Universiteit
Leiden

MA Asian Studies
History, Arts and Culture of Asia
Critical Heritage

2021

A WARRIOR WITH A BRUSH: THE ROLE OF PARK CHUNG HEE'S CALLIGRAPHY IN SOUTH KOREA'S NATION-BUILDING (1961-1979)

A study of Park Chung Hee's cultural legacy and heritagization
of South Korea through his monumental calligraphy work

AINHOA URQUIA ASENSIO

Table of contents

Note on transliteration and translation

- The transliteration of Korean will be following the Revised Romanization of the Republic of Korea.

- By default, the Revised Romanization will be used for Korean names, and the family name will precede the given name. However, the conventional/preferred Romanization for significant figures and authors will be followed (e.g. Syngman Rhee instead of Lee Seung Man). Therefore, different versions of hyphenation and capitalization may occur.

- For names of newspapers with both a Korean and an English version, the reference will follow the English name for the English version and a Romanized name for the Korean version (e.g. Korea JoongAng Daily for the English version and JoongAng Ilbo for the Korean one).

- For the names of gates, palaces, temples and other monuments, the official South Korean translation used by the Korean Tourism Organization will be used, regardless the repetition of the type of site in the name of the site itself (e.g. Gwanghwamun Gate instead of Gwanhwa Gate)

- The quotes of primary sources originally in Korean (newspaper articles, speeches, etc.) are translated by me unless indicated.

The image of the cover belongs to the Park Chung-hee Presidential Library website. It is a calligraphy work by President Park for New Year's 1969 that reads *sae yokssareul changjohaja* (새 역사를 찰조하자, 'let's create a new history'). Available at: http://library.presidentparkchunghee.org/search/detail/DOCTOT000000010209 (Accessed: 21st June 2021)

Introduction

I cannot stand Park Chung-hee's handwriting anymore.

Yang Su-cheol, former head of the South Chungcheong branch of the Institute for Ethnic Studies, after removing Park's handwritten signboard from the Chunguisa Temple. (News Seocheon March 1st 2005)

On the morning of March 1st, 2005, a man called Yang Su-cheol, the former regional manager of the Institute for Ethnic Studies in the province of South Chungcheong, South Korea, tore off the wooden name tablet of the Chunguisa Temple handwritten by the late President Park Chung-hee (1917-1979).

Mr. Yang had informed the public a year ago, in January 2004, in a public press conference while he was still the head of the Institute of Ethnic Studies regional branch: [if nothing was to be done about that wooden tablet] "I will remove the signboard of that pro-Japanese (*jinilpa*) with my own hands" (Oh My News January 17th 2004).

The choice of that specific day was not a mere coincidence. March 1st constitutes one of the two most important national holidays of South Korea. The common agreement is that the March 1st movement of 1919 was a major milestone in the creation of a new Korean national identity, a 'political come of age' (Robinson 2014). A 'revolutionary break from the past' (Kim 2009), the 'founding moment of the country' (Shin 2018). It was the first organized movement against the Japanese occupation, and although the movement itself did not change the *status quo* (Robinson 2014), it triggered the idea of a Korean national identity.

Why would the man who brought the "Korean miracle" be considered a *jinilpa*, a very specific kind of traitor? The story of Park Chung-hee is a story of survival, such as of the country he ruled for 18 years. The opinion of South Korean people still to this day ranges from a national hero to an immoral opportunist (Moon 2009). The analysis of his figure and role in the history of South Korea is a never ending source of debate, sparkling either devotion or resentment, but barely never indifference.

While Park Chung-hee's administration has been widely examined in the social sciences[1] —and rightfully so, given the enormous impact his policies had on South Korea's development— there is substantially less research on his cultural significance or, let alone, on his artistic production. However his cultural policies and the reinvention of Korean traditions that he enforced were extremely relevant and various volumes on Korean ethnonationalism mention his influence (Pai & Tangherlini 1998; Shin 2006; Kal 2011). In this study, I intend to shed light on a very personal form of expression, his calligraphy, and relate it to a matter of state and heritage significance.

[1] For an extensive volume on the South Korean politics, economy and society of the Park Chung-hee era, see Kim et al. (2011)

Nowadays, Park Chung-hee's calligraphy sells for thousands of dollars in private auctions (Yonhap News December 21st 2015), and his calligraphic pieces are among the most valued of presidential calligraphy; and the most sold, even above the ones of reputed calligraphers (Korea JoongAng Daily 2012). Far from aiming for an artistic analysis of the calligraphy production of President Park Chung-hee, in this study I want to analyse it as a significant sample of the new values of the nation, of the heritagization process of South Korea, and as a tool to legitimize Park's authority. Besides the approximate 1200 pieces of calligraphy that he produced during his presidency (Korea JoongAng Daily 2012), he left many of his handwriting on the signboards of heritage sites which his cultural policies helped creating or restoring.

The focus of this study is, precisely, on those heritage sites that he "touched" with his calligraphy, as I have not found any corpus of research that focuses on this specific aspect of heritage. The aim of thesis is to assess the relevance of Park Chung-hee's epigraphic work, both in its historical context and with view of the reassessment that followed 40 years after its creation. With my discussion I intend to contribute with some case studies to a better understanding of the politics of culture in South Korea during Park Chung-hee's rulership (1961-1979) and to suggest a promising topic to analyse the cultural legacy of Park Chung-hee.

The claim that I put forward through this study and that I address throughout my discussion is that Park's epigraphic work on heritage sites functions in three subsequent ways:

a) as an embodiment of the national narratives implemented during Park's era, through the nation-hero (Shin 1998) and the ideal of a ruler-calligrapher enacted by Park Chung-hee;
b) as a performative act that upheld the tangible heritage of South Korea, adding to the process of heritagization (Walsh 1992) of Korea under his regime and;
c) as, in the light of contemporaneity, a case of heritage that is still negotiated between the public and the heritage authorities, in the framework of the authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006)

Some considerations of the theoretical background of this study have to do with the concepts of nation, heritage and calligraphy. For the idea of nation, I base my study on the conception of Anderson (1983), who changed the paradigm with the idea of an "imagined community" that, far from being a fixed asset of qualities, is constructed and consumed. I will be following the construction of nationhood thanks to the image of the heroes of old times, following Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) conception of the "invention of tradition", specially to discuss the new Korean traditions brought back during the Park era (1961-1979). Pertaining to heritage, this study takes a critical approach. The analysis of the case studies is divided between Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. In Chapter 2, the discussion will be centred around the heritagization (Walsh 1992) of Korea, where I will introduce the sources to claim that Park Chung-hee's calligraphy was also part of that heritagization process, as it served the purposes of Park's government gathered by other authors (Shin 1998; Pai 2000). For

the contemporary analysis of the heritage sites and their relevance, in Chapter 3, I will be taking into account Smith's (2006) concept of authorized heritage discourse (AHD) to examine the contemporary handling of Park's calligraphic pieces. For Park's case, the nationalistic discourses he implemented during his rulership, how he embodied the values of the patriotic heroes and performed it through the role of ruler-calligrapher. As Pierre Cambon and the Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet quote in the catalogue of the exhibition "Poetry of Ink: The Korean Literati Tradition 1392-1910" (Cambon, P. & Musée National Des Arts Asiatiques Guimet 2005):

> "Calligraphy is performed with the brush, but it is the fingers which move the brush, the wrist which moves the fingers, the forearm, which drives the movement of the wrist, the shoulder which commands the forearm, and the right side of the body which determines what the shoulder, forearm, [and] wrist… [do]" (p. 17)

I find particularly fascinating the consideration of calligraphy as a product of the movement that instils personality and the performance of the values attached to that movement. All the more so if that sentient being is the self-appointed father of the nation imprinting his nation-building discourses into the tangible heritage of the new, fast-industrializing South Korea (1960-1979).

Before delving into the thesis structure to explain how I organize my discussion, I want to make a differentiation. For this study, I defend that, from a theoretical point of view, Park's handwritten originals, whether on paper or on wood, are performative representations of the values he instils in the nation that will be detailed below. I will make no distinction between his calligraphic and epigraphic works in that sense, and some of the primary sources I will be using to discuss his role as a ruler-calligrapher are based on his calligraphic work. Nonetheless, for the case studies of the aspects that deal with heritage, I use his epigraphic work exclusively, which is the main interest of this study, since it adds the layer of "marking" public heritage sites with his touch. For his epigraphic work, and to extrapolate the values associated with calligraphy into his epigraphic work, I have chosen case studies that deal with ink on wood, directly through Park Chung-hee's brush, his own physical involvement. There are other cases that will be mentioned which entail the presence of a bronze reliefs based on his calligraphy, which was also very common during his administration. Nevertheless, those works are not the focus of this thesis, although they are briefly introduced to serve the purpose of the discussion.

Thesis structure

In this study, I tackle the different aspects that have to do with the epigraphic activities of Park Chung-hee by organizing my discussion in three chapters that intend to support each of the three functions of Park's epigraphy work that I introduced earlier. In Chapter 1, I first outline the existing literature about the narratives and different ideologies, values and morals, that we can identify under Park Chung-hee's rule and that are inherently attached to his persona and political figure. This does not intend to be an exhaustive recollection of the state ideology during Park's era, but my aim is to set a foundation for further discussion of the ideological basis of his epigraphic activities, embedded in his stances on culture, reimagining and bringing back ideas and heroes from previous eras, such as Admiral Yi Sun Shin (1545-1598) or the activists for independence Ahn Jung Geun (1879-1910) and Yoon Bong Gil (1908-1932), that will be examined in this research. In the second section of this chapter, I address the figure of the ruler-calligrapher in the Neo-Confucian tradition and the ways in which I regard Park Chung-hee as the most representative Korean president who has embodied this role. Primary sources that show the relevance of his calligraphy as an element of his regime and a matter of state are introduced and analysed in the light of their historical, political and cultural context. The objective of this chapter is to introduce both the ideology of Park's presidency period and the importance of his figure as a ruler-calligrapher, in order to answer the question whether his handwritten work is indeed a signifier of his leadership, an enactment of the ideal of a ruler-calligrapher.

The objective of Chapter 2 is, in its first section, to offer a glimpse of Park's views on heritage and culture, the role of calligraphy in heritage through, again, the narratives of heroes. I analyse footage of the inaugurations of some heritage sites to show the performativity attached to the narratives detailed in Chapter 1, as well as the embodiment of Park of the values sustained by those narratives. Then, in the second section, I introduce the three case studies: Tapgol Park (circa 1897) in Seoul, that included Park's calligraphy since the rehabilitation of 1967; the gate of Gwanghwamun (first constructed in 1395) in Seoul, restored by Park Chung Hee in 1968, when he also created the calligraphy for the gate; and Chunguisa Temple in the county of Yonsan, South Chungcheon province, a project of the Park's administration finished in 1974. These are analysed as samples of three different types of cultural heritage sites enabled during Park Chung-hee's administration in which he also hung a signboard with his calligraphic work. The choice of these specific cases is also rooted in the contemporary re-evaluations of his epigraphic work that are analysed on Chapter 3. In Chapter 2, my main focus is on underlining the performative mark of Park's on the heritage sites, as I claim his epigraphic works are part of the heritagization process of those sites, following the notion of heritagization of Walsh (1992), by which I analyse the heritagization of Korea as a process of selection of different representations that are isolated for certain purposes, setting the historical background of the site to a secondary role. The case study of Tapgol Park that will be examined is illustrative of this selection of narratives with a certain political goal in mind.

While the first two chapters are focused on Park's era, by the end of the present study, in Chapter 3, the focus will shift to the first decade of the 21st century, when the epigraphic pieces of the three case studies were taken down, destructed or replaced. I examine both the public reactions and the institutional voices on the matter for each of the case studies, the different solutions suggested by the parties involved and the final solutions reached, which are different for each of the case studies. This chapter marks the end of my discussion, only followed by the final conclusion of the thesis, and is also where I will guide my argumentation more heavily towards a contemporary critical approach to heritage. My last claim is that Park Chung-hee's epigraphic work, charged with his own discourses, has undergone a re-evaluation with the passage of time that generates a public debate and actions of performative destruction or discreet removal. A re-evaluation that has not been extended to the heritage sites where his epigraphic work was hanging, nor to the heroes commemorated in those sites, many of them brought back to the public imaginary by Park Chung-hee's policies as well.

Methodology

This study is based on a qualitative documentary analysis of a series of primary sources that include photographs, newspaper articles of Korean press, information provided by official institutions, such as the Cultural Heritage Administration and audio visual material of Daehan News —a set of documentary cultural films played in South Korean theatres from 1945 until 1994— from the 1960s and 1970s that has proved to be very valuable for my research.

The Presidential Archives of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security substantiates some of the sources regarding Park Chung-hee's discourse, mainly for the first chapter. Also the Park Chung-hee Presidential Library offered excellent information for the first two chapters.

Chapter 1: The hand that inks the nation

Recently, the foundation of "Cultural Korea" has been steadily established around us, and I clearly feel the strong energy of the people's efforts to establish a new tradition.

Extract from 1971 New Year's Speech by President Park Chung-hee . (Presidential Archives of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security)

As Hyung Il Pai mentions in her volume *Constructing Korean Origins*, Park Chung-hee 's era was marked by the discovery of new historical sites (Pai 2000). It was, as she explains, a consequence of the accelerated modernization process that he instigated in South Korea, as the projects of new highways and railroads led to unexpected findings. These artefacts and remains accounted the grandiosity of Korea's bygone days, a narrative tailor-made to fit the needs of the nation-building project. However, in order to analyse Park's impact in the heritagization of South Korea, which will be examined in the second chapter,

Park Chung-hee came to power through a *coup d'état* in 1961. Although he sometimes expressed his intention of eventually implementing democracy in South Korea (Choi 2000), one of his main concerns had to do with the legitimization of his leadership (Shin 1998; Pai 2000). Whether democracy would eventually be established by Park Chung-hee or not will remain unknown, as his administration was cut short upon his assassination in 1979. During his leadership, and besides the repressive measures linked to an autocratic regime, he heavily relied on nationalistic politics (Shin 1998). The need of a homogenous narrative for the Korean nation came after the secession between North and South Korea in year 1945, both claiming to incarnate the nation's path the Koreans of old would have wanted. Korea's search for a national identity had been problematic already in previous eras, and this contention only intensified during the postcolonial period, as it is common to other postcolonial nations (Shin, 1998). Under Park's regime, South Korea set sails for modernization, although, following the popular expression in Korea, *ppalli palli* (빨리 빨리, 'quickly, quickly'), it led the nation-state to the complex societal situation of compressed modernity (Chang 2010). According to Chang (2017), one of the aspects of the compressed modernization of South Korea was that instead of social revolution, modernization happened. Traditional values were relegated to supportive roles to the main target, modernization of the country. Therefore, "many state heads tried to superficially or strategically reposition themselves as nationalist leaders and redefine (West-dependent) modernization as a nationalist project" (Chang 2017, p. 41). This was also the case for Park Chung-hee.

In the present chapter, I will first introduce two main nationalistic narratives that Park reclaims for the new Korea he was building and that he wanted Korean citizens to embody: the historical Korean heroes and the Confucian values (Yi 1963; Jager 2003; Shin 2006). This will set the foundation for my assertions of the second

part of the chapter, in which I argue the art of calligraphy was also part of the positive values that Park wanted to represent through his leadership.

1.1 Nationhood of old

One of the elements Park stressed in his accounts of Korean history for the Korean public was the one of heroes that saved the nation (Shin,1998). Park brought back to the minds of millions of Koreans the lives and heroic deeds of a selected array of historical figures. He preached about them in the hope that it would instil in Koreans the traits he deemed key to the development of the country. He made it clear through his speeches, such as in this one with respect to Admiral Yi Sun Shin:

> […] As an individual, Adm. Yi was a man of perfect character. In national context he was a man of deed who embodied great ideals. Throughout the 54 years of his life, he acted only for what was right and just. He never yielded to anything wrong or evil. We lack proper words to praise this lofty and impeccable personality. […] But it is not only to laud and elaborate on Adm. Yi's personality and historical achievements that we celebrate the anniversary of this birthday today. Rather, our true purpose should be to live up to the historic lessons relevant to this era of ours, and hand them down to future generations. In this way, we must link the life of Adm. Yi with our own. (Park, 1974, p.156).

For the present chapter I would like to stress the idea of *embodiment*. Park's laudatory speech about Admiral Yi stands out because of its vehemence. Admiral Yi's life in Park's words seems to be the one of a saint, to inspire the Korean citizens. The national heroes he rescues from oblivion are the embodiment of the values of the nation that Park instilled into Korean citizens. Park was convinced development would be attained only if the spirit and character of Koreans improved (Jager 2003). As it was mentioned before, it was a very delicate moment in terms of narratives, as both the North and the South strived for displaying a state narrative that supported their different ideologies. Park legitimizes the South Korean narrative and his own leadership through earlier heroes and ideologies previous to the split of the nation in two, even previous to the Japanese occupation of Korea. These heroes belonged not only to the precolonial era, but also to different dynasties, contexts and ideals, that Park refurbish for the contemporary problems of South Korea. Ultimately, following the modernist approach of the nation (Anderson 1983), the Korean nation is a construction of a later period; since, back in the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897), the context of Admiral Yi, "the Korean elite would have found the idea of nationalism not only strange but also uncivilized, and they may have considered themselves to be members of a larger cosmopolitan civilization centred around China" (Shin 2016, p.5).

In that time of contention of nations in a divided peninsula, Park drew a very clear line of embodiments of the ideals of the nation. From the ideals of past highlights of Korean history, to the ideals of South Korea (in opposition to North Korea and communism), to the ideals of the Korean people for themselves to move towards

modernization. The strive of modernization, always interrupted by foreign aggressions, is also one of the main arguments in Park's nationalistic discourse (Shin 1998).

Park refers to the idea of embodiment in many speeches in reference to national heroes of old. The values of the nation needed referents of conduct. The revival of the elite warrior group of Silla, *hwarang*, was also part of Park's dissemination of a "revised" warrior tradition (Jager 2003). Here, in a speech about national education:

> […] The power of education must be exerted to cultivate in our youthful students a spirit of social service so that they may stand in the van in the community development programs, just as the "Hwarang" of the Silla Dynasty taught the masses as well as cultivated themselves. (An address delivered before the National Convention of Educators on March 24, 1972. Park, 1974, p.160).

However, in this narrative of embodiment, heroes were not the only historical source Park leaned on to mend Korean citizen's spirit. The morals of the Confucian tradition are also present in his speeches. Here an example, about the Confucian tradition of filial piety:

> Because of our concentrated efforts for an education aimed chiefly at respecting individuality and fostering creativity and voluntary activities, we have tended to neglect the concept of the nation and the state, and failed to pay due attention to teaching our traditional virtues, namely, respect and affection such as filial piety for one's parents and respect for one's teachers. (An address delivered before the National Convention of Educators on March 24, 1972. Park, 1974, p.160).

The reawakening of Confucian values was probably due to the lack of ideological unity in the nationalistic movements from the 1920s until the Liberation of Korea in 1945 (Yi 1963). Park turned to Confucianism in an attempt to drift away from the Communist movements that had sustained the nationalist ideas in previous decades. As Shin (1998) finds, there is a recurrent mention of the antagonism between Confucianism values and the ones of Communism, an ideology, according to Park, "wholly alien to the tradition and history of our nation" (Park 1974, p.165); were people are "forced to call their own fathers 'comrades', which goes against Korean tradition of filial piety" (Park 1974, p.180).

Park did, however, show ambivalent views towards Confucianism. He was very critical of the ineffectiveness of the Korean elite, *yangban*, in the Joseon dynasty. Jager (2003) argues that the identification of the *yangban* as effete and effeminate contrasted with the new military elite that Park had established. Therefore "[…] Koreans' 'awakening' nationhood, in other words, was construed as a process of 'reawakening' self-reliant manhood", (Jager 2003, p. 84). The idea of self-reliance is present in great part of Park's nationalistic discourse. A self-reliant, modern Korean citizen was now expected to transcend the immobility of Confucian hierarchy system and strive for a better future as a nation. Ironically, he shared those ideas with the pre-1945

Marxist nationalists that "regarded Korean tradition, especially (neo-)Confucian though as backward and an 'obstacle to progress'" (Shin 2006, p. 135).

Even when praising Admiral Yi, whose loyalty aligned with the Joseon dynasty, Park makes a contrast between the ruling class, Confucian scholars, and the warrior who revives the spirit of *hwarang* of Silla:

> The Confucian Joseon dynasty destroyed […] the patriotic of the *hwarang* of Silla who were dedicated to patriotism and national defense. […]. But this national spirit, the spirit of the *hwarang*, flared up from the people's roots whenever the country was threatened with foreign invasion, although the ruling [Confucian] class remained weak and helpless. Its golden example is the achievement of Admiral Yi Sun Shin. […] during the Japanese Invasions of 1592, patriotic young men formed into *hyangdo*, inspired by Admiral Yi Sun Shin's leadership, thus reviving the tradition of the *hwarang*. (Park 1970, as quoted in Jager 2003, p. 84)

The figure of Admiral Yi will be addressed again in the next chapter to analyse the ways Park's national narratives took form in heritage sites. The main idea I want to highlight before laying my argument is that there are precedents of Park Chung-hee 's legitimation of his own leadership through the narratives of heroes and Confucian values, since he utilized Admiral Yi's heroic narrative to describe himself as a "*hwarang* warrior incarnate" (Jager 2003, p. 85).

But warriors were not the only heroes that Park glorified. Despite his distrust for the Confucian elites, he praised the good traits of Confucian scholars. In the following speech extract, the narrative of embodiment/incarnation can be observed again. In this case, according to Park's words, his government is reviving the scholarly tradition of the Yi dynasty of Joseon (1392-1897):

> […] The establishment of this committee served as a turning point. Korean professors began to show positive interest in the realities of the country and to present policy recommendations on the basis of scientific analysis of the country's situation. […] Thus the Confucian tradition of Yi Korea, in which scholars played a positive part in government affairs, seems to have been revived. (Park, 1971; quoted by Choi 2000, p. 397)

A hero-scholar that Park promoted was King Sejong of Joseon, known —among other important advances for the nation, like the development of agricultural techniques—, for the invention of *hangeul*, the Korean alphabet:

> On this significant day, I wish to pay my sincere homage to the great work of King Sejong who made a monumental achievement in the history of our national culture by fostering and proclaiming our own letters. […] It is widely known that Hangul has been hailed as one of the most scientific and versatile alphabets I the world, easy to learn and convenient to use. Yet an even greater value and significance of Hangul lie in the fact that by producing our own letters, our nation cast away that cultural dependence under which it had relied on a foreign system for its

written language, and instead began fully to display its self-identity and creativity. […] I would like to emphasize that we who are living today should correctly inherit the national spirit and wisdom as exemplified by the invention of Hangul. (On the 527th anniversary of the proclamation of Hangul, the Korean alphabet on October 9, 1973. Park 1974, p. 193-195).

As it can be observed, the narratives attached to the Confucian scholar-hero also followed the line of self-reliance and embodiment. In Park's discourse, King Sejong the Great is a national hero, by inventing the Korean alphabet he provided a tool of self-determination and autonomy of Korea as a nation. The Korean alphabet through Park became a symbol of the spirit of wisdom and patriotism that Koreans were urged to inherit.

For the second part of this chapter, the focus will be on a very important character trait of the Confucian scholar's spirit, the polished handwriting. Probably secondary to the subtext of a military regime that prioritized self-reliant manhood (Jager 2003), I will explore how the art of calligraphy was also well considered under Park's regime and that, in consistency with the embodiment narrative of the heroes I have introduced, he also paid homage to the Confucian value of the ruler-calligrapher. I will introduce the importance of calligraphy in the public sphere and its relation to power, and analyse how Park set himself as an example one of the key skills of the traditional figure of the sage-ruler in the sinosphere: the art of calligraphy.

1.2 The ruler-calligrapher

For this study, beyond the artistic value of the pieces, I will be focusing on the value of calligraphy as a token of a relevant figure's spirit, in this case Park Chung-hee . Since in Chapter 2 I will be examining the imprint of Park Chung-hee in heritage sites through his calligraphy; in the second part of this chapter my intention is to provide some insights on the relation of power with calligraphy, first, and then, of Park's relation with calligraphy as a public figure.

To this day, literati Koreans still value the art of calligraphy as a method to apprehend someone's spirit. "Handwriting is the image of the soul" (Hankyoreh October 10th 2008). Although regarded as a obsolescing art (Hankyoreh October 10th 2008), the old expression *gwanseojiin* (觀書知人, 관서지인) is still in use, meaning something akin to "by seeing their written word, you get to know a person".

Beyond the analysis of a soul, what interests me the most for the present study is how calligraphy is related to power in the East Asian traditions. The exertion of authority is closely related to the art of calligraphy. For Chinese literati, writing correctly is expected of a respectable figure, and those in a position of responsibility would risk losing authority if their pieces of handwriting in different contexts were too clumsy (Kraus 1991). It makes sense that Park, a trained man of the military who took power through a *coup d'état* and had to subsequently legitimize his rulership, would not neglect the art of handwriting. As Kraus (1991) emphasizes:

"for the members of China's literate class, calligraphy has been one source of the tremendous self-confidence that has helped sustain them in power" (p. 9).

The display of texts publicly as a way of creating social and political dialogue already existed during the Joseon dynasty. Nonofficial scholars during the 16th century transformed publicly displayed texts of activism and political messages into objects worth of respect, beyond mere informational tools (Cho 2020). During this period, joint memorials of political dissent became performances, in which the written text and the signatures of those agreeing to the complaints or demands were part of a ritual. The importance of those texts resided no longer only in reading and writing them but also in performing, watching and venerating them (Cho 2020).

The counter-dialogues described above followed the official traditions of figures of power that had stemmed from the cultivated sage-ruler figure of the emperor in China:

> From outside, I could see into the Palace where there was a table with candles over four feet high. His Imperial Majesty took off his headdress and leaned on the table to write a commemorative placard for the eightieth birthday celebration of the Duke's grandmother, Lady Tao of the First Rank. The Duke and others were kneeling at the bottom of the steps. In a short while, the inscription "Her Virtue Matches That of the Immortal Pine" was completed. Attendants held it up for all the officials to view. The calligraphy ascended like a dragon and soared like a phoenix; the ink was suffused with fragrance. I was ordered to read it aloud as the Duke and his younger brother knelt and received it, performing three kowtows. (Kong Shangren, 17th century, as quoted in Kraus,1991, p.3)

The commemorative or memorial pieces of calligraphy constituted a method of endorsement by the main figure of state (Kraus, 1991). In Korea as well, long before the creation of mass media, the commemorative piece of calligraphy, or *hwiho* (휘호, 'writing'), as it is known in Korean, was a mean for rulers to transmit their wills for the nation in an implicit manner (Hankook Ilbo January 21st 2015). It consisted of the unilateral conveyance through brush of a certain slogan, sentence or word that set a political direction for a specific event or moment, usually in a public setting (see Figure 1.1 below). *Hwiho* was performed by the rulers when they visited government institutions, schools, industrial complexes or memorials, and also to inspire every New Year (Hankook Ilbo January 21st 2015).

Figure 1.1: Syngmnn Rhee performing a piece of hwiho. (Date unknown, Syngman Rhee Memorial Hall)

An analogous tradition continued in contemporary China, as "most literate Chinese recognize Mao's writing" (Kraus 1991) and also in contemporary Korea. Mass politics and mass media changed the way these performances were shared with the public, but in Korea this tradition was widespread until the 1980s, when it started to become less common due to the loss of interest of the public in the Presidents' *hwiho*, as Koreans drifted towards a more bilateral style of political communication (Hankook Ilbo January 21st 2015).

Syngman Rhee (1865-1975), the first president of South Korea (1948-1969), who started to study calligraphy at the age of 13, is to this day considered the president with the most exquisite calligraphy. A "soft yet bold and firm stroke"; "the elegant and smooth handwriting stands out" according to Lee Dong-guk, head of the calligraphy department at Seoul Arts Center (Syngman Rhee's *hwiho*, the best calligraphy of all leaders, Syngman Rhee Memorial Hall website).

However, Park Chung-hee is to this date the most prolific calligrapher of the South Korean presidents, who is said to have left around 1200 pieces of public pieces of calligraphy during his 18 years of rule (JoongAng Ilbo, July 10th 2012). Every New Year, Park would create a piece of calligraphy to set a direction for that year (Korean JoongAng Daily July 15th 2012) Park's calligraphy was even worth of a nickname: *saryeonggwanche* (사령관체, 'commander in chief'), that expressed the strength and individuality of his handwriting (JoongAng Ilbo July 10th 2012).

Under Park's regime, much importance was given to the communication of the *hwiho*. As mentioned above, *hwiho* was a form of endorsement by the ruler. Park endorsed many institutions and events through his handwriting. In Figure 1.2, Park Chung-hee is conducting a *hwiho* for the occasion of the 600th episode of Daehan News, the short documentary-informative films played publicly for the information of the people from 1945 to 1994. This episode, number 600, is only 38 seconds long and displays exclusively Park's execution of

the *hwiho* as a special celebration and event. In frame, there is Park's desk, a map of the Korean peninsula to the right and the presence of two other man, probably staff of Park's administration or/and representatives of Daehan News.

Figure 1.2: Park Chung-hee performing a hwiho to commemorate the 600 episode of Daehan News, December 10th 1966 (Excerpt from Daehan News, Ep. 600, 2016. Accessed: 21th June 2021)

As it can be observed also from Figure 1.1, where Syngman Rhee is also performing *hwiho*, this event has a public orientation, Park's personality and political determination is channelled through calligraphy to Korean citizens. As Kraus (1991) funnily remarks:

> It has no Western counterpart; an equivalent American scenario would be for George Bush to start writing elegant new signs saying things like "Washington Monument" and "New York Stock Exchange" and for the Washington Post to comment upon these works in its art column. (Kraus 1991, p.14)

This parallelism is very useful, since it can be divided in two different steps. First, the performance itself of calligraphy in a political scenario and, second, the spreading of the performance through media. Park excelled at intertwining different nationalistic narratives with his political persona and communicating them. Him being the most prolific *hwiho* performer of the presidents of Korea is key to understand how his calligraphy works would be part of the heritagization of Korea, as I claim in Chapter 2, and later become contested heritage, which will be explained in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2: Brushstrokes of heritage

Looking forward to the day when our national power exceeds the level of a middle-class country, economic benefits are evenly distributed to all citizens, and a solid living base is established, I will strive for the prosperity of national culture with my own passion and expectations.

(Extract from 1971 New Year's Speech by President Park Chung-hee)

In the previous chapter, I introduced how Park built his nationalistic politics around the idea of heroes and traditional Confucian values. The selection of those heroes and ideologies was not casual, but carefully extracted from different historical and social contexts that fit Park's need for legitimation through the notion of an ethnic nation (Jang 2018). I also explored the art of calligraphy as a tool for authority and the sublimation of the national discourses in his figure, and more specifically, through his hand. His handwriting style, commonly known as 'Commander in Chief' was also a representation of how he branded his political persona for the Korean people, as an embodiment of the Korean national hero and sage-ruler.

The changes that Park's government brought were not only economical but also with an important focus on culture from a very early period in his regime (1961-1979). In October 1961, the Office of Cultural Properties was established, in January 1962 the government enacted the Cultural Properties Preservation Act and during the second half of 1961 it restored two national treasures the Great South Gate in Seoul and Seokguram Grotto in Gyeongju (Jang 2018). Nevertheless, Park's administration focus on culture responded to its potential to become a tool to impulse ethnic nationalism (Jang 2018). Park's speech in the Silla Cultural Festival in April 1962, held in Gyeongju, the ancient capital of the Silla dynasty (57 BCE- 935 CE) shows he viewed cultural heritage as way to promote a communal goal as a nation:

> We should not just preserve cultural objects as relics covered with lichens, but, through this festival, gather all the efforts with which we could heighten the standards of ethnic national restoration for reforming our present and future. (Park 1962, as quoted in Jang 2018, p. 79)

According to Jang (2018), Park viewed cultural heritage as a way to impulse two different aspects. On the one hand, to serve as an evidence of the potential of the Korean nation to construct, repair and create and second and, on the other hand, and subsequently, to motivate in Koreans the spirit of mobilisation and cooperation as a nation. On top of these two elements, I would also add control, and legitimization of his authority through heritage. As Paskaleva (2015) expresses: "heritage is often used as an image for the production of cultural authority, but it can also be a tactic of legitimation." (Paskaleva 2015, p. 424) The national identity that was being built under Park's rule relied on the foundation of a national narrative, and heritage is regarded as one of the most powerful tools for confirming these national narratives (Lee 2019). In this speech in the

inaugural ceremony of the National Museum of Korea in November 22nd 1966, there is a clear exhortation to order and dedication addressed at the entire nation:

> This cultural heritage is the fruit of the spirit and soul of our ethnic nation. The proper preservation and transmission of the heritage is our obligation that the entire nation should take on any ordeal and disorder. (Park 1966, as quoted in Jang 2018, p. 60)

In the present chapter, I will be examining the different manners in which Park imbued the values and ideologies discussed in Chapter 1 in heritage, particularly focusing on the importance that Park conferred to the heritagization of calligraphy in the Korean context, through the example of the Ahn Jung Geun (1879-1910) Memorial in Namsan. Also through the statue of Admiral Yi Sun Shin in downtown Seoul, I want to present the idea that Park's handwriting in national heritage sites served as tool to embed his political legitimacy in Korea, making his own calligraphy akin to the ones of the national heroes.

In the second part of the chapter, I will introduce three case studies of South Korean heritage sites that included Park's calligraphy on its name tablet. The case studies have been selected attending to three different criteria. The first one is that they were varied and of different examples of types of heritage. The second one, relevant for this chapter, is that those sites are linked to specific heroes or ideals that conform the nationalistic narratives described in the previous chapter. However, thanks to Park, vast policies of development of heritage (Jang 2018) and his prolific proclivity to include his handwritten signs (JoongAng Ilbo, July 10th 2012), there are many sites in Korea that meet these criteria. Therefore, the third aspect, relevant for Chapter 3, takes into account the contemporary reanalysis of Park's legacy. The three case studies have been object of alteration, destruction or replacement during the first decade of the new millennium. In Chapter 3 I will delve further into these aspects.

2.1 Calligraphy and tangible patriotism

For this section, I will introduce another historical figure whose heroic narrative was favoured during Park Chung-hee 's administration, the martyr for the independence for Koreans, terrorist for Japanese; Ahn Jung Geun. Ahn Jung Geun (1879-1910) was an activist for the Korean independence who assassinated Ito Hirobumi, Japan's Prime Minister, in 1909. In 1970, Park Chung-hee had a memorial hall built in the memory of Ahn in the site of a former Shinto shrine that the Japanese had built during colonial times. Besides his political significance in the history of Korea's independence movement, Ahn Jung Geun is also known for his skills with the brush. Twenty-six of his pieces of calligraphy are registered as artefacts of cultural heritage (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, Treasure n.569) in Korea. The first time a calligraphy work of his was registered as cultural heritage was under Park's rule, in 1972 (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, Treasure n.569-1). Most of the collection dates to 1910, in the span of five months between his assassination of

Hirobumi and the execution of his death sentence. Apparently, his calligraphy was so exquisite, despite never receiving proper education in calligraphy, that, during his period in prison of Lushun, Japanese guards of the prison and prosecutors asked him to write some pieces for them. Most pieces of the collection belong to this period (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea).

In 1973, next to the statue of Ahn Jung Geun in Namsan Park and in front of the Memorial Hall, a commemorative stone was erected to commemorate his figure also through his calligraphy.

Figure 2.1: A memorial stone with Ahn Jung Geun's calligraphy during his stay in prison in 1910 is erected next to his Memorial Hall in Namsan. December 22nd 1973. (Excerpt from Daehan News, Ep. 963. 2016. Accessed: 21th June 2021)

This specific case serves as a clear example of how calligraphy was heritagized in the context of national heroes under Park Chung-hee. The selection of that particular part of Ahn's history responds to an ulterior motive. The public presence of texts, as discussed in the previous chapter, was already a tradition long before Park's regime. However, I want to stress how national heroes' calligraphy was chosen to be part of Park's heritage plan for South Korea, not only registering it as heritage, but engraving it in public spaces of commemoration, which serves a purpose similar to that of a statue. In sum, Park Chung-hee 's heritagization of Ahn's calligraphy was an active choice, to emphasize not only his patriotic deeds, but the values of patriotism that Park also embodied himself. By setting calligraphy skills as a signal of national virtue, he was already creating a discourse in which he would also integrate his own art, his own figure.

Nevertheless, Ahn's case was particularly distinctive, as he was known for his outstanding calligraphy skills. The next level of the integration of calligraphy in national heritage is already of Park's embodiment of the ideals of the nation imprinting his own handwriting in the narrative of national heroes.

Admiral Yi Sun Shin (1545-1598) was introduced in Chapter 1 as one of the main heroes present in Park's nationalistic discourse. This was also reflected in heritage sites. The project of rebuilding the ancient resident of Admiral Yi in Onyang, Chungcheong Province, happened shortly after Park took over as president (Jager 2003), leading to reconstruction of the shrine of Hyeonchungsa in 1967 (Cultural Heritage Administraion, Historic site n.155), completed in 1969. Around the same period, 1968, one of the first integrations of Park's handwriting with a national hero's narrative happened through the erection of a bronze statue dedicated to Admiral Yi, which still stands in Gwanghwamun Square, in downtown Seoul. The bronze letters of the statue were moulded on the calligraphy of Park Chung-hee.

Figure 2.2: Inauguration of the statue of Admiral Yi Sun Shin, May 3rd, 1968. Top-right: Park Chung-hee (second to right) unveiling the statue. Bottom-left: Park Chung-hee greeting Kim Se Jung, the scultpor (also responsible of transforming Park's calligraphy into bronze). (Excerpt from Daehan News, Ep. 673, 2016. Accessed: 21th June 2021)

I find the previous examples quite illustrative in terms of, first, the positive association that Park created between calligraphy and nationalistic narratives in heritage, like Ahn Jung Geun's case; and second, the integration of Park's art in heritage, legitimizing his nationalistic narratives and, subsequently, his claim to leadership, through calligraphy. It is very interesting to note how from the tradition of *hwiho*, Park takes political endorsement to a new level, in which his own calligraphy acts as both a seal of approval and a part of the heritage he promotes.

However, for this study, my main focus is to analyse the calligraphy work of Park Chung-hee . In that sense, the restrictions I have set for the case studies selected for the following section of this chapter is that I will be looking specifically to the art directly executed by the hand of Park Chung-hee. The nuanced symbology of his direct presence in heritage through the art of the brush informs more directly the disparate perspectives on his cultural legacy on heritage and the reception of his art in the light of the new century. Hence, the case studies that I will be introducing in the next section are all relating to name tablets, signboards or, in Korean, *hyeonpan* (현판).

2.2 Name tablets, heritage and power: three case studies

Prior to the modern era, in Korea both public places and private homes had a signboard to mark different aspects for the passer-by, although with the advent of modernization and new construction styles, the tradition of the name tablet is endangered (Monthly Chosun December 2016).

Such is that reality that name tablets are something now pertaining the authority of the Cultural Heritage Administration, since probably a place old enough (and standing!) that still holds a name tablet is probably old or relevant enough to be worthy of such consideration. In contemporary South Korea, and before Park Chung-hee, Syngman Rhee, whose calligraphy was discussed above, left some valuable name tablets, usually in his state visits to different sites of historical relevance. For example, the name tablet of the temple Buseoksa in Yeongju, in the province of North Gyeongsang, that he visited in 1957 (see Figure 2.3).

Figure 2.3: On the top, a name tablet that reads 'Buseoksa', written by President Syngman Rhee. In that position originally hanged 'Anyangmun', below, displaced when 'Buseoksa' was hanged. (Yeongnam Ilbo December 12th 2012)

Park continued this tradition and he also contributed with many name tablets for different sites across the country. As mentioned above, Park's calligraphic production exceeded by far the one of his predecessor, not only on paper but also on wood, hanging from heritage sites. According to the Cultural Heritage Administration, in 2005 there were 43 samples of presidential name tablets in 37 heritage sites in South Korea, of which 34 (in 28 sites), were written by Park Chung-hee (Oh My News March 3th 2005). This information gives a more comprehensive panoramic view of the importance that imbuing heritage with his calligraphic production had for Park Chung-hee in comparison to other presidents.

The selection criteria for the following case studies selected from that vast production has already been stated above, but it will be detailed more in depth in the introduction of each case.

Samilmun, Tapgol Park, Seoul

Tapgol Park, now a lacklustre remain of a bigger past in downtown Seoul, is a site of cultural and historical significance for Korea, way before the time period evaluated in this study (Seoul Munhwa Today February 18th 2019). It was the first modern park in Seoul, built in 1897, during the end of the Joseon dynasty on the site of the abandoned temple of Wongaksa (Cultural Heritage Administration, Historical Site n.354). Within its bounds there are two important heritage assets, the Stone Pagoda at the Wongaksa Temple Site, built in 1467 and the only remaining pagoda of the Joseon period (Cultural Heritage Administration, National Treasure n.2), and the Stele for the Construction of Daewongaksa Temple at the Wongaksa Temple Site, built in 1471 (Cultural Heritage Administration, Treasure No. 3).

Figure 2.4: Tapgol Park in present days. To the left, the National Treasure n.2 isolated with a protective unit. To the right, the Palgakjeong, an octagonal pavilion (Seoul Tourism Organization. October 21st 2013)

It is interesting to note how this site has evolved as a heritage site. First a temple, then abandoned after the decadence and persecution of Buddhism during the reigns of King Yeonsangun and King Jungjong (Cultural Heritage Administration, Historical Site n.354) and, finally, during late Joseon, a park. This park was built in Western style in 1897, during the reign of King Gojong, following the suggestion of John McLeavy Brown, the financial advisor of the king (Seoul Tourism Organization October 21st 2013). This park is believed to have been a symbol of the Korean Empire, and one of the possible reasons why it was chosen to be a key site for the independence movement of March 1st 1919 (Herald Corp February 2nd 2019). On that date, the Palgakjeong, an

octagonal pavilion in the park, was witness to the first Declaration of Independence under the Japanese rule (Seoul Tourism Organization October 21st 2013). Despite the interesting past of the site and the richness of its relics, it was this powerful national narrative that led Tapgol to be registered in 1991 as a historical site (Cultural Heritage Administration, Historical Site n.354) and also one of the reasons I chose this site to analyse the role of Park Chung-hee's calligraphy in the heritagization of Korea.

The site underwent a series of changes, also before Park Chung-hee, but I will be focusing on the 1967 restoration. It started on April 4th 1967 and was completed on December 12th that same year. Apart from the changes inside of the park, my main interest is the main gate, Samilmun (in Korean, the Three-One-Gate, a reference to the movement of independence of March 1st) which was constructed for the occasion. It was modelled after Gaeksamun, a gate from the Goryeon dynasty preserved in the city of Gangneung (Cultural Heritage Administration, National Treasure n.51). While Gaeksamun had a signboard handwritten by King Gongmin himself; in 1967. After the liberation of Korea and previous to this restoration, the signboard that gave access to the park was of Kim Choong Hyeon (1921-2006), a reputed calligrapher (Oh My News 2001). Park Chung-hee replaced that signboard with his own (Cultural Heritage Administration, Historical Site n.354). I find this aspect especially relevant to the argument that Park resorted to his calligraphy to settle his claim of authority through the narratives of nation-building of Korea. While in other cases there was a need of a signboard due to destruction, or because the site was planned and built under Park's administration, Tapgol Park is a very nuanced example of the intentional embedding of Park's persona into the heritage sites. This would later have some consequences that will be analysed in Chapter 3.

Figure 2.5: Park Chung-hee 's presidential car arrives to Tapgol Park on the day of the inauguration of the restoration, a snowy December 12th 1967. The Samilmun gate can be observed, along with the signboard handwritten by Park Chung-Hee. (Seoul Historical Archive)

The image of Figure 2.5, with the presidential 1960 Cadillac framed by the Samilmun at Tapgol Park represents a very powerful visual symbol of Park Chung-hee's impact in South Korea's cultural heritage. He is the planner, the administrator and, as I intend to put forward through this study, the performer of South Korea's national narratives through his calligraphy. Park Chung-hee did not only name the gate after the March 1st Independence Movement, but he endorsed that narrative through the *hangul* signboard he wrote himself. In Chapter 3 the legacy of his imprint on this site will be analysed in the light of contemporaneity.

Chunguisa Temple, Yesan-gun

In Chapter 1, it was introduced the notion of embodiment of hero's traits that Park Chung-hee encouraged in Korean population during his period as the head of state. Another hero that he elevated to the figure of martyr was Yoon Bong Gil. Yoon Bong Gil (1908-1932) is also a figure of the Korean independence movement. On April 29th 1932, he detonated a bomb in a military celebration in Shanghai held by the Imperial Japanese Army and several officers were killed or wounded. In 1962, under Park Chung-hee 's rule, he was posthumously awarded the Medal of Order of Merit of National Foundation and, in 1968, a memorial site/temple was built in his birthplace in Yesan county, in South Chungcheong province, that included a shrine dedicated to his figure. Park Chung-hee 's inaugurated the shrine with the following words:

> Today marks the 38th anniversary of Yoon Bong Gil's Sanghae Euigue [Yoon's attack in Shanghai], we built a loyal shrine and enshrined a portrait of him here in Yesan, his hometown, for this place to inherit the doctor's noble spirit of independence and unyielding anti-Japanese fighting spirit. […] I believe that the modernization of our homeland will continue to move forward when each and every citizen imitates Yoon's spirit of loyalty for the prosperity and safety of our country. (Park, 1968)[2]

The memorial site consists of a temple area and a memorial hall, where some educational dioramas, media and objects belonging to Yoon are displayed (Yeosan Tourism Organization, National Treasure n.568). It is worth highlighting the fact that this site was, unlike the other two case studies for this thesis, a project designed and planned during Park's mandate. Therefore, in this case there is is no adaptation of the historical background to fit the nation-building narratives, but the place itself was selected to raise the figure of Yoon Bong Gil.

[2] Extracted from the Presidential Archives. Ministry of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security. Translated by me. Details of access available in the bibliography.

Figure 2.6: The Yoon Bong Gil shrine in Chunguisa Temple, where Park Chung-hee 's signboard hung. From the picture it is not possible to tell if the signboard is previous to 2005's destruction or not. (Yesan Tourism Organization)

This is also the only signboard of the case studies of this research that was performed in *hanja*, the Chinese characters used in Korea, instead of *hangul*, the Korean alphabet. Whether the linguistic aspect of this would later play a part in the re-evaluation of Park's legacy for this site is something that would be worth to examine, although the scope of this study does not allow for it.

Gwanghwamun Gate, Seoul

The gate of Gwanghwamun, first built in 1395, is the gate that grants access to the main palace of Seoul, the Gyeongbukkung Palace. In spite of the long history of this monument, I will focus on the changes that the gate underwent during the 20th century. In Chapter 3, there will be a discussion of the analysis of the legacy of this period during the first decade of the 21st century.

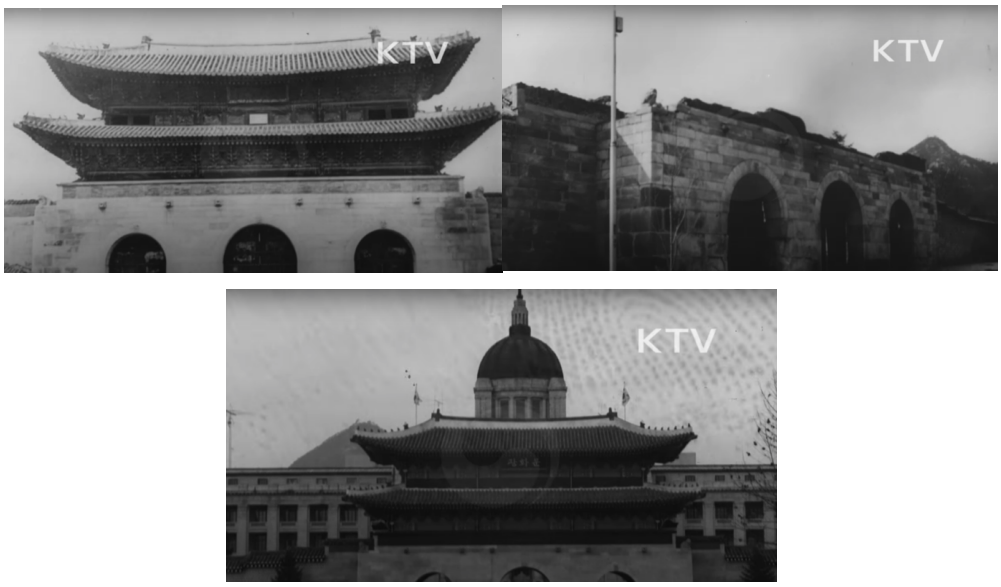

Figure 2.7: Top-left, Gwanghwamun gate during the end of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). Top-right, after the Korean War. Bottom: Park Chung-hee 's restoration in 1968, in front of the Government-General buildint. (Excerpt from Daehan News, Ep. 705, 2016. Accessed: 21th June 2021)

During the Japanese occupation, Gwanghwamun was relocated to a side access of Gyeongbukkung palace to leave place for the Government-General building, were it stayed until it was destroyed during the Korean war, leaving only the stone foundation standing (Kim 2010). It was not until 1968 that Park Chung-hee brought the gate back. The Japanese Government-General building that stood between the palace and the gate prevented Gwanghwamun from standing in its original position, so it was placed forward (Kim 2010). Despite the criticism, the gate was rebuilt in metal and concrete, in what was portrayed as an example of the modernization of Korea, a gate that would "withstand the winds and rains of 1000 years" (Kim 2010). For this study, the most relevant aspect of this restoration was the creation of a new signboard to replace the one that had been destroyed. This one was handwritten in *hangul* by Park himself.

Figure 2.8: Inauguration of the new Gwanghwamun Gate on December 13th 1968. (Excerpt from Daehan News, Ep. 600, 2016. Accessed: 21th June 2021)

This case stands out not only because of the significance of the whole restoration of the gate, but to the importance that was given to the signboard as part of the inauguration. As it can be seen in Figure 2.8, was a *hanpansik* (한판식), a signboard ceremony, took place to unveil Park Chung-hee 's creation. Park's signboard was the only piece of wood in the whole new structure of Gwanghwamun Gate (Kim 2010), and it is, in my opinion, one of the pieces of calligraphy most politically charged of Park's creations. This will be analysed in the next chapter, when I examine the reevaluation of Park's calligraphy in the beginning of the the 21st century.

Chapter 3: Legacy, erasure and nostalgia

The removal of the signboard is a sneaky trick to erase the traces of President Park Chung-hee.
(Kim Dong-ju, Park Chung-hee Awareness Association representative. Press conference 4th August 2010, following the announcement of the removal of Park Chung-hee's handwritten signboard of Gwanghwamun Gate)

In Chapter 1, Park's vision and his political and legitimization purposes through his nationalistic discourse were introduced. Then, in Chapter 2, the notion of a tangible heritage that supports this legitimization was expounded, along with a few case studies of heritage sites in South Korea that Park created or revitalized. In both chapters, the focus of the importance of calligraphy was presented, since the claims of this study. Chapter 3 marks the end of my discussion and a shift towards the beginning of the 21st century. This chapter aims to answer how Park's legacy is interpreted in contemporary democratic South Korea. How did the contemporary approaches from the public and the heritage institutions differ regarding Park's calligraphic heritage? And bearing these into account: how relevant was therefore the impact of Park's calligraphic work in South Korea's cultural heritage? The objective of this chapter is to present the arguments that support the claim that the public debate on the heritage discourses regarding Park Chung-hee 's legacy responded to the significance of his calligraphic work as a cultural asset of South Korea.

In this chapter, I will present the actions taken towards the calligraphic work of the case studies introduced in the previous chapter, from both the public and the institutions, while analysing and contrasting the differences between them.

3.1 Contested legacy in heritage

The rationale behind the selection of the case studies introduced in the previous chapter responded not only to the variability and representativeness of those sites, but also to the relevant changes that those sites experienced during the first decades of the 21st century. In this section, I will detail these changes and analyse the aspects that I deem the most important for each site.

Samilmun, Tapgol Park, Seoul

On October 26th 2001, the 22nd anniversary of the assassination of Park Chung-hee , some protesters of the group "National Solidarity" gathered in front of Tapgol Park's entrance, Samilmun, and attempted to remove Park's signboard (Oh My News October 26th 2001).

The protest responded two simultaneous demands. First, the cancellation of the project of a Memorial Hall for Park Chung-hee , a project that had been launched by the government in 1999. Second, the withdrawal of the Samilmun sign board penned by Park Chung-hee.

Figure 3.1: Protesters in front of the Samilmun gate. The sign reads: Immediate cancellation of the construction of the Park Chung-hee Memorial Hall by the government. (Oh My News October 26th 2001)

The series of pictures of the event show a clash between the protesters and the police and provide a visual representation of the actions of the public against what they deem to be a symbol of Park's administration. While the demand of cancelling the construction of the Memorial Hall responds to the concerns of the influence of Park Chung-hee 's authoritarian rule (The Korea Herald July 10th 2012), the protesters performatively extend Park's politics to his calligraphy. His calligraphic work is then debated as a piece that smudges the Korean national narratives to which, ironically enough, he contributed. The protesters accused Park Chung-hee to be pro-Japanese, and referred to him by his Japanese name while he was still a soldier under the Japanese Army, Masao Takagi (Figure 3.1). In the protesters' allegations, Tapgol Park, the foundational site of the March 1st Independence Movement of Korea, could not be associated to the calligraphy of someone who was a Japanese soldier.

Figure 3.2: The protesters attempt to remove the Samilmun signboard, but they are blocked by the police. (Oh My News October 26th 2001)

After expressing their demands, the protesters attempted to remove the signboard, but this was blocked by the police. The protesters threw eggs at the sign and left some stains on it (Figure 3.3). The protest was dismantled and, although altered, the sign was preserved thanks to the intervention of the police.

Figure 3.3: Top, police takes a bag of eggs from the protesters. Bottom, Samilmun sign with egg stains. (Oh My News October 26th 2001)

Before more actions could be taken to prevent it, two descendants of the Independence Army (독립군), including Kwak Tae Young, a representative from the "Popular Solidarity" group took down and gravely destroyed Park's signboard during the night of October 23rd 2001 (SBS News November 23rd 2001). Kwak Tae Young declared: "It is a national shame that a signboard written by former President Park, who served as a Japanese military officer, is hanging in Tapgol Park, a sacred place of the nation" (News Seocheon March 1st 2005).

Figure 3.4: Left, the destroyed signboard, handwritten by Park Chung-hee in 1967 (SBS News November 23rd 2001). Right, press conference with the authors of the removal and destruction of the signboard in November 2001 (Oh My News November 23rd 2001)

This event entails the first relevant aspect to take into account in the analysis of Park's legacy: the destruction of public property by the citizens against his figure. This would set a precedent of interventions as a consequence to the irresponsive standpoint of the institutions in charge.

Figure 3.5: Top, Park's signboard before the destruction. Bottom, the new signboard, installed in 2003 (Donga Ilbo, January 25th 2005)

The second aspect to analyse is the response of the institutions. In 2003 it was decided that a new signboard would be installed, based on the calligraphy of the Declaration of Independence, as it was suggested by the Seoul Metropolitan Hall and approved by the Cultural Heritage Administration and the Cultural Heritage Commitee (Chosun Ilbo January 7st 2003).

Chunguisa Temple, Yesan-gun

The case of Chunguisa Temple's signboard, four years after the Samilmun incident, proved to be very similar to the one of Tapgol Park. On January 17th 2004, members of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of South Chungcheong province, where Chunguisa is located, demonstrated in front of the Chunguisa shrine to ask for the removal of Park's signboard (Figure 3.6) before March 1st of that year, which marked the 85th anniversary of the Declaration of Independence Movement. The protesters made reference to the incident of Samilum (Oh My News January 17th 2004), affirming that this signboard at Chunguisa should be removed for the same reasons that the one of Tapgol Park. Yang Su Cheol, the director of the regional branch of the Institute of Ethnic studies said he would remove the signboard "with his own hands" (Oh My News January 17th 2004) if their demands were ignored.

Figure 3.6: Demonstration in front of Chunguida Shrine. The sign reads: Remove immediatly the signboard of Masao Takagi, insulting towards patriotic martyr Yoon Bong Gil. (Oh My News January 17th 2004)

And it was on the morning March 1st, but of the next year, 2005, that Yang decided to take the matter into his own hands. He entered the shrine during visitor hours in the early morning, took down the sign and damaged it. The damage was not as severe as the one inflicted on the Samilmun in Seoul, the frame of the signboard was cracked and scattered in the ground of the site, but Park Chung-hee 's calligprahy was not heavily altered.

Figure 3.7: Yang Su Cheol removes Park Chung-hee 's signboard in the morning of March 1st 2001. Left: the remains of the signboard scattered on the ground. (News Seocheon March 1st 2005)

This event, in a society that already had a functioning forum that took place on the internet, sparked both criticism and support by Korean citizens (Naver News March 2nd 2005). After the damage of the signboard, there were some discussions to discern whether to restore the signboard, since the destruction was not as severe as the one of Tapgol Park, or to substitute it. Labour Democratic Party of Daejeon demonstrated on March 17th to oppose the restoration of Park's signboard (Figure 3.8). They declared that "pro-Japanese writing is not

cultural heritage" and therefore "the Cultural Heritage Administration should not try to restore the signboard" (Oh My News March 19th 2005). However, the responsible institutions thought otherwise. After the press conference, this group met with Yoo Hong Joon, the director of the Cultural Heritage Administration, who declared that it was "difficult to replace the signboard with a new one in the wake of violating the actual law" and "all members of the Cultural Heritage Committee are experts". Despite open communication with the public, this resonates with the concept of authorized heritage discourse (Smith 2006), which relegates the public to mere observers of what the authorities decide to do as caretakers of the cultural assets.

Figure 3.8: Members of the Labour Democratic party of Daejeon demostrate against the restoration of Park's signboard in Chunguisa (Oh My News March 17th 2005)

The decision was postponed due to these negotiations (Oh My News May 15th 2005) and finally the conclusion of the committee was to restore Park's signboard to its place in the shrine of Chunguisa Temple. The main differences between the case of Tapgol Park and Chunguisa Temple reside in the type of site, the nature of the protests, and lastly in the response of the heritage institutions. Chunguisa Temple constitutes a site that, despite commemorating the birthplace of a historical figure, consisted of a project fully planned within Park Chung-hee 's cultural policies, while Tapgol Park was a restoration of a site with a longer historical background. In respect of the nature of the protests, both signboards penned by Park were destructed after public declarations of discontent of some groups. Nevertheless, the incident of Tapgol Park was led by two different political groups (Oh My News October 26th 2001), while the one if Chunguisa Temple was led by cultural agents, workers of the Institute of Ethnic Studies of South Chungcheong province, with the regional director in the lead of the protest, which shows an unbalanced dialogue of heritage discourses between the higher and lower steps in the heritage management chain. Regardless the origin of these protests, both were due, at least on a discourse level, to the affiliation of Park Chung-hee with the Japanese Army in the beginning of his military career. The response of the heritage institutions was also quite opposite from the case of Tapgol Park, maybe due to the fact that the restoration was still possible and to discourage further attempts of destruction of cultural heritage.

These two cases ignited a debate in the public opinion and panic in the heritage institution. The Cultural Heritage Administration sent an urgent letter to all the regional governments in order to create a list of all the heritage sites where signboards penned by Park Chung Hee were still hanging (Oh My News March 3th 2005). The Cultural Heritage Administration concluded that 28 heritage sites in South Korea had one or more signboards handwritten by Park Chung Hee, with a total of 34 signboards of his hand. However, some sources stated not all of them had been listed (Oh My News. March 3th 2005).

Gwanghwamun Gate, Seoul

The case of Gwanghwamun Gate was probably the most high-profile one of the cases presented in this study, probably because it is a major monument in the capital, and different contested discourses were intertwined. The debate between the public and the expert committee about the change of signboard that will be detailed below revolved about two main axes, first, the elimination of Park Chung-hee 's trace in Gwanghwamun gate, not only through the signboard, but also in the complete restoration of the concrete gate of 1968, to return it into a wooden structure; and second, a linguistic approach of nationalistic narratives, since in the case of Gwanghwamun there was a shift from *hangul,* the Korean alphabet to *hanja*, the Chinese characters in which the palace main gate's signboard was written before its destruction during the Korean war. Since it falls outside the scope of this research, I will focus on the former specifically, since the debate about the politics of language, although interesting, would need a wider framework.

In 1990, the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA) started a project to restore the Gyeongbukkung palace area (Kim 2010). The project of restoration of the Gwanghwamun gate started in 2006. Since the Government-General building was demolished during this project, it was now possible to align the gate with the entrance of the palace, were it belonged.

The concrete, wires and steel from the structure were removed and remade in traditional wood (Kim 2010). And a new signboard was installed in the traditional Chinese script, with the order of the syllables following the traditional one, from right to left, instead of contemporary Korean, which reads to left to right. Both the wooden structure and the name plate were recreated thanks to some photographs of the Japanese occupation era (Kim 2010). After some problems with the signboard —it cracked due to choice of the material (Korea JoongAng Daily December 28th 2010)— a new one was put in place in 2012.

Figure 3.9: Left, new signboard in Chinese characters, as decided by the Cultural Heritage Administration-. Right, Park Chung-hee 's removed signboard (Korea Times January 26th 2011).

However, this did not come without controversy. Renowned calligrapher Cho Su Ho declared "The nameboard is like the face of the country. The strokes of the calligraphy are dead and I feel miserable just looking at it" (Korea Times January 26th 2011). This comment is quite significant. The case of Gwanhwamun, more than 5 years apart from the incident at Chunguisa, shows how the heritage institutions changed their approach. Since the new signboard was based of an imaged and reproduced by image technology, it lacked the soul of a brush. The Cultural Heritage Administration opted for this design with a view to reappropriate Gwanghwamun for every Korean citizen, devoid of any political consideration of recent times, and that meant depersonalizing the monument.

Conclusion

In this thesis, I have analysed the calligraphic work of Park Chung-hee (1917-1979), from the standpoint of critical heritage studies. With that in mind, I have made use of different secondary sources from both heritage studies and ethnonationalism to explore the different ways Park's calligraphic work has impacted South Korea's heritagization process. The discussion has first followed the narratives inherent to Park's period in power and the ideologies that he strived to instil in the nation. Then I introduced different authors that discussed the political motives behind the heritagization of Korea during Park's mandate (1961-1979), along with some case studies to present the notion that his calligraphy work could also be considered as an important part of that process and be intrinsically tied to those heritage sites. I strived for stressing the existence of *intention* in Park's actions of, first, elevating calligraphy to a proper skill linked to the patriotic heroes of the nation and, second, embodying those qualities as a ruler-calligrapher. Then I introduced Park's government attitude towards cultural heritage and its development, which other authors have deemed to play a big instrumental role in Park's leadership. My stance is that the favour Park Chung-hee demanded from the Korean citizens for cultural heritage was also the favour he demanded for himself as a ruler, imprinting his calligraphy on the cultural heritage sites that he promoted, planned or restored.

Lastly, I have introduced the contemporary analysis of those case studies, to evaluate how Park's use of heritage as a legitimation tool has created a contested legacy after South Korea's re-assessment of his government in the light of democracy and contemporaneity. I introduced recent public debates to put forward the different ways the heritage institutions have faced the management of Park's legacy, either maintaining his calligraphy or opting for the depersonalisation of the sites. Examining the discourse of the institutions, I have observed a tendency to resort to experts as caretakers of the heritage sites, regardless of the suggestions of the public.

While the presence of Park's calligraphy in heritage sites might be contested, the sites that Park made into what they are today have endured the passing of time and maintained the legitimacy of the heritage discourse. Just a few metres in front of Gwanghwamun Gate, in downtown Seoul, the statue of Admiral Yi Sun Shin still bears the bronze reliefs of Park's calligraphy. Whether it is a matter of symbolism, as if the hand that leads the brush makes the signboards more intimate related to the figure of Park, called into question, compared to a work or bronze; the truth is the heroes that Park exalted during his time as the head of the state are still the heroes of today in contemporary South Korea.

It goes without saying that the scope of this study impedes from the wider perspective that the topic would need. I would have taken an interest in working with more case studies of contested legacy to further analyse the reactions of both the public and the heritage institutions. It would also be of interest to also assess

some cases that did not create any controversy, such as the Hwaseokjeong Pavillion in Paju, where Park's signboard still stands. Another interesting aspect that I could not include in the spectrum of this study is the educational discourses of the tourism organizations regarding Park's signboards in different sites. I believe it would be constructive to examine how Park's calligraphic legacy is being examined in the local sites and the information displayed for the visitors.

Bibliography

Anderson, B. 1993. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London; New York: Verso Press.

Billig, M. 1995. *Banal nationalism*. London: Sage.

Cambon, P. & Musée National des Arts Asiatiques Guimet. 2005. *The poetry of ink: the Korean literati tradition 1392-1910*. Paris: Éditions de la Réunion des Musées Nationaux.

Kyung-Sup, Chang. 2010. "The second modern condition? Compressed modernity as internalized reflexive cosmopolitization". *The British Journal of Sociology*, 61(3), pp.444–464.

Chang, K. S. 2017. "Compressed modernity in South Korea: constitutive dimensions, manifesting units, and historical conditions". In: Kim, Y. (ed.) (2017) *The Routledge handbook of Korean culture and society*. London; New York: Routledge,Taylor & Francis Group.

Chang, K. S. 2014. *South Korea in transition: politics and culture of citizenship*. London : Routledge.

Cheong, H. 2018. *Samgung sidae ui seoye (Calligraphy of the Three Kingdoms period of Korea)*. Seoul-si: Ilchogak.

Cho, H. 2020. *The Power of the Brush: Epistolary Practices in Chosŏn Korea*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Choi Y. H. 2000. "Korea since 1945". In Choi Y., Lee P., & De Bary W. (eds.). *Sources of Korean Tradition: Volume 2: From the Sixteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Chung, H. S. 2009. "Producing Heritage as a Processed Product of History: An Examination of Meanings of the Reconstruction of Gwanghwamun in Seoul". *Journal of Homeland Geography*, 43(4), p. 515.

Daly, P. & Winter, T. (eds.) 2012. *Routledge handbook of heritage in Asia*. London: Routledge.

Han, S. M. 2004. "The New Community Movement: Park Chung-hee and the making of state populism in Korea". *Pacific Affairs*, 77(1), pp.69–93.

Hao, Z. 2003. *Intellectuals at a crossroads the changing politics of China's knowledge workers*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Harrison, R. 2010. *Understanding the politics of heritage*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Hejtmanek, M. 2013. "The elusive path to sagehood: origins of the Confucian academy system in Chosŏn Korea'" *Seoul Journal of Korean Studies*, 26(2), pp.233–268.

Herzfeld, M. 2015. "Heritage and the right to the city: when securing the past creates insecurity in the present". *Heritage & Society*, 8(1), pp.3–23.

Höllmann, T. O. and Donicht, M. 2018. *Chinese Script: History, Characters, Calligraphy*. New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Hobsbawm E. & Ranger, T. (eds) 1983. *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jang, J. H. 2018. "Calligraphy, Aesthetics of Mind and Body Unity". *Korean Society for Science of Eastern Art*, 40, pp.273–296.

Jang, S. H. 2020. *A representation of nationhood in the museum*. London ; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group.

Jager, S. M. 2003. *Narratives of nation building in Korea: a genealogy of patriotism*. Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe.

Jeong B. D. 2018. "A Study on the Artistry and Utilization Value of Hangeul Calligraphy". *Korean Society for Science of Eastern Art*, 38, pp.224–265.

_____. 2008. "The pictographical aesthetic structure of Korean Hangeul calligraphy". *Journal of Eastern Philosophy*, (54), pp.71–103.

Jeong, S. S. 2013. "Sejongdaewangui tongchicheolhakgwa rideosip (King Sejong's ruling philosophy and leadership)." *Oriental Culture Research*, 16, pp.7–33.

Joo, J. W. 2018. "Bansateukseongeul Iyonghan Gwanghwamunhyeonpan Jaehyeon (Reappearance of Gwanghwamun signboard using reflection characteristics)." *Modern Photography and Photography Society Paper Collection*, 21(2), p.79.

Kal, H. 2011. *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics, and History*. London: Routledge/Taylor & Francis Group.

Kamiya, Fuji, 1980. "The Korean Peninsula after Park Chung-hee". *Asian Survey*, 20(7), pp.744–753.

Kasulis, T. P., Aimes, R. T. and Dissanayake, W. (eds) 1993. *Self as Body in Asian theory and practice*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Kendall, L. (ed.) 2011. *Consuming Korean tradition in early and late modernity: commodification, tourism, and performance*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Kern, T. 2009. "Cultural Performance and Political Regime Change". *Sociological Theory*, 27(3), pp.291–316.

Kim, D. T. 2009. "The formation of modern state in Korea and the March 1st Movement". *Daedong Munhwa Yeon'gu*, (67), pp.403–435.

Kim, H.-A. 2004. *Korea's development under Park Chung-hee : rapid industrialization, 1961-79*. London ; New York: Routledge.

Kim, H.-A. and Sorensen, C. W. (eds) 2011. *Reassessing the Park Chung-hee era, 1961-1979: development, political thought, democracy & cultural influence*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Kim, P. and Vogel, E. F. (eds) 2011. *The Park Chung-hee era: the transformation of South Korea*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.

Kim, Y. (ed.) 2017. *The Routledge handbook of Korean culture and society*. London ; New York: Routledge,Taylor & Francis Group.

Korean Overseas Culture and Information Service. 2003. *Guide to Korean cultural heritage.* Elizabeth, NJ; Seoul, Korea: Hollym.

Kraus, R. C. 1991. *Brushes with power: modern politics and the Chinese art of calligraphy*. Berkeley : University of California Press.

Lee, B. S. 2011. “Hangeul Hanja Munhwa Kalleom : Gwanghwamun Hyeonpaneul Hangeul-ro Hajaneun Geureul Bomyeo (Korean-Chinese Character Culture Column: Looking at the article suggesting that Gwanghwamun Gate signboard should be written in Korean).” *Hangul Hanmun Culture*, 142, p.58.

Lee, H.-K. 2019. *‘Difficult heritage’ in nation building* (2019). New York, NY: Springer Berlin Heidelberg.

Lee, J. 2016. “Presidents' visual presentations in their official photos: A cross-cultural analysis of the US and South Korea”. *Cogent Arts & Humanities*, 3(1), p.1201967.

Lee, J. W. 2018. ‘An Analysis of Curriculum and Textbooks in the Field of Calligraphy in Elementary School Arts Curriculum’. *Korean Society for Science of Eastern Art*, 40, pp.217–248.

Love, R. 1997. “Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the Past as a Resource in Conflict” by J E Tunbridge and G J Ashworth. *Review of African Political Economy*, 24(72), pp.297–303.

McNair, A. 1998. “The Politics of Calligraphy”. In *The Upright Brush*. University of Hawaii Press, p. 1.

Matsuda, A. & Mengoni, L. E. 2016. *Reconsidering cultural heritage in East Asia*. London : Ubiquity Press Ltd.

Moon, S. S. 2009. “The cultural politics of remembering Park Chung-hee”. *The Asia-Pacific Journal*: Japan Focus. 7. (19-5).

Pai, H. I. and Tangherlini, T. R. (eds) 1998. *Nationalism and the construction of Korean identity*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Pai, H. I. 1999. “Nationalism and preserving Korea's buried past: the Office of Cultural Properties and archaeological heritage management in South Korea”. *Antiquity*, 73(281), pp.619–625.

_____. 2000. *Constructing "Korean" origins: a critical review of archaeology, historiography, and racial myth in Korean state-formation theories*, Cambridge, Massachussets: Harvard University Press (Harvard University Asia Center).

_____. 2013. *Heritage Management in Korea and Japan: The Politics of Antiquity and Identity,* Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Park, C. H. 1973. *President Park Chung-hee 's Declaration for peace*. Seoul: Korean Overseas Information Service.

_____. 1974. *Major speeches by president Park Chung-hee , Republic of Korea*. Seoul: The Samhwa publ. comp.

Park, S. Y. 2010. "National Heroes and Monuments in South Korea: Patriotism, Modernization and Park Chung-hee 's Remaking of Yi Sunsin's Shrine". *The Asia-Pacific Journal*: Japan Focus. 8. 3.

Paskaleva, E. 2015. "Ideology in brick and tile: Timurid architecture of the 21st century". *Central Asian Survey*, 34(4), pp.418–439.

Podoler, G. 2016. "Who Was Park Chung-hee?" The Memorial Landscape and National Identity Politics in South Korea". *East Asia (Piscataway, N.J.)*, 33(4), pp.271–288.

Robinson, M. E. 2014. *Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 1920-1925*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Ryoo, Woongjae & Jin, Dal Yong, 2020. "Cultural politics in the South Korean cultural industries: confrontations between state-developmentalism and neoliberalism". *International Journal of Cultural Policy* : CP, 26(1), pp.31–45.

Ryu, Y. (ed.) 2018. *Cultures of Yusin: South Korea in the 1970s*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Santos, B. L. 2018. "South Korean Nationalism and the Legacy of Park Chung-hee : How Nationalism Shaped Park's Agendas and the Future Korean Sociopolitical Landscape". Chadron State Graduate Theses. 1. http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/chadron/1 Accessed: 7th June 2021.

Seon-Woo, M. J. 2012. "Confucianism philosophical consideration of the educational idea, 'Hongik-ingan (弘益人間)". *Journal of Eastern Philosophy*, (70), pp.181–220.

Sîntionean, C. 2014. "Heritage Practices during the Park Chung-hee Era". In *Key Papers on Korea: Essays Celebrating 25 Years of the Centre of Korean Studies, SOAS*. University of London. pp. 253–274.

Shin, G. W. 1998. "Nation, history and politics". In: Pai, H. I. & Tangherlini, T. R (eds.) *Nationalism and the Construction of Korean Identity*. Berkeley: Institute of East Asian Studies, University of California.

Shin, G. W. 2006. *Ethnic nationalism in Korea: genealogy, politics, and legacy*. Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press (Studies of the Walter H. Shorenstein Asia-Pacific Research Center).

Shin, M. D. 2014. "The Intimate Past: An Introduction to the Joseon Period". In *Everyday Life in Joseon-Era Korea*. Leiden: BRILL. pp. 1–33.

_____. 2018. *Korean national identity under Japanese colonial rule: Yi Gwangsu and the March First Movement of 1919*. London New York: Routledge.

Smith, L. 2006. *Uses of heritage*, London: Routledge.

Wakabayashi, I. 2008. Ahn Jung-geun and the Cultural Public Sphere. *Journal of the Faculty of International Studies Bunkyo University*, 19(1), pp.157–163.

Walsh, K. 1992. *The Representation of the Past: Museums and Heritage in the Post-Modern World*. London: Routledge.

Wells, K. M. (ed.) 1996. *South Korea's Minjung Movement: The Culture and Politics of Dissidence.* Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Yen, Y. 2005. *Calligraphy and Power in Contemporary Chinese Society*. Richmond : Routledge.

Yi, C. S. 1963. *The politics of Korean nationalism*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Online sources

Chosun Ilbo. January 7st 2003. "Samilmun signboard 'Declaration of Independence' back again". Available at: https://www.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2003/01/07/2003010770317.html (Accessed: 10th June 2021)

Cultural Heritage Administration (n.d.). "Calligraphy by An Jung Geun" Available at: http://english.cha.go.kr/chaen/search/selectGeneralSearchDetail.do?mn=EN_02_02&sCcebKdcd=12&ccebAsno=05690100&sCcebCtcd=11&pageIndex=1&region=&canAsset=&ccebPcd1=&searchWrd=&startNum=569&endNum=569&stCcebAsdt=&enCcebAsdt=&canceled=&ccebKdcd=&ccebCtcd= (Accessed: 13th June 2021)

Cultural Heritage Administration (n.d.). “Daewongak Temple Monument at Wongaksa Temple Site” http://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1121100030000&pageNo=1_1_1_1 (Accessed: 13th June 2021)

Cultural Heritage Administration (n.d.). “Seoul Tapgol Park” Available at: http://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?s_kdcd=&s_ctcd=11&ccbaKdcd=13&ccbaAsno=03540000&ccbaCtcd=11&ccbaCpno=1331103540000&ccbaLcto=11&culPageNo=18&header=region&pageNo=2_6_1_1&returnUrl=%2Fheri%2Fcul%2FculSelectRegionList.do&assetnamel=&pageNo=1_1_1_1 (Accessed: 13th June 2021)

Cultural Heritage Administration (n.d.). “Three Gates of Imyeonggwan, Gangneung” http://www.heritage.go.kr/heri/cul/culSelectDetail.do?ccbaCpno=1113200510000&pageNo=1_1_1_0 (Accessed: 13th June 2021)

Donga Ilbo. January 25th 2005. “Park Jeong-hee's handwriting' is coming in times of hardship... Controversy over signboard replacement in Gwanghwamun intensifies” Available at: https://www.donga.com/news/Politics/article/all/20050125/8153430/1 (Accessed: 9h June 2021)

Hankyoreh. October 10th 2008. “Handwriting is the image of the soul” Available at: https://www.hani.co.kr/arti/opinion/column/315325.html (Accessed: 12th June 2021)

Hankook Ilbo. January 21st 2015. “What is the most expensive presidential calligraphy of all time?” Available at: https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/201501210532557448 (Accessed: 12th June 2021)

Herald Corp. February 2nd 2019. “Why was Tapgol Park the center of the March 1st Movement?” Available at: http://news.heraldcorp.com/view.php?ud=20190225000473 (Accessed: 10th June 2021)

JoongAng Ilbo. July 10th 2012. “The best presidential Hwiho” Available at: https://news.joins.com/article/8708553 (Accessed: 12th June 2021)

The Korea Herald. February 21st 2012. “Memorial hall for Park Chung-hee opens” Available at: http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20120221001133 (Accessed: 9th June 2021)

Korean JoongAng Daily. December 28th 2010. “Cracked Gwanghamun signboard to be replaced”. Available at: https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2930217 (Accessed: 9th June 2021)

Korean JoongAng Daily. July 15th 2012. “Collector open their wallets for president’s calligraphy” Available at: https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2012/07/15/artsDesign/Collectors-open-their-wallets-for-presidents-calligraphy/2956191.html (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

The Korea Times. January 26th 2011. “Gwanghwamun nameplate dispute continues”. Available at: https://www.koreatimes.co.kr/www/nation/2020/04/113_80398.html (Accessed: 9th June 2021)

Seoul Tourism Organization. October 21st 2013. “Tapgol Park” Available at: https://korean.visitseoul.net/nature/%ED%83%91%EA%B3%A8%EA%B3%B5%EC%9B%90_/1579 (Accessed: 10th June 2021)

Monthly Chosun. December 2016. “Endangered Tradition: Signboard” Available at: http://monthly.chosun.com/client/news/viw.asp?ctcd=&nNewsNumb=201612100067 (Accessed: 13th June 2021)

Naver News. March 2nd 2005. “Controversy over the unauthorized removal of a signboard handwritten by President Park” Available at: https://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LPOD&mid=tvh&oid=052&aid=0000068948 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

News Seocheon. March 1st 2005. “I cannot stand pro-Japanese Park Chung-hee anymore”. Available at: https://www.newssc.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=7116 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

Oh My News. November 23rd 2001. Archive picture. Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/img_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=IA000054640&memcd=00042628&gb=reporter (Accessed: 9th June 2021)

Oh My News. October 26th 2001. "Take down the signboard of Samilmun written by Park Jeong-hee" Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000057108 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

Oh My News. January 17th 2004. “I will remove pro-Japonese signboard with my own hands” Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000164367 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

Oh My News. March 3th 2005. “Park Chung-hee's traces in 34 cultural properties all over the country" Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000240564 (Accessed: 25th May 2021)

Oh My News. March 17th 2005. “Hongjun Yoo "The signboard of Chunguisa Temple needs to be officially replaced after restoration" Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/View/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A00002432599 (Accessed: 25th May 2021)

Oh My News. March 19th 2005. “The decision on whether to restore the signboard of Chung-hee Park of Chunguisa Temple has been postponed to the 15th of next month” Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000243458 (Accessed: 25th May 2021)

Oh My News. May 15th 2005. “Cultural Heritage Committee decides to restore the signboard of Chunguisa Temple, Park Jeong-hee”. Available at: http://www.ohmynews.com/NWS_Web/view/at_pg.aspx?CNTN_CD=A0000249395 (Accessed: 25th May 2021)

Park Chung-hee. April 29th 1968. “Memorial speech on the 38th anniversary of the actions of Patriot Yoon Bong-gil (尹奉吉)”. Presidential Archives. Ministry of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security. Presidential Archives. Available at: https://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp?spMode=view&catid=c_pa02062&artid=1305961 (Accessed: 25th June 2021)

Park Chung-hee. January 1st 1971. “New Year’s Speech”. Presidential Archives. Ministry of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security. Presidential Archives. Available at: https://www.pa.go.kr/research/contents/speech/index.jsp?spMode=view&catid=c_pa02062&artid=1306217 (Accessed: 7th May 2021)

Seoul Munhwa Today. February 18th 2019. “Tapgol Park, the cradle of neglected Western music” Available at: http://www.sctoday.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=27508 (Accessed: 10th June 2021)

Seoul Historical Archive (1967). “Inauguration of Tapgol Park”. Available at: https://museum.seoul.go.kr/archive/archiveView.do?type=B&arcvGroupNo=2816&lowerArcvGroupNo=3192&arcvMetaSeq=30210&arcvNo=81427 (Accessed: 25th May 2021)

Syngman Rhee Memorial Hall (n.d.). “Iseungman hwiho yokttae jidoja jung chwego (Syngman Rhee’s *hwiho*, the best calligraphy of all leaders’” Available at: http://xn--zb0bnwy6egumoslu1g.com/bbs/board.php?bo_table=episode&wr_id=11 (Accessed: 12th June 2021)

Yeongnam Ilbo. December 12th 2012. “Yeongju Buseoksa Temple” Available at: https://www.yeongnam.com/web/view.php?key=20121212.010200720260001 (Accessed: 12th June 2021)

Yesan Tourism Organization (no date). “Chunguisa Temple” Available at: http://www.yesan.go.kr/eng/sub02_02_03.do (Accessed: 9h June 2021)

Yonhap News. December 21st 2015. “Park's calligraphy fetches 30 mln won at auction” Available at: https://en.yna.co.kr/view/AEN20151221008800315 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)

Audio visual sources

Daehan News. 2016. “Episode n. 600” Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eLpX5B18ssc (Accessed: 21th June 2021)

Daehan News. 2016. “Episode n. 673” Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RGZyqvvrOIk (Accessed: 21th June 2021)

Daehan News. 2016. “Episode n. 705” Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SVZ16U_ZJD8 (Accessed: 21th June 2021)

Daehan News. 2016. “Episode n. 963” Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U6UVnbdCA0g&t=84s (Accessed: 21th June 2021)

SBS News. November 23rd 2001. “Descendants of the Independence Army tore off the 'Samilmun' sign” Available at: https://news.sbs.co.kr/news/endPage.do?news_id=N0311161528&plink=COPYPASTE&cooper=SBSNEWS (Accessed: 9th June 2021)

Naver News (2005). “Controversy over the unauthorized removal of a signboard handwritten by President Park” Available at: https://news.naver.com/main/read.nhn?mode=LPOD&mid=tvh&oid=052&aid=00000689488 (Accessed: 10th May 2021)