THE EVOLUTION OF MUSEUMS IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

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For all that the Chosŏn *yangban* took such pride in their sinocentric culture, they could not claim to have kept up with their Chinese neighbours in the tradition of connoisseurship. Put bluntly, the majority of them simply had not cultivated the habit of collecting bronzes, porcelain, and the paintings of bygone ages, or commissioning new works of art, with the enthusiasm and expertise that great Chinese households had. There were exceptions of course: Prince Anpyŏng (1418–53) owned Chinese paintings from the Tang to Yuan periods, including no less than sixteen by Guo Xi (*c*.1020–*c*.1090), and he patronised the artist An Kyŏn (1400–?), whose still extant and well-known *Dream Journey to Peach Blossom Spring* reveals the influence Guo (and/or his patron the prince) had on him. But it may be that the Imjin Wars of the last decade of the 16th century, besides annihilating collections such as the prince's, also helped undermine the gentry's disposition to invest in destructible goods through the 17th and 18th centuries. The royal family itself, however, could hardly fail to follow the acquisitive example set by the great Ming and Qing emperors, especially during the long and generally settled reigns of Yŏngjo and Chŏngjo, so it is not surprising that the first museum in Korea should be that attached to the imperial household. Its opening in Changgyŏng palace in 1909, during the threatening days of the Japanese protectorate (1905–10), was doubtless intended to make a positive statement about the nature and quality of Korea's own culture, albeit with tacit admission of its indebtedness to China, but following annexation in 1910, the institution was re-branded (1915) as the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum and then, instead of Korean independence, the priority was to demonstrate the integrity of Korean and Japanese civilisation.

Whatever one may think of the motives for the extensive archaeological work undertaken by the Japanese in Manchuria and northern Korea during the colonial period, neither the importance of their many discoveries nor the academic quality of their published reports is in doubt. Historic Sites Preservation Societies were established in Kyŏngju and Puyŏ; the repair and restoration of many historic

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Fig.1. The Japanese Government-General Building, later the National Museum of Korea (photo by courtesy of the Korea Overseas Information Service—KOIS)

monuments and buildings was begun after centuries of neglect; and provincial museums were established in Kaesŏng (1931), Pyŏngyang (1932) and Kongju (1940). But wealthy Korean patriots were also laying the groundwork for museum collections of the future. They included Chŏn Hyŏngpil, founder of today's Kansong Museum, and Kim Sŏngsu, who helped turn round the struggling Posŏng College and form what later became Koryŏ University Museum. It is now one of the country's foremost museums with important collections of paintings and sculpture.

In the aftermath of the Japanese occupation, politicians recognised the need to remind people of what Korea had once been and what it must struggle to become again. In 1945 the Chōsen Sōtokufu Museum re-opened its doors to the public, but now it was named the National Museum of Korea (NMK) and its doors were in the Capitol Building, the former Government-General headquarters; university museums like those of Ewha and Seoul National (formerly Keijō Imperial University) were re-established; and 1946 saw the foundation of the National Folk Museum (NFM) and Inchŏn City Museum. But then the Korean War brought fresh crisis. The NFM was destroyed, but it is claimed that the evacuation of the National Museum to Pusan saved nearly 75 per cent of its 27,000 pieces. Three years later, the rival regimes in north and south began the competition to establish their credibility as defenders of pan-Korean culture. North Korea opened the Central Historical Museum in Pyŏngyang.

South of the Demilitarised Zone, the NMK returned to Seoul, first to temporary premises on Namsan, then to a more settled home in Tŏksugung. The National Folk Museum took longer to re-establish, and did not re-open until 1966. Three years after that, in 1969, the National Museum for Contemporary Art (NMCA) opened in Kyŏngbokgung premises. This was a new and important institution, representing an unprecedented outreach towards the wider international art community and a follow-up to the artist Park Seo-bo's appearance at the Paris Biennale in 1961.[1] But commitment to art proved a costly exercise, and within three years pressure on space meant that the major museums were on the move once more. In 1972, the National Museum of Korea took possession of a new building in Kyŏngbokgung, a splendid headquarters surmounted with a yellow-tiled pagoda; the following year, NMCA removed to Sŏkjojŏn in Tŏksugung, and in 1975, the National Folk Museum also relocated, into a building of its own in Kyŏngbokgung.

Throughout the Park Chung Hee era (1961–79), the government invested heavily in new museums. Around 76 were opened, including new branches of the National Museum in Kyŏngju, Kongju and Puyŏ that were built to imaginative architectural designs reflecting regional tradition and style.[2] A feature of this period was the proliferation of university museums. The art historian Kim Won-young told me in 1978 that the reason there were so many was that the government had required all universities to establish a museum. This had stimulated their departments of archaeology to unearth objects to put in them, while at the same time helping to foster pride in the nation's past—which was exactly the government's intention. Some were little more than a single room and enjoyed only a short life, but others grew into large and well-respected institutions which now hold particularly strong collections. Donga University Museum in Pusan, for example, established in 1959, has 25,000 artefacts dating from Neolithic to Chosŏn times, and is especially strong on the early history of the southeast region of the peninsula. Other university museums were lucky enough to attract donations from private collectors, an example which continues to be followed to the present. One of these was Dankook University, where the museum founded in 1967 acquired the comprehensive collection of Chosŏn-period costumes now displayed in its Suk Joosun Memorial Museum (established in 1981); another was Kyung Hee University, which opened the Hye Jung Museum for the 150 old maps donated by Kim Hye-jung in 2005. Besides the emphasis on museums, the government initiated other measures to shore up traditional culture and prevent it from slipping into obscurity and oblivion. The Cultural Properties Protection Law (1962) introduced the system of classifying Tangible and Intangible Cultural Assets, a scheme which Keith Howard has investigated in detail.[3] Ten years later, in 1972, the Culture and Arts Promotion Law was introduced, leading to the establishment of the Korea Culture and Arts Foundation and the Culture and Arts Promotion Fund. But government funding went almost entirely into officially approved projects, and

"artists and art groups out of line with official cultural policy found it difficult, even impossible, to get public support".[4] Minjung arts were not recognised, and when I visited the National Folk Museum in 1974 neither its contents nor their display impressed me, though when the Folk Village opened near Suwŏn that year it did pay further lip service of a kind to the role of the peasantry in traditional society. (When I re-visited the Village thirty years on, however, I was struck by how much more attention was then being paid to the social customs, arts and work skills of the lower classes. By that time, too, the National Folk Museum had been transformed into a large, excellent collection with imaginatively filled rooms intent on teaching and enthusing the public, especially including children, with the story of the Korean people's characteristics and qualities during their rapid transition from tradition to modernity.)

One man who was never afraid to proclaim the quality of Korean folk art, well before it began to take its proper place alongside literati art as a subject for aesthetic admiration, was Zo Zayong (Cho Cha-yong; 1926–2000). In 1968 he founded his Emille Museum, which would soon establish a reputation as a foremost protector and showcase of native Korean arts, and despite being out of favour with the military regime he became the first president of the Korean Museum Association (KMA) when it was founded in 1974.

Through the 1980s, anxiety about the watering down of traditional culture at home prompted an increase in major capital projects. In view of the approaching Seoul Olympics (1988), nationalistic and self-aggrandising purposes underlay many of these: 1984, for example, saw the initiation of Seoul Arts Center, 1985 the decision to found the Seoul City Museum (completed in 1997 and opened in 2002 as the Seoul Museum of History), 1986 the opening of a new building for the National Museum for Contemporary Art at Kwachŏn and that of a second Folk Village, this time in Kyŏngju. In that same year, the National Museum of Korea moved across the Kyŏngbokgung compound and into the Capitol Building (vacating its old building for eventual occupation by the NFM). All this cost money. The share of the total central government budget allocated to culture rose from 0.17 per cent in 1981 to 1.04 per cent in 1995. Local government gave 1.7 per cent of its budget to culture in 1987, rising to 2.1 per cent in 1995.[5] Of this, a considerable portion went into buildings rather than activities. Concern was also expressed at the quantity of Korean relics held in museums abroad, and in 1986 the International Cultural Society of Korea, forerunner of the Korea Foundation, embarked on an ambitious project to document them. Beginning in 1989, a series of lavish volumes catalogued the major holdings of Korean artefacts at museums in the United States, Western Europe, and Japan.

All these were developments of major national import and more were to follow. In 1992, the National Palace Museum was established in Tŏksugung, and in 1994 the National War Memorial was opened in Yongsan. This excellent museum documents

the history of warfare across the Korean peninsula from Neolithic times to the present, as well as providing the public with its principal visual resource for the 1950–53 war. Also in 1995, the demolition of the Capitol Building signalled the beginning of a long-term project for the archaeological study of Kyŏngbok palace and the reconstruction of many of the buildings within it that had been destroyed by the Japanese from 1910 onwards. It was acknowledgement of what Choi Sungja, of *Hanguk Ilbo*, had written in 1993: "The younger generation…have matured fully understanding the old traditions. Hence, the preservation of our traditional culture must be undertaken seriously for posterity. The best way for Korea to contribute to world culture is for it first to develop its own traditional culture…An active movement is growing among young people today to study it and understand it."[6] Taking a Seoul-centric view, he claimed that most of the NMK regional branches were inaccessible to the public, and said that "many of their cultural treasures are displayed without sufficient explanation of their significance…On the other hand, specialized museums, which collect and display relics that were used by the people until quite recently, exude a warm, nostalgic atmosphere."

Certainly, the 1990s might almost be designated the decade of the specialist museum. Under the direction of Lee O-young as first holder in 1990 of the newly created post of Minister of Culture, state control over culture was relaxed, and with the devolution and democratisation of cultural policies an array of new museums began to appear. Some were private or corporate foundations (e.g. the Hyundae Gallery); some run by local authorities (e.g. the Kyŏnggi Provincial Museum); others attached to universities. Some spread their net wide, others concerned themselves with individual countries, e.g. the World Jewellery Museum, the Pan-Asian Paper Museum, the Tibet Museum. Some were Korea-specific, e.g. the Kimchi Museum, the Korean Christian Museum, the Korean Shamanism Museum; and some were confined to local history, such as the Tongdosa Temple Museum and the Mirŭksa Temple Museum. Some were general in coverage, such as the Horim Museum in Seoul, established by Yun Chang-sop in 1982, which opened a new building in 1999. Its current collection boasts pottery, porcelain, paintings, books, and metalwork, including eight National Treasures. Others were specific as to their content (e.g. the Hahoe Mask Museum). Some were devoted to individuals, for example, the Ojukheon Museum in Kangnŭng, commemorating the great philosopher Yi I (brush-name Yulgok; 1536–84), and the Whanki Museum, Seoul, honouring the painter Kim Whanki (brush-name Suhwa; 1913–74), or were connected with living individuals, e.g. the wood sculpture and Buddhist artefacts collection associated with the craftsman Mok-A. Some, such as a Straw and Plants Handicrafts Museum, reflected the minjung movement's revelation that art and aestheticism were to be found even in the day-to-day activities of the working classes; Seoul's Artsonje Art Museum, on the other hand, was holistic in a different way, linking museology and the environment.[7]

Following the establishment of the Korean Business Council for the Arts in 1994, commercial sponsorship—albeit fluctuating, especially during 1997–8—increased. Shortly before the economic crisis hit, 1997 had been designated the Year of Cultural Heritage. Publicity was given to the need to rescue treasures from being destroyed or reburied by building projects and to protect Korean culture against imported global features; and emphasis was given to raising public awareness of and reviving traditional customs, and to restoring ancient buildings. The government had caught on to the realisation that museums (along with other cultural forms and events) promote tourism, and that tourism strengthens the economy.[8] Nor was it oblivious to the fact that museums help to promote nationalism. Whilst, ironically, today's NMK website complains that the Japanese Government-General "utilized" the museums established in Kaesŏng and Pyŏngyang in 1931 and 1932 "as a political instrument rather than a disinterested means to display Korean culture", the government of the Republic of Korea (ROK) itself nevertheless launched:

- The Diplomatic History Museum in Seoul, in 1993, displaying interesting materials from 1887 onwards, but later brought up to date with exhibitions on the Tokto and Koguryŏ disputes with Japan and China
- The National War Memorial in Seoul, in 1994, where nationalistic themes are only to be expected, but where the role of the United Nations forces, even those of the United States, in the Korean War passes almost unnoticed in the indoor rooms. (The open-air assemblage of aircraft, tanks and weaponry, however, cannot conceal the ROK's heavy dependence on American aid.)
- The Tokto Museum on Ullŭngdo, in 1997

In July–August 2005, the Korea International Exhibition Center at Koyang in Kyŏnggi province hosted the 2005 World Museum Culture Expo. Showing items from 22 countries, including loans from the Hermitage, Louvre, and Taipei National Palace Museums, this was—despite its title—primarily a Korean venture, designed, in the words of Jung Yu-ran, author of a *Pictorial Korea* article (8/2005), "to promote awareness of and pride in Korea's cultural and historical legacies…The exposition also aims to strengthen Korea's international competitiveness by…developing…tourism resources, *and dispute false claims made by neighbouring countries regarding Korean history and culture*" (my italics).[9] None of these might exactly be called disinterested means of displaying Korean culture.

The museum-founding trend continued into the 21st century. In the 18 to 24 months of 2004–05, *Pictorial Korea* ran articles on specific museums, almost all of them new establishments. Among the newcomers were an Aerospace Museum, a European Porcelain Museum, a Gugak Record Museum, and a Chocolate Museum. The educational role of museums was taken on board and many dedicated special

areas or exhibitions of interest to children; though in others, e.g. a Kitchen Utensils Museum and a Beer Museum, it must be admitted, children's interests were likely to take a fairly definite second place to those of their parents. In a sense, of course, all museums are educational, and offer plentiful opportunities for ideological or political messages to be driven home. Hence in February to March 2005, ironically the year dedicated in advance to Korean-Japanese friendship, the Samsung Museum of Publishing ran a special exhibition of books, journals and music banned during the colonial era, ranging from obvious candidates such as those on socialism or Admiral Yi Sunsin to Cheong Jiyong's poetry collection *Baekrokdam* ('White Deer Pool').[10] The exhibition coincided with street demonstrations in Seoul against Japan's claim to the Tokto islands.

According to the Korean National Commission for UNESCO (KNCU),[11] South Korea had 174 museums in 1996. Of these, 23 were major national museums covering history, arts, science, folk art, post, railways, etc. and came under the direct responsibility of the central government; 24 were public museums, 47 private museums and 80 university museums. In addition, KNCU counted 32 art museums (one national, four public and 27 private). There were also 269 exhibition venues and 337 private galleries throughout the country. The 1999 *Handbook of Korea* (published by the Korea Overseas Information Service) referred to 12 National Museums, "about 33" local museums (including municipal ones), 81 university museums, 88 private ones, 42 "specialty museums" (devoted, *inter alia*, to business, textbooks, communications, and military history), and 33 art museums: total 277. In contrast, the website for the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, uploaded in 2001 and still not updated in summer 2006, says there are 233 museums in Korea. A paper given to the 2004 meeting in Seoul of the International Committee for Architecture and Museum Techniques (ICAMT) referred to a total of 260 museums (41 public, 162 private, 57 university), or 1:190,000 per head of population.[12] These figures are at best vague and sometimes contradictory: I suspect they were already an underestimate when they were published, and are certainly so now. The 2005 website of the Korean Museums Association (KMA), which should be authoritative, speaks of over five hundred museums across Korea,[13] and the 2006 website of the University Museums and Collections (UMAC) Database counts 89 representatives in South Korea.[14] The count grows with regularity, some of the newcomers being the lifetime obsessions of private collectors who present their own collections to public scrutiny, like Choi Hongkyu, who opened his Lock Museum in 2003, showing examples of locks and latches from the Silla to Chosŏn periods, or Kim Dong-hui, whose Oil Lamp Museum is one of the several varied private museums to be visited at Yongin in Kyŏnggi province. This trend has been encouraged since 2004 by the possibility of subsidy from the KMA's allocation of the government's lottery revenue.[15] The number and scope of so many foundations, large and small, really stretch the imagination, all the

more if one extends the list to include art galleries, the most important of which, such as the Samsung and Hyundae Galleries in Seoul, regularly mount major exhibitions that put them on a par with permanent museum displays. A huge number of galleries have sprouted, not only around Insa-dong in Seoul but in cities and towns across the country. There were 527 of them in 1999, according to KOIS, another figure that is again likely to be an underestimate by now. And then there are the outdoor 'museums', including shrines such as that to Yi Sunsin at Asan, folk villages, sculpture parks, theme parks (including the destroyer that can be toured at the Sapgyoho Marine Park in Dangjin in South Chungchŏng province), and archaeological sites such as Amsadong Neolithic park in Seoul.

In 1993, Oh Kwang-su wrote that: "An art museum is a vessel for art. The building gives shape to the works of art inside the museum."[16] And, I would add, vice versa. Two recent museums, both private foundations, show how buildings and their contents can complement each other perfectly. In the modest building of the Whanki Museum (1992), the Korean-American architect Kyu Sung Woo combines the spirit of tradition and modernity, and the feeling for *pungsu*—respect for its setting— with the forms favoured by Korea's leading abstract artist Kim Whanki. It is an innovative and sensitive construction, a building that fits into its background on Pugak mountain as country homesteads once nestled into folds in the hills, both complementing and

Fig.2. The Whanki Museum, Seoul (photo: K. L. Pratt)

enhancing the famous works of art it contains: a combination of *yin* and *yang*, the natural and the artificial, the curved and the straight, the abstract and the physical. Two rounded tops to an end wall evoke the shoulders of the *meibyŏng* vase, the epitome to Kim of his country's cultural heritage and a shape that was central to the art of his early period. Beneath the eaves a line of small windows, and below them a design of light and dark tiles, anticipate the patterns he created in the early 1970s as he explored the possibilities of dots and squares. Inside is a cool combination of light, space, and proportion. Staircases, galleries, and showrooms rise around a central atrium, making skilful use of natural light shining through effectively placed openings. Space has been carefully planned, walls made appropriate for large and small works, and floors for free-standing showcases displaying papier-mâché creations from the late 1960s and early 1970s.

In 2005, the Samsung Foundation, already a major arts sponsor through the Hoam Museum and its downtown gallery in Soonhwa-dong in Seoul, opened its Leeum Museum in Yongsan. It is actually two museums, one devoted to traditional Korean arts, the other to Korean and Western modern and contemporary art. Designed by different architects—Mario Botta and Jean Nouvel respectively—and with a third element, the Samsung Child Education and Culture Center, by Rem Koolhaas, the entire complex is a perfect illustration of Oh Kwang-su's observation. (In passing, Museum 1 is claimed to evoke the shape of an ancient Korean fortress, something also claimed for Kyŏnggi Provincial Museum, the walls of which replicate those of the nearby Hwasŏng castle, the NMCA, *and* the new NMK. Fortresses may afford reassurance as to the security of the treasures they house, but are not known for being aesthetically innovative or exciting, and this preoccupation with military defensiveness, while underlining Korea's great historical traditions, also hints at continuing political unease at the expense of architectural innovation.) In Museum 1 of the Leeum Museum, the use of softly coloured materials, curved walls, sympathetic lighting, and small cases and generous spacing mean that building and treasures wrap around and nestle comfortably into each other. In Museum 2, where straight lines, right angles and wider open spaces are the rule and the internal division into interconnecting exhibition 'boxes' devoted to individual artists corresponds appropriately with the rectangular frames hanging on the walls, the quantity of glass and stainless steel contributes to a more modern atmosphere, yet one that still brings visitors into close visual contact with the surrounding hillside and trees through wide window areas, and reminds them of the natural world as the source of building materials. The theme is taken up by many of the exhibits, especially the installation works, illustrating how much can be done with wood, metal, wool, clay, etc.

One can learn a lot about the values and priorities of a country and its people from its museums. During visits to Korea over the past 34 years, I have seen many of them, and have witnessed not just their numerical growth and a widening of their

subject range, but also an evolution in their underlying purposes (the expression of ideology and the shaping of educational aims) and their physical attributes (especially their architecture and display methods). I was in Korea when the National Museum of Korea opened its new home in the Kyŏngbok palace in 1972 (as I was again, incidentally, in 1974 when the #1 line of the Seoul subway was opened. Given the major part played by Japanese companies in the construction of the line, the date chosen for the ceremony—15 August, Liberation Day—did not go unremarked). I was not in Korea on 15 August 1987, when the Independence Hall opened in Chŏnan, "dedicated to the history of the Korean people's struggles against foreign invaders…a sacred place that symbolizes the people's triumph over national crisis." Nor again in 1995 when the demolition of the old Japanese Government-General headquarters—the Capitol Building—began, also on 15 August. Roh Tae Woo had approved this symbolic act in 1990. Its appeal to Korean patriots was easy to see, but it provoked strong objections from some Koreans to whom it acted as a necessary reminder of the past, and from foreigners who appreciated it as one of the finest examples of 20th-century architecture in East Asia. In 1995 it was in use as the home of the National Museum, and a corollary of Kim Young Sam's decision to implement his predecessor's decision was the need to find land and money for a suitable replacement.

Fig.3. The National Museum of Korea, Yongsan, Seoul (photo: KOIS)

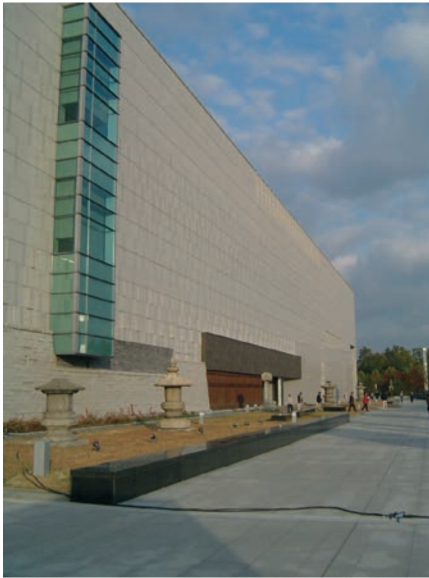

Fig.4. National Museum of Korea: 'castle effect' (photo: K. L. Pratt)

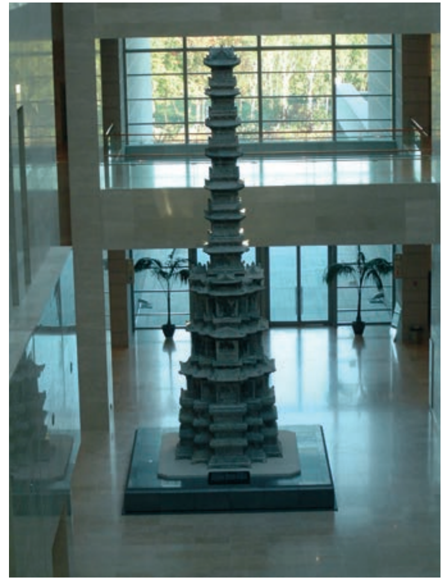

Fig.5. National Museum of Korea: Kyŏngchŏnsa pagoda (photo: K. L. Pratt)

Grandiose plans were aired and almost immediately put in jeopardy by the economic crisis of 1997–8, but on 28 October 2005 there I was again, this time to witness the opening of a new National Museum, the completion of its seventh move. It was what Barry Lord, a ICAMT Board member, speaking at the ICAMT meeting in Seoul the previous year, had called "one of the most important examples of the reassertion of national identities [*sic*]…as you have torn down a museum building that was a symbol of oppression and replaced it with a new national museum."[17] As another commentator, Yani Herreman, vice-president of the International Council of Museums, put it: "Identity is a contemporary issue that has become undeniable in museum practice."[18]

The new National Museum of Korea deserves to be trumpeted around the world for its buildings, its contents, and the confidence of successive governments in pushing ahead with the project against political and economic odds.[19] Its chosen location constituted one of the very first problems. It was at Yongsan, near the north bank of the Han river in Seoul, which despite its ideal *pungsu* was also the headquarters of the US Army in the ROK. For a long time this had been almost as great an irritant to Korean nationalists as the old Capitol Building had been and they would be delighted to see it go. The US authorities eventually agreed to move out, and though construction began in 1997, the opening of the Museum was two years

later than scheduled, partly because of delays in resiting the American helipad. In 1999, one estimate of the total cost of the operation had amounted to US$246m,[20] and the final count, excluding the initial land purchase, is said to have been around US$400 million.[21] The international design competition was won by Kim Jangil, whose creation was intended to represent a "safe and peaceful fortress" between Mount Namsan and the artificial lake dug in the grounds in front of the museum. If his vision for what would become in terms of acreage the world's sixth biggest museum missed out on a chance to create a monument to Korean powers of architectural innovation, one cannot fail to be impressed by the way Mr Kim's own understanding of lightness and proportion matches the lightness of touch and sense of scale which belonged to so many of the ancient craftsmen represented in its display rooms.[22] Even the newly restored, ten-storey marble pagoda from Kyŏngchŏnsa standing at one end of the main gallery neither dominates nor is diminished by its surroundings. Eleven thousand of the estimated 150,000 items in the Museum's collection were on display for the opening, and rooms on the third floor displayed treasures from neighbouring countries and related cultures, thus helping to illustrate Korea's position in the spread of world civilisation.

The new museum represents the unique cultural features and standards that have always attracted me to Korea. I was among those who lamented the decision to demolish the National Museum's previous accommodation, and I still mourn the loss of such a splendid building, but I welcome the value placed on the past, present and future that its successor, and the burgeoning number of other new museums across the ROK, represent. And whilst I recognise the essential relationship between museum collections and an affirmation of national identity, I also welcome the element of internationalism that characterises the best of Korea's new museums, both in their design and display philosophy.[23]

Notes

1. Koreans had exhibited paintings in Japan during the colonial period and begun to work in France after Liberation, but this was the first Western exhibition of significance by a contemporary Korean artist.
2. According to Professor Lim Sang-Oh, these replaced six regional outposts of the Syngman Rhee era that had been identical in design and size and had each been given the same financial resources, and had thus proved unable to measure up to their quite different requirements (interview, 12 November 2003).
3. Keith Howard, 1990. 'The tangible and intangible Korean heritage: protection, preservation, and presentation', *Che 3-ch'a Chosonhak kukche haksul t'oronhoe, nonmun yoji*. Osaka: Osaka kyongje popkwa taehak:425–6. Critics have claimed that Park's interest was not so much in saving Korean culture for its own sake, but in exploiting it to strengthen his own

fledgling political legitimacy and to tap its economic potential. See Lim Sang-Oh, 2002. ‘Support policy of culture in a comparative view: some lessons from Korean experience’. Paper prepared for the 12th International Conference on Cultural Economics, Rotterdam, June 2002:9. [Unpublished]

4. Lim, 2002: ibid.:12.
5. Lim Sang-Oh, 2001. ‘Cultural economics and cultural policy in Korea’. *Korean Journal of Cultural Economics* 4/Pt. 2:130.
6. *Koreana* 7/4, 1993:78.
7. “The neighboring areas of Artsonje, reborn as a new and experimental avenue, create a harmonious combination together with the elegant, geometric structures of Artsonje’s buildings. Located at the historical and traditional area of Samchong-dong surrounded by old palaces and traditional houses, Artsonje has contributed in making the area the new, cultural hub with its involvement in the most up-to-date, contemporary art culture.” http://www.artsonje.org, accessed 1 October 2006.
8. By 2000, however, it had identified another priority, also with attractive economic prospects, and most of its cultural budget had been diverted away from arts institutions and into events and industries, especially film and IT-related entertainment enterprises.
9. *Pictorial Korea* 8/2005:29.
10. Cheong’s work continued to be barred in the ROK itself until 1988.
11. http://www.culturelink.or.kr/policy_korea.html, accessed 1 October 2006.
12. cf. Japan 1:42,000, USA 1:60,000, Germany 1:20,000. In the UK there were reckoned to be ±2,500 museums and galleries at the end of 2005.
13. http://www.museum.or.kr/english/index.htm, accessed 1 October 2006. KMA was established in 1976.
14. http://publicus.culture.hu-berlin.de/collections/list.php?id=i&l=South+Korea.
15. Ariane Perrin, 2005. ‘Private museums in Korea’. *Asian Art*, December 2005:8.
16. *Koreana* 7/4, 1993:80.
17. Barry Lord: see http://www.culture.gr/2/21/215/21506/Brief25.doc, accessed 1 October 2006.
18. See ibid.
19. Chung, Yun Shun Susie, 2003. ‘Object as exhibit: legitimising the building of the National Museum of Korea’. *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 9/3:229–42.
20. M. S. Kang, 1999. ‘Kyongbok Palace: history, controversy, geomancy’. *Manoa* 11/2:5.
21. http://weekly.hankooki.com/lpage/culture/200510/wk2005102519060837140.htm, accessed 1 October 2006.
22. Keith Pratt, 2006. ‘National Museum of Korea reopens’. *Asian Art*, January 2006:422.
23. Many of these museums have excellent websites, often in English, Japanese and Chinese as well as Korean.