

“The Construction of an unbalance field of archaeological research: central and peripheral agents in the production of archaeology in South Korea” Luis Botella

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

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

The legal structure of the field

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

The legal structure regarding archaeological research emanated from cultural heritage protection laws and the Committee in charge of supervising such protection. The laws were the *Treasure, Ancient Sites, Scenery, and Natural Monuments Conservation Act* (1933 Conservation Act hereafter), enacted in 1933 during the colonial period and still active until in 1962 the government enacted the *Cultural Properties Protection Act*, substituting the previous act. Even though, they were two different laws, they were very similar in the fundamental aspects of giving most of the managing power to the government, and the construction of a ranking system of cultural heritage protection, as Pai has argued.¹ The definition of archaeological heritage as potential cultural heritage that could be protected under the law justified the control of archaeological research by the government. Such control came under the jurisdiction of the Committee for the Protection of Cultural Properties in the form of controlling the authorizations to do archaeological excavations.

The control of the authorization for conducting archaeological excavations and the later management of the artifacts discovered was the main instrument used by the government to control and protect Korean archaeology. The 1933 Conservation Act gave the responsibility of excavating a site to the government, and this designated the National Museum of Korea (NMK hereafter) to do so as part of the government apparatus. However, the growing interest on the field made that people outside the NMK conducted archaeological excavations, even publishing the results.² In the end, the responsibility of giving the authorization fall on the Committee of Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae wiwŏnhoe*) once the government reorganized it after the Korean War. The origin of this committee was the Conservation Act from 1933, and it was reestablished in 1952 as an Emergency Committee to assess the damage of the Korean War, and then again in 1955 with a permanent character with. This committee had as objective “the conservation of cultural properties [*munhwachae*] damaged at the same time that enforcing the research of the actual conditions of designated cultural properties,” as well as the “designated management of undesignated cultural properties”.³ Therefore, by considering archaeological excavations research about the conditions of designated and undesignated cultural properties, it included the authorizations of archaeological excavations. This translated into the first authorization given to a university to do archaeological research, Koryo University in 1959.⁴ The successive laws about the functions and organization of the Committee reinforced the capacity of the committee to consider/deliver (*simhŭi*) about research, including granting an excavation authorization.⁵ Although, during the period from 1963 until 1971 the committee could decide/resolve (*ŭikyŏl*) upon those same matters.⁶ Despite the change in the meaning, the decisions of the committee were followed most of the time as expert conclusions of scholars, carrying them out.

¹ Hyung Il Pai, “Nationalism and Preserving Korea’s Buried Past: The Office of Cultural Properties and Archaeological Heritage Management in South Korea,” *Antiquity* 73, no. 281 (September 1999): 619–25; Hyung Il Pai, *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2013):122-134

² See for example Park Kyŏng-won, “Ch’angwon-Gun Chindongmyŏn Sŏngmun-Ri Chimyonsŏk Chosa Yakpogo,” *Yŏksa Hakpo* 10 (1958): 323–27

³ Munhwajae Kwalliguk. Kyŏngju kojŏk kwallisamuso, “Munhwajae Wiwŏnhoe Hoeŭirok (1952nyŏn 12wŏl 19il Put’o 1959nyŏn 10wŏl 21il Kkaji” (Munhwajae Yŏn’guso, 1992):3, 6

⁴ *Ibid.*, 81

⁵ Stipulations about the Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties (Munhwachae Pojon wiwŏnhoe kyujŏng), Cabinet Order n^o92, 1960.11.10, Art. 3; Cultural Properties Protection Act (Munhwachae pohopŏp), Law n^o 2233, 1970.8.10, Art. 4

⁶ Cultural Properties Protection Act (Munhwachae pohopŏp), Law n^o 961, 1962.1.10, Art. 4; Cultural Properties Protection Act (Munhwachae pohopŏp), Law n^o 1701, 1965..6.30, Art. 4

This committee in all its versions gathered some of the most important scholars from different disciplines, including archaeology. Moreover, the composition of these committees consistently favored university professors, contrasting with the colonial period when as many as half of the members were high rank bureaucrats. The laws regarding the composition of the committee and its amendments organized its members in several sub-committees, being Sub-committee 1 in charge of material heritage. Given that archeology was administered by this sub-committee, the members who integrated it represented important elements in the relationship between the government and the field. The definition of who could integrated the Committee, and by extension the sub-committee stated that its member could be selected among social authorities with deep moral influence and scholarship (haksik),⁷ keeping the same definition until the end of the period here researched. Thus, it mentions academics, but it did not close the door to scholars of different backgrounds. Looking at the actual members of the sub-committee, they kept certain consistency in relation to archaeology. Table 1 shows those members related with the field, the year when the served, and their relative weight in relation to the total number of the Sub-committee.

Table 1

1955	Kim Yang-sŏn, Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Yong-hŭi, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1960	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 17
1962	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 8
1963	Kim Chae-wŏn, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 9
1966	Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1969	Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Son Po-gi, Chin Hong-sŏp / 10
1971	Son Po-gi, Chin Hong-sŏp / 9
1973	Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1975	Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp, Hwang Su-yŏng / 10
1977	Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 6
1979	Kim Won-yong, Hwang Su-yŏng / 9

All members of Sub-committee 1 directly related with the field of were professors at universities or members of the NMK, and most of the time they shared strong links among them. Kim Chae-wŏn was the director of the NMK from 1945 to 1970, and Hwang Su-yŏng, Lee Hong-jik, Kim Won-yong, Chin Hong-sŏp worked under his tenure. Even more, Kim Won-yong owned his academic career to Kim Chae-wŏn's efforts to secure his training archaeology and his PhD. The evolution of their careers led them to different institutions: Kim Won-yong directed the first department of archaeology at Seoul National University, and Lee Hong-jik found a position at Koryo University and years later became the director of the university museum. Hwang Su-yŏng hold a position as a professor at Dankook University; meanwhile Chin Hong-sŏp became director of the museum at Ewha Woman's University.

⁷ Regulation of the Committee for the Conservation of Cultural Properties, State Council Order nº 92, Nov. 10th, 1960, Art. 2.2

The records on the committee decisions do not show individual votes, therefore it is impossible to know their behavior at the committee. However, it is very likely that decisions related with archaeological questions took the opinions of these members with special attention, making them especially important in the field. Illustrative of this possibility is the intervention that L. Sample and A. Mohr made in Korea. Following Kim's account, he prepared a joint research project with prof. Chard from the University of Wisconsin, resulting in two PhD students from the USA visiting Korea. There they conducted some survey work in Sökchang-ni, and later went to Tongsam-dong in the company of Im Hyo-jae and Chöng Yöng-hwa who were designated by Kim to guide and designated to his foreign guests. However, Mohr and Sample went beyond their initial plans, and conducted two trenches without authorization. That activity arrive to the ears of the Sub-committee, and Kim recalled how Kim Chae-wön criticized him for inviting people and rashly let them excavate. Some time later Sample returned to Korea under an invitation from Yonsei and requested a formal authorization to excavate. This time Kim Chae-wön supported the project, but Kim Won-yong opposed it. The result, Kim Won-yong recalled, was that Sökchang-ni was not excavated by foreigners, but by Son Po-gi, professor at Yonsei University.⁸ This story would indicate that one member could veto the authorization for an excavation. In that case, the members of the committee would become fundamental pieces that regulated the possibilities of doing field research. Regarding that power, the long tenure that many members had in the committee is also an important factor in the regulation of the field. The integration of academics in this Sub-committee, and the functions attributed to it allowed the government to secure expert advice for the protection of cultural heritage, but it also represented a position from which some archaeologists could influence the field, granting authorizations of excavation, or opposing them. Furthermore, the members of the Sub-committee already points out institutions with a comparative advantage to access to the government support, given their integration in an official structure.

Another important aspect of the field and regulated by the government was its economic structure. Under the 1933 Conservation Act, and the law of 1962, the agent in charge of the excavation was financially responsible of it.⁹ Therefore, all agents needed to secure a research budget for excavations, whether they were government institutions or privet. This situation changed when in 1973 the Cultural Property Protection Act was amended. Art. 44.2 made a construction company responsible for the funding of an archaeological excavation, if archaeological remains were found during the construction works. Chöng Chae-hun explained the changed answered the OCP's demands regarding the conflict between the Ministry of Construction and the OPC for the construction of the Kyöngbu Highway near Taegu and Kyöngju, and the damaging of archaeological sites. Given President Park's interest in reinforcing a strong sense of national identity, and the lack of enough funds at the OCP to research and protect those sites on its own, Park decided to pass the expenses to the department in charge of the construction that could menace an archaeological site.¹⁰ Consequently, since the early 70s a bigger amount of capital was poured into the field through rescue archaeological projects, not just from

⁸ Kim Won-yong, *Haru Haru'i Mannam: Kim Won-Yong Aesaei* (Seoul: Muneünsa, 1985):203-204

⁹ *Treasure, Ancient Sites, Scenery, and Natural Monuments Conservation Act*, Chösen General-Government order n^o 6, 1933.8.9, and *Cultural Properties Protection Act*, Act n^o 961, 1962.1.10 stressed the role of the government to excavate and research archaeological heritage, but did not established specific mechanisms of payment. Thus, the economic burden of the research laid on the institutions that engaged on that research.

¹⁰ Po-gi Son and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Illop Wölla Ege Tünnün Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yön* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yöngnon, 2008):411-413

government projects, but also private construction. This made possible the introduction of new agents in the field. At the same time, it was the OCP the agent in charge of channeling research funds from big government engineering projects to form joint research projects with other agents. Thus, the OCP had the power to choose its partners on those projects.

The research activity: the diversity of agents working in the field

The legal and administrative framework described above allowed for the constitution of a dynamic space of research that changed significantly over the 34 years considered in this research. Looking at the database of archaeological excavations published by the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, the field grew very strongly during the 60s, and in the 70s. Until 1955, there was just one agent active in the field, and during the period between 1956 and 1960 they multiply to seven. During the period between 1961 and 1965, there were 14 active agents, and 17 for the period between 1966 and 1970. The period between 1971 and 1975 saw 19 agents working in the field, and the period between 1976 and 1979 saw that number increase up to 27 different agents. In summary, 35 different agents were responsible for 419 interventions between 1945 and 1979.¹¹ The increase of agents and interventions indicates an expansion of the field towards the end of period. Such expansion increases similarly to the total number of interventions executed during those periods. The period from 1945 to 1955 saw only 10 archaeological interventions, but the period from 1956 to 1960 already overcome that number with 15 interventions. The number of interventions increased dramatically for the period between 1961 and 1965 up to 62, and increased again for the period between 1966 and 1970, this time to 91 interventions. The period between 1971 and 1975 saw another increase in the number of interventions going up to 123, and finally the shortest period, between 1976 and 1979 represented 118 interventions. If the year of 1980 is included (to represent a five-year long period), the total would be 156 interventions. This rate of interventions shows a field in expansion, but such expansion was not equal throughout the field.

The correlation of agents and interventions shows a strong unbalance in terms of number of interventions led. In fact, only three agents were responsible for more than half of the total number of interventions.¹² Thus, the National Museum of Korea conducted 114 interventions (25.4%), the Office of Cultural Properties, including those directed by subsidiary organisms, was responsible of 86 interventions (19.1%), and Seoul National University, including the university museum and departments, led 39 interventions (8.7%). Altogether, these three actors led 239 interventions, the 53.2% of all the interventions executed between 1945 and 1979. The next five agents in number of interventions are very far: Kyungpook National University museum, 24 (5.3%); Yonsei University museum, 22 (4.9%); Pusan National University, 19 (4.2%); Dong-A University museum, 16 (3.5%); Dankook University museum, 15 (3.3%). Only eight agents summed 74.4% of the total number of interventions. In summary, the field had agents of different magnitude in terms of excavations, led by two government institutions and followed by universities.

¹¹ National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, *Chronology of Excavations DB (Palgul Yŏnp'yo)* <http://portal.nrich.go.kr/kor/excavationChronologyUsrList.do?menuIdx=566> Consulted March 29th, 2016 (18:53)

¹² The database identifies some excavations with more than one leading institution responsible. For that reason, this research counted those interventions for each institution that took part in the intervention. Thus, the aggregated number of interventions per agent would increase from 419 to 448

The number of interventions identifies the government through different institutions as the main player in the field, but that interest did not remain the same, and did not keep the same reach. That unevenness was one of the reasons behind the unbalance of the chronological distribution of excavations. The period after the Liberation and Syngman Rhee's regime followed by the first period of Park Chung Hee's regime (1961-1968) did not see much specific interest of the government in the field. During that period, the government counted with the NMK and the OCP as agents in charge of archaeological research, but the government liberated limited budgets for archaeological research. Kim Chae-wŏn decided to overcome those limitations through international funds to do research. Thus, he achieved grants from the Rockefeller Foundation, the Asia Foundation, the Harvard-Yenching Institute and the Royal Asiatic Society Korean Branch to conduct archaeological research in Korea and publish the results. In fact, at least 12 interventions out of 17 were funded with resources from abroad between 1945 and 1960. From 1961 onwards, the situation changed slightly, and the government started funding rescue excavations.¹³ However, the NMK still used foreign funds for its research. In fact, the most important research project during the 60s conducted by the NMK, the dolmen (*chisŏkmyo*) research project, was possible thanks to a grant from the Harvard-Yenching Institute and rescue projects funded by the government.¹⁴ The OCP started its research activity in 1965 with the excavation of a *kobun* found during construction works.¹⁵ However, the institution did not have the trained personnel to accomplish that excavation yet. For that reason, it trusted it to seasoned archaeologists such as Kim Won-yong (SNU), Chin Hong-sŏp (Ewha), or Park Il-hun (NMK, Kyŏngju Branch Museum), and included researchers working at the institution but less experienced such as Lee Ho-kwan (*Hakyesaga*) or Kang In-gu (*Hakyesaga*).¹⁶ Given the limited capabilities of the OCP at that time to direct their own archaeological research, the institution depended on other institutions and archaeologists to carry out archaeological interventions. In this regard, members of Subcommittee 1 (Kim Won-yong and Chin Hong-sŏp) worked for the OCP in this excavation. The OCP followed this management system with other excavations in this period such as the Hwangori *kobun* 30-60 (1966) in which Chin Hong-sŏp, Kim Yŏng-ha (Kyunpook Nat' U.), Park Il-hun (NMK), and Im hyo-jae (SNU) took part.¹⁷ The same system is present in the excavation of Pangnaeri *kobun* (1968), executed by Lee Hong-jik, Chin Hong-sŏp, Kang In-gu, Kim Sae-hyŏn, Kim Byŏng-mo, Chi Kŏn-gil and Choi Nam-ju.¹⁸ From 1945 to 1968, the NMK directed 67 and the OCP 9 out of 138. Meanwhile the NMK directed its excavations with its own human resources, the OCP tended to collaborate with other institutions. This model of research management continued after 1969, but in a much greater scale and with a clear political interest.

The period from 1969 to 1979 saw an acceleration in the number of archaeological excavations with support from the government. That support directed mainly to rescue projects

¹³ Lee Nan Yŏng recalled that the Dolmen Research Project was funded with international grants and rescue projects funded by the government. See Lee Nan Yŏng, *Pangmulgwan Ch'anggo Chigi* (Seoul: T'ongch'ŏn Munhwasa, 2005):29

¹⁴ Kim Chaewŏn and Yun Mubyŏng, *Han'guk Chisŏkmyo Yŏn'gu* (Seoul: Kungnip Chung'ang Pangmulgwan, 1967):1-2

¹⁵ Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Kyŏngju Hwangori Chae 1-33ho, Hwangnamri Chae151ho, Kobun Palgul Chosa Pogo" (Munhwajae Kwalliluk, 1965):7

¹⁶ Munhwachae Kwalliguk, "Kyŏngju Hwangori Chae 1-33ho, Hwangnamri Chae151ho, Kobun Palgul Chosa Pogo" (Munhwajae Kwalliluk, 1965):1

¹⁷ "Kogomisul nyusŭ" *Misul Charyo* 11 (1966)

http://www.museum.go.kr/site/main/archive/periodical/archive_6144 Consulted on August 11th

¹⁸ Munhwachae Kwalliguk, *Kyŏngju Pangnaeri Kobunkun Ponmun Haksul Yŏn'gu ch'ongsŏ* 20 (Kungnip Kyŏngju Munhwachae Yŏn'guso, 1997):27

and the reconstruction of Kyŏngju as part of the economic and political project of the regime. The political project that Park Chung Hee promoted since 1969 in view of the HCI development plan and *Yusin* had attached the reconstruction of Kyŏngju as national symbol and touristic destination.¹⁹ That political project made the OCP organize internally the Research Office for Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'gusil*), the predecessor of the National Research Institute for Cultural Properties (*Munhwachae Yŏn'guso*), in order to carry out the new government goals. This organization became the main instrument of the government to carry out projects related with the field of archaeology, mainly along two lines: politically interesting research projects, and rescue projects related with big engineering projects.

The Research Office led its projects alone, but sometimes the size of the research was too big for just one organization. In those cases, the Research Office mobilize the active agents in the field to support the research. This mobilization of agents meant that from 1969 to 1979, many of the research projects in which non-government agents were involved actually followed the interests of the government in relation to project considered important for the development of Korea. Thus, the government was capable of affecting the interest in the field by focusing the attention of important actors into specific archaeological projects. Such attention was grasped through academic contracts, meaning an economic reward for the non-government agent, beside the academic benefit obtained from the excavation.²⁰ At least 8 joint projects led by the OCP in cooperation with non-government agents fit that structure: Kyŏngju Development Plan (50) in 1969-1979, P'aldal-Soyang Dam (8) in 1971-72, Andong Dam (6) in 1973-74, Changsŏng Dam and Yŏngsan River Dam (3) in 1975, Taech'ŏng Dam (9) in 1977-78, Panwŏn Industrial Site (6) in 1978, Ch'angwŏn Machine Industry Complex (1) 1976, Jamsil Development Project (15) in 1974-76. They all sum up 98 interventions from 297 interventions for the period between 1969 and 1979. Furthermore, it meant the mobilization of a long list of universities including the following actors: Konkook University Museum, Kyungpook National University Museum, Kyung Hee University Museum, Koryo University, NMK, Dankook University Museum, Dongguk University, OCP, Pusan National University, SNU, Sungsil University Museum, Yeungnam University Museum, Ehwa Woman's University Museum, Chonnam National University Museum, Chungnam National University Museum, and Chunbuk National University Museum. They represented some of the most important and active actors in the field, and allow as to talk about a second level of actors in the field related to the government, but which were not part of the government itself. Furthermore, comparing with the previous period, the extension of the government power to mobilize actors exceeded the previous limit of institutions close to the Sub-Committee 1, indicating a greater influence of the government over the development of the field.

The government management of the field and its direct intervention made it the most powerful with capacity to drag behind more agents outside the government, but it did not stop other agents to pursue their own research objectives. Many non-government agents were active in the field over long periods, and did not have strong connections with the administration beyond the authorization process, even during the period of highest government intervention. Most of the archaeological research done between 1956 and 1968 outside government institutions was the result of the academic interest of a university professor who had to find the resources to conduct excavations on its own. The intervention led by Koryo University was the result of appointing Kim

¹⁹ Choi Kwang-seung, "Park Chung Hee Ui Kyongjukodo Kaepal Saŏp," *Chongshin Munhwa Yongu* 35, no. 1 (2012):183–212

²⁰ Lee Yung-jo, "1982-1983 Excavation of Archaeological Sites in the Submergence Area of the Ch'inju Dam Construction," *Korea Journal* 24 (Nov. 1984):3

Chŏng-hak as director of the university museum in 1957, as Yun Sae-yŏng recalled.²¹ Then, Kim Chŏng-hak sought funds from the Asiatic Research Institute and conducted the first university excavation with other professor from Soongsil University, and students from the Department of history at Koryo University. The same circumstances are present in the intervention led by Kyungpook National University. Park Ŭl-lyong, then appointed director of the university museum, in cooperation with other professors at the university, and students, carried out the excavation of the *Akmok kobun* in 1960.²² Later, these universities participated from government projects, relating some of their projects to those of the government. However, some other institutions kept their own research programs. Some examples were the research activities of universities such as Yonsei or Dong-A. Yonsei focused almost exclusively on the research of a few Paleolithic sites, conducting field research annually from 1964 to 1979. This effort resulted in 22 interventions, 20 of them on Paleolithic sites. Meanwhile, Dong-A University museum researched 16 sites in Pusan and South Kyŏngsan Province from 1969 to 1979. However, it kept an interest on a relatively marginal topic at the time, the Early Iron Age and the Kaya culture (the institution researched 2 sites from the Early Iron Age, 7 from the Three Kingdoms Period, and 2 from Kaya). The interest on relatively marginal topics in the field of archaeology (there were only 39 interventions on Paleolithic sites, 16 on Early Iron Age, and 17 on Kaya culture), and their consistency to keep the research on those topics may explain why the relationship of these institutions with the government did not change over time.

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

The unevenness of the field in terms of excavations and conservation had an impact on the research done. In order to present these consequences three cases are going to be briefly considered. The first case refers to the active involvement of the government in the excavation of Kyŏngju and its development. The second case takes in consideration the Paleolithic research done by Yonsei University Museum. The third case refers to a project directed by government related agents regarding the excavation of the Southern bank of the Han River in Seoul. These three cases represent different levels of government interventions and different contributions to the archaeological discourse.

The clear interest of the government in the excavation and reconstruction of Kyŏngju during the 70s concentrated an enormous amount of resources. Thus, archaeologists made 56 excavations in Kyŏngju between 1969 and 1979 out of 281 for the whole period. Even though Kyŏngju was an old area of archaeological research, the impulse to the research since 1969 was completely new. In fact, Kyŏngju was the first place where Koreans started to excavate again after the Liberation, but until 1968, the city only had 13 interventions. The concentration of that research activity and the preservation of those sites within a comprehensive plan of tourism development were fundamental in the constitution of Silla and Unified Silla as the center of Park Chung Hee's national discourse. These interventions were carried out by a group of agents: the OCP, NMK, Kyungpook National University Museum, Kyung Hee University Museum, Koryo University, Dankook University Museum, Dongguk University, Pusan National University, SNU, Yeungnam University Museum, Silla Five-peak Research Group and Ehwa Woman's University

²¹ Po-gi Son and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Illop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):375-378

²² *Ibid.*, 243-245

Museum. However, once again, the research effort among agents was different. The government interest on this particular project is represented by the enormous weight that the OCP and its different office in the project. Thus, the OCP took part in as many as 36 of the total excavations done in Kyŏngju for the period between 1969 and 1979. In addition to that presence in the field, the government also shaped the discourse through the lavishly publication of many of the archaeological reports resulted from those excavations. Thus, the excavation and reconstruction projects of Pulgusa and Sŏkkuram, the excavations of Tumuli nº 155 and Tumuli nº 98 or the excavation of Anapji were published in special volumes by the OCP, featuring not just the archaeological reports of the excavations, but also studies signed by some of the most distinguished experts in the country.²³ The last measure that the government took in order to secure for Kyŏngju a preeminent position in archaeology was the preservation of the area. Thus, archaeologists could go back to those sites and reexamine them in the future.

The first excavation related to Paleolithic Age in South Korea after the Liberation was the Paleolithic site at Sŏkchang-ni in 1964 by Yonsei University. From that moment, Yonsei started an archaeological activity that led the institution to program annual excavation campaigns focused on Paleolithic sites. However, this research activity had first to overcome the reticence of the Committee for Cultural Properties and later fund the operations. Son Po-gi recalled that the survey to find a Paleolithic site started after Kim Won-yong and the couple of PhD candidate from Wisconsin U., Mohr and Sample fall out. After that, Mohr and Sample asked the History Department and Laboratory at Yonsei for help. The result was the organization of survey trips with some professors and graduate students, finding in one of the trips evidences of a Paleolithic site in Sŏkchang-ni. The next step consisted in asking for official authorization to excavate the site, but it got rejected two times before the Committee gave its authorization. Son recalled that he visited Kim Sang-gi and Kim Won-yong, and tried to persuade them to authorize the excavation; Son even asked Kim Won-yong to excavate with them, but it was in vain because Kim did not believe in the existence of a Paleolithic site. After the Committee denied the authorization for the second time, Prof. Han T'ae-dong and Son Pogi visited the Committee members, in order to persuade them. Finally, the third application after those visits received a positive answer, and the Committee approved the excavation authorization.²⁴ This strong opposition and the extra-official meetings tell about the relative lack of interest of the administration about a possible Paleolithic research. The lack of support continued through a lack of government funds for the research once it was confirmed that Sŏkchang-ni was indeed a Paleolithic site. Son commented that they decided to stop excavating Sŏkchang-ni to focus on Chŏmmal Cave "because there was not enough money for more than one or two excavations every years with limited budget of the university museum."²⁵ Comparing this claim with the excavation record of Yonsei University Museum, the institution limited its activity to only one or two interventions each year from 1964 to 1979.²⁶ Nevertheless, the contribution of Yonsei University Museum to the research of Paleolithic Age in Korea was enormous, accounting for 20 out 30 excavations done related to that period. In addition, Lee Yung-jo, a disciple of Son Po-gi, directed another six excavations, when he got a position at Chungbuk National University. Nevertheless, Paleolithic excavations only summed up 30 excavations out of 369 done between 1964 and 1979 by eight different agents.

²³ Excavations reports

²⁴ Po-gi Son and Han'guk Kogo Hakhoe, eds., *Ilgop Wŏllo Ege Tŭnnŭn Han'guk Kogohak 60-Yŏn* (Seoul: Sahoe P'yŏngnon, 2008):37-40

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 42

²⁶ Only in 1978 the museum directed three excavations: two caves in Ch'ŏnwŏn (North Ch'unch'ŏng), and a shell mound in Sangnodaeto (South Kyŏngsang)

The third case involves archaeological excavations done in relation to the urbanization project that involved the actual Sökch'ong-dong, Pangidong, Karak-dong, P'ungnap-dong, Amsadong and Myöngil-dong. That research was presented under the *Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosa Pogo*, a multi-year excavation project commissioned by Seoul City Hall,²⁷ although some specific sites were published apart.²⁸ The project gathered the OCP, SNU, Soongsil University, Koryo University, Ehwa Woman's University, Dankook University, Yeungnam University and Chonnam National University.²⁹ The result were 15 excavations, including sites from the Bronze Age (4), Bronze Age-Three Kingdoms Period (1), Three Kingdoms Period (8), Three Kingdoms Period-Chosön (1), Paekche (1). The efforts to research the area before its development are evident, but it surprise the scale of protection given the importance of the area. The Southern bank of the Han River concentrates in less than 4km the Sökch'ong-dong Cemetery, the Monch'ong Site, and the P'ungnap Walled Site, this last one site considered today the emplacement of Hansöng, the first Paekche capital.³⁰ Certainly, then the P'ungnap Walled Site was thought to be just a huge fortress of the early Paekche dynasty, and not the capital,³¹ but, at least since 1910, the Sökch'ong-dong Cemetery was recognized as a royal cemetery of the Paekche dynasty. Thus, it calls the attention the lack of a systematic research, because the rescue project finished its fieldwork in just three months (1974.12-1975.1/ 1975.8-1975.9/ 1976.6-1976.7).³² However, today the whole area has been developed, becoming one of the most expensive neighborhoods in Seoul. In this case, the interest of the government to develop the Southern bank of the Han River weighted more than the potential contribution that the research of that same area could do to the national discourse.

Conclusion

Much of the development of the field of archaeology is due to the intervention of the government. It set the legal framework through which archaeological research was regulated, and consolidated the two most important agents in the field through important research budgets. In addition, it promoted the development of certain agents within the field through academic contracts for rescue archaeology projects. These factors allowed the government to affect considerably research agenda of the field and its discourse. However, this is just one part of the reality. At the same time that the government had an enormous power in the field, it also allowed important quotas of independence to non-government agents. Firstly, the committee in charge of granting authorization for archaeological excavations was dominated completely by academics

²⁷ Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):17-80

²⁸ As an example see Kim Won-yong, "Sökch'ong-Dong Chöksökch'ong Palgul Chosa Pogo" (Seoul Taehakkyo Kogo-Illyuhak, 1975)

²⁹ Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):18

³⁰ Kwon Oh Young, "The Influence of Recent Archaeological Discoveries on the Research of Paekche History" in Mark E. Byington, ed., *Reconsidering Early Korean History through Archaeology*, Early Korea 1 (Cambridge, Mass: Early Korea Project, Korea Inst., Harvard Univ, 2008):65-112

³¹ Kim Won-yong, "P'ungnam-ni T'osöngnae P'ohamch'üng Chosa Pogo" (Seoul: Seoul Nat'l Univ. Dept of Anthropology and Archaeology, 1967)

³² Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil chigu yujök palgul chosa pogo," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 3 (1977):17-80; Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosadan, "Chamsil Chigu Yujök Palgul Chosa Pogo 1976 Yöndo (Chae 3 Ch'a)," *Han'guk Kogohakpo* 4 (1978): 7-51

with a sizable representation of archaeologists, giving to the field an important degree of autonomy in this sense. Furthermore, the amendment of the Cultural Property Protection Act in 1973 gave an economic support to archaeological research outside the government and the agent's own economic resources, promoting more research in a moment that the country was developing at great speed. Moreover, the control of the government over the field was not complete, as there were agents that did not take part of any government project, receive any government fund or recommendation about what to research. In summary, the power of the government on the field was important, but not omnipotent.

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

This three level system had its impact on the academic production of the field, as it has been shown above. Government agents focused their energies into the government interest in the field that only since the very late 60s took a clear definition into rescue archaeological projects and the restoration of Silla as the Golden Age of the Korean nation. The result was the development of a huge research project focused on Kyōngju as the greatest representation of that idea. The size of that investment attracted other agents eager to take part in the project. As a result, the size of Silla archaeology in the 70s outshined the research of other periods. At the second level, the integration of these agents into a fluid relationship with the government about what research had to be done, substituted their research interest for those of the government. That condition made them loose in many occasions their control about the conservation of the sites, and the depth of their research to adjust to the interest of the government. Thus, the excavations in Songp'agu, in the Southern bank of the Han River, had to be done in a very tight schedule that could not solve the archaeological problems that the area posed to those researchers. Consequently, after a limited research the whole area became urbanized, losing a great amount of archaeological date in the process. Finally, the third level of could research independently, but at the same time they lacked government funds that could help their projects, in great part because that research had a very limited interest for the government. The possibility for Yonsei to keep such a high record of research on the Paleolithic Age without any other agent or group of agents reaching an even close position in research output declares the marginality of the field. The Paleolithic Age has been always difficult to integrate in the national narrative because the general assumption is that those populations were not Koreans. Therefore, even though the contribution of Yonsei to the field and the study of Paleolithic Age was outstanding, it had a very limited impact in terms of creating an academic debate.

In summary, the relationship between the government and academics integrated in the field of archaeology was quite fluid. The power of the government made possible to bend and shape the field towards the interest of the government. However, there were always areas beyond that

interest that remained quite free from its interferences. This polarity, however, should not be stressed excessively, because the dominant situation for the agents involves was different degrees of closeness to any of these poles.