*, and Saeki Arikiyo, *Kōkaidō ō hi* [King Kwanggaeto stele] [Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1979]) have maintained

in their attempts to manufacture an historical precedent for the occupation of Korea in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁸³ Nationalistic historians on both sides of the Straits of Japan today, therefore, still equate historical military conquests with a past racial, cultural, and military superiority.

Post-War nationalist historians have unanimously denounced Japanese colonial theories that emphasize Korea's racial and cultural inferiority to Japan and dependence on China (*sadae*) as all "part of an evil plot" devised by "Japanese colonial-government-employed (*oyong*) scholars whose malicious poisoning completely distorted Korean history."⁸⁴ "Japanese imperialistic historiography" (*Ilche hwang-guk sakwan*)⁸⁵ is therefore targeted today as the main colonial weapon used to "annihilate" Korea's racial and cultural identity (*minjok malsal*). As a result, Japanese colonial contributions to the discovery, preservation and scholarly study of Korea's ancient remains and monuments are collectively ignored, while those pioneering scholars have become the main scapegoats of the colonial era as "tainted racists and imperialists" who ultimately provided the intellectual and historical justification for colonial occupation.⁸⁶

There is no doubt that despite their recognized scholarly contributions,⁸⁷ the Japanese archaeological and historical framework was indeed represented by the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ideology of colonial racism. Colonial racism has been a major element in the conception of empire around the world in the last two centuries, promoted by colonial overlords who attempted to "weld dynastic legitimacy and national community" by generalizing a principle of innate and inherited superiority over their domains.⁸⁸ Japanese colonial scholarship also emphasized the importance of race, racial invasion, and territorial conquest as determining factors in the rise and fall of nations. Their racially deterministic views were echoed in colonial studies on the periodization of Korea's art historical monuments and archaeological remains. In the field of art history, Sekino Tadashi was the first scholar to document and study early Korean Buddhist remains in Kyōngju, which he considered the peak of her artistic achievement.⁸⁹ Dr. Sekino, who was the first to recognize the significant influence of Korea's Buddhist art on Nara and Heian art and sculpture, revealed that he "only began to understand the relationship between Japan and China through the study of Korea," because "on the one hand, Korea exported Chinese culture to

/interpretations and have gone on to accuse the Japanese scholars of outright forgeries on the stele itself (Ch'ŏn Kwan-u, "A new interpretation of Mimana," parts 1 and 2, *Korea Journal* 14 [Feb. 1974]: 9-23; [Apr. 1974]: 31-44) in a conspiracy to prove an ancient precedent for Japanese conquest 1,500 years before the present century (Kim Chōng-bae, *Han'guk kodaesaronūi sinjoryu* [New trends in ancient Korean history] [Seoul: Koryō Taehakkyo, 1980], p.145). The debate remains unresolved after more than a hundred years of research (H. C. Chōn, *Kodaishi ni mieru Chōsenkan* [A view of Chōsen in ancient history] [Tokyo: Chōsen Seinensha, 1981]).

⁸³ Hatada Takashi, *Japanese view of Korea*; idem, *New history of Korea*.

⁸⁴ Yōksa Hakhoe, *Reflections on Korean history*, pp.8-9.

⁸⁵ Kim Hong-sōp, "Michegukchuūjādūllūie ūihan Namchosōn munhwa yumullūi ryakt'al-kwa p'akoe" [The plunder and destruction of South Korea's cultural relics by American imperialists], *Kogo Minsok* 3 (1965): 128-47.

⁸⁶ Yi U-sōng and Kang Man-gil, *Han'guksaūi yōksainsik* [Historical consciousness in Korea] (Seoul: Ch'angjak Kwa Pip'yōng, 1976).

⁸⁷ Reischauer, "Japanese archaeological work."

⁸⁸ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, rev. ed. (London & New York: Verso, 1991).

⁸⁹ Sekino Tadashi, *Korean architecture*; idem, *Art history of Korea*. Sekino designated Sōkkulam and Pulguksa as the highest points of Korean artistic achievement (Sekino, *Art history of Korea*). I believe that Sekino's avid interest in Silla art was also largely determined by the problem of 'negative evidence', i.e. non-Silla cultural remains in the rest of the peninsula were not as well preserved as Silla remains. Silla Buddhist remains are mostly found on carved rock surfaces tucked away on remote slopes of Namsan mountain outside Kyōngju and have therefore escaped the many vicissitudes of war and vandalism throughout the centuries. Thus, the artistic and architectural achievements of Silla compared to those of the other kingdoms are greatly over-represented in the archaeological record.

/that an early Japanese colony run by the Yamato state was established in the South-eastern part of Korea between AD 365 and 561 (*Nihon shoki* dates) and lasted for about two hundred years. It was from this military outpost that armies were launched to attack the kingdoms of Paekche and Silla. The main body of inscriptions supporting their analysis came from the rubbings of the stele of King Kwanggaet'o of the Koguryō kingdom. Rubbings of this stele (dated to AD 414) were taken by a Japanese mil-

itary officer to Japan in 1883. The stele itself is situated in T'ung-kou in the Chinese province of Chi-lin. It became the object of intense scrutiny by major scholars such as Torii Ryūzō, Sekino Tadashi, Kuroita Katsumi, and Ikeuchi Hiroshi. But to this day the authenticity of the stele's inscriptions and the interpretation of its meagre but nonetheless historic content is contested by the most prominent Korean historians, including Ch'ŏn Kwan-u and Kim Chōng-bae. They refute the accuracy of all Japanese translations and

⁹⁰ Sekino Tadashi, *Art history of Korea*, p.10.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.20.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p.2.

⁹³ Fujita Ryōsaku, "Ancient Korean monuments"; *idem*, *Korean archaeology*; *idem*, *On Korean studies*.

⁹⁴ Fujita Ryōsaku, *Korean archaeology*.

⁹⁵ This designation of the prehistoric period of 'mixed metal and stone' usage is the other source of debate in Korean and Japanese archaeology. Korean archaeologists have accused Japanese scholars of overlooking the existence of a fully-fledged bronze age in the Korean peninsula so that Japan's lack of a 'real' bronze age will be justified. It is no exaggeration to say that archaeological activities in post-war Korea have been fuelled by a fervent sense of mission in the search for the bronze age in the Korean peninsula pre-dating the Yayoi period in Japan (c. third century BC). Thus, one glance at Korean archaeological publications today will show that most reports and studies—including dolmen research (M. N. Ch'oe, *A study of the Yōngsan river valley culture* [Seoul: Dong Sōngsa, 1984] along with innumerable accompanying classifications of the Korean slim dagger (Yun Mu-byōng, *Han'guk-ch'ōngdong-gi munbwa ūi yōn'gu* [A study of the Korean Bronze Age] [Seoul: Yegyōng Sanōpsa, 1986]), or excavations of villages that show evidence of rice agriculture (National Museum of Korea [Seoul], *Hūn-namni reports*, vols 1-4 (1973-76)—are related to the bronze age. These topics will no doubt continue to have a long shelf-life since they are all seen as critical, and undeniable archaeological proof for the arrival of the first 'Koreans' during the Bronze Age (c.1000-700 BC).

⁹⁶ Fujita Ryōsaku, *Korean archaeology*, p.5. When Torii first identified neolithic tools in Korea, he too commented: "they looked identical to those of Japan" (Torii Ryūzō, *Complete works*). This would appear to be the earliest scholarly effort to incorporate Korean archaeology into the prehistory of Japan.

⁹⁷ Saitō Tadashi, *Collected works of Torii Ryūzō*.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p.6.

⁹⁹ Fujita Ryōsaku, *Korean archaeology*, pp.26-7.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p.16.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p.26.

Japan yet at the same time it was also influenced by Japanese art."⁹⁰ He believed, however, that Korean art began to deteriorate after the Unified Silla period (AD 668-936). Sekino was further convinced that the size of the country inhibited the development of Korean art, which never achieved full independence, the monuments remaining small in scale and proportion.⁹¹ He concluded that surveys of ancient Korea revealed that "the Chōsen race has a natural ability for excellent art and if the Chōsen Sōtokufu encourages them, they could perhaps regain their former glory." He blamed the five hundred years of Yi dynasty misrule for causing "a race that was once capable of such superb creativity to lose its interest in art."⁹² From this conclusion it would appear that Sekino saw even artistic achievement as being the product of intrinsic racial talent.

Fujita Ryōsaku was the Japanese archaeologist who headed the Sōtokofu Museum and research departments.⁹³ His views on the development of ancient Korean civilization reflected typical colonial archaeological interpretations.⁹⁴ He is acknowledged as the first scholar to divide the history of ancient Korea into four periods: the Stone Age, the Mixed Metal/Stone Tools Age (*kinseki beiyōki* 金石併用期),⁹⁵ Han-dynasty Lolang culture, and the Three Kingdoms. The Stone Age, according to Fujita, was represented by comb-pattern pottery found at Amsari on the banks of the Han river. He maintained that Korean Neolithic remains resembled those in Siberia and Manchuria,⁹⁶ agreeing with Torii Ryūzō who had first identified prehistoric remains in Korea.⁹⁷ Fujita was also the first to classify Korea's dolmens into two types—Northern and Southern—based on their regional distribution and stylistic differences. He proposed that the bronze artifacts from dolmens belonged to the first "metal-using" race called "the Yemaek" 濊貊, who around the end of Zhou (c. seventh century BC) had migrated from the Shan-tung and Ho-pei region into the north-western Korean provinces of P'yōngan-namdo and Hwanghae-do. The Yemaek soon exerted their domination over the former primitive culture,⁹⁸ settling down to form the sedentary clan villages of semi-sub-terranean dwellings of the earliest type excavated. This was the period Fujita named the age of 'mixed metal/stone tools', its archaeological marker being the Korean slim-dagger (*sehyōng dong-gōm*) found throughout the peninsula.

For Fujita, the 'mixed metal/stone tool' culture constituted the archaeological proof of Shiratori's "historic" arrival of the Yemaek.⁹⁹ He also took the *Weizhi* accounts of the Eastern Barbarians as describing Korea's ancient "shamanistic" burial customs, clothes, and religion, further demonstrating ancient Korea's closer cultural ties to the northern nomadic "Tungus" rather than later Han Chinese influences.¹⁰⁰ Fujita held that this "northern strain Scythian connection" was signified by "the kind of metal technology, weapon-design, and decorative motifs unearthed in the Korean peninsula."¹⁰¹

According to Fujita, the sinification of the "indigenous Yemaek states" of the Korean peninsula occurred with the invasion of Han Wu-ti and the establishment of the Han commandery system in 108 BC. This main cultural force emanated from "Han Lolang culture," which he dubbed "the lighthouse

of the East" on account of its artistic, cultural, and technological superiority.¹⁰² The Han commanderies and their influence reached as far as Ippshilli in Kyōngju, hundreds of miles to the south-east, where imitation Han swords, spears, and ritual bells were found.¹⁰³ More significantly, Fujita believed that the "Han Chinese-influenced" metal/stone age was then transplanted to Japan's Yayoi culture.¹⁰⁴

Amongst the the various 'racial' influences, Fujita emphasized the adoption of Chinese culture by the tribal states of Yemaek, Puyō, Koguryō, and Okchō¹⁰⁵ as the most important factor in the rise of the later Three Kingdoms and the Japanese Kofun states. He proposed that the close cultural and religious ties of the Korean/Japanese during the Kofun period explained the archaeological and historical similarities in customs, clothes, lifestyle, and patterns of subsistence. Fujita thus used the archaeological data to support the already well-established historical theories of the common racial origins of the Tong-i races.¹⁰⁶ That Fujita's initial interest in prehistoric Korea, as with other Japanese historians before him, was derived from his concern with Japanese origins¹⁰⁷ may be understood from his statement that "though Chōsen culture can be seen as an imitation of Chinese culture, it remained not merely a land-bridge but also a place of cultural ferment and a transmitter of continental cultures to Japan."¹⁰⁸

With Fujita and Sekino's comprehensive surveys, archaeological periodization and art historical data were integrated into the colonial racial sequence framework. Colonial scholarship thus attributed artistic, cultural, and technological changes to new arrivals and conquests by a succession of superior races who imposed their lifestyle and rule on the Korean peninsula.

The Invasion Hypothesis in Korean Archaeology

As we have seen, the scholarly contributions of Japanese archaeologists and historians were overshadowed by their 'racially deterministic' interpretative framework. As Hatada Takashi has pointed out, popular Japanese perceptions of Korea, even today, are influenced by the writings of scholars who emphasized that Korean civilization only developed under the external influence of China and was therefore incapable of independent innovation. Though the contribution to Korean historiography of Hatada, as the first historian systematically to expose the ideological and historical background to colonialist archaeology and historiography, is undeniable, he failed to offer any alternative interpretative framework for analyzing early Korean history.¹⁰⁹ Korean nationalistic archaeologists and historians who have uniformly adopted the position of outright rejection of all past Japanese scholarship on Korea, describe early Korean-Japanese¹¹⁰ interaction with the 'influences' travelling in exactly the opposite direction, that is, from Korea to Japan.¹¹¹

In South Korea, the current ultra-nationalist movement is led by Kim Chōng-bae and Yun Nae-hyōn who have rewritten Korean prehistory in an

¹⁰² Ibid., pp.20-1.

¹⁰³ Ibid., p.30.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.40-2.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., p.41.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p.1.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p.2.

¹⁰⁹ Hatada Takashi is without doubt the historian who has made the most significant contribution to post-war Japanese historiography in his attempt to present a 'revisionist' view of Korean history (Hatada, *Introduction to Korean history; Japanese view of Korea; Symposium on Korea and Japan; New history of Korea*). His works have systematically exposed the colonial and imperial origins of Japanese historiography and scholarship that over the decades have continued to propagate distorted histories of Korea and Koreans. He and other Korean historians believe that outdated history textbooks for Japanese middle- and high-school students have continued to promote negative and derogatory images of 'Chōsenjin' that have reinforced anti-Korean discrimination in Japanese society today (Kim Hang-gu, "Kuksa kyokwasōi Ilbon kwan'gye naeyong bunsōk" [An analysis of history textbook content relating to Japan], *Yōksa Kyoyuk* [Journal of Historical Education, Seoul] 32 [1982]: 29-52).

¹¹⁰ It should be emphasized that I use them this term in its purely geographical and locational sense of the Korean peninsula and the Japanese archipelago. This is because I believe that there existed no separate state, racial or unified cultural groups, or civilizations in that early period distinguishable as 'Japanese' or 'Korean' in the modern sense of those terms. A distinct, early 'Korean' civilization only emerged in the Unified Silla period, from AD 668, when Silla conquered Paekche and Koguryō and occupied the whole of the Korean peninsula.

¹¹¹ These 'influences' include everything from rice agriculture, metallurgy, writing, key-hole tomb forms, *sueki* ware, conquering armies etc. The virtually endless list covers all the major traits of civilization. The earliest reliable documentation of significant diplomatic, cultural and religious contact, especially between the kingdom of Paekche and the early Japanese court at Nara, belongs to the later Three Kingdoms period (fourth to seventh centuries AD). For periods prior to that, there are only the undated /OVER

/archaeological remains from *kofun* burials. Stories of Silla princes arriving from across the sea with imperial treasures such as the sword, jewel and mirror as recorded in the *Nihon shoki* chapters (Aston, *Nihongi*) are too fraught with chronological problems to serve as reliable historical sources. They still retain their literary value, however, as fascinating accounts of a mythical and legendary nature that hint at channels of diplomatic and ideological exchange that may have existed then between the Korean peninsula and Japanese islands. The few uncovered contemporaneous inscriptions are still the subject of too much unresolved debate to allow significant conclusions to be drawn (Murayama Shichirō and Roy Andrew Miller, "Inariyama tumulus sword inscription," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 5.2 [1979]: 405–38).

¹¹² Kim Chōng-bae, "Ethnic Korean nation"; idem, *New trends*; idem, *Ancient state in Korea*; Yun Nae-hyōn, *Ancient Korean nation*.

¹¹³ The earliest mention of Kija in connection with the Korean peninsula occurs in the second-century Chinese texts of the *Shang-shu Ta-chuan* (Imanishi Ryū, *Ancient Chosōn history*, pp.132–3) and the *Sbib-chi* (Burton Watson, *Records of the grand historian of China* (New York & London: Columbia University Press, 1968) and relate the story of a Shang aristocrat who fled east at the end of the fall of the dynasty and was eventually enfeoffed in Chao-hsien by King Wu (c. 1000 BC). To this date, no remains of any Late Shang artifacts—bronzes, pottery or weapons—to substantiate this record have been found south of the Yalu river.

¹¹⁴ The story of Wiman ('Wei-man' in Chinese) is first mentioned in the *Sbi-chi* and concerns a general named Wei-man of the state of Yen who fled to Korea after a failed coup attempt in 195–194 BC. Ch'oe Mong-nyong interprets this event as the first 'conquest' state to have arisen in the Korean peninsula (Ch'oe Mong-nyong, *Yōng-san river valley culture*). Professor Yi Ki-baek, on the other hand, doubts that Wiman was even of Chinese origin, holding that he was probably a local leader who dressed up as a Chinese to gain more prestige in his efforts at conquest (pers. comm. 1980; Yi Ki-baek & Yi Ki-dong, *Han'guk-sa kangjwa* [Lectures in Korean history] [Seoul: Ilchogak, 1983], pt 1, pp.62–3).

attempt to refute outright all previous Japanese scholarship.¹¹² The major objections they have raised against colonial interpretation, like their predecessors Yi Pyōng-do, Ch'ōn Kwan-u and Yi Ki-baek, concern the historicity and veracity of Tan'gun, Kija,¹¹³ and Wiman¹¹⁴ Chosōn as well as the nature of the Han-dynasty commandery of Lolang and its importance in the peninsula and early Three Kingdom relations to the Japanese Wa states. These are all hotly-debated topics, since they are deemed crucial to an understanding of the origins of the Korean and Japanese races and their respective civilizations. Today's Japanese scholars as well as Korean nationalist historians continue to rely on 'conquests' and 'influences' going in one direction or another to explain culture change. In this sense, they have not been able to shake off their past imperialistic and colonial legacy. I once applied the term "invasion neurosis" to Korean prehistorians writing today.¹¹⁵ With only a few exceptions, all Korean and Japanese archaeological, art historical, and historical works are resplendent with "influences" going over hill, dale, and ocean. These works cover geographical terrain ranging from the Central Asian steppes (in the case of Egami's "horserider theory,"¹¹⁶ to the mountains of Siberia (for the origins of the Bronze Age [c. 1000 BC]),¹¹⁷ and as far south as the islands of Indonesia (for the source of Korean dolmens).¹¹⁸

Not one of these scholars has ever defined what is meant by "influences." Among themselves, however, I suspect their underlying belief is that actual migrations of clans, tribes, racial groups, and/or whole kingdoms are responsible for technological and cultural changes. This is the precise reason why there is so much animosity and bitterness in archaeological and historical debates, whether between communist North Korean scholars, South Korean academics, or Japanese colonialists. Xenophobia, patriotic sentiments, and competing political agendas pose the greatest barrier to an

/His view is more representative of the nationalistic historical school of thought that attempts to deny Wei-man's Chosōn the status of an ancient Chinese colonial regime.

Archaeological evidence of Yen artifacts such as *ming-tao-ch'ien* 明刀錢 (knife coins) as well as late Warring States-period weapon-types has been found mainly in hoards scattered throughout the peninsula. Without absolute dates or burial contexts, such artifacts cannot serve as proof that such a conquest actually took place.

¹¹⁵ This definition is not mine and I refer the reader to the classic treatise by Grahame Clark deploring the lack of a methodological framework for the interpretation of British prehistory. In this ground-breaking work that was to change the course of British archaeology he diagnosed an "invasion neurosis" among British archaeologists, who were attempting to trace

/all British ancient remains to the European continent (Grahame Clark, "The invasion hypothesis in British archaeology," *Antiquity* 40 [1966]: 172–9, at 172). This situation would seem to persist in present-day Korea and Japan where, in my view, scholars in those countries are still suffering from the trauma and scars left by the last hundred years of political annexation, colonial occupation, cultural oppression, and the division following the Korean War; they continue to interpret the remote and ancient past of two thousand years using the 'imperialist' and 'colonialist' framework, methodology, and terminology belonging to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

¹¹⁶ Yun Mu-byōng, *Korean Bronze Age*.

¹¹⁷ Ledyard, "Horsersiders."

¹¹⁸ Kim Byōng-mo, "Han'guk kōsōk munhwa wōllyu e kwanhan yōn'gu" [A study on the ori-

objective and analytical study of Korean archaeology and ancient history today. Even the most respected and prolific scholars on both sides of the Straits of Japan, such as Kim Wöl-lyong¹¹⁹ in archaeology and Yi Ki-baek¹²⁰ and Hatada Takashi in Korean ancient history, have not been able to overcome their "invasion neuroses." Korean archaeologists and historians are still struggling today with their own reconstructions of a "nationalistic history"¹²¹ influenced by the last fifty years of parallel but opposing state ideologies and 'Korean' historical narratives in the divided peninsula. The inaccessibility of North Korean data has further complicated issues concerning the "antiquity" and "authenticity" of the origins of the "Korean" race, territory, and state. Thus, in both Koreas and in Japan "identity negotiations" depend on who has the greater political legitimacy and moral claim as the "authentic" speaker for defining racial antiquity, purity, cultural superiority, and state ancestry.

The importance and role of archaeology and archaeologists in defining identity, ethnicity¹²² and national culture has long been recognized.¹²³ A nationalistic agenda of this kind is a natural reaction to the "colonialist archaeology" of the previous centuries. Archaeology can be used to bolster the pride and morale of nations and ethnic groups,¹²⁴ being most often used for this purpose "when people who feel thwarted, threatened or deprived of their collective rights by more powerful nations or in countries where national unity is lacking."¹²⁵ Archaeology can also serve as an important instrument in political education because it emphasizes the cultural achievements of indigenous ancient civilizations. Because the fields of archaeology and ancient history most often provide the cultural sourcebook in the search for heroes, myths, and legends,¹²⁶ archaeologists and the results of their finds have been crucial in the building of national regimes and political solidarity.¹²⁷

The study of the Korean peninsula is especially illuminating precisely because it has always been situated at the crossroads of several different civilizations. Korea's archaeological and art historical remains of the past five thousand years reflect a diversity of origins and developments, making it an ideal region to investigate for the formation of hypotheses concerning cultural contact, conflict, acculturation, adaptation, and ultimately culture change.¹²⁸ We need to formulate approaches that emphasize both indigenous origins as well as adaptation to external inspirations from China, the Northern steppes empires and the Japanese islands from the ancient past to more recent times. Such a broad regional framework should allow a better understanding of Japanese-Korean interactions in the past and future, unclouded by individual or collective anti-Japanese or anti-Korean sentiments.

/gin of Korean megalithic culture," *Han'guk kogobakbo* [Journal of Korean archaeological studies, Seoul] 10, 11 (July 1981): 55-78.

¹¹⁹ The late Professor Kim Wöl-lyong, formerly of Seoul National University, is considered the

/father of modern Korean archaeology. His major contributions are the several editions of his *Introduction to Korean archaeology* which first appeared in 1973 (third edition, 1986). He has also served as the chief editor of *Han'*

/guk kogobak yön'bo [Annual report on Korean archaeology] (Seoul: Department of Archaeology and Anthropology, Seoul National University, 1974-92), which has served to synthesize the major discoveries of the past and present covering all Korean archaeological periods since its first appearance in 1973.

¹²⁰ Professor Yi Ki-baek, who has taught for many years at Sogang University, is known for his textbook *Han'guksa shinnon* [A new history of Korea] which first came out in 1976. Translated by Professor Wagner of Harvard University, it was published simultaneously in the U.S. in 1984 by Harvard University Press and as a second edition by Ilchogak in Korea. The Korean and English versions of this book remain the most influential and widely read historical text, explaining Korean history within Yi's "new framework"—"new" as opposed to previous colonial Japanese interpretations of Korea's past. Yi Ki-baek has also written extensively on the issues concerning Korean historiography in the post-Korean War period (Yi Ki-baek, *Race and history*; idem, *A new history of Korea*, trans. Edward W. Wagner with Edward Shultz [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984]).

¹²¹ Kang Man-gil, "Minjok sakakronüi pansöng-Kwangbok 30 nyön Kuksahaküi pansöng kwa panghyang" [A reflection on thirty years of national historiography], in *Pundansidaëüi yöksainsik* [Historiography in a divided peninsula] (Seoul: Ch'angjak kwa Pi'pyöng, 1978).

¹²² Stephen Shennan, *Archaeological approaches to cultural identity*, *One World Archaeology*, no.10 (London & Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

¹²³ Peter Gathercole and David Lowenthal, eds, *Politics of the past*, *One World Archaeology*, no.12 (London & Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

¹²⁴ Trigger, *Archaeological thought*, p.174.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Hugh A. MacDougall, *Racial myth in English history: Trojans, Teutons, and Anglo-Saxons* (Hanover, N.H.: University Press of New England, 1982).

¹²⁷ Bernard Lewis, *History remembered, recovered, invented* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1975).

¹²⁸ Hyung Il Pai, "Culture contact and culture change."

APPENDIX 1

Table of Korean Archaeological Sites Excavated during the Japanese Colonial Period (1910-1945)

DATE	NORTH-WEST	SOUTH-WEST	SOUTH-EAST	HISTORICAL SEQUENCE	ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERIODIZATION
c.1000			Kimhae	Kija (?) Wiman (?)	<i>Neolithic</i>
c.100		Ipsilli		LOLANG	
BC	KOGURYŎ			T'osŏngni Nien-ti hsien	<i>Mixed Metal/Stone Age</i>
AD	T'ung-kou	Sinch'angni	IMNA Kimhae Ch'ang-nyŏng Koryŏng	Sŏkkam-dong Taifang	<i>Kofun</i>
c. 400	Kangsŏ Muyong	PAEKCHE Sŏngju		THREE KINGDOMS	<i>Three Kingdoms</i>
	Changgun Taewang-myŏ	Pannam-myŏn Nŭngsanni Songsanni	SILLA Kŭmkwan Kŭmnyŏng Sŏbong Yangsan Pubu		
668				UNIFIED SILLA	
				Kyŏngju Pulguksa Ch'ŏmsŏngdae Sŏkkulam Hwangnyongsa-ji	
936				KORYŎ DYNASTY	
				Pusŏksa Muryangsujŏn Songkwang temple	
1392				YI DYNASTY	
1910				JAPANESE ANNEXATION	

APPENDIX 2

Chronology of Japanese Archaeological Work in the Korean Peninsula (1900–1945)

- 1900 First survey of burial mounds and dolmens by Yagi Sōzaburō
- 1902 **Beginning of Japanese archaeology in Korea**
First general survey of architectural and stone monuments by Sekino Tadashi in the provinces of North and South Kyōngsan and Kyōngi-do; survey of shrines, temples, and burial mounds
- 1905 First *Koguryō* fortress identified in T'ung-kou, Chi-an
- 1906 First survey of Kyōngju tombs by Imanishi Ryū
- 1907 *Kimhae* shell mound discovered by Imanishi
- 1909 First systematic field investigations of old architecture by Sekino, Yatsui Seiichi, and Kuriyama Shun'ichi in all provinces
- 1910 **Annexation of Korea**
(All archaeological, historical, and publication works from now on conducted by the *Chōsen Sōtokufu* [Office of the Governor-General of Korea])
- 1911 Research studies by Torii Ryūzō of archaeological and historical materials covering all provinces; first discovery of *prehistoric* stone tools and sites
- 1912 Koguryō painted tombs at Kangsō investigated; *Taifang earth fortress* and Han inscription bricks found in Hwanghae-do; *Lolang earth fortress* and *Nien-ti hsien* stele identified in P'yōngan-namdo
- 1913 Collection of historical documents started by Imanishi; first Koguryō excavations begin; reconstruction of Sōkkulam begins, lasting sixteen years
- 1915 The Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum established in the grounds of Kyōngbok Palace
- 1916 Commission for the Investigation of Historic Remains (Chōsen Koseki Chōsa Iinkai) established; regulations for the implementation of the system for the conservation of ruins and remains (*Koseki oyobi ibutsu hozon kitei*) promulgated; system for the official designation of ancient monuments (*koseki*) and national treasures (*kokuho*) implemented; Kyōngju *Hwangyongsa* temple remains, *Sach'ōnuwangsa* temple and Chōlla-namdo *Songkwangsa* temple measured; Koguryō tombs in Chi-an investigated
- 1917 Paekche *Nūngsanni* royal burials investigated; first Lolang excavations and dating of Han artifacts; Seoul *Sōkch'on-dong* mound no.1 excavated
- 1918 Excavations of Silla burials in Kyōngju begin; Imna burials in Koryōng, Ch'angnyong, and Kimhae excavated
- 1919 Reconstruction of *Pulguksa* begins, taking six years
- 1920 *Yangsan Pubu-ch'ong* excavations; Kimhae shell mound excavations;

Dates for this chronology were taken from Fujita Ryōsaku, "Chōsen no koseki chōsa to hozon no enkaku" [The process of researching and preserving ancient Korean monuments], *Chōsen sōkan* [Korea almanac] (Keijō: Chōsen Sōtokufu: 1933), pp.1027–47, and the chart published by the Korean Ministry for the Study of Cultural Remains (Seoul: Munhwajae Yōn'guso, 1968). The years vary slightly from source to source depending on whether the year recorded was that of the publication report or of the actual fieldwork and excavation season.

- 1920 *Yangsan Pubu-ch'ong* excavations; Kimhae shell mound excavations; designation of Mixed Usage of Metal/Stone Age; Kyöngju *Ipsilli* Bronzes discovered
- 1921 *Kumkwan-ch'ong* (Tomb of the Gold Crown) excavations; Kyöngju Museum established
- 1924 Kümnyöng-ch'ong (Tomb of the Gold Bells); Lolang *Sökkam-dong* burials excavated
- 1926 *Söbongch'ong* excavations
- 1931 Lolang *Ch'aehyöpch'ong* (Tomb of the Painted Basket) excavations
- 1933 Kongju *Songsanni Paekche* burial excavations
- 1934 Kimhae excavations of stone cist graves and jar burials leads to designation of Kimhae-style pottery
- 1938 Naju *Pannam-myön* jar burials excavated
- 1940 Chi'an Koguryö *Muyong-ch'ong* (Tomb of the Dancers) excavated

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