

## Tracing Japan's Antiquity: Photography, Archaeology and Representations of Kyōngju

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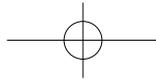
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### Abstract

This paper analyzes photographs of Korea's most famous heritage monuments taken from a wide range of colonial era print media including archaeological reports, photo-albums, postcards, and guide-books. Originally inspired by archaeological survey photographs and colonial registry archival data of ancient remains and relics commissioned by the Colonial Government-general of Chōsen (Chōsen Sōtokufu) Office and Museum, these Taishō era images were later repackaged by the travel industry including the Chōsen Sōtokufu Railways (CGR), the South Manchuria Railways Co. (SMR), the Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB), the Keishū Preservation Society, and commercial photographic studios, and printing companies in order to promote tourism in the empire. The contextualization of the scientific, artistic, and ethnographic knowledge contained in these turn of the century archaeological and travel media archives projecting the sublime beauty of decaying millenia old art and architectural ruins were pivotal in transforming the image of Korea and its people as the most authentic, «picturesque», and «time-less» destination targetting a world audience.

### I. Introduction: Empire Building, Photography and Documenting «Antiquity»

The medium of photography paralleled the emergence of two closely related disciplines, archaeology and art history because of its ability to render precise and minute architectural details as well as its panoramic quality to position ancient relics, individual buildings and sites in their original geographic and topographic settings. Architects, artists, and archaeologists virtually from the camera's inception in the 1840s embraced photographs of art and architecture to be studied as «texts in stone,» in order to decipher the relationship between architecture, ornament, and cultural values (Lyons 2005). Claire Lyons, an archaeologist and curator of the Getty Institute in her preface to an exhibition catalogue entitled, «Antiquity and Photography» has dubbed this photographic ability as «visual mapping». Originally inspired by eighteenth century travel sketches of ruins set amidst rugged landscapes of mountain lakes, valleys, and high plains in Scotland, Switzerland, and the Middle-eastern regions such as Turkey, Greece, Italy, Palestine and Egypt, photography became an indispensable tool for archaeologists, artists, travelers and commercial artists who wanted to create



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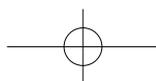
a overall simulacrum of ancient times.<sup>1</sup> Panoramic pictures and photos of vast and empty landscapes dotted with crumbling walls, temples, and sculptures from far-off corners of the world were also enthusiastically received by aristocratic donors, learned societies, empire building politicians, exposition organizers, and globe-trotters who wanted to reclaim these newly discovered remains as symbolic centers of their long lost ethnic and cultural heritage descended from the mythical heroes and battles set in the ancient Christian world as recorded in the Bible (Abu El Haj 2001). Consequently, exquisite portraits of classical statuary set in a «time-less» landscape of the Acropolis as well decaying monumental pyramids and temples of Egypt have to this day exerted a profound impact on formulating notions of «sublime beauty». Such Euro-centric and biased aesthetic criterias of what kinds of monuments represents «authenticity /antiquity» have also determined the selections process of national and international heritage sites worthy of excavations and restorations for education, propaganda and development as a global tourist destinations.

For example, in France, the team members of the *La Mission Héliographique* were classically trained architects who used not only traditional sketch surveys and line drawings but also for the first time, camera technology when they conducted the first nation-wide surveys of abbeys and churches in 1851. These French architects' photographic representations of medieval ruins as well as restoration techniques employed in the preservation and promotion of France's cultural patrimony would later influence the training of professional architects, art historians, and artists educated at fine arts/academic institutions from America, Egypt to Japan (Murakado 2002). As a result, arts education including sketching, mapping and drafting since the eighteenth century have been dominated by generations of classically trained art historians and architects who believed that the intensive study of ancient scripts, ruins, sculpture, objects and their photographic documentations, preferably from Greece and Rome, were the most useful in acquiring cultural knowledge as well as advancing technical skills and academic careers (Marchand 1996: xxi). Thus, "Graeco-philias," to this day continue to influence the core-curriculum offered by departments of archaeology, and art history, that is drawing, measuring, and classifying stylistic and period elements in order to identify and date artifacts, sculpture, and architecture recovered and reconstructed from the ground up (Bergstein 1992, Roth et. al 1993: 7–11). Consequently, academic, museum and disciplinary biases have left us a lasting cultural and material legacy in the selections of which monumental ruins such as churches, abbeys, palaces, castles, mausoleums and artifacts exhibited in national museums and historic sites were selected to represent the national past in Europe and the Middle-east (Boyer 2003).

By the 1880s, national trusts in England, Germany, and France were also competing to send university trained architects, art historians, and photographers to their newly acquired colonial outposts in Egypt, Palestine, Greece, Turkey and India in order to map, document, and bring back photographs and objects excavated from their discoveries of long lost ancient civilizations (Lyons 2005, Marchand 1996,

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1 The fascination with ruins from antiquity in Europe on the part of the general public dates back to the mid-eighteenth century when «picturesque» visages of prehistoric ruins from cairns, stone-henge to medieval castles, began appearing in landscape paintings, prints, theatre sets as well romantic settings for popular historical novels of the day (Darby 2000).



Perizalli 2003). With the expansion of mechanized vehicles such as ocean-crossing steamers and the inter-continental railroads in the late 19th and early 20th century, explorers, journalists, soldiers, fortune-seekers, curio-collectors as well as professional and amateur photographers also began traveling in large numbers in search of yet undiscovered ruins to enhance one's fame as well to sell photographs, postcards, and stereo-view slides to consumers back in the metropolises of Europe (Ryan 1997, Geary and Webb 1998). Commercially produced travel/archaeological photography displayed along with looted treasures and curios of mummies, obelisks, and statuary art also proved to be vastly popular when exhibited at dioramas at world fairs staged at European and colonial metropolises attracting millions of visitors, art collectors/antiquity dealers, and buyers to exposition pavillions and public museum galleries. Therefore, photographic images and their «artistic recreations» of ruins and monuments disseminated in the form of postcard images, museum displays, and tourist souvenirs have played an indispensable role in shaping public conceptions/views of iconic national/international destinations of the ancient world such as the Egyptian pyramids, Machu Piccu, Taj Mahal, and Great Wall of China to name the most prominent few to a world audience (Barringer and Flynn 1998).

The physical documentation of ruins either by artists, antiquarians, or commercial photographers either as sketches on paper, printed photographs, or museum artifact is also ultimately, an act of arresting time, in order to preserve the physical image of a once glorious past, present, reveal origins, and thereby confer a sense of immortality, belonging, and nostalgia to the beholder (Roth, et. al. 1993: 25). The threat, real or imaginary loss of a nation's or the heritage of man (as advocated in the 1972 World Heritage Convention) is also key to understanding the irresistible attraction and emotional pull of archaeological and historical remains as well as their photographic representations of on the part of the general public. For these reasons, in the early stages of the formation of cultural properties policies legislations by countries such as France, England, Germany, as well as Japan, nationalist ideologues, art historians, and politicians have determined the preservation agenda. Spectacular monuments such as mausoleums, palatial estates, religious sites, and battle-fields glorifying conquering ancestors and/or mythical heroes, real or fictionalized were preserved and restored for historical edification, to give a sense of place in the national and colonial imaginary (Perizalli 2003).

In summary, it is not an exaggeration to state that scientific goals, civilizing mission and propaganda on the part of state appointed cultural committees, field specialists, colonialists, and photographers hired by museums, learned societies, and tourist developers have played a vital role in determining the profile of Cultural Resource Management (CRM) focused on iconic world heritage sites and popular tourist attractions.<sup>2</sup> In this paper, I will discuss the earliest archaeological images representing Korea's oldest monuments and remains documented by the first generation of Tokyo/Kyoto imperial university trained architects, archaeologists, artists, and professional photographers. In the first two decades of the twentieth century,

<sup>2</sup> The emphasis has always been on restoring original "beauty/authenticity/antiquity," of remains in-situ to preserve a sense of place, for all to see and learn as demonstrated in the ever-expanding list of World Heritage Sites (Cleere 1989: 20). As of December 23, 2010, the World Heritage Center currently lists a total of 911 monuments including cultural/natural properties in over 150 nations (See UNESCO World Heritage Center Homepage-<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>).

they pioneered archaeological surveys, excavations, and reconstruction of ancient remains belonging to the former capitals of the Three Kingdoms of Koguryō in Shuan (Jian, P. R. C), Silla in Keishū (Kyōngju) and the Han dynasty commandery site of Rakurō (K. Nangnang) in P'yōngyang (Table). The original colonial era photographic archives constituting tens and thousands of glass-plates are now preserved at former imperial university libraries and national museum archives such as Tokyo University Architecture Department, Kyoto University Department of Archaeology, and the National Museum of Korea (Fujii et. al 2005, Yoshii 2007, National Museum of Korea 2009). The significance of this study is three fold: First, the study of these photographic archives is important because they constitute the earliest body of modern/scientific survey records carried out by trained specialists recorded in the form of sketches, measurements, maps, and photographs. These documents were attached to cultural inventory forms (taichō dōroku) submitted to the Colonial Governer-General Office of Chōsen (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1910–1945) following the promulgation of the first comprehensive archaeological cultural properties preservation laws in 1916, predating those of Japan (Pai 2006). The thousands of cultural properties card inventories records made up of prehistoric objects, museum artifacts, and standing art/architecture were later consulted by specialists working for the Chōsen Sōtokufu appointed cultural committee members of the Committee on Korean Antiquities (Chōsen kōseki kenkyukai, hereafter CKKK) and their Post-War era successors, the Office of Cultural Properties (Munhwajae kwalliguk, 1961-1998) when classifying and ranking the order of the Korea's national registry (Pai 2001). Because these field survey records also included the original address, owner, historical documents, measurements, and excavated data, they are still being consulted as the oldest «authentication records» by the Cultural Heritage Administration Bureau of the Republic of Korea (CHA, 1998-present) for preservation and reconstruction purposes. The ranking order has also determined the amount of funding for excavations, preservation and reconstruction provided by state institutions and tourist investment by both public and private developers in the past century.

Second, by the 1920s in less than a decade, following the spectacular discoveries of Korea's tombs and relics, these photographic images of Korea's historical sites and museum treasures were distributed in the form of postcard views reprinted in a wide variety of publications commissioned by transportation and travel companies such as the SMR, CGR, the Japan Travel Bureau (JTB) and local businesses such as hotels, hot springs, exposition organizers, and travel magazines as promotional tools to showcase Korea's many scenic historical sites and customs to both Japanese (Naichi-jin), colonized subjects, and foreigners (Pai 2010a, 2010b, 2010c). Though, domestic tourism in Japan had been a vibrant industry since the early Edo period, mass tourism represented by packaged leisure tours abroad that we are all so familiar today in fact originated with observation (fact-finding or kenmon) and educational tours to Korea and Manchuria in the early twentieth century (Moon 2009). Therefore, the production and distribution of Korea's archaeological images disseminated in photo-albums, postcards, leaflets, magazines, and tourist guidebooks (JTB 1913–42, 1924-present) must be understood in the broader regional framework set amongst the rapidly advancing Japanese territorial expansion, field surveys and infra-structure building which paved the way for the opening

of new travel and leisure destinations in the North-east Asian continent.

This paper is divided into three parts: First, I will give a brief introduction to the political, social, and economic reasons why Korea became the favorite field destination for the first generation of young university trained scholars in the fields of archaeology and art history such as Sekino Tadashi, Torii Ryūzō, Yatsui Seichi, Oba Yonekichi, and Sawa Shunichi who were dispatched to survey all thirteen provinces in the 1900s and 1910s. As graduates of Tokyo University and/or Tokyo Fine Arts School, they were all commissioned by either Tokyo Imperial University, Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum, Interior Ministry, and Education Department even before the official annexation of Korea beginning in 1902 (Pai 1994). Second, the photographs introduced here come from survey records, excavation scenes and major reconstruction projects dating from the early Taishō era (1910s–1920s) when the majority of discoveries of the oldest temples, sculptured, and royal tombs first grabbed the attention of the academic community around the world (Table 1). These field photographs originated with in-house publications produced by the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum and edited by the members of the Committee on Korean Antiquities (CKKK) including the fifteen volume series entitled *Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics (Chōsen koseki zūfu)* published between 1915–1935, the eighteen volume series (*Koseki chōsa hōkoku*) annual archaeological reports, and seven volume special series of Special Archaeological Reports (*Koseki tokubetsu hōkoku*) (National Museum of Korea 2009, Vol.1:126, Vol. 2: 46–132). In the last section of the paper, we will analyze a small sample of these archaeological images portraying Korea's most promoted cultural destinations in various stages of decay which were later mass produced to promote destination tourism to the oldest dynastic capital of Kyōngju (Keishū) and P'yōngyang (Heijō).

## II. Empire Networks and Colonial Government Archaeological Surveys

The Korean peninsula became the field of choice for young ambitious Tōkyō University field researchers even before the official annexation of the Korean peninsula (1910) for several reasons. First, the Meiji government had banned excavations of burial sites as well as restricted access to prehistoric and so-called imperial tombs (kofun) finds so the Imperial Household Office could monopolize all physical remains, yet undiscovered in the re-writing of its national past (Edwards 2003). By 1900, all reported archaeological materials had to be deposited at three state sanctioned imperial institutions, the Tōkyō University Anthropological Laboratory, three Imperial Museums (Tōkyō, Kyotō and Nara), and, later on Kyoto Imperial University Museum (Pai 2010c: 96). The lack of opportunities to conduct field research had a crippling effect in the development of the field of Japanese archaeology which had once shown so much promise in the early Meiji era with the shell-mound excavations by Edward Morse and his students (Ōba 1935, Yagi 1935). Consequently, ambitious graduates of Tokyo University who were trained in the newly imported field sciences such as archaeology, anthropology, and art history such as Yagi Sōzaburō, Sekino Tadashi, and Torii Ryūzō jumped at the chance to go off to the colonies in search of «raw» data free of Imperial Household intervention and government censorship (Naoki 1980, Pai 2006). Second, the colonies also o

**Table 1 Chronology of Heritage Management in Japan And Korea  
(Fieldwork, Disciplines, Institutions, and Tourist Industry)**

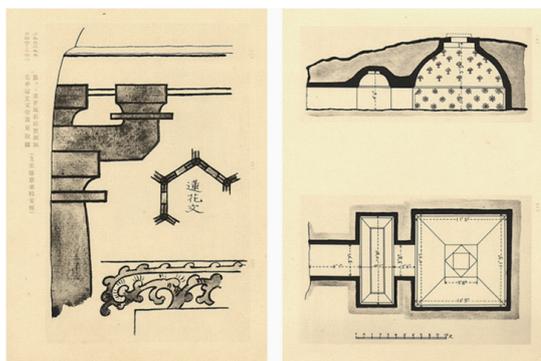
1874 .5	Banning of excavations of legendary “burial mounds” and sacred sites by Meiji government
1884	The establishment of the <u>Tokyo Anthropological Society</u> at Tokyo University (prehistoric archaeology specimens deposited)
1893	Tokyo Imperial University Anthropological Society specimens laboratory under Tōrii Ryūzō
1895	Sino-Japanese War, Torii’s first survey of Taiwan and Manchuria
1897	Promulgation of Preservation Laws governing Temples and Shrines—Meiji Government takes over the management and preservation of nationally registered art, artifacts, and documents belonging to temples and shrines (beginnings of national treasures system)
1901	Yagi, Sōzaburō sent by Tokyo University to conduct first archaeological survey of the Korean Peninsula
1902	Sekino Tadashi sent by Tokyo University to survey art and architecture in Korea
1904	Completion of Keifu-sen [Pusan-Seoul] Railways Line
1906	Imanishi Ryū surveys Keishū [Kyōngju ] Silla capital in Southwest Korea]
1907	Excavations of Kimhae Shellmound in Korea by Tokyo University graduate, Imanishi Ryū
1909	Yi Royal Museum, zoo, and botanical garden opens in Ch’anggyong-won, Keijō [Seoul]
<b>1910</b>	<b>Annexation of Korea</b>
1911	Colonial Governor-General of Chōsen commissions Tōrii Ryūzō to conduct first systematic survey of prehistoric archaeological remains and ethnographic surveys. Establishment of the <i>Shiseki Meisho Tenmenkinmenbutsu Hozonkai</i> [Historic Sites, Famous Places, and Natural Monuments Protection Committee] in Japan
1911	Temples Protection Act promulgated in the Korean Peninsula by the Colonial Governor-General
1912. 3. 12	Japan Tourist Bureau (JTB) is established at Tokyo Railway Station, first bureau issue pamphlet printing 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 Sōkkuram funded by the Colonial Governor-General begins
1913. 6. 10	<i>Tourist</i> published as a bimonthly magazine with bilingual (English/Japanese) articles
1914.1	English maps of Keijō, Dalian, and Formosa (3,000 copies distributed)
1914. 2	JTB agents/branches are set up in 30 locations around the world

1914. 10 Establishment of the Keijō Chōsen Hotel managed by the Chōsen Railways
- 1915.2 Japan Imperial Government Railways issues “through” pass, linking ship and rail services to Manchuria/Chōsen, sold at Tokyo train station branch (up to 30 percent discounted tickets valid for six months)
- 1915.8 Kūmgangsan Station Hotel opens in Onjōngni in North Korea
- 1915.12 Establishment of the Colonial Governor-General Fine Arts Museum in Kyōngboggung Palace
- Colonial Governor-General Committee for the Investigations of Ancient Remains and Relics [*Chōsen Koseki Chosa ininkai*]. Promulgation of Regulations on the Preservation of Ancient Sites and Relics. These are the first comprehensive preservation laws governing art and archaeological remains predating Japan by three years.
- Measurement of Kyōngju Hwangyongsa temple remains and Sach'ōnwangsa temple, Chōlla-namdo Songgwangsa temple. Koguryō tombs in Jian investigated by Sekino Tada-shi
- 1918 Major Reconstruction of Pulguksa begins, Colonial Governor-General Construction department taking eight years
- 1918 Kyōngju Silla tombs excavations (Kuroita Katsumi and Harada Yoshito)
- 1921 Gold Crown Tomb Discovery (
- 1926 Kyōngju Museum established
- 1926 Chōsen Manchuria Office sets up in Tokyo, Shimonoseki, and Shinjuku stations
- 1926 Kyōngju branch museum established, Keijō tram service begins
- 1932 Formation of Chōsen Hotel Company to run former Chōsen Railways hotels: Keijō Chōsen, Fusan Station, Shingishu Station, Kūmgangsan Onjōngni, Changanri, Keijō station restaurant, and train restaurants
- 1943 JTB shuts down branches due to the expansion of the Pacific War

ffered new career opportunities for young men of lower class backgrounds as well as education levels due to the unprecedented pace of Japanese colonial industries penetration and advancement into the Korean Peninsula and Manchuria (Duus 1995, Park 1999). By the late 1890s-early1900s, major zaibatsu companies flush with government backed capital investments such as the Bank of Chōsen, the Japan Mail Steamship Co. (Nippon Yūsen kaisha, hereafter NYK), the South Manchuria Railroad Co. (hereafter, SMR) and Ōgura and Co. —a defense contractor providing ships and ammunition to the army and navy- were racing to broker concessions' deals, setting up branches and offices in all the major ports and populations centers in Korea , Taiwan, and Manchuria (Bank of Chōsen 1919). By the 1905 signing of the Portsmouth Treaty, the Korea



**Fig. 1** Professor Sekino Tadashi of Tokyo University Surveying Koguryō tombs in Jian (c.1915) Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu 1915, Chōsen koseki zufu (Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics), Vol. 2,



**Fig. 2** Sekino Tadashi's sketches of Koguryō Tombs  
 Left: Architectural details of columns, lotus leaf motifs, and panel decorations. Right Top: Cross-section showing domed ceilings and interior lotus flower designs. Bottom: Scaled drawings of layout of interior rooms and corridors of Kugap-ch'ong. Units are measured in shaku = 0.0994 ft. Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu 1915 Chōsen koseki zufu (Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics). Vol. 2, Pl. 298–302.

branch of the Japan Imperial Railways (*Chōsen tetsudo*, hereafter CGR) had opened the Keifu and Jinsen lines which connected population centers between the ports of Fusan (Pusan) and Jinsen (Inch'ōn) to the capital Keijō (Seoul) (Pai 2010a: 69).

Third, following the opening of these trans-ocean, inter-continental shipping and railways lines following the Sino-Japanese (1894–5) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904–5), the founding director of the South Manchuria Railways (SMR), Gotō Shimpei (1857–1929) began dispatching experts to Chosen, Manchuria and, China proper, India and the South Sea islands. It was Goto's idea to set up a research division of the SMR Co. hiring the best minds of the day such as Tōkyō University history department graduates such as Naitō Kōnan (1866–1934), Shiratori Kurakichi (1865–1942), Inaba Iwakichi (1938) and Ikeuchi Hirōshi (1878–1952) to be dispatched to the colonies (Itō 1980). As the first generation of scholars to pioneer the field of Japan's East Asian Studies (*Tōyōgakusha*), they were instrumental in incorporating investigations of the language, geography, ethnography, religions, and history of the new colonies of Manchuria

and Korea as an integral component of Japanese studies at the turn of the century (Yoshikawa 1976, Young 1966). The ultimate goal of hiring field experts for imperialists like Gotō was to collect reliable information on the local populations so as to facilitate new real estate and commercial development deals, by locating the best natural/mineral/cultural resources as well as exploit the cheap labor conditions. However at the same time, this vast body of field data made up of historical documents, ethnographies, survey maps, photographs, and statistical data also proved to be quite useful in the preparation of educational resources and propaganda materials for advertising the “successes” of Imperial Japan's civilizing mission to not only curious citizens at home (*Naichijin*), but also colonized subjects from the Ainu, to Koreans to Taiwan. In 1907, with establishment of compulsory public elementary schools (*futsu gakkō*) in Korea and Taiwan in 1907, the

colonial administrative branches of the Education department and Interior Ministries were in control of all media publications perusing colonial state funded scholars field collections from museum objects, printed matter, and pictorial sources in preparations for Japanese language textbooks and English language propaganda publications (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1929a, 1929b, 1935, 1939).

Fourth, as part of the overall long term strategy to develop Korea's natural, human, and cultural capital for the benefit of the Japanese settler population at large as an attractive place to work, live, and travel for business and leisure, the Chōsen Sōtokufu and municipal governments began constructing public spaces including parks, gardens, industrial and fine arts museums beginning in the 1908 (National Museum of Korea 2009, Vol. 38–81). The construction of the first multi-purpose public park in Keijō was modeled after Tokyo's Ueno Park, replete with a botanical garden, zoo, and the Yi Royal Family Museum (Riōke hakubutsukan) which broke ground in November 1908 at Ch'anggyōng-wŏn. This location was chosen for its reputation as the oldest and "most scenic" of the four Yi dynastic palaces situated in the capital. As the first fine arts museum to debut in the Japanese colonies, the museum was operated with subsidies awarded to the de-facto puppet government, the Yi Royal Family Household. Its initial collections made up of paintings, ceramics and sculptures were purchased and paid for by the Chōsen Sōtokufu coffers (Riōke hakubutsukan 1912).

The same year the Yi Royal Museum opened in 1909, the Ministry of Interior appointed Tōkyō University architect Sekino Tadashi (Fig. 1 & 3) to head a five year mission survey all thirteen provinces in order to identify more relics and remains for a future colonial government operated museum devoted to antiquities. Sekino was the obvious choice, since his 1904 Tōkyō University published report with hundreds of photographs depicting ruins of Korea's oldest Buddhist temples, pagodas, and ancient tombs for the first time alerted the world that the remains were much older than anything found in Japan proper (Sekino 1904). His report had not only impressed his peers at his alma mater but also caught the attention of the newly appointed Resident-General of Korea, Itō Hirobumi (r.1905–1909), who was by then an avid collector of priced Koryō celadon-ware. When the Sōtokufu Interior Ministry re-appointed Sekino, he was assigned two capable field assistants trained at Tōkyō University, Yatsui Seiichi (1880–1959) and Kuriyama Shunichi. As the first "dream-team," composed of an architect, artist, and engineer respectively, they also had access to accurate cadastral survey maps provided by the Chōsen Sōtokufu forestry section (Ōta 2001). The trio were also aided in their surveys by the newly opened railways links and post-offices equipped with telegraphs and telephones facilitating instant communications with the Chōsen Sōtokufu headquarters in Keijō.



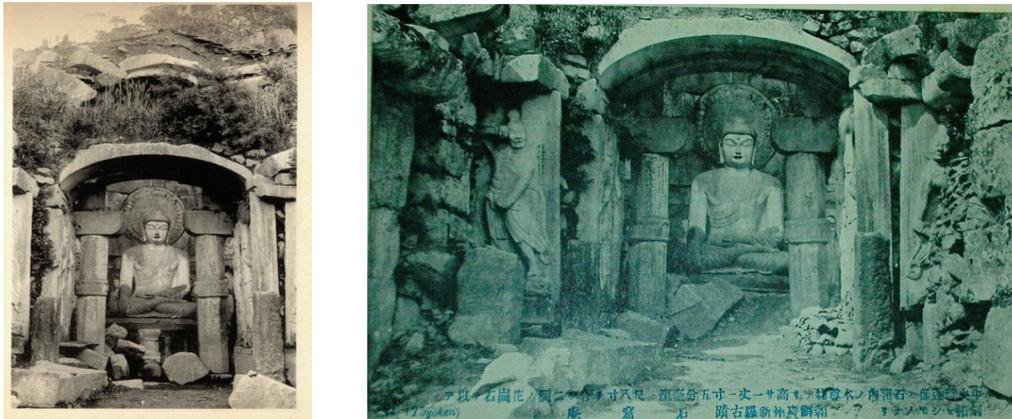
**Fig. 3** Professor Sekino Tadashi from Tokyo Imperial University and assistant surveying Seven Story pagoda at Hyōnhwasa (玄化寺) temple ruins, Kaesōng (開城)  
Source: *Chosen Bijutsushi* [Art History of Chōsen], Chōsen-shi gakkai [Historical Society of Chōsen], Keijō [Seoul], 1932.

Consequently, the trio managed to locate hundreds of previously unknown and abandoned ruins from pagodas (Figure 3), temples and burials deep in the remote mountain valleys of Korea's hinterlands (Hirōse 2003). Their preliminary survey report entitled, "The Study of the Art of Korea (*Chōsen geijutsu no kenkyū*)" submitted to the newly established Architectural Division of the Chōsen Sōtokufu was published in 1910, the year of the annexation of Korea. Sekino's survey inventory listed five hundred and seventy nine remains, identified by rank, province, name, type, and estimated period/dates (Sekino 1910: 32–73). Sekino's first tier of *Kō*, was assigned in his words to remains of "superior artistic workmanship" (*seisaku yūshū*), and recommended as "must be preserved (*hozon beki*)." The second rank of *Ōtsu* was assigned to objects reflecting "time honored traditions and legendary accounts (*yuisho*)", and recommended "to be considered for protection." The third rank of *Hei* was assigned to remains that could serve as historical evidence, and should be considered for protection. The lowest tier of *Dei* was a tentative category which was open to discussion (Ibid. 2). Sekino gave his highest rank of "must be preserved" (*hozon beki*) to 235 art/architectural monuments made of stone, which made up 40.6 % of the grand total. His second ranked category were buildings made of wood numbering 139 items (24 % of the total), followed by 80 pieces of sculpture (14.2 %) and 81 ancient remains (*koseki*) at 13.9 % of the total (Hirōse 2003: 62).

As we can see from Sekino's preliminary listings, as a classically trained architect had recognized that the oldest free standing pagodas, steles, sculptures and wooden architectural monuments in Korea were much older than anything preserved in Japan. Sekino's recommendation that Korea's ruins must be preserved as the oldest standing relics demonstrating the transfer of Buddhist art and architecture from Korea to Japan convinced the Sōtokufu to initiate long range plans to protect the colony's valuable "treasures" threatened by looters and developers (Sekino 1910: 1, 1931). The year following the publications of Sekino's report, the Sōtokufu invited Imanishi Ryū and Torii Ryūzō from Tokyo University, Department of History and the Tokyo Anthropological Society to launch more comprehensive surveys encompassing a wide range of data from prehistoric remains, Buddhist temple estates, historical documents, and ethnographic customs (Hirōse 2003: 61, Pai 2004, 2006).

### III. The Re-discovery of Kyōngju in the Early Twentieth Century

As a direct consequence of Sekino's aesthetic tastes and preference for the oldest standing art and architectural remains, the principal investigators of the Committee on Korean Antiquities (Chōsen Sōtokufu koseki kenkyūkai, CKKK) formed in 1916 headed by members such as Tokyo University graduates such as Kuroita Katsumi, Imanishi Ryū, Hamada Kōsaku (1881–1938), and Umehara Sueji (1893–1983) focused their man-power on Kyōngju or Keishū, the former capital of the Silla dynasty (c. 1<sup>st</sup>–9<sup>th</sup> century A.D). This is because it was where the best preserved thousand year of Buddhist ruins, palaces, pagodas and royal tombs of the ancient Silla dynasty (c. 8<sup>th</sup>–10<sup>th</sup> century A.D) were found standing and relatively intact due its remote location and mountainous terrain. Together, they unearthed an impressive array of gold crowns, jewelry, and iron swords from tombs which were displayed at the Keishū Museum (Figure 9) when it opened in 1926 as



**Fig.4** Sökkuram entrance before reconstruction (c. 1911–12)

Left: Source-Silla Koseki Sekutsuan (Zen), (Photo-album), n.d. Courtesy of the Collections of Kyoto University Department of Archaeology; Right: Postcard stamped with name of publisher, Tōyōken photo-studio of Kyōngju, Title: Chōsen Keishū Silla Koseki with measurements in shaku

a regional branch of the Sōtokufu museum. In fact, the majority of Korea's most widely recognized national treasures today can be found in the Inventory of Chōsen Antiquities and Remains catalogue (*Koseki ibutsu taichō dōroku*), the first official colonial registry of cultural properties published in 1924 (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1924, Pai 2001). On this list, the North Kyōngsang-do province were dominated by former Silla remains associated with kings and generals including several tomb markers (*wangnūngbi*) such as King Muyōl (654–661) listed as No. 88 (current *Kukpo* No. 25), and Chōmsōngdae listed as No. 90 (current *Kukpo* No. 31), supposedly the oldest observatory; and Sōkbing-go as No. 92 (current *Pomul* No. 66), a cold storage facility.

Of all of Silla's many treasures, the "re-discovery" of the Buddhist temple remains Pulguksa and Sökkuram received the most press coverage due to the promotional skills of the Keishū Preservation Society (Kim, H.S. 2006, 2007). During the colonial era, the sites attracted reigning governor-generals, imperial royalty, foreign heads of state, and organized tour groups of school children, soldiers and ordinary citizens (Ōda 1922, 1923, Hamada and Anderson 1932). According to local legend, a postal worker first reported its discovery to the authorities in 1909. The same year, the Resident-General, Sone Arasuke (1849–1910) paid a much publicized official visit (Yoshii Hideo pers.comm.). In the case of Sökkuram, in his 1910 report, Sekino had clearly expressed his concerns to the Chōsen Sōtokufu that rains were washing down sand and earth from the mountains causing the front arch cap stones to collapse exposing the seated Buddha to the natural elements (Fig. 4). Sekino's subsequent research into the monuments from the Samguk Yusa and the *Tongguk yōjisūng* ram revealed that Kim Dae-sōng, a Silla royal family member in the late eighth century was the chief architect who designed the temple main buildings and sculptures with the two stone pagodas, lanterns, and later on erecting two pieces of bronze sculptures. Sekino's assertions that the architecture of this thousand year- old cave temple dating to the time of King Kyōngdōk (Late 8<sup>th</sup> century) was better preserved than any similar structure anywhere else in Asia convinced Sōtokufu officials to launch the most expensive

and extensive restoration in the colonies so as to preserve them as “standing witnesses to history” (*rekishi chokyo*) (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1938:1). The reconstruction project carried out in several phases took a total of sixteen years (1913–1928) to complete (Figure 6). During the first phase of the repairs (1912– 1924), the cave and all its relief panels and walls around the Buddha were completely dismantled by the Sōtokufu construction department’s team of engineers who worked with carpenters brought in from Nara. The grotto cave was then rebuilt from the foundation up with a separate roofed entrance to facilitate tourists viewing and taking commemoration group pictures (Figure 10).

Pulguksa temple repairs also lasted eight years (1918–1925) because the whole temple based and platform had to be rebuilt from the foundation up. This is because Sekino had pointed out the very precarious state of disrepair with bridges and wood rafters rotting away and grass growing everywhere in his 1910 report (Figure 7). From April to August 1924, the dirt and debris which had buried the east and west ends of the stone foundations was cleared away and paved with new stones. The engineers from the Sōtokufu construction department concentrated on preserving the two crumbling bridges as directed by Sekino who had insisted that these two structures were to be preserved for their artistic magnificence, design, and detailed elegance indicative of the skilled architects employed by the Silla kings. Following their multi-year restoration, these Silla remains were registered for the first time in the updated colonial inventory of treasures published in 1934 as: Pulguksa Tapot’ap pagoda-Hōmotsu No. 84 (*Kukpo* No. 20), Pulguksa Samchūngt’ap (Three Story Pagoda)- Hōmotsu No. 85 (*Kukpo* No. 21), and the two Pulguksa stone bridges of Yōnhwa-gyo and Ch’ōng’un-gyo ( Figure 21) -Hōmotsu No. 87–88 (*Kukpo* No. 22, 23), and Sōkkuram Cave Grotto -No. 89 (*Kukpo* No. 24). Furthermore, the entire temple grounds of Pulguksa were designated as the number one scenic place or Meishō No. (Current, Sajōk/myōngsūng No. 1) in 1936 and featured on the cover of many tourist brochures written in Japanese and English.

In order to finance these massive multi-year re-construction projects, the Kyōngju Historical Preservation Society (Keishū koseki hozonkai 1922, 1936) was formed in 1911 with donations by businessmen, provincial officials, and financiers (Figure 6). They also lobbied the Interior Ministry to come up with then phenomenal sum of 33, 250.00 yen to subsidize their projects (Kim H.S. 2007). The total budget for Pulguksa’s restoration eventually ballooned to the astronomical sum of 48, 456.00, a figure surpassing those for restoring even Nara’s oldest temple such as Tōdaiji in the same period. Despite the enormous financial burdens, these construction projects were enthusiastically endorsed by provincial officials, business-men and local leaders who wanted to lure tourists to Kyōngju’s many scenic destinations. Targeting the tastes of aristocratic donors and rich tourists who wanted name recognition, prestige, and bragging rights associated with being part of the greatest discoveries in East Asian archaeology, the Sōtokufu and CKKK were also heavily involved in publicizing news of their archaeological/restoration activities in preserving “Korea’s thousand-year old ruins” at home and abroad (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1915:1, 1929b, 1935). Consequently, there are thousands of official inventories, museum catalogues, excavations and restorations reports on Chōsen’s discoveries written in several languages now preserved in Japan’s oldest universities and prestigious cultural

institutions in Japan from Tōkyō University Oriental Library, Tōyō Bunkō, Kyoto University, Meiji University, Kyūshū University, and Tenri University. Amongst these, the fifteen volume series of the “Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics,” inaugurated by the Sōtokufu Museum marked a mile-stone in the history of colonial art, archaeology, and architectural photography of the arts of East Asia (Chōsen Sōtokufu 1915-1935). The volumes were the first to publish pictures of Korean remains classified by genres and time periods as follows: Han dynasty Rakurō (Vol. 1), Koguryō (Vol. 2), Three Kingdoms (Vol. 3-Paekche, Imna, Silla), Unified Silla in two volumes (Vol. 4-temple sites, stone lanterns, pagodas, steles, bells & Vol. 5-Buddhist sculpture, roof tiles, pottery), Koryō Remains in four volumes 6–9 (Vol. 6-Fortresses, temples, stone sculpture, Vol. 7-Buddhist relics and sculpture, burials, Vol. 8-pottery and ceramics & 9-decorative arts), Yi dynasty in five volumes 11-15 (Vol. 10- Palace Architecture; Vol.11-Fortresses, shrines, pavilions, burials and other architecture, Vol.12-temple architecture, Vol.13-Sculpture, Vol.14- Paintings, decorative arts (*Kōgei*), Vol.15-ceramics) (Takahashi et. al 2005: 252–60).

For the series, the chief editor Sekino employed the printing company operated by Ōgawa Kazumasa (1860–1929), undoubtedly the most renown of Meiji era commercial photographer. Upon his return from America, he had also worked as the official photographer to the Imperial Household as well as for the art magazine/publishing firm Kokka under the tutelage of Okakura Tenshin (Ōzawa 1994). His studio's photo mechanical printing process imported from America was used to reproduce Sekino's original color survey sketches, black and white photographs, and colored drawings. The first two volumes which captured in vivid detail, the artistic details, designs and textures of the “irresistible beauty” of Korea's standing monuments from prehistoric dolmens to painted Koguryō tombs frescoes was a major hit at that the time. Sekino's chief illustrator was Ōba Tsunekichi (1878–1958), a graduate of Tōkyō School of Fine Arts who had followed Sekino and the CKKK field surveys for thirty years from 1912–1943. Ōba's life-size reproductions of Koguryō's spectacular tomb frescoes were first commissioned for an art exhibition held at Tōkyō University in 1918 where the originals still remain today (Fujii, et. al. 2005, Takahashi et. al 2005: 239). His fine oil color paintings of tomb art also marked a major mile-stone in architectural reproduction techniques (*mosa*) capturing the fragile wall paintings for posterity. These major technical and artistic innovations which first debuted in the first two volumes of the series on Korea published in 1915 far surpassed the level of any other Japanese archaeological publications of the time (Takahashi et al. 2005: 254). In 1917, for these series Sekino was awarded the prestigious “Le Prix Stanislas Julien,” (a prize named after the famous French sinologist and epigrapher Stanislas Aignan Julien) by the Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, one of the five institutions belonging to learned society of the Institut de France founded in 1663 (Sekino Takeshi 1978).

Here we will look at a select sample of photographs publicizing the above mentioned Taishō era archaeological discoveries which appeared in a wide range of colonial print media including official photo-albums, government newsletters (Chōsen sōtokufu 1920–1944), academic publications, postcards, and tourist guidebooks (Pai 2010a). In many cases, the portraits carefully arranged the subjects and objects such as people, objects, and ruins with attached captions to convey a familiar linear narrative divided into four

chapters; discovery, recovery, reconstruction, and finally exhibition and display for the tourist. Therefore, in addition to above mentioned artistic, technical, and methodological innovations made in advancing exploratory archaeological photography, we must also attempt to understand the different genres of archaeological images for the key role they played in promoting various imperial, commercial, and personal agendas targeting both a specific audience made up of rich patrons/donors, as well as educated readers and consumers.

### 1. Sense of Discovery and Acts of Reclamation

Photographs for this category invariably feature the principal investigator as the main actor featured alone or with an assistant, standing in front of or on top of his new find. For example, in Figure 1, Sekino appears over the horizon dressed as a high class English gentleman in hat and coat-tails. Standing upright, he also looks straight ahead with his eyes sweeping over the mound. By projecting himself as the great discoverer of unknown civilizations, he is clearly staking his rightful claim over his research domain. As early as the Meiji period in the 1880s and 90s, Tokyo University intellectuals such as Okakura Tenshin, Tsuboi Shōgorō, and Torii Ryūzō had consciously manipulated their self-image as well traveled, urbane, and sophisticated men of the world to advance their academic careers and social status targeting the international community (Guth 2000, Pai 2009). This picture probably dates to around 1915 when the Tongou region in the Jian area in Manchuria was positively identified as the former dynastic capital of the Koguryo kingdom (c. 3<sup>rd</sup> c–6 c. A.D.) In Figure 2, his sketches and measurements done in paper and ink of one of largest burial mounds reveals its complex architectural construction of multiple stone-chambers which were full of well preserved paintings depicting courtly life and decorative designs. The intensive study of inscriptions of a stele found nearby indicated that the whole city and burial complex in this region may have dated to the heyday of the Koguryō empire in the 5<sup>th</sup> century, when conquest kings such as King Kwanggaet'o-wang expanded his territorial reach east to the Liaoning peninsula and south to the Han river (Saeki 1979). I believe the main motivation for Sekino in posing for the camera was to show off to the world his unrivalled status as Japan's explorer/archaeologist dispatched to the far-off colonies.<sup>3</sup>

Figure 3 shows a photo of Sekino and his assistant scribbling in their notebooks standing in front of and on top of the foundation of a seven-story pagoda, respectively. This picture was included in the first pages of Sekino's magnum opus entitled, "The Art History of Korea," (Chōsen Bijutsu-shi). Published in 1932, this work represents a comprehensive overview of the history of Korean art and architecture reflecting thirty years worth of scholarship and fieldwork conducted in the peninsula (Sekino 1932). In this photo, I believe Sekino wanted to emphasize his contribution in the creation of a bureaucratic cataloguing

<sup>3</sup> The vast network of ancient cities and forty tombs measuring 4,165 ha was designated as a UNESCO world heritage site in 2004, following several years of much diplomatic wrangling, competing claims, and controversial claims and rhetoric amongst PRC, ROK, and DPRK officials and academics involving the exact nature of the "ethnic" identity of the best preserved painted tombs. The site is administered as part of Huanren Country located in the Northern Chinese provinces of Liaoning and Jilin provinces. See UNESCO World Heritage List (<http://whc.unesco.org>) for complete documentation records and problems and issues with current preservation methods and threats. Accessed December 18<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

procedures which required that all CKKK members must conduct step-by-step field investigations prior to submitting exact documentations and photographs to the Sōtokufu authorities (Sekino 1931). The caption identifies the subject of study as the seven story pagoda located in the ruins of Hyōnhwasa (Kaesōng-gun), one of the dozens of abandoned temple sites he had located throughout the peninsula beginning with his nation-wide survey dating back to his first survey in 1902 (Sekino 1904). As we can see, in this picture, he is again staking his authority as a core member of the CKKK sent to judge the authenticity of the ancient relic (*ibutsu*). Here he is probably filling in registration forms with figures and measurements such as height, width, and preservation state of his find. This pagoda was later moved to the Sōtokufu Museum established in the grounds of Kyōngbok palace in 1915, the same year of the Sōtokufu sponsored the Fifth Year Trade Exposition celebrating the peaceful annexation.

This photograph is also significant for it resembles in subject matter and overall composition to the classic pose of the nineteenth century adventurer/scientist/explorer and his note-pad who is framed amongst picturesque ruins to enhance his academic status. At that time, the conceit of the field scholar led him to presume that the mere act of taking notes, sketches, and photos could render a newly discovered peoples and civilizations visible through “direct scientific” observations (Ryan 1997). Here, I will venture to speculate that Sekino’s self portraits positioning himself in an empty and rugged landscape of Korea’s hinterlands were designed to enhance his image as the main keeper and spokesmen for Korea’s rapidly disappearing ancient past.<sup>4</sup> A prime example of the latter genre is Figure 4 taken from plates printed in one of the oldest commercially produced photo-albums on Sōkkuram from Kyoto University archives (Yoshii, Hideo pers. comm). In the photo, the main Buddha is depicted in not only its “sublime beauty” but also its glorious state decay facing imminent destruction as warned by Sekino’s observations mentioned above. As we can see, the entrance to the cave temple (circa, 1911–1912) is in a precarious state surrounded by fallen debris made up of rocks/pillars while masses of intruding vegetation is threatening to collapse the whole structure at any moment. However, at the same time due to the exposed roof, we can see in detail the elegant carvings as well as the painted surface of the main seated Buddha, standing sculptures, and reliefs. The bottom is the same photo later mass produced as postcards by the same Tōyōken, a commercial photo-studio which had opened up shop to cater to tourists, school-children, and visiting dignitaries selling souvenir photo-albums as well as postcards (Yoshii, Hideo 2007, pers.comm)

Mary Louis Pratt, the author of the influential book, “Imperial Eyes,” has emphasized that such visions of an uninhabited, unpossessed, and un-historized landscape was to convey the exciting possibilities of a new time-less land which was waiting for great adventurers, artists, and photographers as ripe for exploration and study (Pratt 1992: 51). Even though, in her work, she was mainly commenting on the political

<sup>4</sup> In this sense, Sekino’s self-mythologizing agenda reminds us of the many self-portraits of his contemporary and Tokyo University rival, Torii Ryūzō who had been sent around the same time to survey prehistoric remains and indigenous peoples in the new colonies from Manchuria, Siberia, Ryukyus, Taiwan, to Southern China (Pai 2009). In contrast to the architect Sekino, because of Torii’s training as an anthropologist at the Tokyo Anthropological Society under the tutelage of Tsuboi Shōgorō, he was assigned to survey prehistoric remains in Korea such as shell-mounds and dolmens (Akazawa 1991, 1993).



**Fig.5** Excavation Scenes of Taedong-gun Han dynasty Rakurō Tombs in P'yŏngyang, circa 1915  
Original caption on the left indicates the tomb numbers 2 &3. Left bottom is titled, “view of an altar.” Right is a Han stone-ware Jar. Source: Chōsen Sōtokufu 1915 Chōsen koseki zufu (Album of Ancient Korean Sites and Relics). Vol. 1. Keijō (Seoul). Pl. 80, 81 & 83.

and aesthetic production of early travel literature and images of the New World pioneered by Spanish and Portuguese explorers, missionaries and travelers dating back to the eighteenth century, we can detect similar motivations in Sekino's as well as Tōyōken's photo- studio's striking promotional images of Korea's decaying monuments in all its past glory and splendor were meant to impress their donors and patrons such as the Imperial Household Agency, the Sōtokufu Museum, and the Yi Royal Museum whom they were dependent on for monetary support in order to fund expensive expeditions as well as publications.

## 2. The Scientific Mission and Excavating the Ancient Past

The largest photographic archives in terms of quantity and technical quality are in the so-called, “scientific documentations” category. This is because with the introduction of modern archaeological fieldwork, one's academic standing depended on archiving “field records” in the form of both collected materials as well as submitted detailed reports. The latter were devoted to documenting not only the results of excavations in the form of sketches, maps, and measurements sites, art, and architectural features but also the physical remains themselves which were identified, collected, and classified by materials genres such as stone, bricks, pottery and metals, etc. to be sent to museums for study and exhibition. For example, in figure 5, we can



**Fig. 6** Security guarding Sökkuram cave during reconstruction, Kyōngju (circa.1913)

Note the wooden beams supporting the cave temple and Buddha. The photographer is identified as Mr. Tanaka from Tōyō-ken Studio. Source: Kim Tae-shik et. al. *Kyōngju Silla yujōk ūi ōche wa onūl: Sökkuram, Pulguksa, Namsan* (Exhibition Catalogue of Glass Plate Photographs of Silla Remains in Kyōngju) Vol. 2, Seoul: Sōngyunkwan University Museum.

see three kinds of documentation formats on the same page. The top left is a photo of an excavation scene of Tomb No. 2 in the Taedong river region, south of P'yōngyang city where the CKKK investigators eventually identified more than 2000 tombs belonging to the Han dynasty commandery of Rakurō (c. 108 B.C.–313 A.D). Here we can see a panoramic view of Japanese archaeologists and soldiers, all dressed in Western clothes instructing the Korean laborers who are stooped over with the heavy load of dirt contained in the large water jars. The contrast in class and status is made plainly obvious because the archaeologists' dark suits are in stark contrast to the plain white cotton peasant outfits. As with the second image (Taedong Tomb no. 3) below, one of the more common stereo-typical images of Korean customs and manners (*fūzoku*) were that of poor peasants posed as cultural markers in front of crumbling ruins. In this case, the caption simply identifies the remains as some sort of altar. On the right, we see a picture of large Han dynasty stone-ware jar, probably a tomb artifact patched up with strings and glue. Such juxtaposition of images documenting the different stages of recovery and excavations process were designed to show off the successes not only of their scientific endeavors but also their civilizing mission in training laborers to haul excavated dirt in a systematic manner. As with other colonial enterprises, such composite images of high status Japanese versus the bevy



Fig. 7 Ruins of Pulguksa before (Right, 1913) and after reconstruction, Kyongju (Left, 1938)

Authors' caption: Top: Note the crumbling bridges and foundations on both the eastern and western edges.

Source: Chosen Sotokufu 1938 *Bukkokuji to Sekkutsuan* (Pulguk Temple and Sökkuram Cave in Keishū). *Chosen hōmotsu koseki zuroku dai ichi* (Album of Korean Treasures and Ancient Sites, Vol. 1). Kyōto: Bunseidō.

of under-class workers demonstrate that cheap peasant labor symbolized by the A frame (*chige-gun*) was the main reason why the CKKK archaeologists could carry out large scale investigations in relatively short period averaging around 30 days throughout the colonial period.

### 3. Preservations and Reconstructions Process

The colonial archives inherited by belonging to the National Museum of Korea indicate that submitted field records were also updated on a daily basis indicating that the bureaucratic work of keeping track of the tens and thousands of pottery, roof-tiles, weapons, bronze mirrors, and accessories was made possible by a vast cooperative networks belonging to three Sotokufu ministries, including the Interior Ministry, Museum Department and the Police for three reasons<sup>5</sup>:

First, on-site accurate measurements, photographs, and other supporting materials such as historical

5 The members of the National Museum Editorial Committee of the commemorative anthology entitled, "One Hundred Years of the National Museum of Korea" have compiled a vast body of administrative files inherited from the Sotokufu museum in the second volume (National Museum of Korea 2009, Vol.2).



**Fig. 8** Display of Gold Crown in the Keishū Museum



**Fig. 9** Keishū Museum Grounds. It was Sekino's idea to bring in sculptures and pagodas from abandoned temples to preserve inside museum grounds. (Sekino 1931), Source : Photos provided courtesy of Yoshii Hideo, the Collections of the Kyoto University Department of Archaeology

records, address, and associated legends composed the bulk of field records administered by the Sōtokufu Museum. The CKKK members consulted these same records when deciding which artifacts, art and architecture would be worthy of colonial state funding for preservation, museum collections and/or on-site restoration for tourism. Second, the 1916 preservation laws also required that all excavation diaries, records, and field card notes were to be deposited at local police stations. This is because due to the unprecedented scale of industrial and infra-structure development during the first two decades of the Taisho period when railways, ports, public works (water, electricity, telegraph lines, sewage system) as well as factories were being built in all the major cities, the local police were held responsible for keeping track of daily reports of accidental finds and stolen properties (Pai 2001: 81). Due to the well publicized nature of Korea's archaeological discoveries and activities, not surprisingly, by the 1910–1920s, “shigutsu” (private digs) conducted by professional grave robbers were threatening many excavation sites especially P’yōngyang, Kaesōng, and Kyōngju where there remained heavy concentrations of royal burials revealing precious gold, silver, and celadon pieces. This illegal trade in stolen antiquities like today were driven by market forces of supply and demand. Hundreds of second hand stores and antiquity dealers, both large and small were the main suppliers of the black market goods traded and smuggled out of Korea through the opened ports in Pusan, Inch’ōn, and Wōnsan (Han 1997). The demand on the part of collectors and connoisseurs included colonial governor-generals such as Ito Hirobumi (1841–1909) and Terauchi Masatake (1852–1919) as well as the founders of the *Mingei* Movement such as the Asakawa brothers, Takume and Hakkyo, and Yanagi Muneyoshi (Brandt 2007). Due to the popular demand for Korean antiquities by collectors and tourists at major archaeological destinations, we also frequently encounter images of soldiers and policemen hired to patrol on-going excavation sites to



**Fig. 10** Imperial Family members (Kanin-no-miya tenka Haruhito) and entourage posing in front of restored Sökkuram during their tour of Korea, October 1, 1935. Source: Keishū koseki hozonkai zaidan (Kyōngju Preservation Corporation) 1937 *Keishū koseki annai* (A Guide to Ancient Remains in Kyōngju), Revised edition.

ward off potential looters (Fig. 5, 6). For example, in figure 6, the security guards are flanking the central figure who is wearing the outfit of a well-to-do businessmen in bowler hat, silk cravat, white shirt, and long black coat. Though he is not identified by name, I suspect he maybe have the visiting director of the Bank of Chōsen, then the largest banking operation with branches in Korea, Manchuria and even Shanghai (Bank of Chōsen 1919). He may have had a hand in financing the development of Sökkuram or took this commemorative photo as a tourist.

#### 4. Tourist Promotion and Commemoration

All travelers, collectors, and guidebook authors 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 [Kyōngju], Fuyu [Puyō], and Heijō [P’yōngyang] (Keishū Koseki Hozonkai 1922, 1936). In fig. 7, we see a wide-angle view of before and after photos of Pulguksa taken from the reconstruction report supervised by Sekino and published by the Sōtokufu in 1938. Upon completed reconstruction, the entire temple grounds of Pulguksa were designated as famous scenic places [meishō] in 1936 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). In 1921 when the Tomb of the Gold Crown in

the Old Silla kingdom capital of Keishū (ca. 5<sup>th</sup> century A.D.) was excavated and exhibited at the Keishū museum (Fig. 8–9) built in the center of the concentration of Silla royal burial mounds in Kyōngju city (ca. 3rd–9th century A.D.), 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 Committee on Korean Antiquities.



**Fig. 11** Prince Adolf Gustaf VI of Sweden with J. G. Andersson and Hamada Kōsaku excavating tomb in Kyōngju, ca. 1926. The tomb was officially renamed “Tomb of the Prince of Sweden” or Sōbongch’ong to commemorate his visit. Source: The top photograph is now preserved in the colonial photographic archives of the National Museum of Korea, Seoul.

By the 1930s, the restored ruins in Kyōngju became the favorite setting for photo-ops by visiting imperial family members from Tokyo. As we can see in fig. 10, in 1935, the VIP visitor is identified as Prince Kan'in-no-miya Haruhito (1902–1988). Here he poses in full military uniform wearing expensive and well polished riding boots because at that time he was already a faculty of the Cavalry School and full time career officer. Next to him stands his wife, Ichijō Naoko (1908–1991) herself descended from royalty. In contrast to men who wore uniforms or suites befitting their occupation while on official travels, women of high standing were encouraged by the Imperial Household Agency as well as guidebooks to dress in formal kimonos since they were expected to uphold their role as carriers and ambassadors for promoting Japanese traditions, which still persists to this day at weddings, funerals, and formal occasions. Fig. 11 depicts the Crown Prince Adolf Gustaf VI of Sweden (1882–1973), an amateur archaeologist/collector who was invited to tomb dig in Kyōngju twice in 1926 and then in 1932 (Hamada and Anderson 1932). Here the prince is seated in the background with his consort chatting away and pleased at the site of a gold crown being unearthed. The tomb was eventually renamed the Sōbongch’ong, or the Tomb of the Swedish Prince to celebrate his royal visit. As we can see commemorative photos of royalty, both foreign and domestic posing with celebrity archaeologists such as J.G. Anderson (1874–1960), Swedish paleontologist and founder of the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm and Hamada Kōsaku, founder of Kyoto University Department of Archaeology were staged to show off enlightened kings and archaeologists as patrons of the arts, cultural ambassadors, and official empire tour guides to a world audience.

#### IV. Conclusion: Re-mapping Imagined Ancestral Terrains and Japanese Imperialists' Nostalgia

In conclusion, the visual records and symbolic meanings of Korea's archaeological and historical dis-



**Fig. 12** Panoramic View of Ch'omsongdae in Kyongju City (c. 1915) Album of Korean Antiquities, Volume 3



**Fig. 13** Billboard for Silla Millennium Theme Park promoting Silla Festival, September 10–12, 2010. Recreated Images of Ancient Silla (c. 8th century A. D.). Clock wise from left to right: Hwangnyongsaji Nine Story Pagoda, Sökkuram, Pulguksa and pagodas, Anapji palace pond, Shooting location for the hit television drama series, Queen Söndök (MBC Broadcasting Co. 2009) **Author's photo Images: Pulguksa Tapo-r'ap,**

coveries were manipulated by powerful colonial policy makers, archaeologists, and colonial enterprises to justify the annexation of Korea as a predestined “return” and re-union of the two races of Japanese and Koreans (Pai 2010c: 103). The JTB, CGR, SMR, and Sötokufu also advertised Korea’s tourist destinations as the most picturesque and historically “authentic” in the empire, full of decaying ruins, old customs, desirable women, and luxury accommodations to convince rich businessmen that the peninsula offered attractive investment opportunities. From the perspective of the millions of ordinary Japanese tourists visiting, absorbing and experiencing first hand Korea’s customs and ancient destinations became part of their search for their own national identity as citizens of the growing multi-ethnic and multi-cultural empire at the turn of the century (Weisenfeld 2000).

This re-occurring theme of imagined “imperialists nostalgia” that romanticized the conquered “Other” in time and space, though not unique to the Japanese empire (Schwartz and Ryan 2003) has thus, left us a lasting legacy on the selections of tourist images (Selwyn 1996) manipulated by Japanese

imperial and commercial interests in order to cater to the expectations and tastes of leisure tourists and globe-trotters (Pai 2010a: 84). For example, in photo 12, the rustic beauty Korea’s landscape is symbolized by the artfully arranged figures of Yangban, the fallen gentry of the last Yi dynasty characterized by their tall black horse-hair hats, white robe, and long beards who are posed next to the so-called “Ch’omsongdae (observatory) in the heart of Kyongju. This postcard image of the “Hermit Kingdom,” demonstrates how imperialists’ nostalgia has forever trapped the Korean land and its people in the remote antiquity represented by iconic monuments frozen in time in the tourist imaginary (Pai 2010b, c).

## V. Epilogue

The last photo 13 is a current billboard advertising Kyōngju taken in a subway station in Seoul taken by the author in September 2010. The poster celebrates the opening of the first theme park dedicated to re-enacting Silla royal arts, rituals, and performance in Bomun danji lake resort district near Kyōngju city. Named the Silla Millennium Park, the developers modeled the facilities after mega-amusement parks such as Disneyland with the purpose of providing entertainment for the whole family with easy access to an expensive hotel resort and spa built in “Royal Silla-style” architecture (*Ragung*). Designed as a living museum showcasing live staged historical re-enactments of Silla elite corp of warriors (*Hwarang*) with stunt actors hired to stage mock battles on horses, using martial arts and shooting bows and arrows. At night, there are also dance musical reviews with attractive dancers in gorgeous costumes retelling romantic sagas of doomed lovers, set amidst laser lighting shining upon miniaturized replicas of Silla’s ancient monuments mentioned in this paper. The advertisers also proudly claim that its sets had once served as shooting locations for interior and exterior palace scenes for the hit historical romance “Queen Sōndōk” broadcasted by MBC station in 2009. The website advertises that the sets are now available for rent for catered banquets for events and in the case of provided gratis for weddings<sup>6</sup> In my photo, the elaborately dressed females are two of Korea’s most popular television stars who played the lead female roles. The right figure is that of the aforementioned Queen, who as the 27<sup>th</sup> ruler was the last royalty descended from the divine caste of Sōngol dating back to the first century B.C. (Holy-boned). Without a successor, her reign represented the tragic end as the last of her clan. Upon her death, the throne was succeeded by the Chingol (true-born) or aristocratic clans led by Kim Yu-shin and Kim Ch’un-ch’u who later led the unification of the peninsula by conquering the later Three Kingdoms in a bloody war in the mid-late 7<sup>th</sup> century. Queen Sōndōk is wearing a gold crown resembling museum pieces and elaborately colored silk robes. To her left is her powerful rival, Mishil, a fictional character who is depicted as a former concubine and scheming usurper to the throne bent on the destruction of the sacred line of Holy-boned Silla kings. The mass popularity of historical romances portraying doomed lovers, lost kingdoms, and the rise and fall of political dynasties have inspired in the past decade a proliferation of historical theme park destinations catering to fans of *Hallyu* dramas set in the remote past such as *Taejangūm*, *Chumong*, *the King and I*, *Ch’unhyang*, etc. Such folk villages and television studio-set stages represent the latest effort on the part of Korea Tourism Organization, travel agencies, developers and destination marketers to lure the potential hundreds of millions of drama fans who make up the bulk of the latest in-bound tourist groups. Hailing from Korea’s closest neighbors, Japan, China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia, and South-east Asia, about fifty percent of visitors today purchase travel/airline agencies (JAL Pak, Lotte-Hana, JTB tours, etc.) packaged tours consisting of round-trip 3-4 day. Heavily promoted as *Hallyu themed* or *Taejangūm* itineraries, the highlights include visiting both real and fictional destinations from Seoul’s royal palaces, drama studios sets, and Korean palace cuisine restaurants in order to relive the

<sup>6</sup> See home-page link at: [www.smpark.co.kr](http://www.smpark.co.kr)

romance, tragedy, and nostalgia for an imagined long lost Korean past as seen on television.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> The latest statistics provided by the Korea Tourism Organization (KTO) indicate that for the first time ever, the total number of in-bound tourists has exceeded a total of 8.7 million for the year 2010 (November 2010 statistics), representing close to a record 40 percent increase since 2005. See home-page of the KTO ([www.visitkorea.or.kr](http://www.visitkorea.or.kr)) for an overview of the history, administration, tourist promotional campaign videos, daily news updates and professional data-base for the tourist industry.

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