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The Romance of Kyongju's Ruins: Destination Image Making and Tourist

Development in Colonial Korea

경주유적의 로망: 관광 개발전략과 관광이미지 변천

Abstract

Picturesque vistas of Kyongju's millennia old temples, tombs, and buried treasures are widely recognized as iconic symbols representing the antiquity, beauty, and artistic traditions of Korea. Consequently, more than any other destination, national cultural heritage bureaucracies including colonial/national museums, excavation teams, research/cultural centers, preservation societies, as well as municipal authorities have cooperated with major railway companies, hotel chains, and developers to the identify, investigate, and restore art and archaeological remains as tourist resources. The main paper introduces the oldest surviving photographic records of Kyongju's archaeological landmarks taken by professional photographers reproduced as postcards, rearranged in photo-albums and tourist guidebooks. By tracing the impact of photography, art history, and archaeological discoveries in the evolution of Silla period ruins into Korea's most authentic native landscape, the paper will demonstrate how the Silla's archaeological remains reconstructed and promoted as tourist resources have impacted the itinerary of "must-see" destinations for more than a century.

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Introduction:

I The Significance of Kyongju's Ruins in Korean Archaeology

Picture perfect postcard views of Kyongju's millennia year old temples, pagodas, and buried treasures have held a special place in the hearts, minds, and imagination of not only scholars, students, art collectors, but also millions of tourists, at home and abroad. ¹ The century old romance with Kyongju's past relics holds a unique place in the modern history of heritage tourism due to a unique combination of factors intrinsic and extrinsic to the region (한범수 & 김덕기, 1994, 국민대학교 국사학과 2006). They include physical, geographic, historical, and environmental conditions, as well as strategic planning and building of transportation and tourist infra-structure on the part of Japanese colonial administration and Post-War governments as follows:

First, geographically, the bulk of Kyongju's oldest art and archaeological remains concentrated in the central plains, delta, and valleys are circumscribed by five mountains which have aided their protection and physical maintenance over the past millennia (Map). Second, politically, even after the official fall of the Silla dynasty in 936 A.D., Kyongju's aristocratic clans managed to retained their official standing and prestigious status throughout the Koryo and Choson dynasty in contrast to other former Three Kingdoms' capitals (eg Jipan, Kongju, Puyo, P'yongyang, and Kaesong), which had been abandoned by the new regimes (조 철제,

¹ There has not been any comprehensive study documenting the diverse range of organizations, cultural institutions, and management policies which have impacted the transformation of archaeological sites into must-see tourist destinations in the Korean peninsula.

ed. 2003; 주 현숙 2006). Historical records show that once Silla was incorporated into Koryo, its capital was renamed from “Sorabol,” to “Kyongju” in 935 A.D. Demonstrating that the Koryo rulers and local population had not forgotten Silla’s past glories and prominent position, its names was changed again to “Tongyeong,” or Eastern Capital in 987 A.D. (6th year of King Seongjong’s reign).² During the 17-19th centuries, it became the home base of many prominent clans including the Kyongju branches of the Ch’oes, Kims, and Andong Kwons. Using their wealth and influence in high office, they established prominent Confucian shrines and academies in the region (국립경주박물관 2013). These clans who traced their lineage descent back to the Silla’s legendary founders, the Parks, Seoks, and Kims, continued to upkeep burial sites identified with Silla royalty.³ Strong clan affiliations and regional pride also led to continuous efforts to collect documents, plaques, stele inscriptions, seals and lineage records of war heroes, and prominent scholar families. To this day, the pride of ownership and sense of belonging are the main motivations why Kyongju’s historical and cultural legacy is embraced by many disparate groups, from local merchants, scholars, and preservation societies, who have devoted themselves to the protection and maintenance of the local landscape

² Surviving artifacts such as name plaques belonging to county office buildings as well historical references exhibited by the National Museum of Kyongju in 2013, demonstrates that it was once called, “Nangnang.(국립경주박물관 2013: 28). The latter moniker, may have been derived from the romantic tale of Princess Nangnang, daughter of the last ruler of the Nangnang Han Commandery and Prince Hodong of Goguryeo Kingdom, which ultimately brought down the Chinese Han commandery in 313 A.D.

³ Even to this day, the Ch’oe clans continue to hold ancestor worship rituals in the burial mounds (주 현숙 2006:236-218, 국립경주박물관 20132013)).

such as the old pine trees, grassy parks, and man-made structures such as animal figurines, inscriptions, and tomb architecture.⁴

Third, the source materials of Silla era art and architectural constructions made of granite and man-made stones unlike more perishable materials such as wood or bamboo) had managed to survived the passage of time against the inevitable destructive forces of both nature and man such as rains, floods, mold, insects, fires, wars, looting, and vandalism. As a result, many were found still standing when they were “rediscovered” more than a thousand years later in the 1900s by the pioneering Tokyo University graduates such as Sekino Tadashi (1868-1935), Imanishi Ryu (1875-1932), Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953), and Kuroita Katsumi (1874-1946) who were dispatched to survey and record the ruins (See Chronology Table).

Their preservation state as monuments found in-situ helped the first generation of Japanese imperial university trained field archaeologists, art historians, and engineers, identify, map, and date their finds based on epigraphic evidence, stylistic elements, and excavated materials including roof-tiles, building foundations, and burial goods such as pottery and jewelry (신 창수 1997, Saotome, M. 2001, 2011, 서 재구 외 2011).

Consequently, through systematic excavations and investigations of textual sources Koryo and Choson era sources such as the Samguk Sagi (13th century) and Tonguk yoji seungram

⁴ Currently, the Kyongju Cultural Center (Munhwawon) occupies the old grounds and buildings of the Colonial era branch of the Kyongju Museum is the main institution devoted to comprehensive efforts to collect, exhibitions, publish and hold monthly events, performances, outings, and lectures promoting activities related to local history and culture to about 800 subscribing members made up of Kyongju citizenry (Pers.Comm. Director of the Kyongju Cultural Center).

(Imanishi 1912, Sekino 1904, 1910, 1931) on the early records of Silla kings and queens, they confirmed the names Sokkuram, Pulguksa, Weolseong, Hwangnyongsaji, Punhwangsa, Poseokjeong and Anapji and Cheomsongdae observatory, dated between the 7-8th century Unified Silla Period.

Last but not least, the distinct clusters of Silla era tall burial mounds rising out of the rice fields were noted as early as the 18th century, according to surviving maps drawn during the reign of King Chongjo (국립경주박물관 2013: 12-23).⁵ More significantly, unlike that of Han dynasty era Nangnang Tombs and Koguryo and Koryo tombs which had been all been burned and looted in antiquity, many Silla tombs excavated by the Japanese archaeologists revealed intact features and burial architecture such as stone/wooden chambers, and abundance of grave goods from pottery, iron weapons, horse equipment, and gold/silver crowns and jewelry (Ham, S.S.2007, Yoshii 2014). The wealth and diversity of royal tombs and burial goods led to three decades of annual excavations by the Colonial Government appointed Committee on Korean Antiquities (Chosen koseki kenkyukai) between 1916-1943 (Saotome 2011).

The royal burial cluster are mostly located in the South-east, west, and north of the Choson era Gyeongju-up walls. Imanishi Ryu was one of the first historians who proposed in 1912 that the burial mounds can be correlated with either the legendary founders of the Six-village clans, and others the reigns of 6-7th century rulers such as King Mich'u, Kim Yu-shin, and King Muyol (Imanishi 1912). A recent

⁵ These maps are now part of the Kyujangak archives at Seoul National University and the National Research Institute of Cultural Properties Collections .

comprehensive re-analysis of colonial era surveys, excavations reports, museum catalogues, and photographic records suggests that the Japanese scholars located an estimated total of 155 individual tombs.⁶ The colonial era excavation reports hailed, these large Silla tombs with elaborate underground stone and wooden chambers revealed an unanticipated cache of fine gold jewelery, rings, belts, crowns and weaponry and horse equipment as the greatest archaeological finds in the empire because the Silla burial goods, precious materials, artistry and craftsmanship surpassed anything found in Japan or anywhere else in the colonies.

Last but not least, because Silla burial mounds and goods, especially pottery and roof-tile classificatory schemes were excavated stratigraphically and found in-situ, Silla's grave items became widely accepted as the most accurate time and period markers for cross-referencing other grave good finds not only in Korea but in Japan. Consequently, the same group of imperial university trained field archaeologists and technical staff who trained in Kyongju, went back and forth to Japan in a significant role in advancing the field of Japanese Kofun archaeology in Pre-War Japan. (Yoshii, H. 2014). The mapping, documentation and classification of Silla pottery sites, types, technology, design and function remains one of core areas of inquiry amongst students of archaeology today.⁷ Thus, Silla's buried goods to this

⁶ In August 2014, I visited the main office of the Jjoksaem jigu Excavation Unit, where the Kyongju National Research Institute archaeologists are currently conducting a multi-year excavations of Silla burials. To my surprise the field director, informed that they are still using 70 year old Japanese survey maps which still remain the most accurate, reliable, and comprehensive surveys of the 155 burials so far.

⁷ Last but not least, unlike, the much coveted Koryo era celadon, and Yi dynasty royal blue/white and white wares which had for centuries been the target of professional tomb raiders, Silla's buried treasures, and pottery, were completely

day remain the most reliable body of archaeological data for cross-dating purposes since one can reliably estimate their age and therefore work out a relative chronological sequence of other burial types and goods (최 병헌 1988).

In summary, due to well preserved nature and abundance of archaeological, architectural, and historical data which could be used to date, classify, and periodize the materials remains, Silla's art and architectural relics has been embraced as the "Korea's Golden Age," equivalent to Classical Greece in the West. Therefore, for more than a century, Kyongju has been promoted as the most antiquated and authentic site to study the origins, evolution, and spread of Korean kingship, ancient civilization, religious and artistic traditions to students and tourists. (Adams 1991).

II The Photographic Recovery of Kyongju's Silla Heritage in the Modern Era

The diversity and preservation state of Silla's archaeological and architectural monuments from tombs, temples, and pagodas made them the principal targets for investigation, excavations, and reconstructions projects since the 1900s. As part of the documentation and recovery process, photography became an indispensable research, preservation and propaganda tool adopted by Japanese scholars, surveyors, and administrators throughout the colonial era (Ham, S.S. 2011, Pai 2011, Yoshii 2007, 2014). According to Yoshii Hideo who has analyzed the photographic

unknown entities and therefore had escaped the rapacious looters in previous centuries (Pai 2013a). It was only in the 1920s, when Japanese collectors such as the Asakawa brothers and Yanagi Soetsu started systematically collecting all genres and periods of Mingei art (Brandt 2007). Thus, Silla's buried treasures were able to escape the indiscriminate and wanton destruction that had befallen Koryeo era and Nangnang tombs, and therefore, had remained undisturbed for millenia. The second reason they escaped grave robbers was the underground architecture made up of several layers of stones made it hard to penetrate and loot.

archives of early Korean surveys suggests that professional photographers became vital members of the Colonial Government survey teams as early as 1909.⁸

Employed as technical staff working for Colonial Government General surveys such as Yatsui Seichi (1880-1959) and Sawa Shunichi (1891-1965) adopted the camera as the most efficient and reliable way to record the state of the monument at the time of the discovery (eg. materials, size, design, inscriptions, state of preservation and/or decay) as well as their physical changes over time in their original geographic settings.⁹ Clare Lyons, an archaeologist and curator at the Getty Institute in her preface to the exhibition catalogue, *Antiquity and Photography* dubbed this photographic ability as «visual mapping».¹⁰ Consequently, more than any other region of the peninsula, we have a wealth of surviving CRM materials from Kyongju throughout the colonial era, ranging from survey maps, excavation reports, and catalogues. Though, these early photographs were originally commissioned by the Colonial Government-General Survey publications such as the Album Series of Korean Antiquities (Chosen kosekizufu, 15 volumes, 1915-1935) to be submitted to

⁸ Yoshii Hideo is a professor at Kyoto University Department of Archaeology where Umehara Sueji (1893-1938) and Hamada Kosaku (1881-1938), who excavated Kyongju's tombs have deposited their archives dating from the 1910s-1940s (Yoshii 2014).

⁹ The camera's ability to render precise and minute architectural details as well as its panoramic quality to position ancient relics, individual buildings and archaeological sites in their original geographic and topographic settings was recognized since the 1840s in Europe.

¹⁰ The discipline of art history and archaeology were revolutionized by the camera's ability to create panoramic wide angle views which were superior to earlier survey methods such as sketches and maps, for it could position the monument in its surrounding environmental landscape including terrains, trees and other buildings. Since then, art and architectural photography have been studied as «texts in stone» in order to decipher the relationship between architecture, ornament, and cultural values for over a hundred and fifty years.

the museums departments and Imperial Household Agency. Over the decades, amongst the thousands of individual photographs produced, the most visually striking and picturesque views were later reproduced in official commemoration photo-albums, commercial photo-albums, guidebooks and souvenir post-cards, all designed to advertise ancient Silla art and architectural monuments to lure the educated masses, local and foreign visitors.¹¹ Therefore, tracing the origins, evolution and development of Kyongju's representative images can be a window for our understanding into when and how Korea's most iconic destinations became known to a world audience.

This main body of this paper analyzes the oldest body of photographic records of Gyeongju's archaeological landmarks collected, studied and exhibited at three major institutions which have inherited the collections left behind by the field archaeologists who worked directly with the camera men during the excavations and reconstruction of Sokkuram, Pulguksa and royal tomb burials in the 1910s and 1920s.¹² The following

¹¹ Though, the identification, descriptions, appreciation, and study physical remains of bygone civilizations as well as their reproductions in the form of sketches, lithographs, prints, and paintings have captured the imagination of writers, scholars, explorers, artists, publishers, filmmakers, and untold number of visitors since the Renaissance era in Europe. The invention of the camera and printing machines revolutionized the dissemination of ruin worship because of the adoption of various types of photo-engraving methods affordable to publishers who began to commission illustrated books and albums designed for the masses. The reproduction of art forms from church murals, paintings, sculpture, rare books, and architecture from round the world to the masses in the form of photo-albums profoundly effecting the subjects, objects and aesthetic criteria pioneered academic disciplines, archaeology and art history in the 1840s (Bergstein 1995).

¹² As in Europe, the first generation of such as Torii Ryuzo (1870-1953), his protégé, Mori Ushinosuke (1877-1926) and Imamura Chijun soon became widely accepted as the most important tool for surveying, mapping, and recording purposes in the field sciences. Inspired by their exotic expansion of their colonial territories in Manchuria, Taiwan, Korean peninsula and in the South Pacific, Japanese military

narrative is dedicated to uncovering intertwined nature of colonial power, archaeological knowledge, and commercial relationships of the producers and distributors of archaeological photography. Because identical views of numerous scenic places have been re-cycled in a wide variety of formats and publications for over a century, I have only selected images with established provenence; that is, we can identify the publisher, date of publication, and/or ideally, the photographer or photographic studio in question. Using this criteria, we will introduce here the major figures who were instrumental in creating the oldest photographs of Gyeongju as follows: The oldest photographic studio based in Kyongju, Colonial Government Sponsored archaeological survey reports, and the Keishu koseki hozonkai, or the Kyongju Preservation Society. Finally, as a scholar trained in the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology, the paper concentrates mainly on contextualizing the ethnographic and historical knowledge gleaned from archaeological reports, photographers' background, descriptions and captions, analysis of the photographs itself, supplemented by information taken from contemporary travel guides to Gyeongju.

The goal of this analysis is to reveal how different agencies, from photo-studios, businessmen, officials and scholars adopted the technology of photography to capture specific landmarks for their personal, political, and economic agendas. I will also bring in when available the contemporary re-action to these monuments as experienced by travel writers, journalists, and tourists. In the conclusion, we will make a few preliminary comments on the legacy of the legacy of Kyongju's

units, government sponsored corporations, learned societies, and wealthy adventurers such as the South Manchuria Railroad, Count Otani and imperial universities sent archaeological expeditions accompanied by professional artists, photographers and journalists.

photography in determining the direction of heritage management activities, funding, and tourist investments in Post-War Korea.

Part III

List of Figures to be Analyzed:

Map 1- Sites of major excavations and discoveries View of Government-General

Museum Building and Grounds around 1921

Figure 1- *View of Sokkuram before Reconstruction*, ca. 1911. Reproduced from Tōyōken Photo-studio, *Silla koseki sekkutsuan (Seokguram Grotto, an Ancient Silla Ruin)*, Keishū: Tōyōken ca. 1918. Courtesy of Professor Yoshii Hideo, Department of Archaeology, Kyoto University.

Figure 2. *View of Sokkuram*, ca. 1913. Postcard Reproduction printed by Tōyōken Photo-studio, Keishū: Tōyōken ca. 1918.

Fig. 3 View of VIP's posing in front of Sökkuram Grotto, Kyōngju T'ohamsan, (circa 1912-1913). Photographer, Tōyōken Studio?

Fig. 4 Ruins of Pulguka Before Reconstruction, Kyōngju, T'ohamsan (circa 1913)

Authors' caption: Top: Note the crumbling bridges and foundations on both East and West ends.

CGC 1938 *Bukkokuji to Sekkutsuan (Pulguk Temple and Sökkuram Cave in Keishū)*.

Chōsen hōmotsu koseki zuroku dai ichi (Album of Korean Treasures and Ancient Sites, Vol. 1).

Kyōtō: Bunseidō.

Figure 5- Ruins of Pulguksa After Reconstruction, Kyōngju, T'ohamsan (circa 1938).

CGC 1938 *Bukkokuji to Sekkutsuan (Pulguk Temple and Sökkuram Cave in Keishū)*.

Chōsen hōmotsu koseki zuroku dai ichi (Album of Korean Treasures and Ancient Sites, Vol. 1).

Kyōtō: Bunseidō.

Figure 6- Japanese Imperial Members Visit Sokkuram, 1935

Figure 7- Gold Crown Excavation Report (1922) published by the Colonial Government .

Figure 8- Crown Prince Adolf Gustaf VI of Sweden with Hamada Kōsaku and J.G. Anderson excavating Silla tomb in Kyōngju. (circa, 1926).

The tomb was given the name “Tomb of the Prince of Sweden” or Sōbongch’ong in honor of his visit. National Museum Archives.

Figure 9- Postcard Views of the Kyongju Museum branch of the Colonial Government in Colonial Korea (1926-1945).

Figure 10- View of Kyerim Forest, Keishu Koseki Annai (Guide to Keishu), The Keishu Preservation Society, c. 1935

Figure 11- View of Yangban posing in front of Ch’omsongdae (c. 1917), Chosen Koseki Zufu Volume 3.

Figure 12- Ewha Girls School Students on an educational group field trip to Kyōngju in front of Punhwangsa pagoda, circa October, 1934. (Author’s collection)

CHRONOLOGY TABLE- ARCHAEOLOGICAL HERITAGE MANAGEMENT AND TOURIST INDUSTRY IN KYONGJU (1901-2014)

1902 東京大学 関野貞-朝鮮半島の美術工芸・建築一般調査

1906 東京大学 今西龍 派遣—慶州 古墳 考古学的 調査

1909 古蹟保存위해 関野貞・谷井濟一・栗山俊一朝鮮全域 組織的調査開始, 美術工芸・建築・墳墓 等級 時代区分開始, 총감曾禰 荒助 (Arasuke Sone) 석굴암 방문, 석굴암촬영,

1910 韓国併合-朝鮮總督府 考古学的、歷史的出版事業,

- 1911 朝鮮寺刹令發布-最初 保護法令, 사진관 東洋軒 경주시내개업
그림엽서발행
- 1912 慶州古蹟保存會 설립 -경주 고적안내서, 고적탐방 안내 가이드, 진열관
유물 전시관 (大阪六村)
- 1913 朝鮮總督府의 指導, 関野貞-石窟庵의 修復事業開始-以後 16年間
- 1915 朝鮮總督府博物館設置、朝鮮總督府 古蹟調査委員會設置 · -
(考古學的、歷史的調査·收集·古蹟登錄·發掘調査を監督)
慶州-皇龍寺址·四天王寺、測量調査
黑板·原田-慶州에서 新羅時代의 墳墓發掘開始
- 1918 慶州의 新羅時代의 墳墓發掘開始 (積石塚 = 黑板·原田)
- 仏國寺의 修復事業開始 (以後 8年間)
- 1919 史跡名勝天然紀念物保存法發布, — 朝鮮總督府 古蹟調査課를 設置
('24 廢止)
- 1920 慶尚南道梁山一夫婦塚 發掘 (馬場·小川)
慶州入室里一青銅器群 發見
- 1921 慶州·金冠塚의 發掘 (浜田·梅原)
慶州·金鈴塚·飾履塚發掘 (小泉·沢)
- 1926 慶州で瑞鳳塚 發掘 (藤田·小泉·沢) 朝鮮總督府博物館慶州分館 設置
- 1933年 朝鮮宝物古蹟名勝天然紀念物保存令公布
- 1943 朝鮮總督府 最終 登錄 문화재 總數는 591 件
(宝物 340 件、古蹟 101 件、古蹟及名勝 2 件、名勝 1 件、天然紀念物 146 件)
- 1945 第二次世界大戰終結。朝鮮然總督府博物館이 국립博物館로 改組
- 1946 호우총발굴, 경주 은령총 (USAMGIK 문화공보부사령관 Eugene Knez,
김재원 초대박물관장, 有光京一진 총독부 박물관장)
- 1954 한국관광공사 설립 (교통부 산하)**
- 1959 경주 감은사지 발굴(국립박물관)
- 1962 신라문화축제- 경주지부와 경주시가 주관 매년 10 월 중순 5 일간
화랑·원화(源花)선발대회, 민속가장행렬, 그네대회, 궁도대회 등이 있다.
- 1969.11.5 국립문화재연구소 설립 (Presidential Order No. 4203)**
- 1970 고속도로건설사업 제 1 차 경제개발 5 개년계획 기초
- 1971 경주개발관광공사설립 (청와대. 건설부 산하)- 경주관광종합개발계획 확정-**
보문 단지-국내 최초 Multi-purpose Leisure complex- Hotels, Condos, Golf-
Course, Boating, Educational Facilities, Shopping malls,
etc.유원지결정(건설부고시제 31 호)-
국제수준의보문관광단지를관광단지개발촉진법에의거

- 1973.3.22 미추왕릉발굴조사단 (문화재관리국산하)
 1973年-1975年 天馬塚 (皇南洞 155 호墳) 皇南大塚 (皇南洞 98 호墳발굴
 1974 정부와 IBRD 간에 보문단지 개발사업을 위한 차관협정 체결 및 기반시설
 착공(건설교통부)
 1975.4.17 경주고적조사단 설립,立慶州博物館移 開館 (展示施設-大幅 증축)
 1976건설부 경주개발건설부사무소, 편 경주관광종합개발사업지
 1978 Inbound Tourists reaches One million
 1979 보문관광단지 개장
 1986 조선골프장 36 홀 라이프그룹에 매각
 1987 보문골프장 6 홀 개장
 1990 보문골프장 18 홀로 증설
 1991 온천지구 지정(경상북도 고시 제 91-468 호)
 1993 감포관광단지 지정고시(교통부 제 93-68 호)보문콘도 개장

1994 관광특구 지정

1998 석굴암 불국사 UNESCO World Heritage Site 등록

- 1998년 9월 11일~11월 10일 경주문화 세계 Expo '새천년의 미소'라는 주제로 열린 제 1회
 엑스포에는 48 개국이 참가했다.
 2007 -2053 신라고분기초 학술조사 연구정비 복원 계획 성과 (총 1,800 기발굴- 일제 고총고분
 155 개, 300 기 확인)-교동, 노동동, 노서동, 인왕동, 황남동, 황오동 등 유적답사 이벤트화,
 발굴캠프운영
 2011 신라 밀레니엄파크 -경주지역 최초 드라마 촬영장 -선덕여왕 , 최초 한옥 호텔라궁

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