

Introduction

Uri nara, Uri mal, Uri minjok—those who study Korea are often struck by the abundance of symbols linked to the nationalist discourses surrounding the construction of Korean identity and culture. The invention, manipulation, and control of these symbols is a hotly contested battleground in the politics and ideology of representing Korea's past and present. Over the years, various groups have attempted to position themselves as the final authority in both what is Korean and what it means to be Korean. Using their particular perspectives—be they Japanese scholars and bureaucrats of the colonial period, anti-Japanese independence fighters, Marxist historians, nation-building politicians, or student protesters among others—these groups have appropriated certain cultural expressions as part of the legitimizing process for their ultimately political projects. The essays assembled here highlight how scholars from different fields (including history, archaeology, language, literature, sociology, religion, folklore, and music) approach topics of Korean nationalism and the discursive battles over the definitions of "Korea" and "Koreanness" as well as the conflicting strategies different groups use to promote their particular view of Korea as the one vested with the most historical and political legitimacy.

Since independence and the division of the Korean Peninsula, the development of Korean Studies in both North and South Korea has been driven by the ideological goals of nationalistic politicians and scholars. Academic fields such as anthropology, art history, ethno-musicology, history, religion, and philosophy are deployed to promote the concept of a unique cultural and national identity of the Korean people, whose innate spirit of artistic, spiritual and racial independence can be traced to their common founding ancestor (*sijo*), Tan'gun (Yun et al. 1994, RSPJ 1994). Although the two Koreas have been divided physically and politically for the past fifty years and are seemingly opposed in every

conceivable way, both sides nevertheless have been able to agree on the resurrection of Tan'gun as the father of the Korean race and founder of the first Korean nation of Kochosŏn.

In postwar South Korea, the mythical Tan'gun racial regeneration narrative was a product (Yi K. B. 1990) of collective historical imaginations of today's most widely recognized "nationalist historians" (*minjok sahakja*) including Kim Ch'ŏl-jun, Yi Pyŏng-do, Ch'ŏn Kwan-u, Yi Ki-baek, Kim Chŏng-bae, and Yi Man-yŏl (Yi M. Y. 1987). Because of their work, the Tan'gun narrative appears at the beginning of all Korean history textbooks despite the conspicuous absence of any reliable historical, archaeological, or art historical evidence supporting the legend prior to the thirteenth-century *Samguk Yusa* (Tales of the Three Kingdoms) (Yi P. D. 1981). These historians also aver a historical lineage linking them to the pioneering spirit of national historical struggle (*minjok t'uchaengsa insik*) initiated by Sin Ch'ae-ho in the 1930s (TSKH 1987). Their shared claim of discovering "real" Korean history (*Han'guksa palgyŏn*) stems from a belief that all previous academic work—ranging from Japanese colonial historical scholarship to earlier Korean dynastic documents—cannot be considered Korean Studies since it lacks a truly "Korean historical consciousness" (*Han'guk Yŏksa insik*). Consequently, they dismiss earlier historians such as Kim Pu-sik (twelfth century), the author of Korea's earliest complete historical work, *Samguk Sagi*, as being steeped in the traditional pro-Chinese attitude of *sadae* (to serve the bigger) (Chŏn H. C. 1973) and lacking credibility as Korean historians because of their Confucian historiographical methodology. In addition, nationalistic historians denounce colonial-era publications and data, whether archaeological, ethnographic, or art historical, as tainted by Japanese scholars' "imperialistic historical viewpoint" (*ilche hwang-guk sagwan*) and, as a result, not worthy of study (Pai 1994). Furthermore, they assail those Japanese scholars who study ancient history for deliberately distorting Korea's prehistoric past in hypothesizing a common racial origin for Japanese and Koreans (*Nissen Dosoron*), a hypothesis considered to be part of a Japanese conspiracy to deliberately eradicate Korean racial identity (*minjok malsal*).

The mythic Korean time scale recorded by the Tan'gi calendar situates the beginnings of the imagined Korean nation of Kochosŏn in 2333 B.C., the year of Tan'gun's birth (Pang 1990). Interestingly, this date, referred to as Kaech'o-jŏ (Creation Day), was officially declared a national holiday by Syngman Rhee and

his Preparation Committee (wiwŏnhoe) when the South Korean flag was declared in August 1948, the date also being the traditional founding date of the Korean nation. This has become a widespread reference to the Korean national identity culture—*Han'guk ochŏnn*.

In North Korea, the Tan'gun narrative is popularized and glorified by the concept of *juche* (self-reliance) and the idea of being "independent" from the Japanese resistance activities of the 1940s (Armstrong 1995). His son, Kim Il-sung, also glorified in current North Korean state ideology, was his mate successor, having inherited the spirit of independence (Chŏn H. C. 1973). In the North Korean narrative, Tan'gun's birthplace is Paektusan, Tan'gun's birthplace, the Paektusan mountains. It is no coincidence that the birthplace of Kim Il-sung's late father, Kim Il-sung, and the subsequent rise of the Korean Workers' Party were timed to mark the anniversary of the birth of Leader Kim to his son, the

The proliferation of Korean Studies (and related studies) embelish the Korean narrative directed at the character of the Korean nation and Korean culture. Three common definitions of Koreans: (1) a people of five thousand years ago, (2) a people of racial characteristics (*mirŏk*), and (3) the word *paedal* is said to originate from the *paekdal* tree on Paektusan (Chŏn H. C. 1973). In Chinese character, *paedal* (paed) means "the delivered" and *dal* (dal) means "good" (*sŏn*) people, who were not eradicated and assimilated; and finally (3) the heritage of all Koreans is

¹ South Korean archaeological excavations of the excavated tomb and the weapons found by North Korean archaeologists (Chŏn H. C. 1973; Tan'gun [RSP] 1994). The South Korean excavated weapons and crowns are found in the bronze age (Ch'oe M. N. 1994).

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his Preparation Committee for Nation Building (Kön'guk Chunbi-wiwönhoe) when the South Korean Republic of Taehan Min'guk was declared in August 1948 (Yun et al. 1994). This original founding date of the Korean nation at 2333 B.C. has also led to the widespread reference to five thousand years of Korean history and culture—*Han'guk ochönnyön-sa*.

In North Korea, the Tan'gun racial regeneration myth is epitomized by the concept of *juch'e* or self-reliance, embodied in North Korea's state ideology and represented by the heroic anti-Japanese resistance activities of the past great leader, Kim Il Sung (Armstrong 1995). His son and official successor, Kim Chong Il, is also glorified in current North Korean propaganda as the legitimate successor, having inherited his father's as well as Tan'gun's spirit of independence (*chöng-gi*). Kim Chong Il, according to this North Korean narrative, was born deep in the mountains of Paektusan, Tan'gun's birthplace and the sacred homeland of all Koreans. It is no coincidence that the 1994 excavations of Tan'gun-nüng¹ and the subsequent construction of a colossal Tan'gun mausoleum was timed to mark the transfer of power from the Great Leader Kim to his son, the Dear Leader.

The proliferation of so-called *Han'gukillon* (Who are the Koreans?) studies embellishes this mythical racial scenario and is directed at the characterization of Korean people and the core of Korean culture. Three characteristics are commonly cited in self-definitions of Koreans: (1) the homogeneity of the Korean race, nation, language, and culture since Kochosön's prehistoric origins five thousand years ago; (2) the self-representation of Korean racial characteristics (*minjoksöng*) as *paedal minjok*. Etymologically, the word *paedal* is said to derive from the name of the mythical *pakdal* tree on Paektusan where Tan'gun was born (Ch'ön K. U. 1983). In Chinese characters, the word can also be written to mean "the delivered race" (*paedal*) who, as the "chosen" or "good" (*sön*) people, were saved from Japanese efforts at racial eradication and assimilation by the Tan'gun spirit of independence; and finally (3) the shared historical destiny and cultural heritage of all Koreans since the formation of the Korean race by

¹ South Korean archaeologists continue to express doubts about the authenticity of the excavated tomb and the identification of the bones (which have been dated by North Korean archaeologists to c. 5000 B.C.) as belonging to Mr. and Mrs. Tan'gun (RSPJ 1994). The South Korean archaeologists also claimed that the excavated weapons and crowns are "Koguryö remains," not products of the earlier bronze age (Ch'oe M. N. 1994).

the founding ancestor, Tan'gun. According to this view, Koreans have been able to preserve their distinct racial, cultural, and linguistic heritage because of a continuous spirit of resistance directed against foreign superpowers from time immemorial. Because of these widely accepted assumptions concerning the homogeneity of the Korean race, language, and culture, all scholarship on Korea is automatically subsumed under the rubric of racial history (*minjoksa*), leaving little room for alternative voices to be heard.

By situating the beginnings of the Korean past in remote mythic racial origins, both Koreas have been able to forge a common ethnic identity distinguishable by "pure Korean origins" and maintained by an independent evolution of a unique "Korean civilization" (Yi K. B. 1970). Paradoxically, the Tan'gun racial regeneration myth provides a politically viable option for either side. The *juch'e* ideology is intended to overcome the division of the peninsula imposed by the Russians and Americans at the end of World War II and portrays all Koreans as victims of superpower politics. At the same time, the argument for Korean racial and cultural homogeneity incorporates a prophetic vision of future unification (*minjok t'ongil*) of the peninsula and a "return from exile" (Smith 1986) from Tan'gun's birthplace.

In 1995 a conference was organized by the Center for Korean Studies at the University of California, Berkeley. Sponsored by the Center and funded by grants from the U.S. Department of Education and the Korea Foundation, the conference set out to explore these national narratives and their position as postcolonial constructions originally inspired by intellectuals and historians who were part of the anti-Japanese resistance efforts in the colonial period. Each of the essays in this volume challenges on some level the many contemporary narratives involved in the process of Korean identity formation, thereby taking a much-needed preliminary step in this comprehensive task.

Although it is widely acknowledged that most modern Korean institutions, ranging from capitalism to the education system to the succession of military governments, can be traced back to the colonial period, many Korean scholars remain preoccupied with erasing this colonial past. Korean colonial scholarship tends to highlight Korean independence movements or cultural movements (Cho Y. M. et al. 1982) or to dwell on the negative aspects of colonial oppression and racial atrocities—*kaemyōng* (Japanese renam-

ings), "comfort women," or art and artifacts, to name a few. These narratives have continued to influence the present volume at the expense of a more critical re-evaluation of the colonial period. The present volume traces the history of the Na institution reflective of Korea as a product of the Chōsen Sōtō. In the early twentieth century, Japanese colonialism led to the identification, destruction, and erasure of today's so-called national historical remains (*ibutsu*), a process that Pai concludes that contra the claims of proclaimed "discoverers" of the past, objectification and the codification of objects worthy of display in museums, Sōtokufu bureaucrats, and the Koseki Kenkyūkai (Research Institute for National and Individual Connoisseurs of Artistic Heritage and Culture) have, in the past year, more and more neglected. Why the destruction of the building of the Chōsen Sōtō among Korean politicians timed to coincide with the sary of the "glorious restoration"

Han'gūl, the Korean alphabet, as an example of the creative activities of the past. Instead of focusing on the past, a hundred years ago, Ross King (1995) traces the Korean language writing system as a nation building beginning with the leading intellectuals to whom were educated in the past, including Chun, Chu Si-gyōng, and S. These early Korean nationalists were advocates of a system of national language with Korean characters that contradicts the current widely

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ings), "comfort women," or the destruction and plunder of Korean art and artifacts, to name but three. These anti-Japanese biases have continued to influence the direction of colonial studies today at the expense of a more comprehensive approach to the complexities of colonial rule and administration. In contrast to these evaluations of the colonial past, Hyung Il Pai in the first chapter of the present volume traces the history of Korea's collected past. She illustrates that the National Museum is not an independent institution reflective of Korean art and culture but is rather a product of the Chōsen Sōtokufu and Japanese scholarship. In the early twentieth century, Japanese museum laws and regulations led to the identification, documentation, preservation, and exhibition of today's so-called national treasures (*kokuho* or *kukbo*), historical remains (*ibutsu*), and scenic places (*tennen kinnenbutsu*). Pai concludes that contrary to current assertions of the self-proclaimed "discoverers" of Korea's unique past, the first objectification and the codification of Korean heritage as museum objects worthy of display was a cumulative effort of Chōsen Sōtokufu bureaucrats, archaeological committees such as the Koseki Kenkyūkai (Research Committee on Korean Antiquities), and individual connoisseurs. The process of regulating Korea's artistic heritage and cultural heritage continues today as, every year, more and more national treasures and monuments are registered by the Munhwajae Kwalliguk. Finally, Pai analyzes why the destruction of the National Museum building (the former building of the Chōsen Sōtokufu) caused significant controversy among Korean politicians and the general public when it was timed to coincide with the commemoration of the fiftieth anniversary of the "glorious restoration" (*kwangbok*) from Japan.

Han'gŭl, the Korean alphabet, is frequently cited as the best example of the creative and independent nature of Korean inventions. Instead of focusing on King Sejong's achievements five hundred years ago, Ross King details how the heated debate over the Korean language writing system emerged as part of the effort of nation building beginning in the late nineteenth century. Among the leading intellectuals and political leaders of the day, all of whom were educated in the West or Japan (or both)—Yu Kil-chun, Chu Si-gyōng, and Sō Chae-p'il, for example—were powerful advocates of a systematic Korean language orthography. All these early Korean nationalists equated the codification of a national language with Korean progress. King's work clearly contradicts the current widely held national myth that the dissemina-

tion of *han'gŭl* as a written national language was widely accepted or easily achieved. To the contrary, he demonstrates that it was a long, arduous process that took more than a century to complete.

Conceptions of religion have also been the locus of intensely nationalistic discussions, as evidenced by the significant focus on shamanism in colonial-era scholarship. Although shamanism was often presented as the one truly indigenous Korean religion (Ch'oe N. S. 1927; Yi N. H. 1927), in recent years, religious scholars have attempted to read into other Korean religious practices unique Korean elements and simultaneously revise the history of those religions as a way to situate these expressions as distinctly and historically rooted in the Korean past. In his examination of the history of Buddhism in Korea, Robert Buswell notes that the concept of a Korean Buddhism does not emerge until the late Chosŏn period. In premodern times, Korean Buddhist scholars and monks tried to link themselves to China and India, a decidedly non-nationalistic approach. As part of their project of integrating themselves into pan-Asiatic and Indian Buddhism, for example, Korean Buddhists from the Three Kingdoms period were diligently involved in discovering relics of the Indian king Asoka from the period of Buddhist dissemination.

Buswell identifies, however, an emerging introspection in the late Chosŏn, with an attendant rise in reform movements. He further notes the emergence of two main trends among the reformers, with the conservatives focused on restoring traditional forms of Korean Buddhist worship and the progressives searching for ways to make the religion appealing to the quickly modernizing population. Among the most pressing concerns facing Buddhism was the stiff competition posed by the burgeoning popularity of Christianity. Conservatives, for example, posited Christianity as a corrupt and foreign influence (and thus tacitly suggested that Buddhism was an indigenous religion). Conversely, the progressives proposed numerous reforms, including clergy marriage, to reduce the isolation of the monks from the general population. The advent of print capitalism in early modern Korea was equally significant in promulgating Buddhist texts in the Korean vernacular as part of the imagining of a Korean Buddhism. Ultimately, the Buddhists were intimately involved in identifying the Korean aspects of their religion and articulating the Korean in Buddhism.

The remarkable inroads made by Christianity in Korea over the past two hundred years clearly alarmed the Buddhists, who saw a significant proportion of their followers (and source of economic

revenue) abandon the foreign ways. But, as Christianity quickly spread, currently it is no longer. Instead, Christianity has a concept of inculturation and a history of Catholicism in which Christianity became logically. During the early colonial period, however, with its arrival in 1784, the mass was seen as a role in the church hierarchy ascended in the church. Catholicism in Korea was Despite the bureaucratic church, Baker mentions inculturation in Korean Protestantism of the early Korean missionaries—which assisted them off the Japanese in the proselytize effectively a The primarily Korean leadership colonial period further aims and accordingly a vibrant expression of Korean Protestantism spread rapidly. Protestantism has been send missionaries to other movement, among the Korean Christianity is the incorporating aspects of Liberal dissent valorizes the position and rural dwellers—an (intense longing and suffering).

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revenue) abandon their "Korean" religion and accept these new foreign ways. But, as Donald Baker emphasizes in his essay, Christianity quickly shed much of its foreignness to the extent that currently it is no longer conceptualized as an outside influence. Instead, Christianity has been Koreanized. Baker offers the concept of inculturation as a means for understanding the indigenization of Christian religions. Placing primary emphasis on the history of Catholicism in Korea, Baker explores the processes by which Christianity became inculturated institutionally and theologically. During the early history of the Catholic Church, starting with its arrival in 1784, foreigners controlled all of the important posts, the mass was said in Latin, and Koreans played only minor roles in the church hierarchy. Japanese interference during the colonial period, however, speeded the process by which Koreans ascended in the church ranks, and thus the indigenization of Catholicism in Korea was accelerated.

Despite the bureaucratic successes of Koreans in the Catholic church, Baker mentions the significantly greater theological inculturation in Korean Protestant churches. The modernizing projects of the early Korean missionaries—building hospitals and universities—which assisted the Korean government's attempts to stave off the Japanese in the late Chosŏn, allowed the Protestants to proselytize effectively and quickly develop a significant presence. The primarily Korean leadership of Protestant churches during the colonial period further identified these churches with nationalistic aims and accordingly furthered their conceptualization as a vibrant expression of Koreanness. In post-Liberation Korea, Protestantism spread rapidly and widely. Indeed, the inculturation of Protestantism has been so successful that Korean churches now send missionaries to other countries. Apart from this outward movement, among the most intriguing elements of contemporary Korean Christianity is the emergence of *minjung* theology. Incorporating aspects of Liberation Theology, this theology of political dissent valorizes the position of the *minjung*—the oppressed urban and rural dwellers—and incorporates the conception of *han* (intense longing and suffering) as a particularly Korean experience.

The importance of the *minjung* is not linked solely to religion in Korea; rather the conceptual category of the *minjung* has often been at the center of anti-government ideologies. By appealing to the concept of the *minjung*, the student movements of the 1980s engaged in oppositional discourse with the government as each

group attempted to position its view of Korea as the more legitimate. In his examination of shamanism in contemporary Korea, Timothy Tangherlini points out that these groups mounted appeals to traditional culture, particularly shamanism, as Korea moved fitfully toward democratization. On the village level, the shaman engages the politics of both the household and the community. The goal of the shaman is to guarantee the prosperity of her clients, to ward off intrusions from the outside that threaten the integrity of the household or the village, and to preserve the status quo. Seen in this light, the goals of the shaman are conservative. However, as has been noted by numerous students of Korean shamanism (Harvey 1987, Kendall 1985), the shaman is involved in a subversion of the Confucian-ordered household. Through the *kut*, a woman emerges as a strong voice and thus contests the primacy of the patriarchal hierarchies that govern much of day-to-day life. Shamanism, then, incorporates an intriguing contradiction of being simultaneously conservative and subversive.

In analyzing recent events, one must consider the political climate of the past presidential dictatorships of Syngman Rhee (1948–1961), Park Chung Hee (1961–1979), Chun Du Hwan (1980–1988), and Roh Tae Woo (1988–1992). These successive authoritarian regimes were instrumental in enforcing the ideal of national solidarity among the Korean people by emphasizing both anti-foreign sentiment and anti-communism. Gi-Wook Shin examines how, beginning in the 1960s and 1970s, Park Chung Hee used the rhetoric of *minjok* and narrative of national heroes such as Yi Sun-sin in his efforts to establish political legitimacy. Park's propaganda aimed at national unity did not, however, achieve its goal; instead in the students' *minjung* movement during the 1980s, anti-Americanism became a dominant dissident ideology. Challenging Park's state ideology that had stressed anti-communism and developmentism, anti-American *minjung* discourse emphasized democracy and unification as the nation's main tasks. Thus, in the students' narrative of historical resistance, the *minjung* have struggled to maintain their identity by fighting all forms of authoritarian rule since the 1895 Tonghak uprising. In this context, the May 1980 Kwangju massacre became a watershed for the Korean democratization movement since it was also widely alleged that the U.S. military had had a complicit role in the coup that had initially catapulted Chun Du Hwan to power.

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Such conflicting legacies are explored by M. "Korean" international World Exposition of how the 1988 Olympics with the public spectacle as loci for the representation intended for worldwide here, Dilling examines to present evolving capitalism. Dilling discusses government discourse times oppositional dis-exposition. She isolates representations and p hand, she finds the of "leap forward," symbol in the figure of Hwan gold medalist. In current present representation an enduring commitment symbol of the turtle, and Nam June. Although century Korea—a ship outside invading for [1592–1597])—he repository of technological advancement expansionist nationalis

Korea as the more legitimate in contemporary Korea, these groups mounted by shamanism, as Korea On the village level, the household and the community guarantee the prosperity of the outside that threaten the village, and to preserve the traditions of the shaman are conservative numerous students of (see, for example, all 1985), the shaman is a conservative-ordered household. a strong voice and thus a challenge to the hierarchies that govern the village, then, incorporates an element of a newly conservative and

consider the political relationships of Syngman Rhee (1979), Chun Du Hwan (1992). These successive governments in enforcing the ideal of modernity by emphasizing both traditionalism. Gi-Wook Shin examined the 1970s, Park Chung Hee used traditional heroes such as Yi Seon-do for legitimacy. Park's proposals, however, achieve its goal; the government during the 1980s, anti-communist ideology. Challenging traditional anti-communism and a new discourse emphasized the government's main tasks. Thus, in the 1990s, the *minjung* have struggled against all forms of authoritarianism. In this context, the government watershed for the Korean people was also widely alleged that the military in the coup that had initiated

Music, ritual, and dance are today no doubt the most visual and audible representations of Korea both in Korea and abroad. Commercial folk performances are now a common event at many tourist sites ranging from the Yong-in Folk Village to the Sheraton Walker Hill nightclub. When one watches such a "Koreana" performance, one cannot help but marvel at the transformation of traditional cultural expressions into multimedia visual spectacles. In this new, popular medium, the mixing and matching of disparate traditions in time and space is so confused and confounding that most of the audience—save for the occasional anthropologist—do not question how, on a single stage, one can find a shaman, Yi dynasty court musicians, *nong'ak* dancers, and a *p'ansori* singer all performing simultaneously.

Such conflicting levels of discourse in the presentation of Korea are explored by Margaret Dilling, who turned to the latest "Korean" international event before the conference, the Taejŏn World Exposition of 1993. In an earlier study, Dilling explored how the 1988 Olympics acted in part as a ritual to affirm identity, with the public spectacles of the opening and closing ceremonies as loci for the representation of a particular vision of Korea intended for worldwide consumption (Dilling 1991). In her essay here, Dilling examines how music, images, and discourse interact to present evolving views of Korea within the context of global capitalism. Dilling demonstrates the tension between the official government discourse presented at the Taejŏn Expo and the at times oppositional discourse of the artists enlisted as part of that exposition. She isolates two central tropes functional within the representations and performances of the exposition. On the one hand, she finds the official representation of Korean progress, the "leap forward," symbolized by the "running Korean," embodied in the figure of Hwang Young-jo, Korea's 1992 Olympic marathon gold medalist. In contrast to this, she identifies the equally present representation of Korea's attention to the environment and an enduring commitment to reuse and recycling, embodied in the symbol of the turtle, represented by the video installation of Paik Nam June. Although Paik appeals to the *kŏboksŏn* of sixteenth-century Korea—a ship designed to stave off the advances of an outside invading force (Hideyoshi's army of the Imjin War [1592–1597])—he repositions the image of the ship as an example of technological advance rather than a martial expression of expansionist nationalism.

Dilling illustrates how the interplay of music, performance, multimedia presentations, and written texts all combined at the Taejŏn Expo to present multiple representations of South Korea. In close readings of the musical scores accompanying various Expo-related ceremonies, she reveals the simultaneous valorization and condemnation of scientific progress and suggests that these ceremonies act as an arena for the negotiation of a decidedly Korean narrative concerning the tension between progress and tradition. This composite narrative, in turn, presents the nation as both appropriating and resisting Western models of progress. In large part, Dilling points out the frequent appeal to the Other as part of the process of national definition. Frequently, Korean identity has been defined in opposition to outside influences, most notably Chinese, Japanese, and recently, Americans.

Instances of culture contact are often referenced in the process of defining Koreanness, as evidenced by much of the scholarship presented here. Literature is no different, and in his essay, Bruce Fulton examines a literary genre known as *kijich'on* fiction, which places particular emphasis on one such site of culture contact. The *kijich'on*, camp towns that spring up near American army bases, are a well-known feature of the post-Liberation Korean landscape. In his essay, Fulton notes that many Korean literary scholars, though obsessed with defining Korean literature, have long neglected this genre of fiction. Fulton resists this trend, suggesting that *kijich'on* fiction is an excellent locus to examine issues of national identity. In the camp town, issues of sexuality and labor come to the fore. Through his discussion of representative works, he explores identity not on the institutional level, but on the individual level, revealing how the Korean protagonists in many of these stories eschew certain aspects of Korean culture yet find themselves unable or unwilling to assume the aspects of the foreign culture. Instead, they find themselves between cultures—both physically and conceptually—and through the process of the literature, enact a return to Korea, successfully forging a newly emergent identity.

Today in South Korea, despite anti-government student demonstrations and intellectuals' voices of dissent, the *minjung* narrative methodology still falls squarely within the tradition of the historiography of national resistance (*minjok t'uchaengsa*), the only difference being that the enemies of the people now include not only the former landed *yangban*, Japanese collaborators, and the American military, but also intellectuals, the bourgeoisie,

politicians, and the *chaebŏng*. The relatively democratic are not many scholars in the Korean Peninsula, who any of these nationalist front these national myth "intertextual" and the involved in the identifica

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near American army ost-Liberation Korean many Korean literary Korean literature, have resists this trend, sug- ocus to examine issues ssues of sexuality and ssion of representative titutional level, but on Korean protagonists in ts of Korean culture yet some the aspects of the selves between cultures through the process of essfully forging a newly

ati-government student of dissent, the *minjung* within the tradition of (*minjok t'uchaengsa*), the people now include anese collaborators, and ctuals, the bourgeoisie,

politicians, and the *chaebŏl* (business conglomerates). Even now in the relatively democratic era of postmilitary dictatorships, there are not many scholars in Korean Studies, whether on or off the Korean Peninsula, who have attempted to systematically contest any of these nationalist narratives. We believe it is time to confront these national myth-making projects and to analyze the "intertextual" and the "interdynamic" processes (Bhabha 1994) involved in the identification of Korea past and present.

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CHAPTER ONE

The Colonial
Collected Pa

HYUNG IL PAI

In the postcolonial debates in Korean art historical, art historical, yard 1975, Nelson 199 captured the imagination responsible for erective of Japanese culture art and architecture (1995). Such claims are under the rubric of Han-il K'yoryu yön' euphemism, since 1 emphasize a unidirectional et al. 1991) brought on the majority of artists Yamato court (Ch'oe "Korean" origins of rely heavily upon highly Korean archaeological concrete data¹ that

Versions of this paper were Anthropological Association Center for Korean Studies, ed in the panel "Colonial under Japanese Rule." At Tradition in Modern Korea and U.C. Santa Barbara 1996/1997 research trips to colonial administration sources and catalogues, respectively

¹ Without reliably dated both sides of the straits of buried possessions, we can