A STUDY OF THE BOSEONG RIVER VALLEY CULTURE

by

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This dissertation explores the development of sociopolitical complexity in southwest Korea's Boseong River Valley. One of the main archaeological tasks currently being pursued in Korea is charting the emergence of complex society there. This dissertation comprehensively reviews the issues and history of research on the subject, then embarks on an analysis of the trajectory towards complexity in a selected region of southwest Korea. A large scale archaeological project in the Boseong River Valley during the 1980s rescued a huge corpus of data threatened by the construction of the Juam Dam project, which has remained undigested, never sufficiently organized or analyzed. I draw on this corpus, organizing and analyzing the data it yields on burial practices and settlement distribution, because these categories of information are particularly useful in examining key research issues.

The burial excavations were of unprecedented scope, with 381 dolmen graves identified and investigated in 23 locations. Many dolmens have been observed and investigated in Korea, but an excavation sample of this size is unique and presents a rare analytical opportunity. A quantitative analysis of burial furnishings from these dolmens identifies five categories that reflect differing social statuses. Charting the distribution of such burials within the region allows the mapping of zones differentially occupied by persons of varying social status, and the places on the landscape where elite personages were situated. Comparing these patterns with the occurrence of large and small settlements strengthens a picture of a class-differentiated society within the region. Based on this analysis, I conclude that the dolmen period society of the Boseong River Valley had advanced to an intermediate level of sociopolitical complexity. In conclusion, the archaeological evidence is discussed with reference to historical events in the region, as these are known from ancient Chinese and Korean chronicles, to propose an interpretation of the growth of cultural development in the Boseong River Valley in relation to broader developments in southern Korea.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Research

The primary purpose of this research is to investigate certain developmental processes of sociopolitical complexity in ancient Korea. This research is mostly based on archaeological data from the area submerged by the Juam Dam in the Boseong River Valley, South Jeolla Province (Figures 1 and 2). In particular, 381 dolmen burials at 23 locations investigated in the same region were selected as the main archaeological data to be analyzed in detail for interpretation and inference.

In the middle of 1980s, a large scale archaeological project in the Boseong River Valley accompanied a multipurpose dam construction project. In total, four field campaigns over a four year period (1986-1989) provided a large corpus of archaeological data previously unavailable. Thanks to the new archaeological data, it became possible to reconstruct archaeological culture of the Boseong River Valley where available archaeological information had been extremely limited not to allow comparative research with other regions. M. L. Choi (1984) carried out an extensive regional study on the Yeongsan River Valley in South Jeolla Province focused on the growth of sociopolitical complexity in the region. This dissertation is another attempt to explore developmental processes of sociopolitical complexity in South Jeolla Province, specifically in the Boseong River Valley with archaeological data from the submergence area by the Juam Dam submergence area.

In total, four field campaigns over a four year period (1986-1989) provided a large corpus of new archaeological data. Thanks to the new data, it became possible to reconstruct the archaeological culture of the Boseong River Valley, where available archaeological information had previously been too limited to allow comparative research with other regions. M. L. Choi (1984) carried out an extensive regional study on the Yeongsan River Valley in South Jeolla Province focused on the growth of sociopolitical complexity in the region. This dissertation is an attempt to explore developmental processes of sociopolitical complexity in another part of South Jeolla Province, specifically in the Boseong River Valley, with archaeological data from the Juam Dam submergence area.

As a preliminary step in this research, I reviewed and synthesized Korean archaeological and historical literature on the sociopolitical development of ancient Korea (G. T. Kim 1995, 1997; M. L. Choi and G. T. Kim 1999). The issues addressed previously have been developed in greater breadth and depth and with some revisions in Chapter III of this dissertation. Briefly, the Sindonga Symposium in 1971 prompted scholarly discussion on the emergence of the state in ancient Korea. Thereafter, there were various attempts to apply anthropological models and theories to ancient Korea, in particular, the neoevolutionary developmental model proposed by E. R. Service (1962, 1975). However, Korean historians were reluctant to accept the capability of anthropological models and theories to deal with the Korean situation. In particular, anthropologist G. S. Jeon's harsh criticism of careless applications of evolutionary models to ancient Korea strengthened the historians' anti-anthropological tendency (G. S. Jeon 1988, 1990).

Regardless of the historians' objections, however, use of the term "chiefdom society" to characterize an intermediate form of complex society in Korea became more popular, and reached the public in a newly revised official high school history textbook. Today, archaeologists do not hesitate to characterize Korean Bronze Age or Iron Age sites as the remains of chiefdom societies.

In this study, a large corpus of archaeological data from southwest Korea's Boseong River Valley, in South Jeolla Province, is used to address the question of early sociopolitical development, especially as it may be illuminated through the analysis of dolmen burials and associated artifacts found there. Mostly based on accounts of the Japanese historical document, *Nihon Shoki*, there was an opinion in the Korean historical circle that South Jeolla Province had been the territory of Mahan, one of the traditionally known Samhan (Three Han) political groups, until it was brought into the sphere of Baekje in 369 A.D. by King Geunchogo (B. D. Yi 1976). However, the idea, mostly based on controversial historical records, has been considered highly speculative with little archaeological and historical evidence brought to bear in its support. Based on available archaeological data and my previous research, I propose that South Jeolla Province followed its own developmental trajectory for a long time during the Samhan Period, and only belatedly came under the control of the Baekje Kingdom when local socioeconomic and sociopolitical growth was outstripped by developments in other regions (Figures 3 and 4).

A unique burial tradition in the Yeongsan River Valley, including a number of ancient tombs in the Bannam-myeon area and the appearance of Baekje style stone chamber tombs in the Yeongsan River Valley, show that the area was indeed incorporated into the Baekje Kingdom, one of the famed Three Kingdoms. This probably occurred after the late 5th century and more likely the middle of the 6th century A.D. But preceding that incorporation the region had its own historical development, which was leading it in the direction of increasingly complex society in a process that grew out of its own settings and local interactions (M. L. Choi 1986c; S. N. Rhee 1998, 2002).

South Jeolla Province, selected for my research, is quite an appropriate region to study the local development of sociopolitical complexity in ancient Korea as has been quite well illustrated in M. L. Choi's work on the Yeongsan River Valley Culture (1984). Compared to other regions, the remote location of South Jeolla Province, in the southwesternmost part of the Korean peninsula, has protected numerous archaeological sites from the devastation caused by industrial construction carried out in modern industrialized Korea.

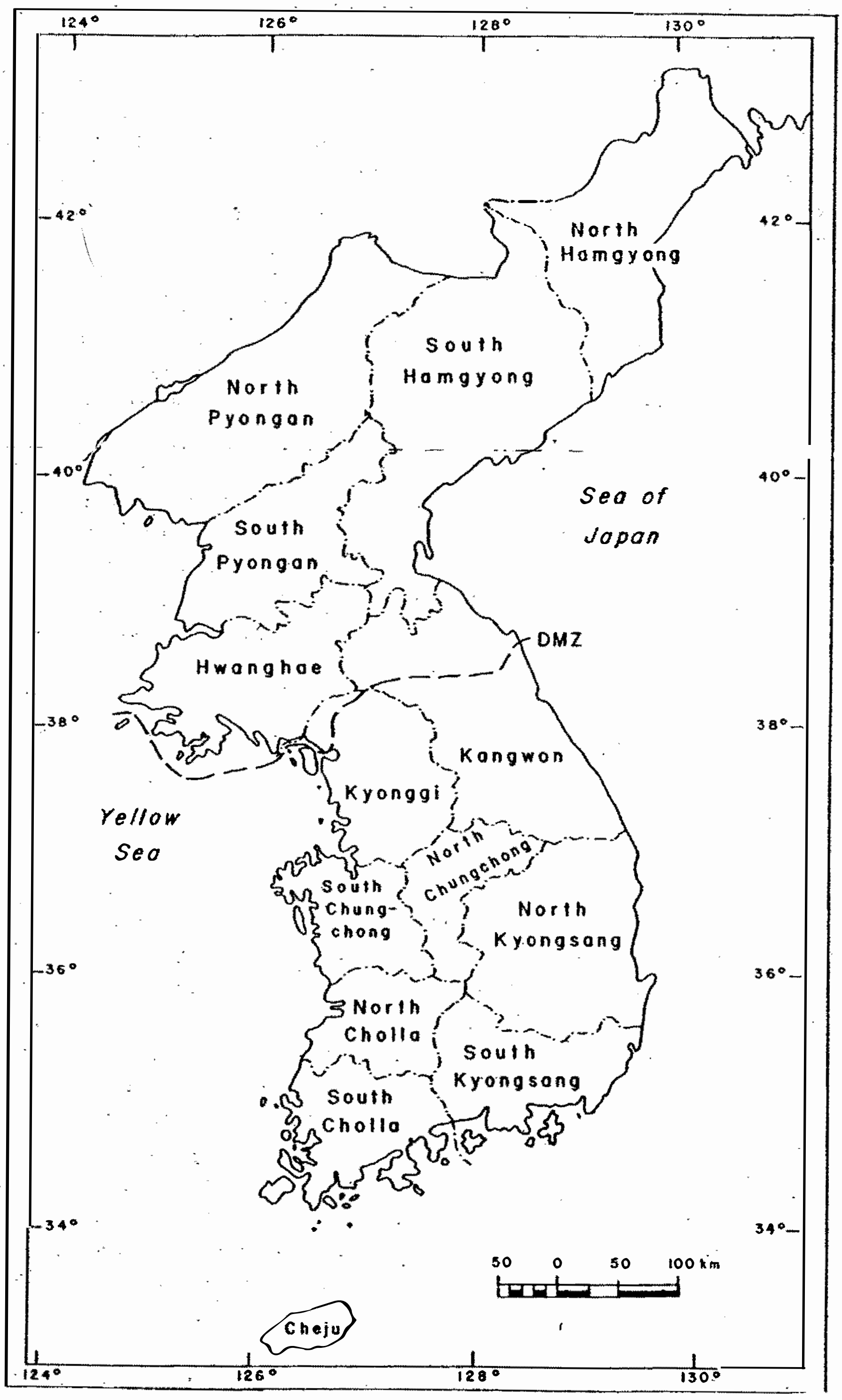
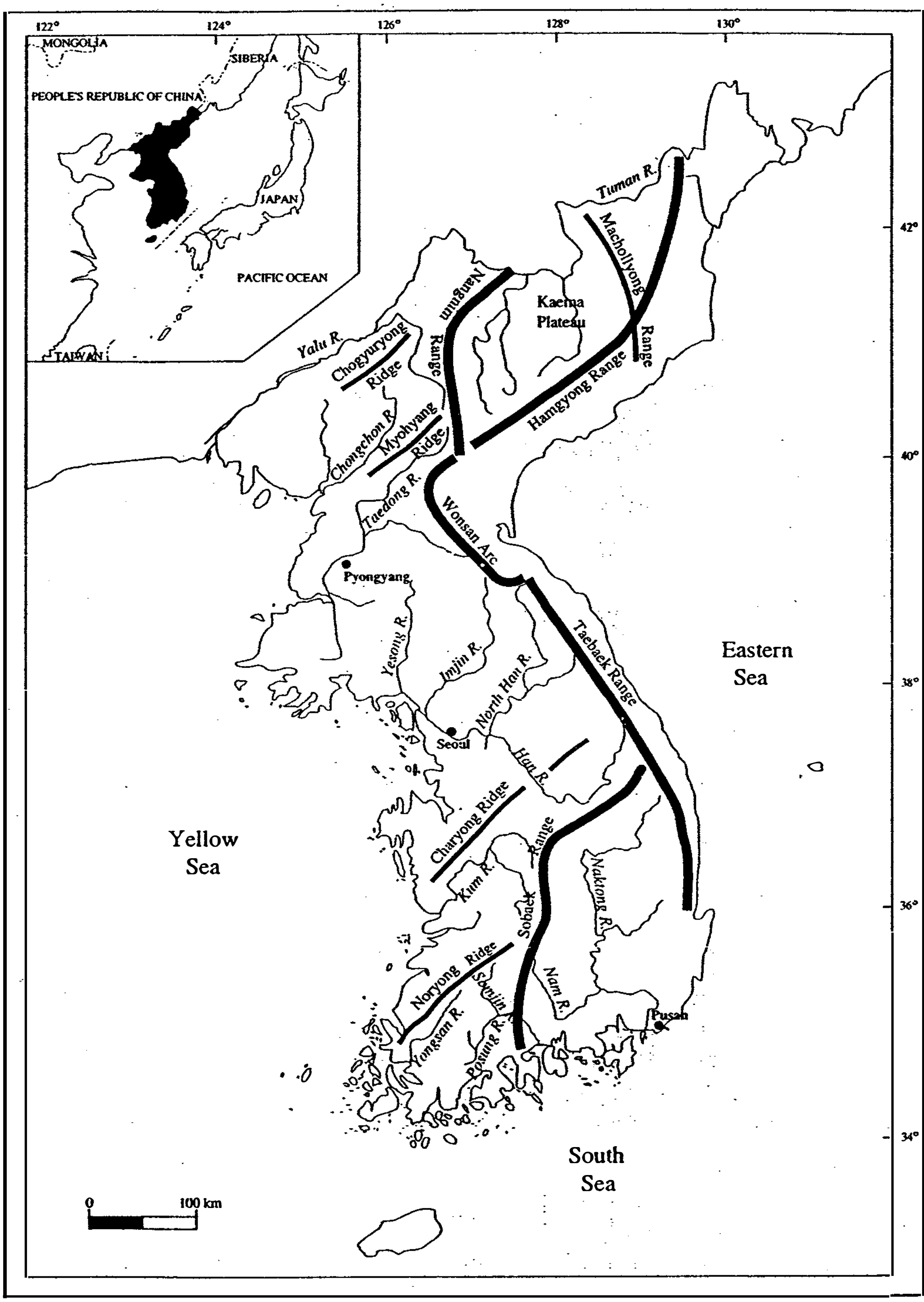


Figure 1. Traditional Korean Provinces (Nelson, S. M. 1993: 18).



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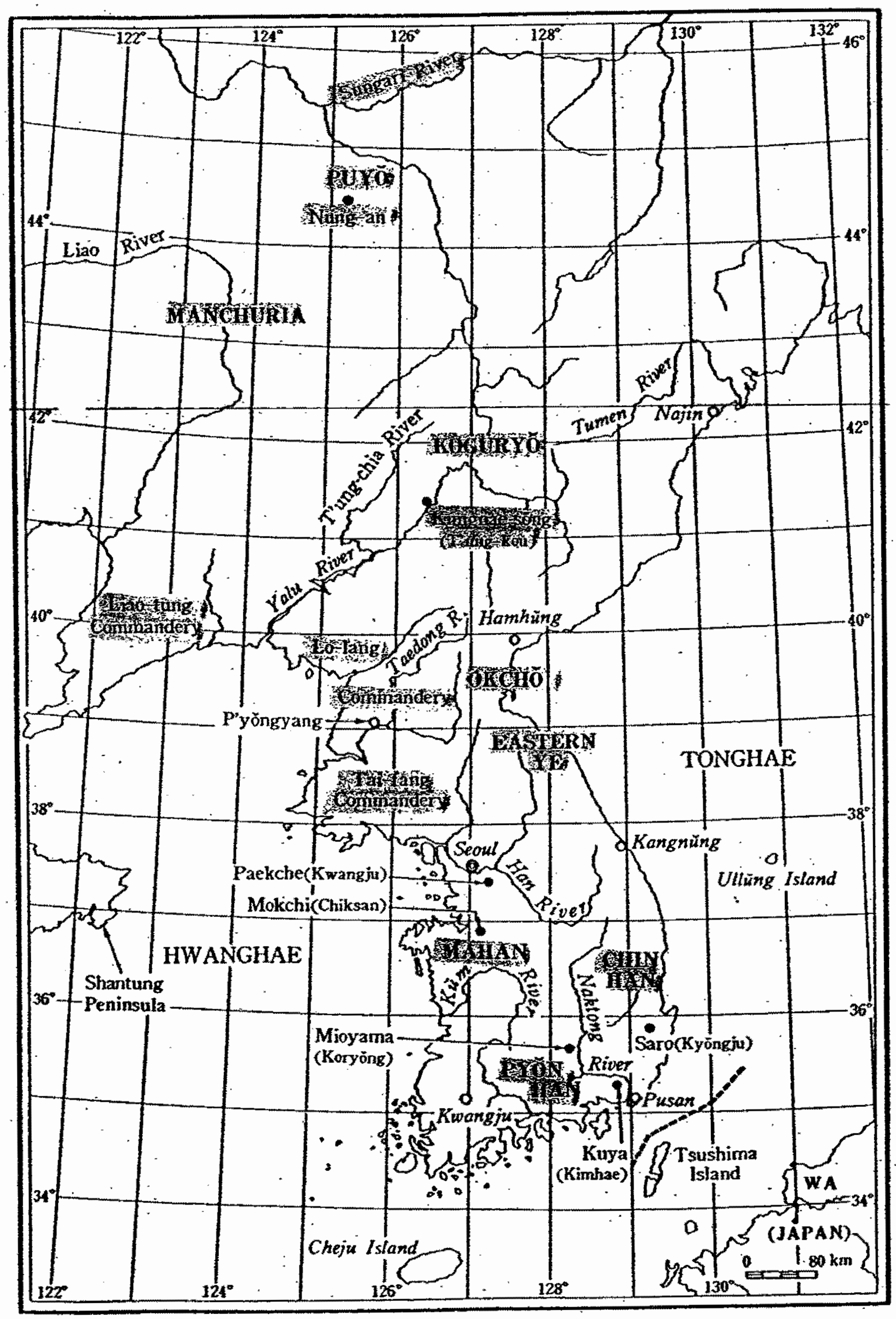

Figure 3. Locations of Samhan and other Polities (G. B. Lee 1984: 25).

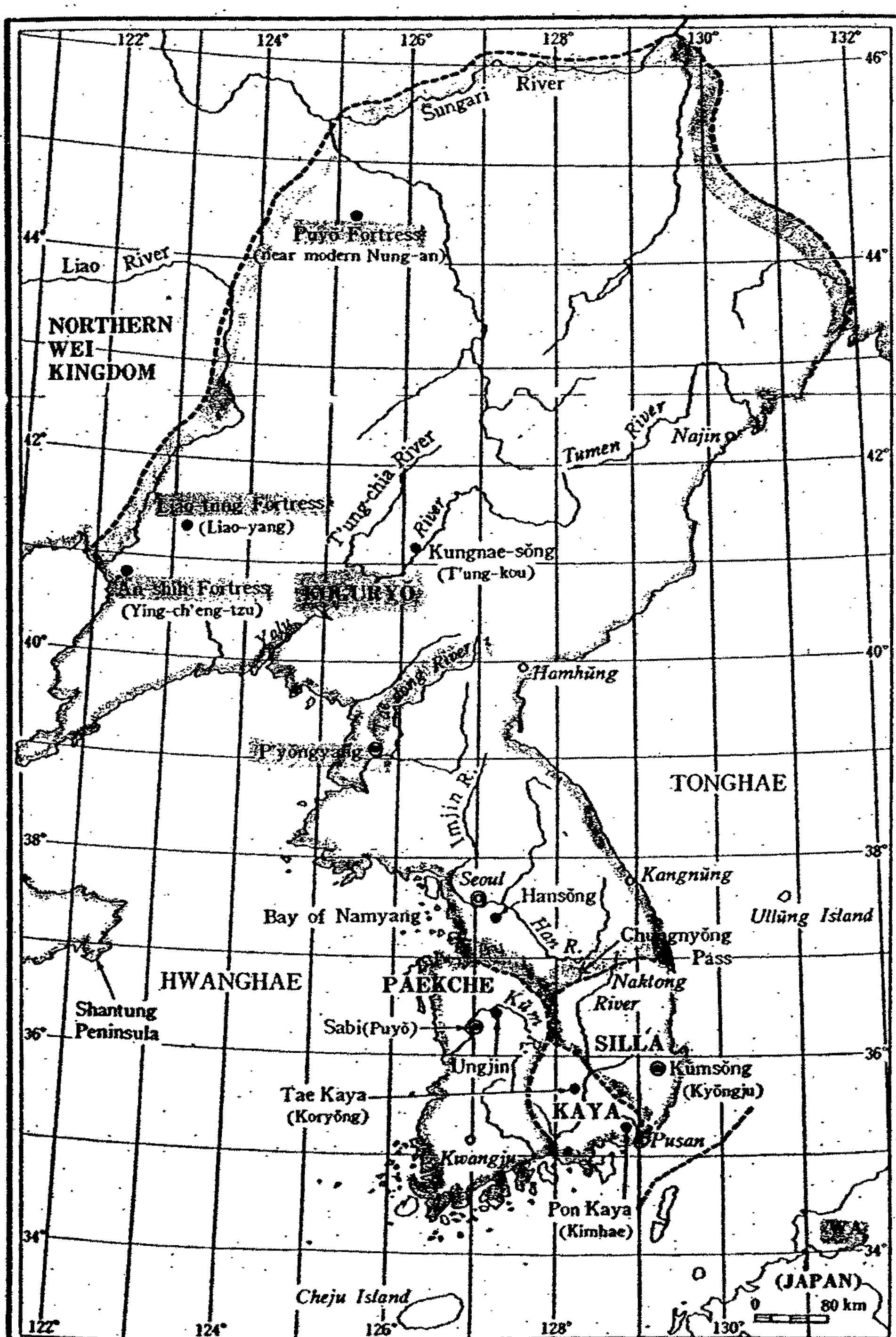

Figure 4. Locations of Three Kingdoms and Kaya (G. B. Lee 1984: 39).

Table 1. Site Survey Results in the Boseong River Valley (Choi and Lee 1985).

County (Kun)	Township (Myeon)	QODR	QODS	LOSA	Burial
Seungju	Juam	107	12	1	0
Seungju	Songkwang	338	338	5	0
Seungju	Ssangam	197	69	0	0
Seungju	Sangsa	9	0	0	0
Boseong	Mundeok	201	148	0	0
Boseong	Bognae	229	122	3	1
Boseong	Yuleo	285	18	1	0
Boseong	Kyeombaek	82	4	0	0
Hwasun	Nam	141	81	1	0
	Total	1589	792	11	1

LOSA: Loci of scattered artifacts, QOD: Quantity of dolmens, R: Reported, S: to be submerged.

In this region, an extensive archaeological data base became available for study after a multipurpose dam construction project (Juam Dam) was established in 1984 in the Boseong River Valley. A huge area was to be submerged, and a large-scale site survey was executed to identify and locate cultural relics in the submergence area (Table 1). Based on the site survey results (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985), a field campaign plan was designed to investigate and record cultural relics which would be lost beneath the reservoir waters. Field campaigns executed for four times over a four-year period (1986-1989) uncovered enormous amounts of archaeological features including almost 200 semi-subterranean houses as well as storage pits, workshops, kilns, and 381 dolmens at 23 locations along with four Paleolithic locations (Figures 5 and 6).

The majority of archaeological features identified and investigated in the Juam Dam submergence area are mostly dated to the Mumun Pottery Period and Iron Age II, including the dolmens (Table 2) and semi-subterranean houses and related facilities (Table 3). As shown in Table 3, however, some residential features were dated to the Three Kingdoms Period. In addition, Upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic sites, which had not been expected in this archaeological project, were identified and investigated in four locations: Juksan at Deoksan-ri, Geumpyeong at Sinpyeong-ri and Gokcheon at Usan-ri both in Seungju County, and Daejeon at Sasu-ri, Hwasun County.

Table 2. Dolmens Excavated in the Juam Dam Archaeological Project.

County	QODS	QODE	QODB	REFERENCES
Seungju	211	222	175	Jeonnam University Museum 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c
Boseong	113	126	106	Jeonnam University Museum 1988b, 1988c
Hwasun	46	33	26	Jeonnam University Museum 1988c
Total	370	381	307	Jeonnam University Museum 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c

QOD: Quantity of dolmens, S: Reported in the site survey, E: Excavated, B: Burial chambers.

The Juam archaeological project was the most significant incident in the history of South Jeolla Province archaeology in terms of its scale and outcome (Table 4). Because of its huge scale, however, and because of the unremitting pressure on the

Korean archaeological profession to rescue field data from destruction in the path of industrial growth, the data obtained by this monumental project have been accorded only limited descriptive study, with analytical and interpretive study put off for the future. The objective of my study is to more fully analyze and interpret a major set of the Boseong River Valley data, with a view to better understanding the local evolution of sociopolitical complexity in ancient Korea.

Table 3. Residential Features Investigated in the Juam Dam Submergence Area.

	Sites	Houses	Features.	Sum	Reference
1	Dolong	155	53	208	Choi et al. 1989, 1990; Seo and Seong 1989
2	Hansil	12	1	13	Seo and Seong 1989; M. H. Lee et al. 1990
3	Gokcheon	3	0	3	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988a, 1988b
4	Hajuk	9	0	9	Hwang and Shin 1990; Son and Lee 1990, Song et al. 1990
5	Naksu	16	2	18	M. L. Choi et al. 1989
	Sum	195	56	251	

Table 4. Excavated Archaeological Sites in the Juam Dam Submergence Area.

	Sites	No.	Archaeological Period	Archaeological Feature
1	Yucheon	1	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
2	Singi	1	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
3	Sinwol C	4	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
4	Sinwol D	5	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen

5	Sinwol H	9	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
6	Geumpyeong	13	MPP/Paleolithic	Dolmen/Deposit
7	Hansil	19	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
8	Dolong	20	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
9	Juksan	22	MPP/Paleolithic	Dolmen/Deposit
10	Gokcheon	24	MPP/Paleolithic	Dolmen, house/Deposit
11	Naeu	25	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
12	Banwol	28	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
13	Sabi	29	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
14	Singi	30	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
15	Hajuk A	33/⑦	Mumun Pottery Period /IA	Dolmen/House
16	Hajuk B	34/⑦	Mumun Pottery Period /IA	Dolmen/House
17	Hajuk C	35/⑦	Mumun Pottery Period /IA	Dolmen/House
18	Gosuwol	37	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
19	Salchi A	48	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
20	Salchi B	49	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
21	Bokgyo	102	Mumun Pottery Period	House
22	Daejeon	104	MPP/Paleolithic	Dolmen/Deposit
23	Jangseon	106	Mumun Pottery Period	Dolmen
24	Naksu	①	Iron Age II	House
25	Hansil:	④	MPP/IA/TKP	House/House/House, storage
26	Dolong	⑤	MPP/IA/TKP	House, storage, kiln/House, storage, kiln/House

No. is site number in the Figure 5 except for Yucheon site (site number in Figure 6).
IA: Iron Age II, MPP: Mumun Pottery Period, TKP: Three Kingdoms Period.

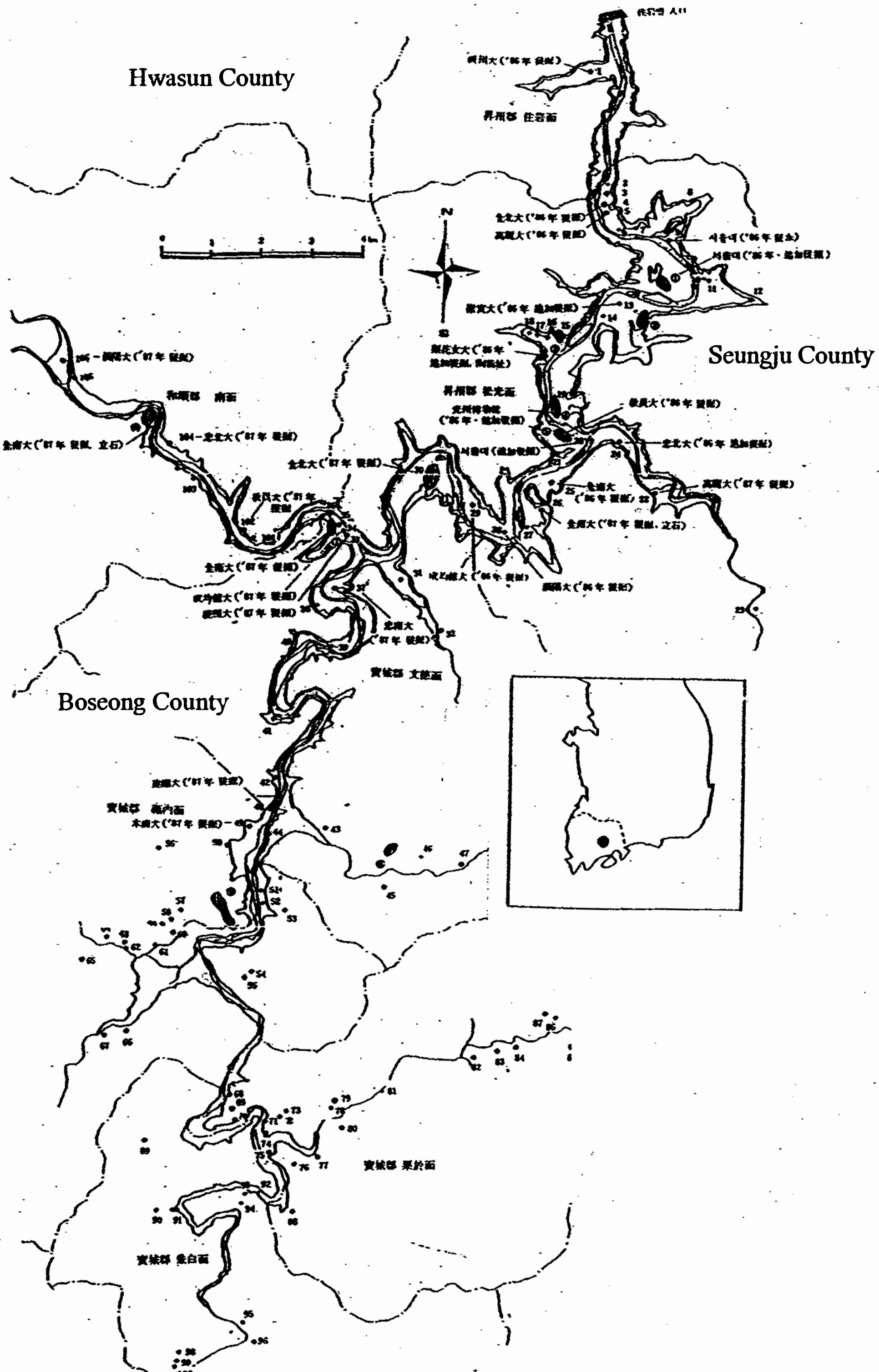

Figure 5. Archaeological Sites in the Juam Dam Submergence Area (Jeonnam University Museum 1990: 19).

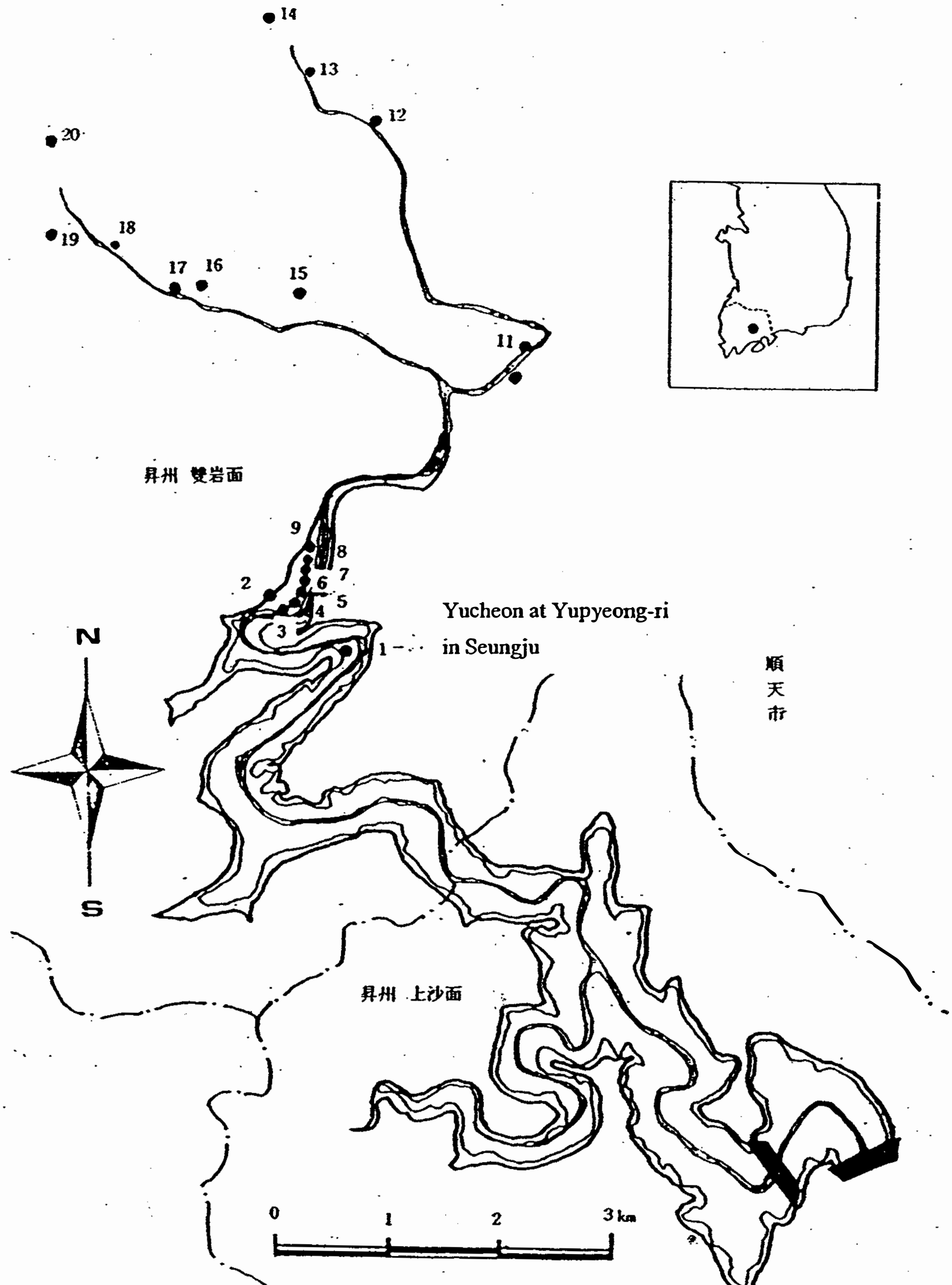

Figure 6. Archaeological Sites in the Isacheon Dam Submergence Area (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: ii).

Working Hypothesis

In preview, I believe the Juam Dam Project data quite well demonstrate that the phenomenon known in Korea as "dolmen society" had already reached quite an advanced level of sociopolitical complexity, both in the Boseong River Valley and elsewhere. Although we still lack sufficient archaeological evidence to reconstruct a detailed cultural history of the Boseong River Valley, the enormous amount of archaeological data of the Juam Dam project, covering multiple archaeological periods from the Paleolithic to the proto-historical period or even Three Kingdoms Period, helps to provide a sound baseline for a cultural history, and offers important insights into the development of sociopolitical complexity in southwestern Korea.

Germane to the study of prehistoric sociocultural development is the role of a society's economic base, and as a working hypothesis it is posited here that prehistoric societies based on a sound subsistence economy could evolve into complex societies, but only to a certain point unless their natural environment allowed continued economic expansion commensurate with a growing population. Specifically, for prehistoric societies of an intermediate level of complexity to evolve into state-level societies, they would need an economic base strong enough to provide sufficient surplus with which to support a large number of emerging elite persons. Those societies which lacked such an economic base would stagnate or become absorbed into state-level societies emerging nearby (S. N. Rhee 1998, 2002).

In prehistoric Korea, agriculture, specifically cereal production, was the primary base of economic wealth. In particular, in the beginning of the Iron Age I (or Former Iron Age), around 300 B.C., wet-rice or paddy rice cultivation became increasingly important in this regard (S. N. Rhee 2002). C. M. Aikens (1981: 261-262) pointed out that increasing societal complexity creates a demand for expansion and control of the food supply, and that the development of an agricultural economy comes a response to this demand. His model could work in the case of the Boseong River Valley, which is the region to have the most amount of rainfall in the Korean Peninsula as much as 1,316.7 mm per year (J. H. Song and Y. M. Lee 1988: 126). It would be no exaggeration to state that the last two thousand years of Korea's economic history, until the emergence of industrial economy in the twentieth century, was one of continual expansion of paddy fields for wet-rice cultivation. There is no even slight doubt that the element most essential to paddy rice cultivation is well-watered riverine plains.

In relation to the Yeongsan River Valley, which lies to its west, the Boseong River Valley is much more mountainous and lacks wide riverine plains, unlike the Yeongsan River Valley (National Geography Institute 1982: 495-499, 504-508). In terms of its natural environment, the Boseong River Valley is better suited for dry-land farming than wet-rice cultivation. Consequently, its agricultural potentials were limited, ultimately rendering sociopolitical development of the region stagnant, especially in relation to the nearby Yeongsan River Valley, where dolmen societies continued to successfully evolve into highly advanced state-level societies, as indicated in archaeological remains such as huge mound tombs identified at Bannam area, specifically

Sinchon-ri, Daean-ri, Deoksan-ri and Bog-am-ri, Naju (M. L. Choi 1997; Seo and Seong 1988; Institute of Cultural Properties 2001).

In Chapter II, I provide a brief outline of Korean archaeology to place the research of this dissertation in broad context for the reader. Chapter III provides a detailed account of Korean research into the problem of sociopolitical development from prehistoric into historic times, which identifies a number of critical research problems and issues. Chapter IV follows with a detailed compilation and ordering of the archaeological data uncovered by the Juam Dam project. The reported data have been selected for their relevance to understanding the implications of dolmen burial and related residential features for early sociopolitical development in Korea. In Chapter V, I conclude with a quantitative and qualitative assessment of the problems identified in the preceding discussions.

Archaeologically, a prehistoric complex society may be reflected in certain material remains including "differentiated burials, large or monumental structures, valued goods, chiefly centers, intensive agriculture, and artifacts requiring craft specialization" (S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi 1992: 54). These inform of the presence of "organized behavior, concentration of energy and wealth, and the existence of elite leaders within a community or a region" (S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi 1992: 54; also Peebles and Kus 1977; Carneiro 1981; Steponaitis 1981). Accordingly, for the purpose of drawing inferences relative to prehistoric sociopolitical complexity of the Boseong River Valley, this research will focus mainly on monumental burials and status goods buried in them.

CHAPTER II

A BRIEF OUTLINE OF KOREAN ARCHAEOLOGY

According to available historical records, interest in the prehistoric culture can be traced back hundreds of years in Korea. Gyubo Lee, distinguished scholar and writer during the Koryo Dynasty (A.D. 918-1392), left a brief comment on dolmens located in the Guemma area in his daily journal as early as A.D. 1200. A few intellectuals of the Choson Dynasty (A.D. 1392-1910) were also interested in prehistoric artifacts and features, in particular dolmens and lithic implements, and acknowledged them as products of ancient people rather than products of nature (S. G. Choi 1987: 747-748). In 1748, J. H. Jeong, the father of a local governor of Jinju in South Gyeongsang Province, excavated 6 ancient tombs to see if they were the lost tombs of his ancestors. His attempt may be regarded as the first problem-oriented archaeological field investigation in Korea (W. Y. Kim 1981: 22).

Jeonghui Kim, distinguished epigrapher and artist during the later period of the Choson Dynasty, was the first Korean intellectual who had an archaeological perspective in a modern scholarly sense. As early as in the middle of the nineteenth century, he fully appreciated prehistoric remnants as products of ancient people. He identified a stone monument located on Mountain Bukhan, one of the four stone monuments erected by the Silla (57 B.C. ~ A.D. 992) King Jinheung (reigned A.D. 540 ~ 576) in the mid-sixth century A.D., and deciphered the inscription. His two articles, *Observations of Examining Two Stone Inscriptions* and *A Study on the Tomb of Silla King Jinheung*, are regarded as distinguished scholarly products even from today's viewpoint (S. B. Yi 1988: 225-226; G. B. Lee 1984: 256). Jeonghee Kim also dated a tile having an inscription of the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. ~ A.D. 7) in terms of calligraphic style, a typological standard. However, he did not try to provide a firm base to enhance archaeology as a modern academic discipline in Korea (S. B. Yi 1988: 226).

Beginning of Modern Archaeology in Korea

When western ideas and institutions began to be introduced into Korea in the end of the nineteenth century, Korean society was sociopolitically very unstable. On the other hand, Japan, which had begun to adopt a positive attitude toward acceptance of Western civilization since the Meiji Restoration (1868), already reached quite a level of modernization and industrialization. In the end of the nineteenth century, Japan began to expand her political influence into the Korean peninsula. In 1910 Japan built a colonial government in Korea and administered Korea for thirty-five years (1910-1945) until the end of the Second World War.

During the Japanese colonial occupation, modernization of Korea was largely carried out under the control of the Japanese government as a part of its colonial administration, and modern Western sciences were also introduced into Korea as a part of colonial administrative policy as well. Japanese scholars initiated modern archaeological research in Korea during the period of colonial occupation. In 1915, a modest museum was inaugurated in Seoul to store and display materials obtained in the course of archaeological fieldwork. The Japanese Government General in Korea that administered Korea set up a committee for archaeological survey and excavation, and the committee planned and executed a number of archaeological projects as a part of colonial administration rather than for authentic scholarly purposes. The improvement of Korean archaeology and the elucidation of Korean cultural history were not their primary concerns (W. Y. Kim 1981:22).

During the colonial period, though a number of archaeological projects were executed at that time, participation of Koreans was intentionally excluded. Also, numerous archaeological sites were excavated for non-academic purposes such as looting for precious cultural treasures, improving the diggers' excavation skills, and justifying colonial administration through distorting ancient Korean culture (S. B. Yi 1988:226-229). Japanese archaeologists were mostly interested in excavating the huge tombs of historic times in order to obtain invaluable artifacts and traces of cultural influence from China; prehistoric sites were almost neglected. Their primary thrust was to stress the cultural backwardness of ancient Korean culture and downgrade ancient Korean culture as a minor peripheral phenomenon with excessive emphasis on one-sided cultural influence from China (W. Y. Kim 1981: 22; G. D. Bae 1991:11-13; M. L. Choi and S. J. Shin 1991:291-292).

In the 1930s, in particular, animal bones and lithic implements, including two obsidian flakes that had been appreciated as remains of Pleistocene were identified at the Donggwanjin in Jongseong County of North Hamgyeong Province (see Figure 1). However, Japanese archaeological circle ignored this discovery and denied even a possibility of existence of the Paleolithic Culture in the Korean Peninsula (G. D. Bae 1991: 11-13). Instead, they insisted that the Neolithic was the earliest prehistoric culture, and even Bronze Age as a separate prehistoric stage was not existed in the Korean Peninsula. They argued that bronze and iron were introduced into the Korean peninsula almost simultaneously from northeastern China around the third century B.C. According to them, this fabricated bronze-iron stage, the so-called Chalcolithic Age, lasted until as late as the fourth century A.D. when the Three Kingdoms, Koguryo, Baekje, and Silla (see Figure 4.) were already established as ancient states (W. Y. Kim 1981: 22). In other words, Japanese archaeological interpretation negated the reality of prehistoric complex society in ancient Korea before the historic dynasties.

Korean archaeology did not have an opportunity to construct its own academic foundation and framework or to train specialists during the period of Japanese colonial occupation. It was not until the end of the Second World War, which freed Korea from Japan that archaeological projects in the Korean Peninsula began to be executed by Koreans themselves. However, the negative influence of Japanese colonial administration was not easily remedied for a long time. Korean scholars had to overcome such vestiges of Japanese colonialism as the lack of chronological and regional frameworks and trained specialists. They also had to deal with distorted interpretations of ancient culture and history. Moreover, the north-south division of the Korean Peninsula and subsequent Korean War (1950-1953) became another major obstacle in the development of Korean academic disciplines including archaeology.

When Korea resumed her independence from Japanese colonial occupation in 1945, the National Museum was the only institution, if any, capable of carrying out archaeological projects in South Korea. The outbreak of the Korean War halted all archaeological activities for almost a decade. In 1961, the Department of Archaeology and Anthropology was inaugurated at Seoul National University, and a few university museums including Seoul University Museum began to execute archaeological projects in the 1960s. In 1969, the Korean Atomic Research Institute set up a carbon-14 Laboratory, and began to release local carbon dates with the laboratory's acronym KAERI. During the 1960s, archaeological projects were rather isolated and academic standards remained at the level of collecting and describing first-hand data.

In the 1970s, archaeological projects became more problem-oriented, and field techniques were quite improved. In 1975, the Korean government established the Institute of Cultural Properties under Cultural Properties Preservation Bureau (a Bureau of the Ministry of Culture and Information), a research institute to take charge of affairs related to cultural properties, including archaeological projects and the preservation and management of prehistoric and historical monuments. Since the 1970s, rapid industrialization of Korea has brought about large-scale salvage archaeological projects including a number of field excavations and site surveys. These new circumstances came to require trained human resources and academic institutes to take charge of archaeological projects, and there was a rapid growth of modern Korean archaeology, not only quantitatively but also qualitatively. After repeated trials and errors, a basic framework of Korean archaeology was prepared in the 1970s, and archaeologists could shift their research to more profound and detailed questions and directions (W. Y. Kim 1973). Since then, scholarly discussions in response to the need to exchange opinions and synthesize new academic achievements have been activated and there is a thriving archaeological establishment in Korea today.

A Brief Sketch of Korean Prehistory

The Three-Age System of Paleolithic, Neolithic, and Bronze-Iron Age, developed and refined in Northern Europe in the nineteenth century, has long been employed in the periodization of Korean prehistory. The cultural sequence of Korean prehistory widely accepted in the Korean archaeological circle is as follows: Paleolithic Age, Neolithic Age, Bronze Age, and (Early) Iron Age. These four prehistoric "ages' were followed by the historically documented Proto-Three Kingdoms Period and Three Kingdoms Period (Table 5).

Recently, S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi (2001) presented a revised chronology and periodization of Korean prehistory as follows (Table 5): Paleolithic Age (too controversial regarding the upper limit, all the way from 700,000 B.P. to 200,000 B.P.), Neolithic Age, Bronze Age, Iron Age I or Former Iron Age (formerly, the Early Iron Age), and Iron Age II or Later Iron Age (formerly, the Proto [or Former/Early] Three Kingdoms Period, or the Sam Han [Three Han] Period).

Table 5. Traditional and New Chronologies of Korean Archaeology.

Traditional Chronology	Calendar Years	New Chronology
Unified Silla	A.D. 668–	Unified Silla
Three Kingdoms Period	A.D. 300–668	Three Kingdoms Period
Proto Three Kingdoms Period	A.D. 1–300	Iron Age II
Early Iron Age	300–1 B.C.	Iron Age I
Bronze Age	1,500–300 B.C. (New) 1,000–300 B.C. (Traditional)	Bronze Age
Neolithic Age	8,000–1,500 B.C. (New) 6,000–1,000 B.C. (Traditional)	Neolithic Age
Paleolithic Age	700,000–10,000 B.C. (New) 500,000–10,000 B.C. (Traditional)	Paleolithic Age

They attempted to fully reflect recent scholarly accomplishments of Korean archaeology and new archaeological investigations in the new chronology (Figure 7). According to them, the new chronology would help to overcome and further refine chronological discrepancies resulting from on-going regional studies, and to be a chronology of Korean prehistory standardized for twenty-first century Korean archaeology (S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi 2001: 141).

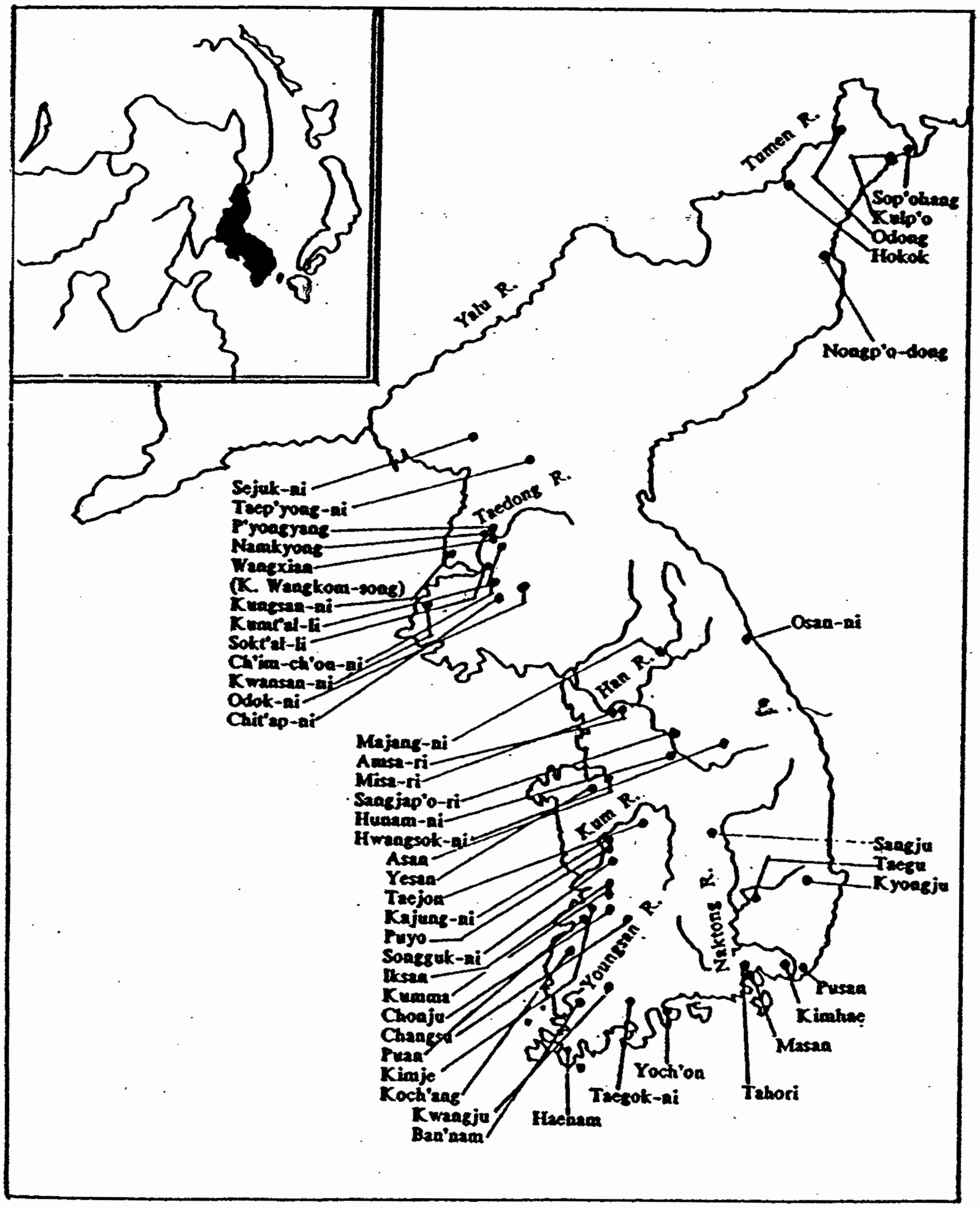

Figure 7. Major Archaeological Sites in Korea (Rhee and Choi 1991: 55).

My study will adopt the new chronology and terminology submitted by Rhee and Choi (2001). More will be said in following pages about the apparent gap between Paleolithic and Neolithic. It was Japanese archaeologists during the period of colonial occupation who first adopted the Three-Age System in the periodization of the Korean archaeology. According to a typical scheme prevalent among the Japanese academic circle during the colonial period, the cultural sequence of Korean archaeology was as follows: Stone Age, Chalcolithic Age, Lelang Period, and Three Kingdoms Period (Fujita 1948). As mentioned, Japanese scholars sponsored by the colonial government executed archaeological projects as a part of colonial administration rather than as authentic scholarly activities. As one result, they excessively exaggerated the stagnation of ancient Korean culture while stressing strong influences from foreign cultures, in particular far advanced Chinese Culture. For instance, they ignored the existence of a Paleolithic Culture that was identified by lithic implements and animal bones at the Donggwanjin site in the 1930s.

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ancient Korean culture while stressing strong influences from foreign cultures, in particular far advanced Chinese Culture. For instance, they ignored the existence of a Paleolithic Culture that was identified by lithic implements and animal bones at the Donggwanjin site in the 1930s.

The Chalcolithic Age, conceived as a transitional stage from the Neolithic through the Bronze Age, also distorted the reality of separate Bronze and Iron ages in the Korean Peninsula. Strictly speaking, however, it is undeniably true that available archaeological information on the Korean Peninsula was too limited and fragmentary during the Colonial Period to construct a reliable cultural sequence or periodization of Korean archaeology. It was not until the 1960s that the existence of a Paleolithic and separate Bronze and Iron Ages were documented by incontrovertible concrete archaeological evidence in both South and North Korea.

Paleolithic Culture in Korea

Currently, about 70 Paleolithic sites (Figure 8) have been identified and reported in the Korean Peninsula (G. D. Bae 1991). As mentioned, stone implements and animal bones belonging to the Paleolithic Age were reported at the Donggwanjin site (see Figure 8:①) in the Duman River Valley. However, Japanese colonial scholars who had denied the existence of Paleolithic Age in Korea were reluctant to accept Donggwanjin as a Palaeolithic site.

In the 1960s, a number of Palaeolithic sites had been reported and investigated in the Korea Peninsula. In particular, Gulpo-ri site in Yunggi, North Hamgyeong Province (see Figure 8:②) and the well known Seokjang-ri site in Gongju, South Chungcheong Province (see Figure 8: ㉓) are crucial Paleolithic sites identified and investigated in the 1960s (Y. H. Do 1964; B. G. Son 1967), and they confirmed the existence of Paleolithic Culture in Korea (Figure 9). Thereafter, there has been no doubt about the existence of Palaeolithic Age and Paleolithic Culture in the Korean Peninsula. Since its first discovery in 1978, many field campaigns at the world- famous Jeongok-ri site (see Figure 8: ⑬) in the Hantan River Valley (Yeoncheon, Gyeonggi Province) have drawn the attention of international scholarly circles to Korean Paleolithic Culture (Figures 10 and 11). However, there has been continuous debate on the characteristics and chronology of the Palaeolithic sites and culture of Korea among domestic and foreign archaeologists.

In general, Korean Paleolithic Culture is subdivided into three phases: Lower Paleolithic (ca. 500,000 - 100,000 B.P.), Middle Paleolithic (ca. 100,000 - 35,000 B.P.), and Upper Paleolithic (ca. 35,000- 12,000 B.P.). Recently, there has been some discussion of a separate stage of the Mesolithic Age or Culture in the Korean Peninsula with reference to a few sites, including two sites identified and investigated in the Juam Dam archaeological project, the Gokcheon and Daejeon sites. However, still Korean archaeological circle tends to feel that at present the available archaeological evidence is not sufficient to establish a Mesolithic Age or Culture as a separate cultural stage in prehistoric Korea.

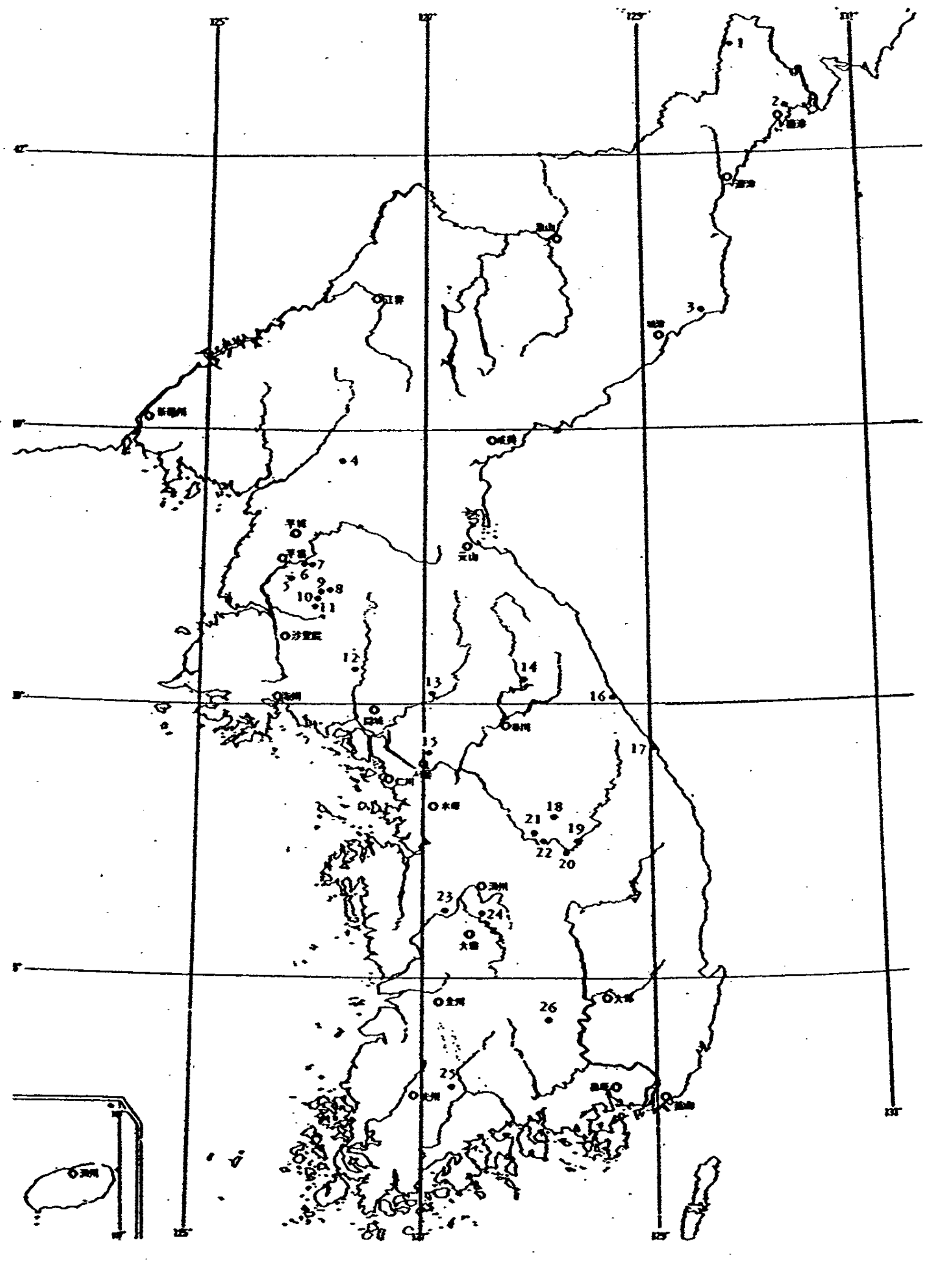


Figure 8. Major Paleolithic Sites in Korea (M. L. Choi et al. 1991: 412).

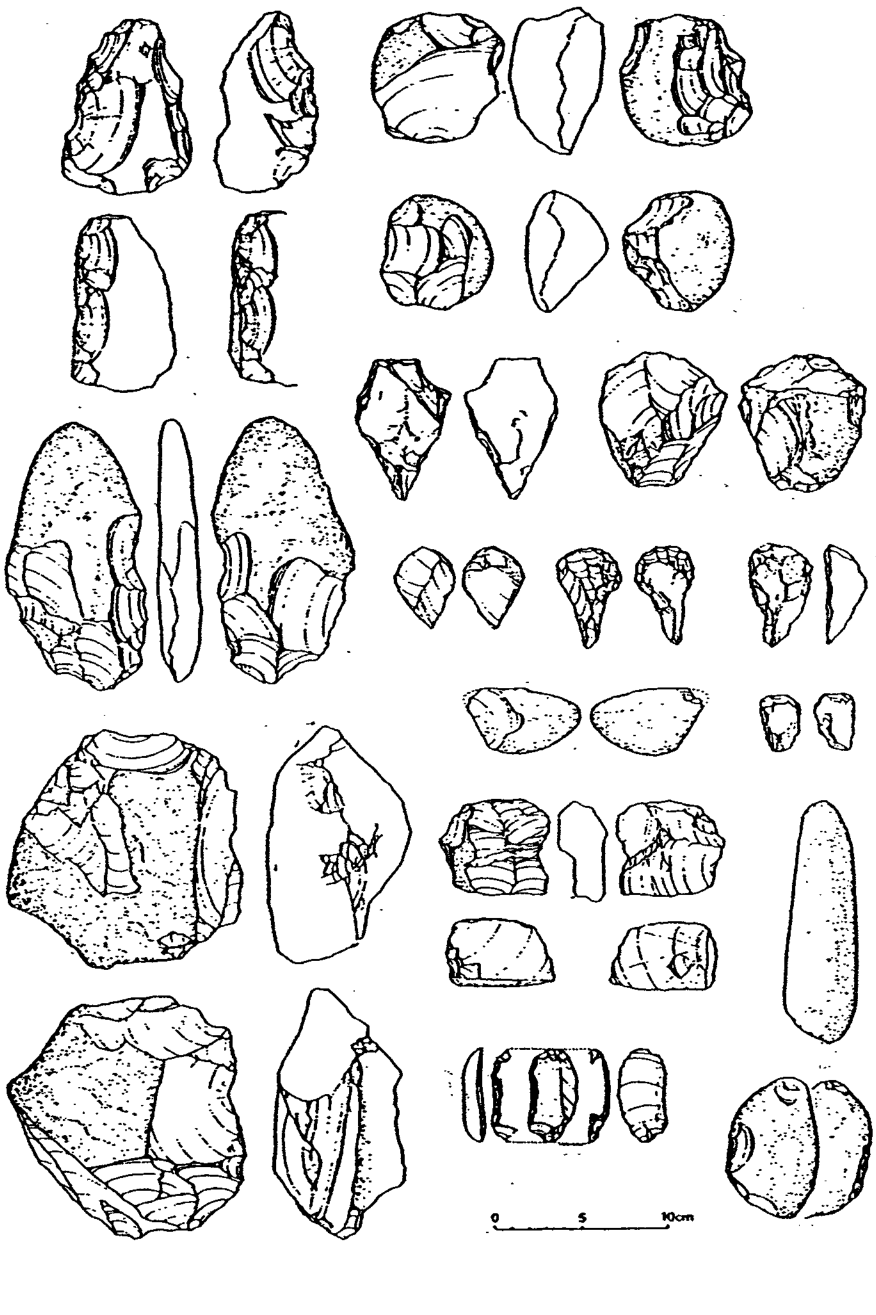


Figure 9. Stone Tools from the Seokjang-ri Paleolithic Site (W. Y. Kim 1986: 15).

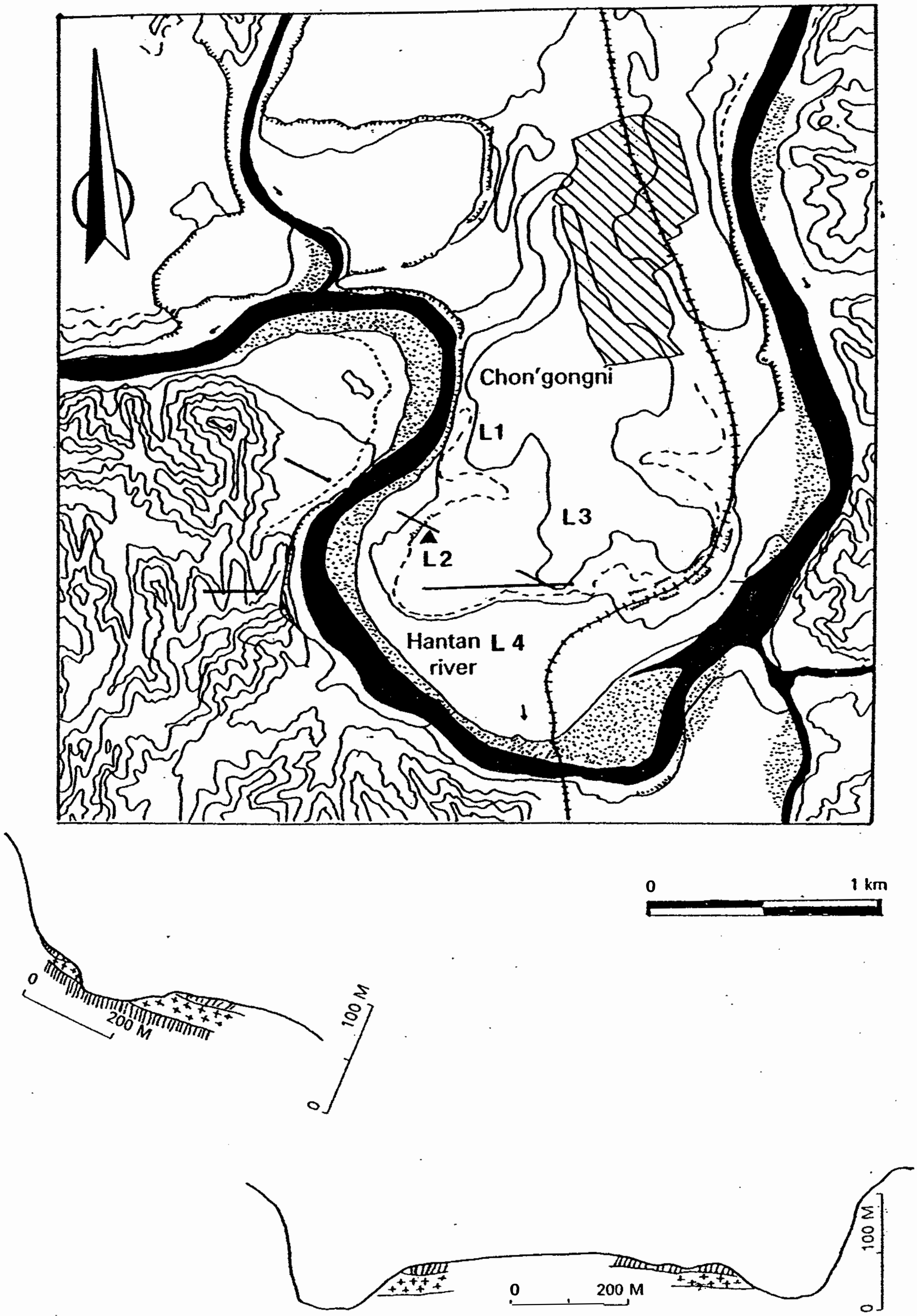


Figure 10. Topographic Map of the Jeongok-ri (Chongongni) Site (G. D. Bae 1989: 3).

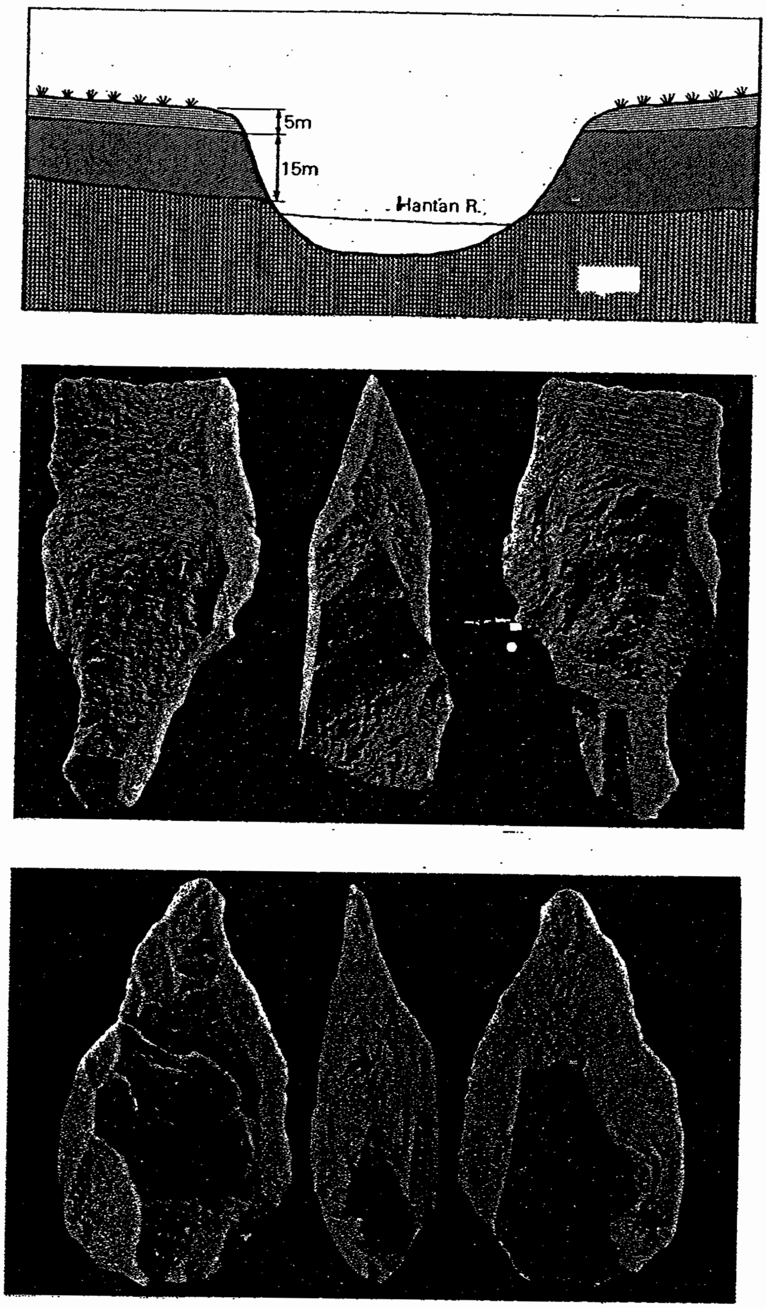


Figure 11. Stratigraphy of the Jeongok-ri Site and Stone Tools therein (Kim 1986: 18).

Neolithic Culture in Korea

Those Korean archaeologists who deny the existence of a separate Mesolithic Period believe that there was quite a temporal break between the ends of the Paleolithic Age and the beginning of the following Neolithic Age in prehistoric Korea. It has been believed that there were significant environmental changes including faunal, floral, and coastline changes at the beginning of the Holocene around 8000 B.C. There is little evidence of human habitation during the first 2000 years of the Holocene, but by about 6000 B.C., a new cultural stage, the Neolithic, becomes increasingly well represented in the Korean Peninsula (Figure 12).

It is believed that hand-made Jeulmun (comb patterned design) pottery, chipped and polished stone implements, semi-subterranean houses with storage pits and hearths, and an intensive hunting-gathering-fishing subsistence economy are diagnostic of Korean Neolithic Culture. Some Korean and Japanese archaeologists who have focused their research on the Jeulmun Pottery prefer the terms "Jeulmun Pottery Period" and "Jeulmun Pottery Culture" rather than "Neolithic Age" and "Neolithic Culture". Here I use the two terminologies interchangeably. Neolithic sites, including quite a number of shell-middens, are usually found along riversides and seacoasts. There are several regional variants of the Korean Neolithic, centered on large rivers or seacoasts, and distinctive pottery styles represent them.

The Korean Neolithic culture is often divided into three sub-periods: Early (6000-3500 B.C.), Middle (3500 - 2000 B.C.), and Late Neolithic (2000 -1000 B.C.).

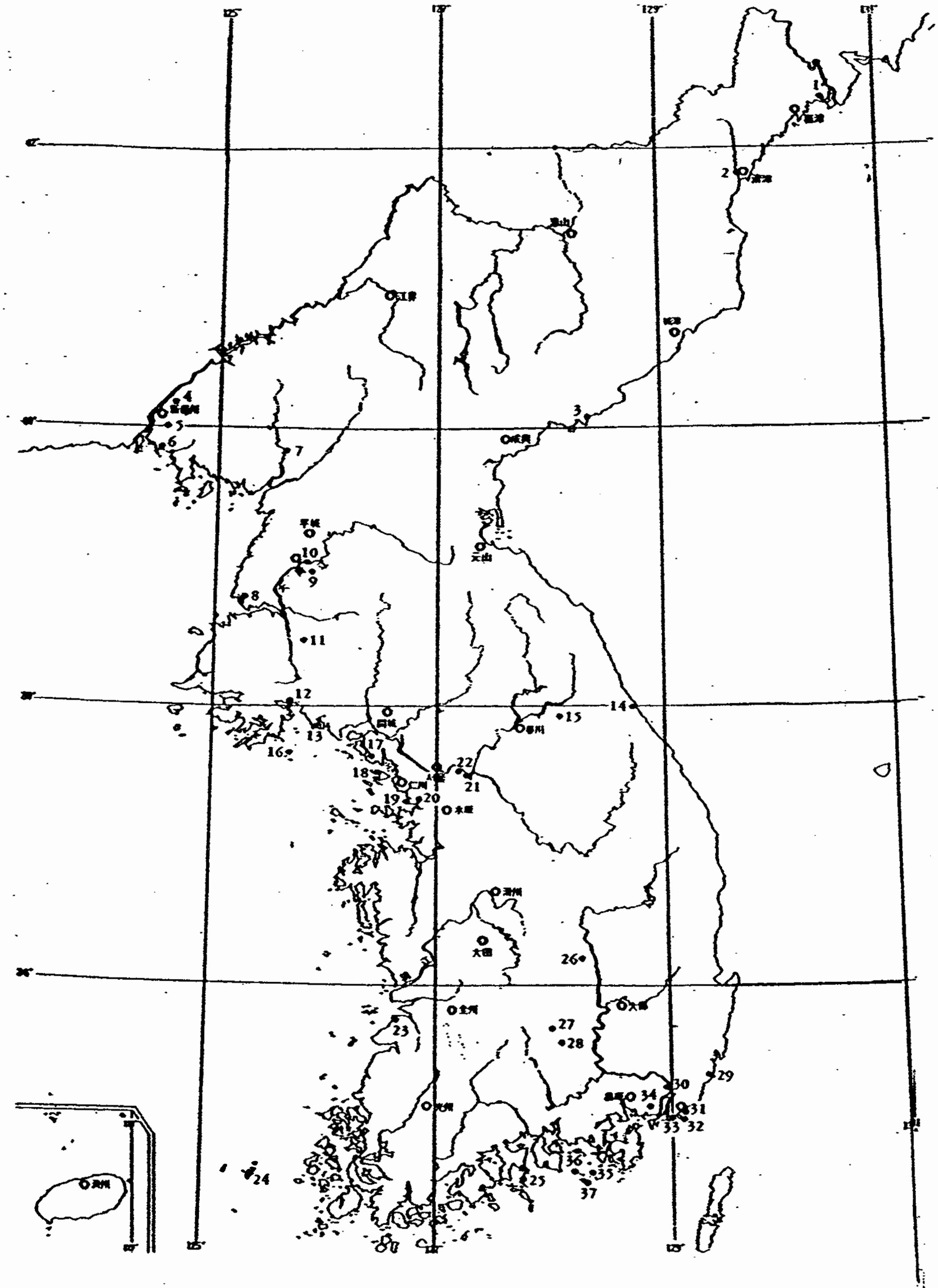


Figure 12. Major Neolithic Sites in Korea (M. L. Choi et al.1991: 413).

It is now known that before the spread of the comb-patterned Jeulmun Pottery, Yunggimun (raised design) pottery and undecorated plain flat-based pottery were manufactured and used in a number of sites, including Osan-ri (Yangyang, Kangwon Province, see Figure 12: ⑭), Seopohang (Yunggi, North Hamgyeong Province, see Figure 12: ①), and Dongsam-dong (Busan, see Figure: ㉜) on the east and southeast coasts (Figures 13).

Jeulmun Pottery decorated on the whole surface first appeared in the central western region around 4000 B.C. According to H. J. Im (1983), over time the amount of surface decoration on Jeulmun Pottery was gradually reduced; initially covering all three parts of the vessel, rim, waist, and bottom, it later covered only two parts, rim and waist, and finally only one part, rim (Figure 14).

Archaeological features, found at Gyo-dong Cave, Chuncheon (see Figure 12: ⑮) and Songpyeong-dong, Unggi are considered as Neolithic burials (Figure 15). However, the characteristics of the burial features are not clear, and there is so far little, if any, archaeological evidence to clearly illustrate burial practices in the Neolithic of Korea.

Only a few Neolithic settlement sites have been discovered. The best known are Amsa-dong, Seoul (Figure 16, see Figure 12: ㉒), Misa-ri (Ha-nam, Gyeonggi Province, see Figure 12: ㉑), Seopohang, Jitap-ri (Bongsan, Hwanghae Province, see Figure 12: ⑪), and Osan-ri sites. Most of semi-subterranean houses of the Korean Neolithic have a round or rectangular floor plan, and often there is a hearth and storage pit inside or outside of the house.

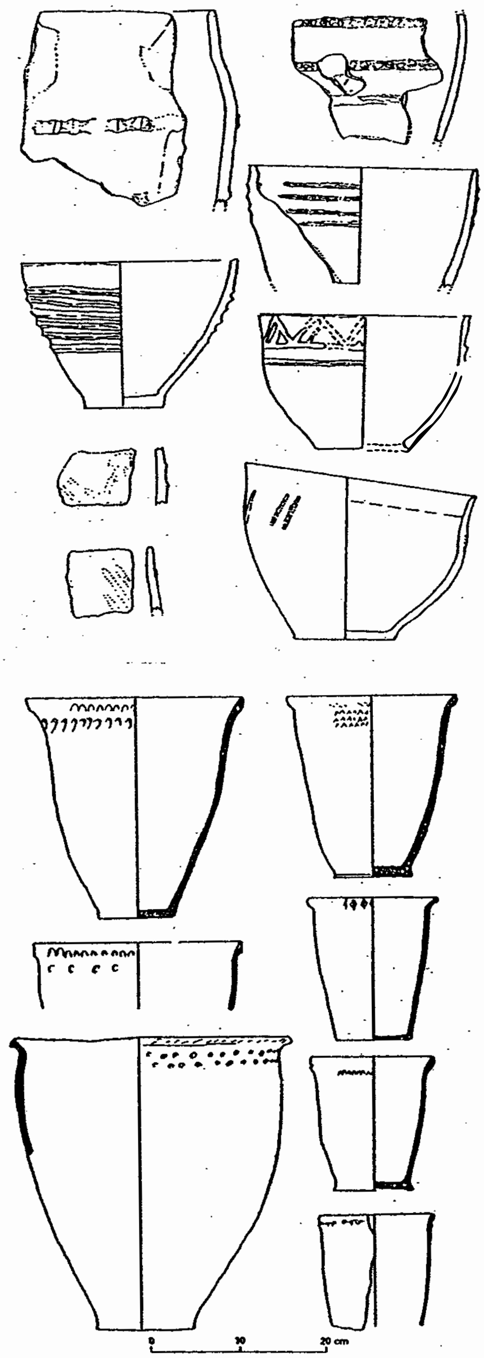


Figure 13. Examples of Yunggimun (Raised Design) Pottery (top) and Flat-based Pottery (bottom) (S. M. Nelson 1993: 68, 93).

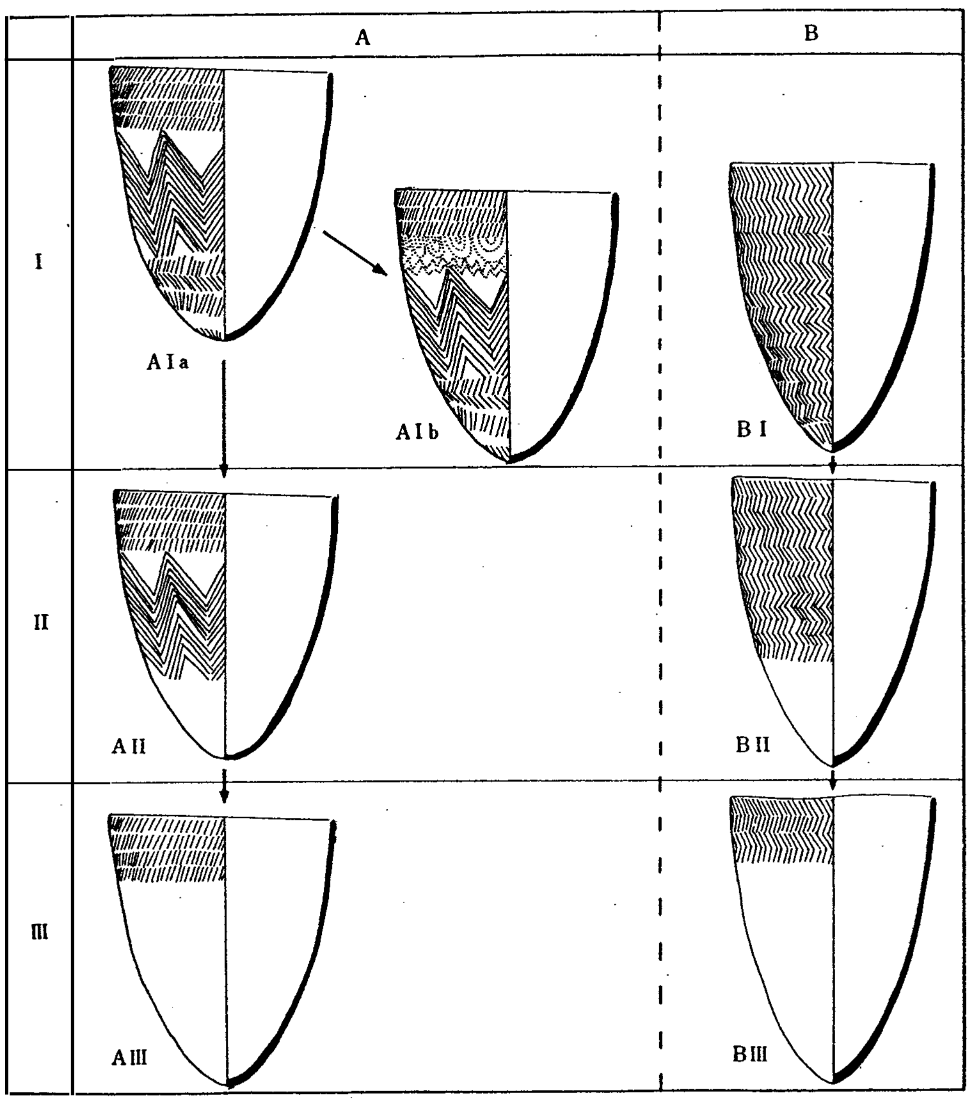


Figure 14. Temporal Change in the Surface Decoration of Jeulmun Pottery (Im 1983: 6).

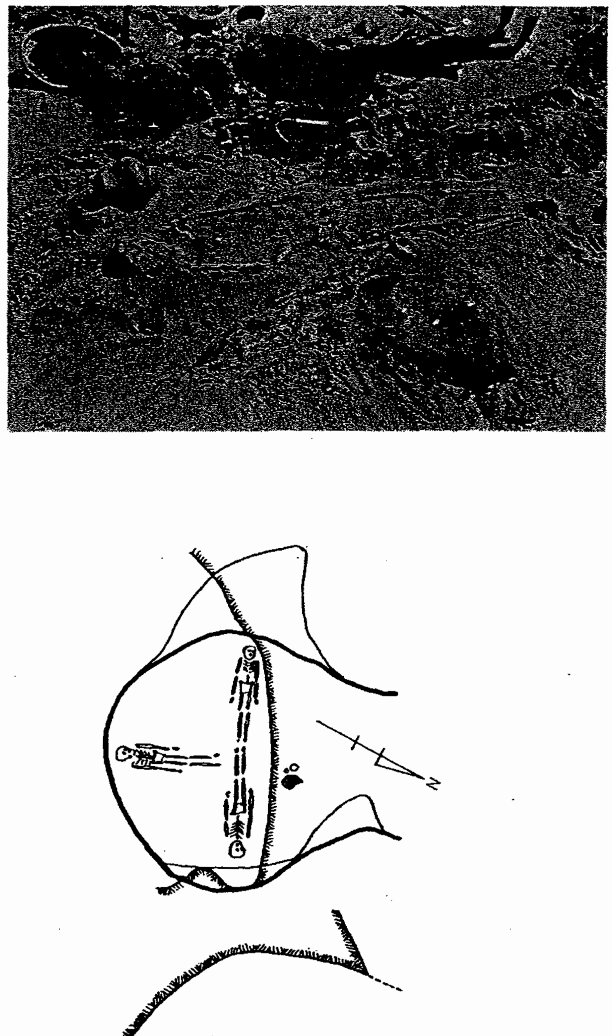


Figure 15. Neolithic Burials Found at the Songpyeong-dong (top) and Gyo-dong (bottom) Sites (W. Y. Kim 1986: 57).

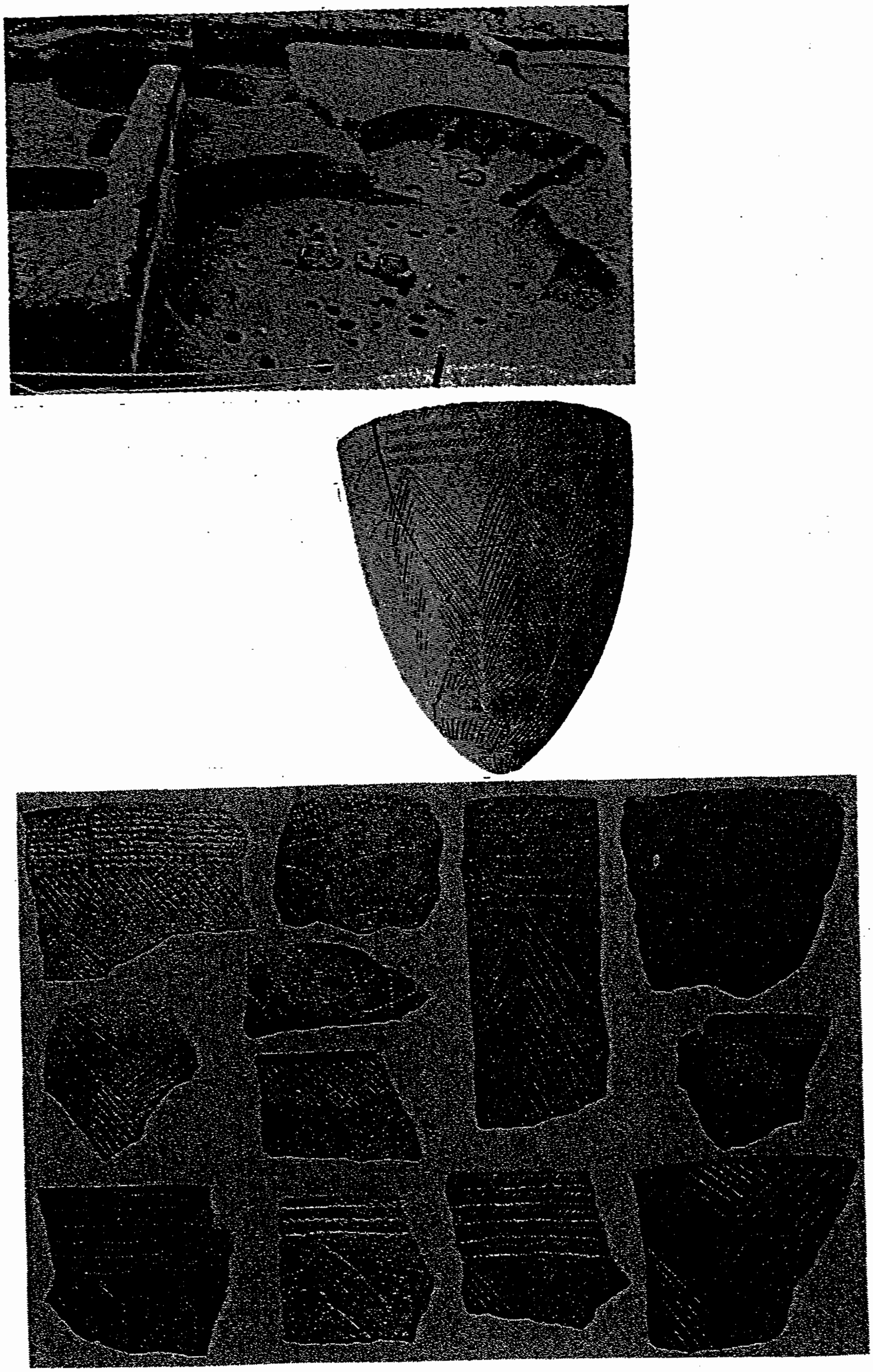


Figure 16. Jeulmun Pottery and a Pit House at the Amsa-dong Site (Kim 1986: 36).

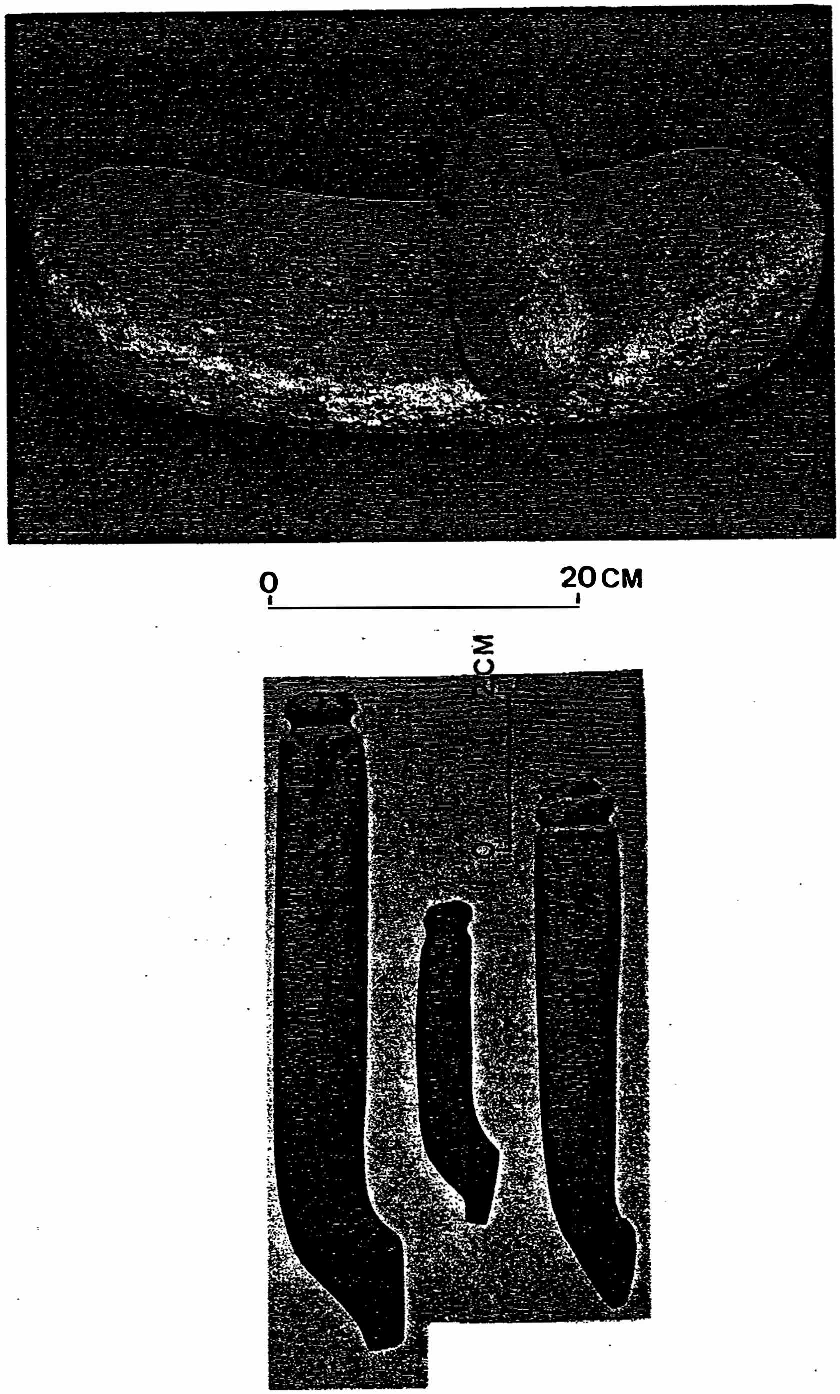


Figure 17. Examples of a Grinding Stone Set and Composite Fishhooks (Ro 1997: 26, 31).

Indications of food production has been identified and reported at quite a few Neolithic sites; however, concrete archaeological evidence for plant or animal domestication in the initial stage of the Korean Neolithic is still rare. Since the middle of the Neolithic, however, food production began to be well documented, and in particular, grinding stone sets, reliable archaeological evidence of cereal production, and charred foxtail millet has been reported at a few sites, including Namgyeong (Pyeongyang) and Jitap-ri (Bongsan) sites (Figure 17).

Composite fishing tools and net-sinkers discovered at Osan-ri and other coastal sites are concrete archaeological evidence to indicate active marine adaptation as well during the Neolithic Age (Figure 17). Animal domestication could be inferred from clay figurines and stone sculptures of dogs and pigs reported at Seopohang and Gulpo-ri sites.

Bronze Age Culture in Korea

In the end of the 2nd millennium B.C., Neolithic Jeulmun Pottery was replaced by a new type of undecorated plain ware called Mumun Pottery. Mumun Pottery was introduced into the Korean Peninsula earlier than bronze tools, and it lasted as a primary pottery type during the Korean Bronze Age and even the Iron Age I. Literally, the term “Mumun” translates as “non-decorated”, meaning plain-surfaced, but the Korean Mumun Pottery includes diverse pottery types, including some having decorations (Figure 18).

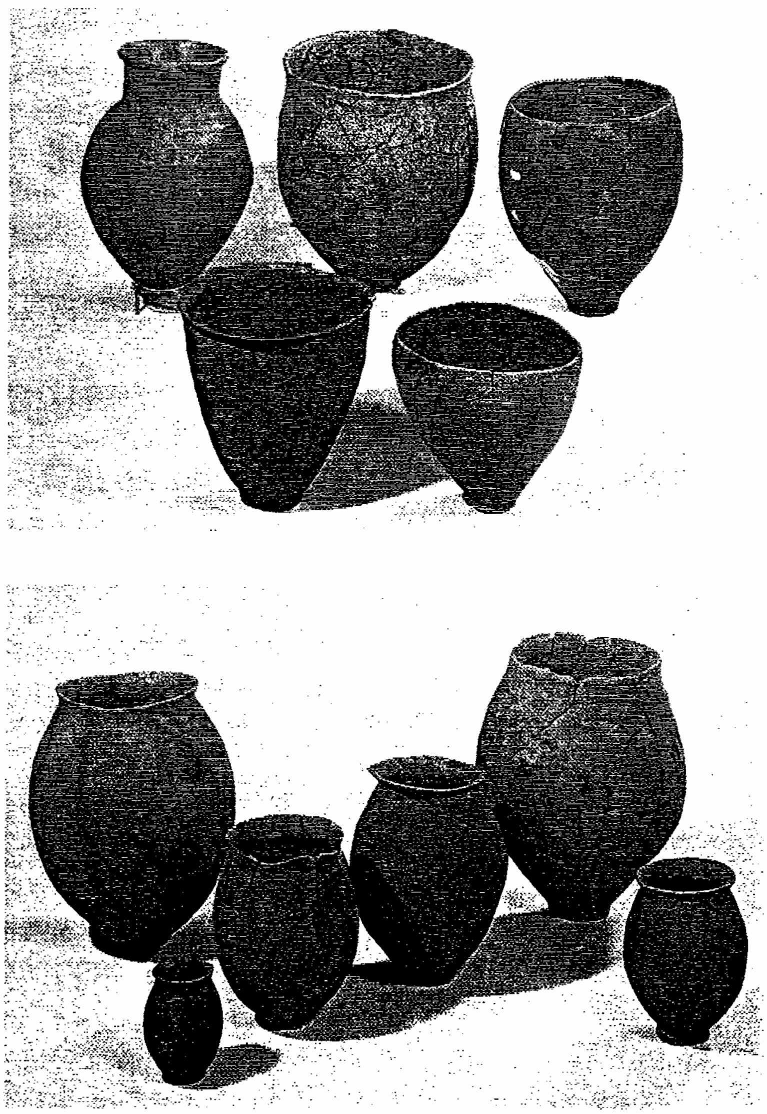


Figure 18. Examples of Diverse Mumun Pottery (H. J. Ro 1997: 45).

Often "Bronze Age" and "Mumun Pottery Period" have been treated as interchangeable terms for the same phenomenon in Korean archaeology. However, in fact we now know that there was quite a temporal interval between the first appearance of Mumun Pottery and the first appearance of bronze implements in the Korean Peninsula.

The Bronze Age has been considered the most problematic period in prehistoric Korea, and still there is little clear understanding as to the origin of Korean Bronze Culture (Figure 19). It has been said that the Korean Bronze Culture originated from the Liaoning Region around 1,500~1000 B.C.; however, there is little archaeological evidence to support such an early date as far as the geographical boundary is limited to the Korean Peninsula. Bronze implements dated around 1000 B.C. are very rare in the whole Korean Peninsula, and furthermore; bronze implements are very rare during the whole Korean Bronze Age. Indeed for this reason some archaeologists have suggested that this interval be called the Mumun Pottery Period instead of the Bronze Age (M. B. Yun 1975; Nishitani 1982).

Their comparative rarity notwithstanding, however, bronze implements such as the Liaoning (or Manchurian) style daggers (Figure 20), mirrors, axes, arrowheads, and knives are important diagnostic artifacts of the Korean Bronze Age. Most of the bronze implements have been recovered from burials, mainly in stone cists, rather than in residential features. Bronze implements are typically considered as status symbols or ritual instruments rather than as practical implements for use in daily life. Instead, polished stone implements such as axes, adzes, arrowheads, daggers, semi-lunar knives, and grinding stones and pestles were still important in daily life during the Bronze Age.

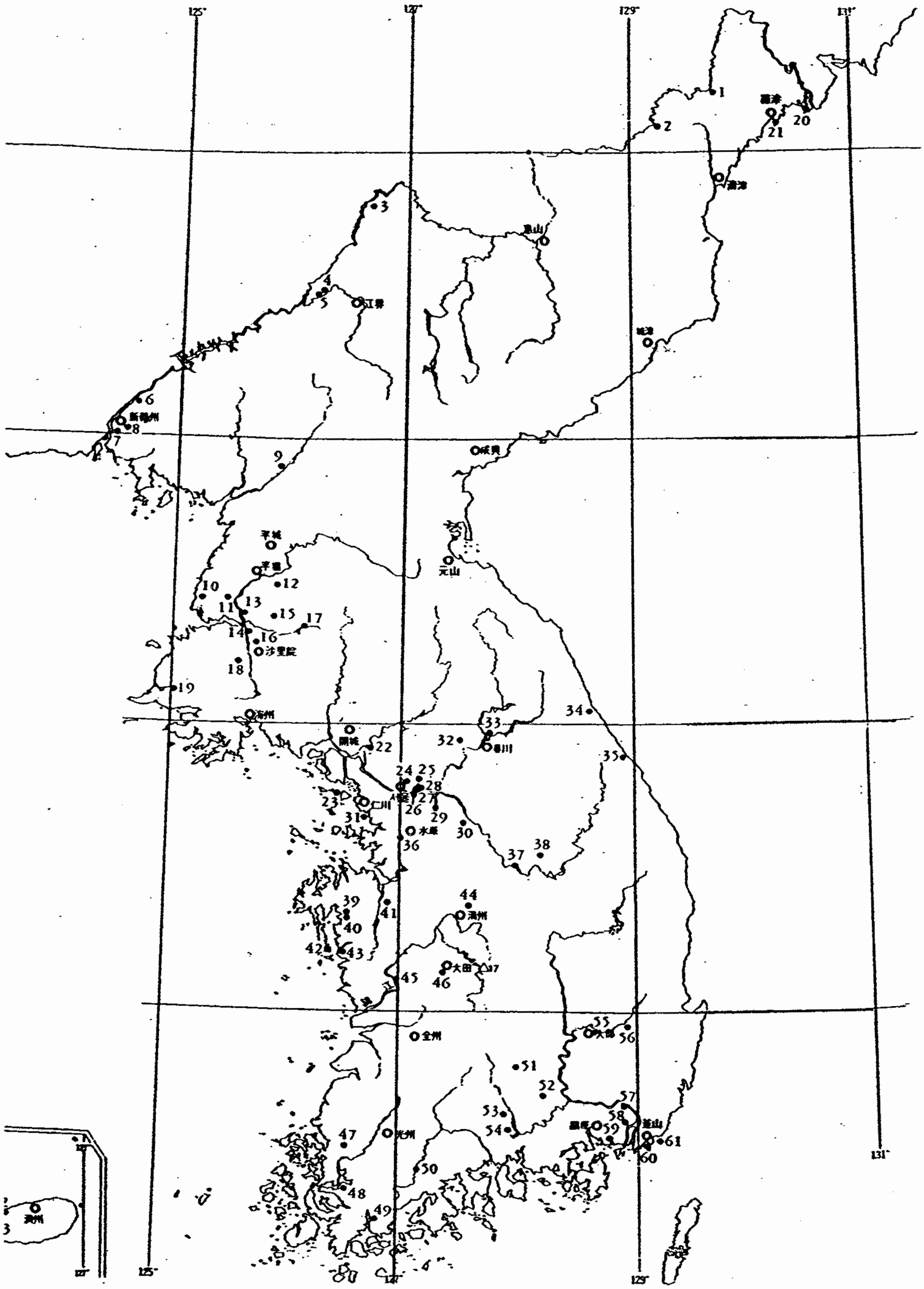
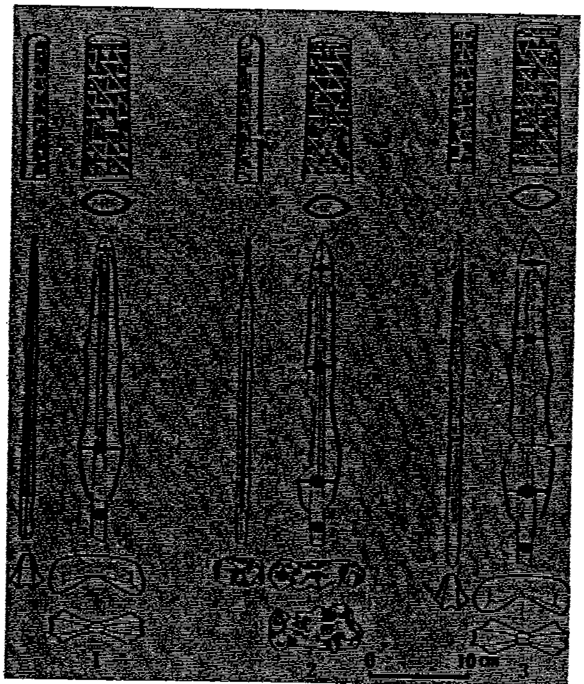


Figure 19. Major Bronze Age Sites in Korea (M. L. Choi et al. 1991: 433).



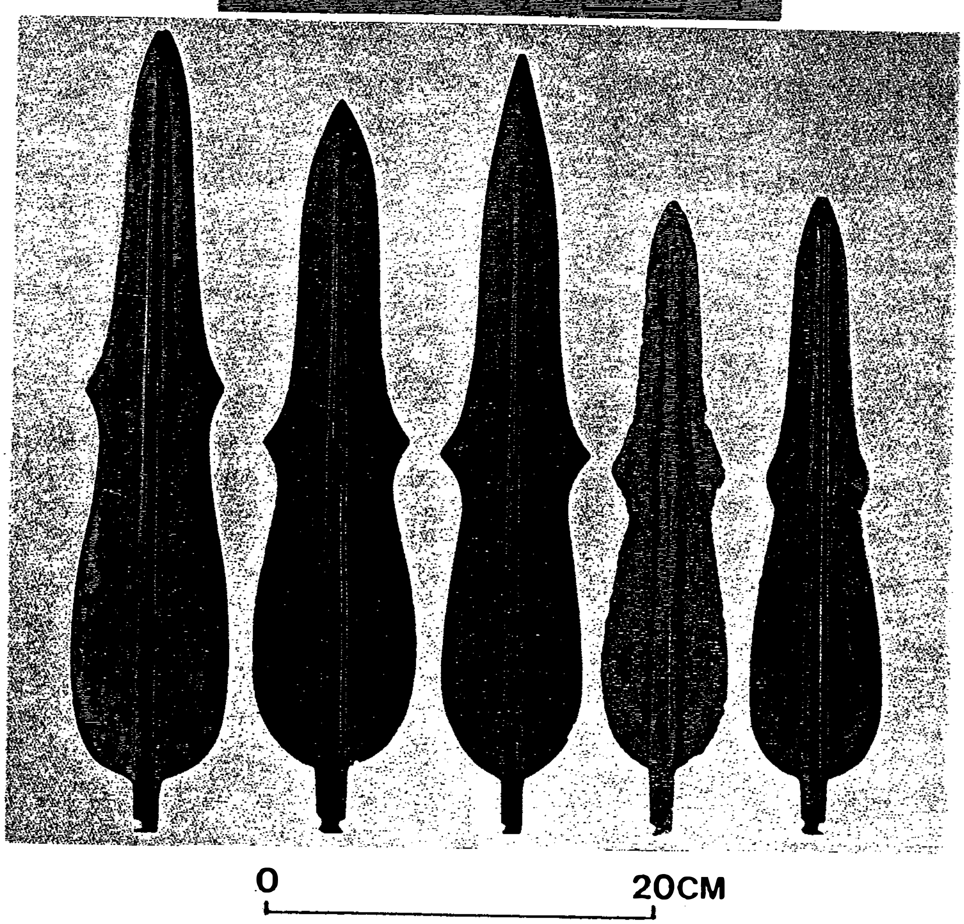


Figure 20. Examples of the Liaoning Style Daggers (H. J. Ro 1997: 78).

Abundant polished stone axes and adzes imply development of architectural technology, and grinding stones and pestles, and diverse styles of semi-lunar knives are considered to be closely related to crop cultivation (Figure 21). In addition, the charred rice grains found at a few Bronze Age settlement sites such as Songguk-ri (Buyeo, South Chungcheong Province), Heunam-ri (Yeoju, Gyeonggi Province), and Namgyeong (Pyeongyang) sites are critical archaeological evidence to demonstrate the importance of rice cultivation in the Korean Bronze Age.

The semi-subterranean houses continued in use as a main residential type, but the scale of villages enlarged and village locations expanded to include inland regions, contrasting with the largely coastal or riverside occupational pattern of the Neolithic Age. A number of large-scale village sites such as Dolong at Daegok-ri (see Figure 19: ㊿), Songguk-ri(see Figure 19: ㊺), and Heunam-ri (see Figure 19: ㉚) imply population increase, and semi-subterranean houses became more numerous compared to the precedent Neolithic Age. The large-scale villages and new village locations might also be considered as evidence of increased sociopolitical complexity.

While there was little, if any, concrete archaeological evidence for burial practice in the Neolithic of Korea, a few kinds of burial structures are known from Bronze Age sites. In particular, dolmens (Figure 22) and stone cists (Figure 23) were the two main burial types in the Korean Bronze Age. Dolmens and stone cists are typically quite different in their burial furnishings. While often quite abundant grave goods including bronze implements and jades had been furnished in the stone cists, extremely few bronze implements have been reported in dolmen sites except for extremely few dolmen sites.

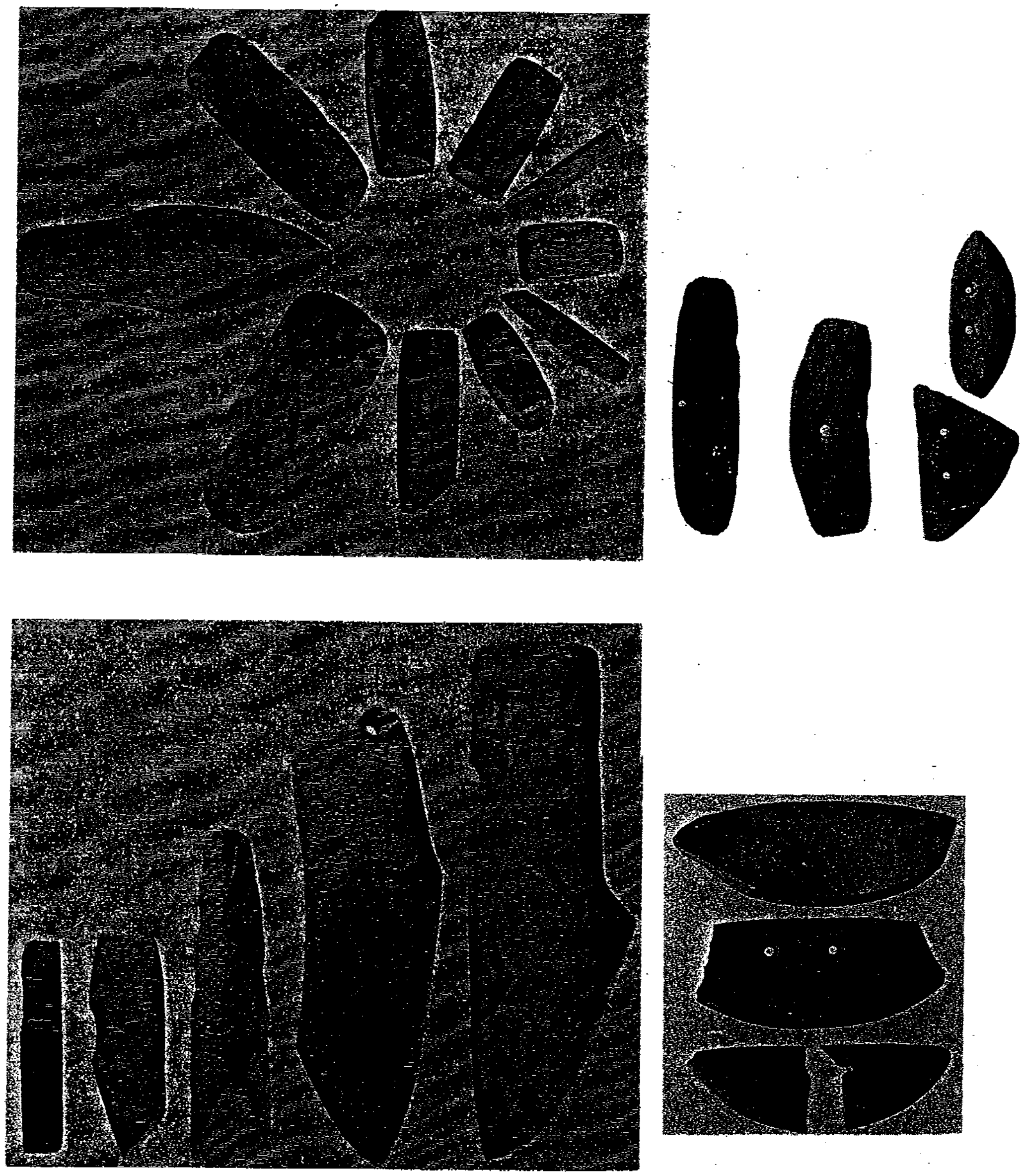


Figure 21. Examples of Polished Stone Axes (top left), Adzes (bottom left), and Semi-lunar Knives (right) (H. J. Ro 1997: 53; W. Y. Kim 1986: 84-85).

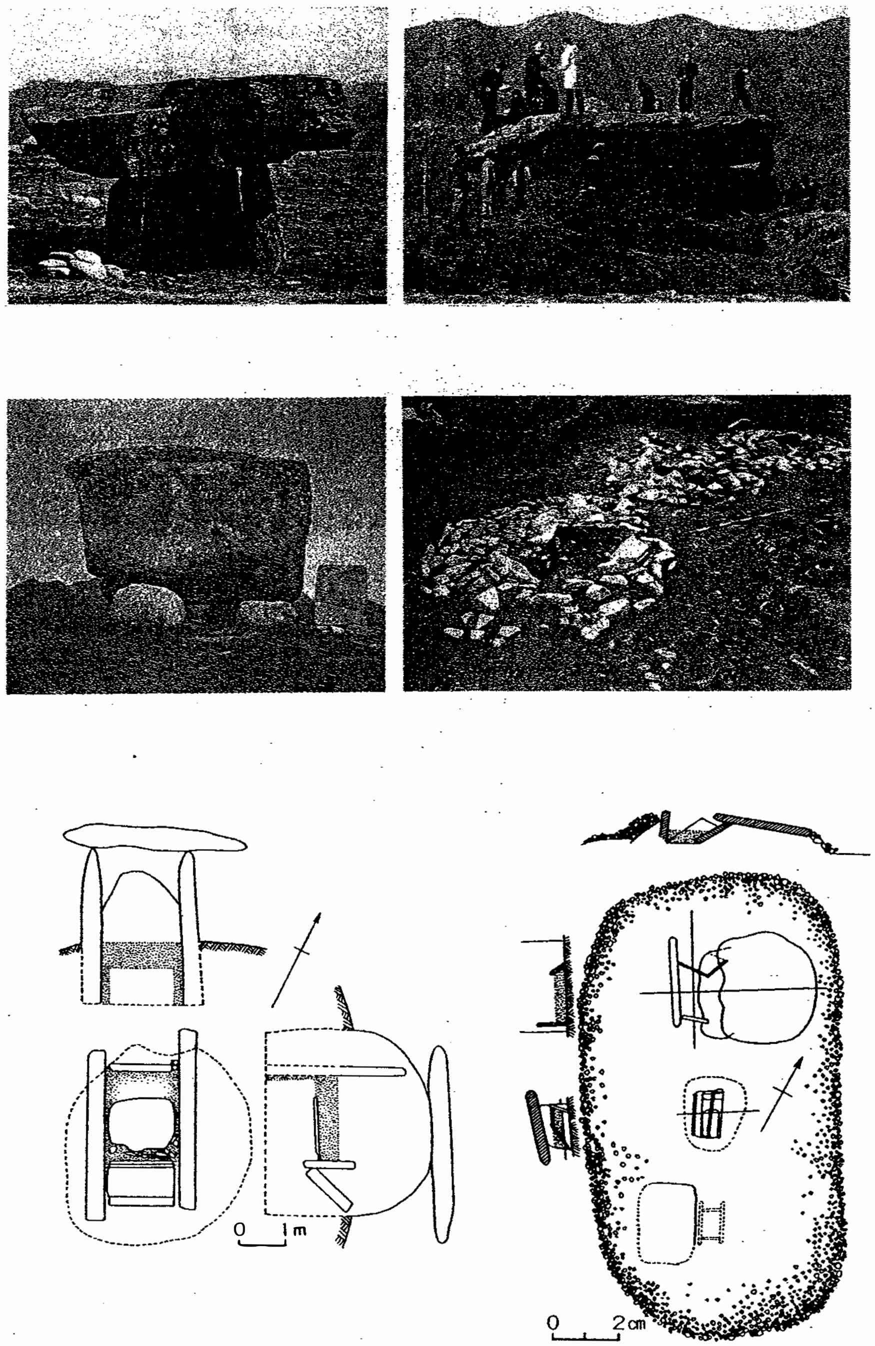


Figure 22. Examples of the Dolmen Types: Northern (top), Southern (middle), Odeok (bottom left), and Chimchon (bottom right) (W. Y. Kim 1986: 93-94).

[1.95m (length); 0.80m (width); 0.81m (inside height)]

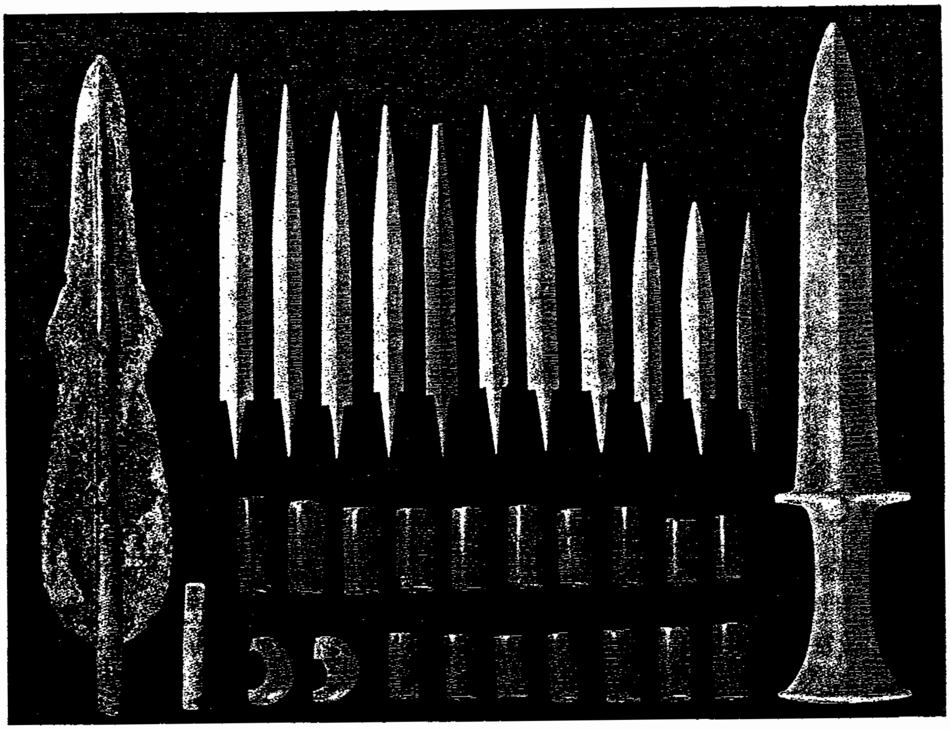
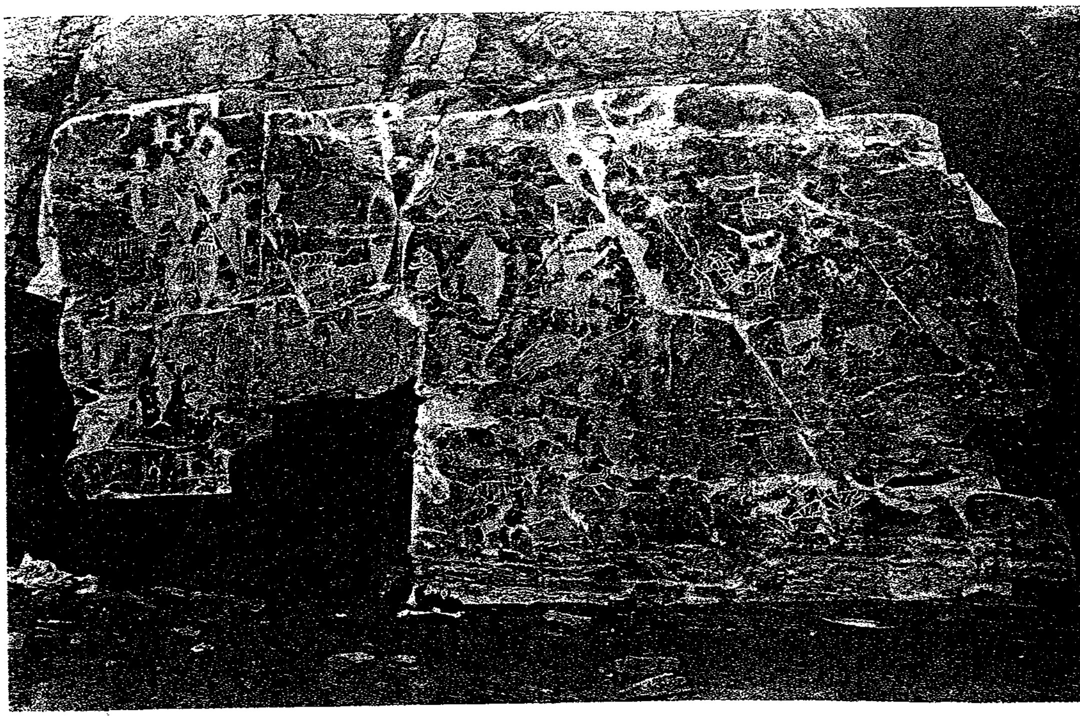


Figure 23. The Songguk-ri Stone Cist and Burial Goods therein (H. J. Ro 1997: 68).



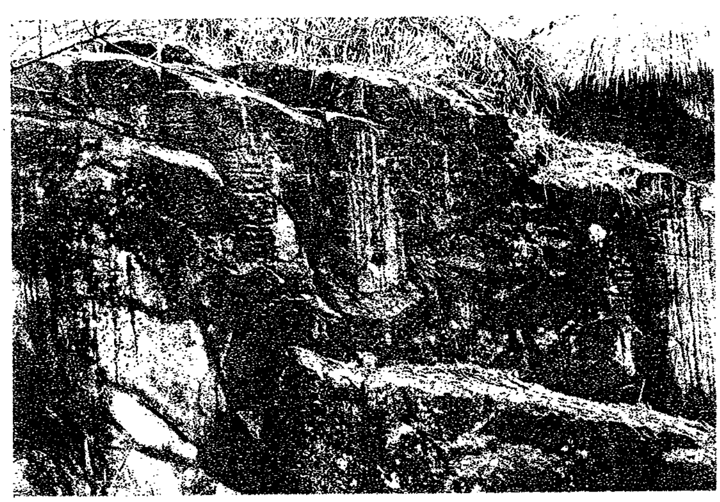


Figure 24. Rock Drawings at Daegok-ri (top) and Yangjeon-dong (bottom)
(W. Y. Kim 1986: 98-99).

It is not unusual that no burial furnishings at all are found in dolmen investigations. Occasionally, along with a few Mumun pottery sherds, a few polished stone implements have been reported in some dolmens. The clear distinction between stone cist and dolmen burial furnishings, both in the quality and quantity of objects, is often suggested as evidence for the emergence of socio-political class distinctions at that time.

Petroglyphs at Daegok-ri and Cheonjeon-ri, Wulju County and at Yangjeon-dong, Goryeong County are well-known evidence of prehistoric art, and the paintings provide precious information on daily life and rites in Korean Bronze Age (Figures 24).

Iron Age I (Former Iron Age) Culture in Korea

It has been believed that the Korean peninsula rushed into the Iron Age I around 300 B.C, traditionally Former or Early Iron Age (Figure 25). However, the actual date is still controversial. While North Korean archaeologists have urged that iron objects appeared as early as 500 B.C., it is not until 300 B.C. that clear evidence of iron objects appeared even in the northern parts of Korea. The introduction of iron, the development and diversification of bronze artifact manufacture as status symbols, and the disappearance of bronze objects for practical use are diagnostic elements to characterize Korean Iron Age I Culture. There is no doubt that iron implements, particularly agricultural implements, significantly improved productivity, and the improved productivity enhanced the degree of social complexity.

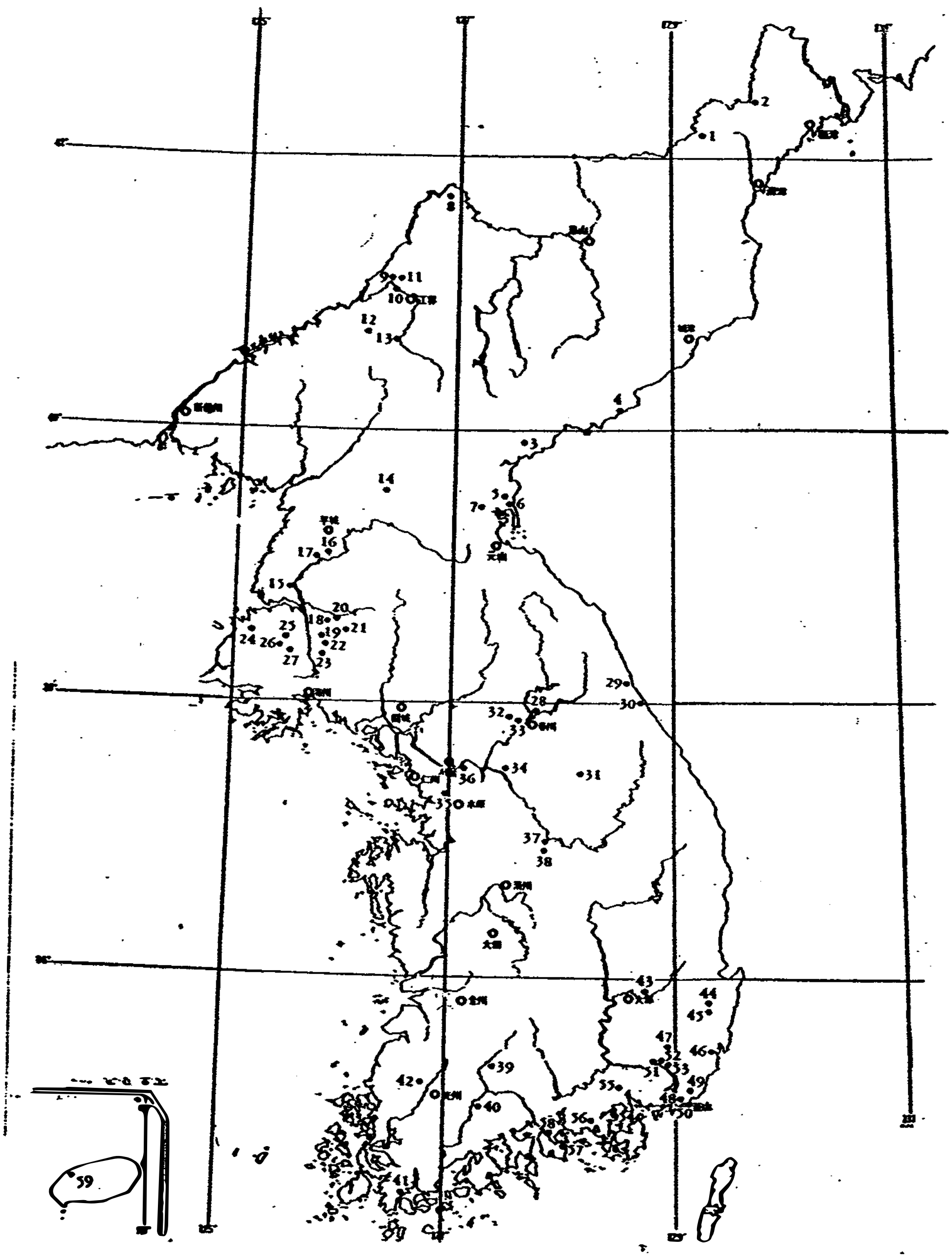


Figure 25. Major Iron Age Sites in Korea (M. L. Choi et al. 1991: 434).

During the Iron Age I, new bronze implements such as the Korean Style Dagger (also often called the slender dagger), horse trappings, fine linear design mirrors, spearheads, halberds, bells, and certain ritual instruments appeared (Figures 26-28). Also new types of rolled rim pottery and long-neck black burnished pottery were manufactured and used together with Mumun Pottery, the traditional Bronze Age pottery (Figures 29). Dolmens yielded their prevalence as a main burial type to newly introduced wooden coffin burials, stone lined burials, and jar coffin burials, though dolmens persisted as one of the main burial types in South Jeolla Province until the beginning of the Iron Age II. Large scale village sites and burial sites are reliable indicators of population growth and enhanced socio-political complexity.

Wiman Choson, which is believed to have been located in northern Korea and Manchuria, had already achieved a state level society as early as in the beginning of 2nd century B.C. (Figure 30). However, warfare with the Chinese Han Empire (109 ~ 108 B.C.) made Wiman Choson disappear from Korean history, and the Han Empire subsequently established four commanderies (Lelang, Chenfan, Lintun, and Hsuantu) to administrate the old territory of Wiman Choson (see Figure 3). In particular, the Lelang Commandery among the four commanderies had much influence on ancient Korean culture until it was collapsed by Koguryo (A.D. 313) (see Figures 3 and 4). The collapse of Wiman Choson as a result of warfare with Chinese Han Dynasty also brought crucial and rapid change in the Samhan Society (Three Han: Mahan, Jinhan, and Byeonhan) in the southern part of the Korean Peninsula (see Figure 3). After the collapse of Wiman Choson, groups of people of Wiman Choson fled to the Samhan area.

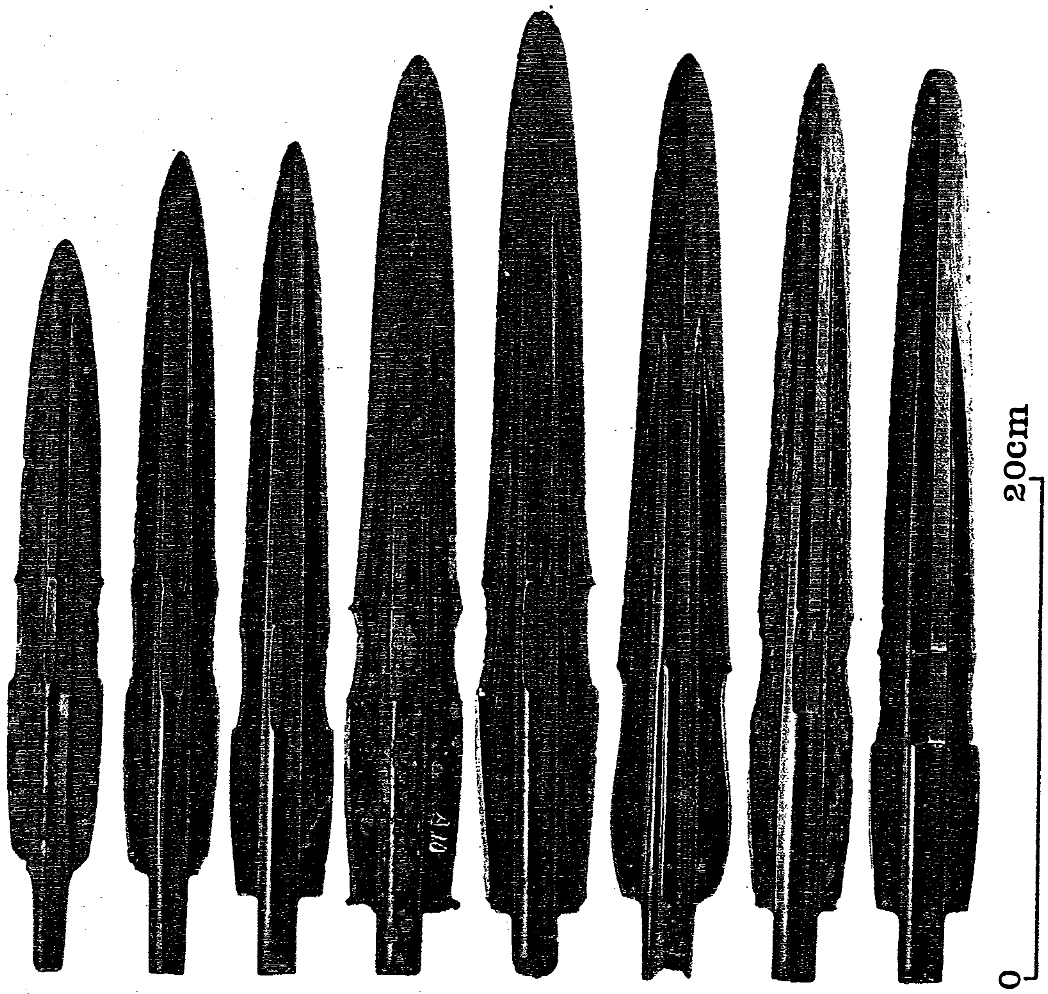


Figure 26. Examples of the Korean Style Bronze Daggers (H. J. Ro 1997: 98).

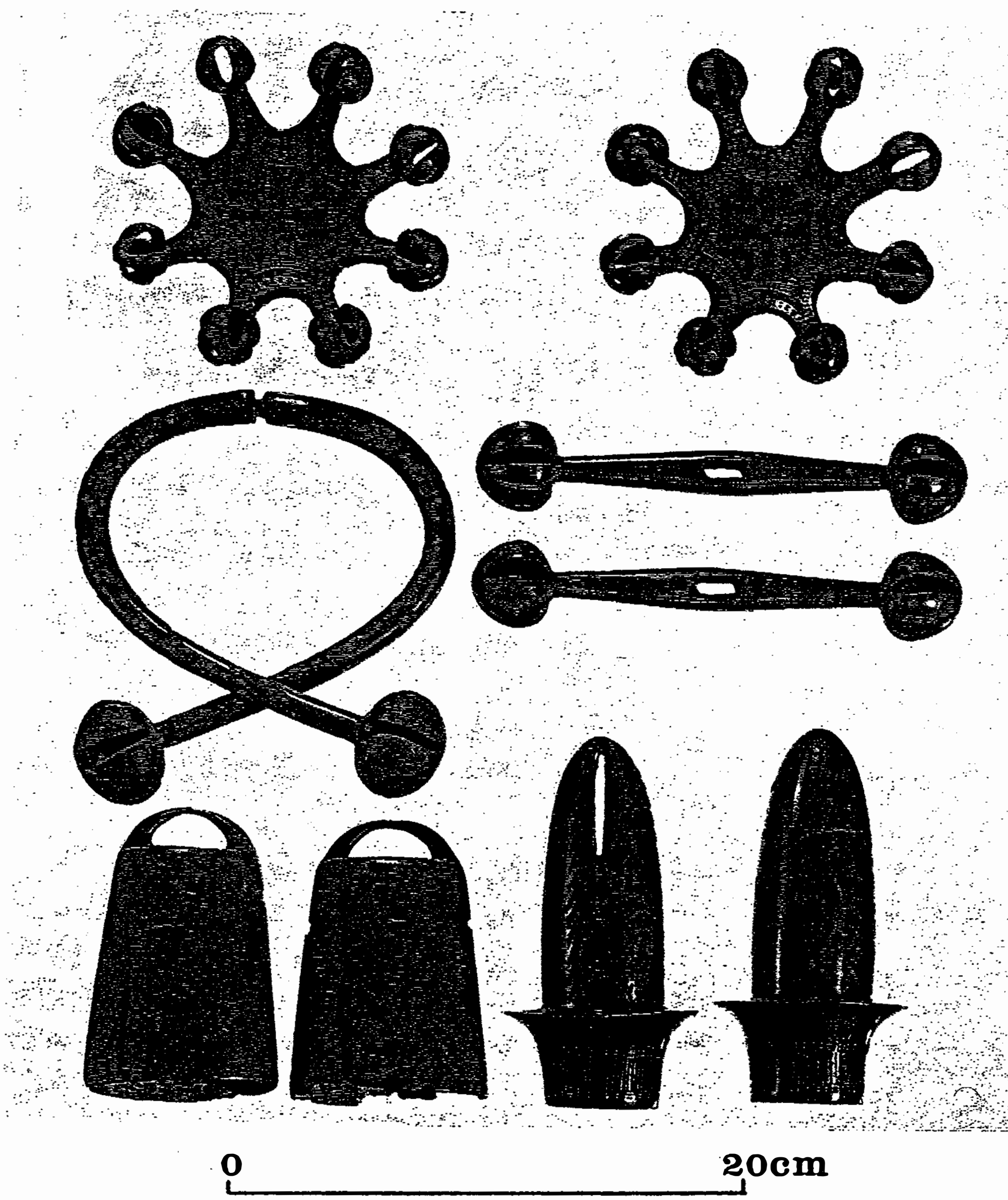


Figure 28. Examples of Bronze Implements for Ritual Use (H. J. Ro 1997: 102).

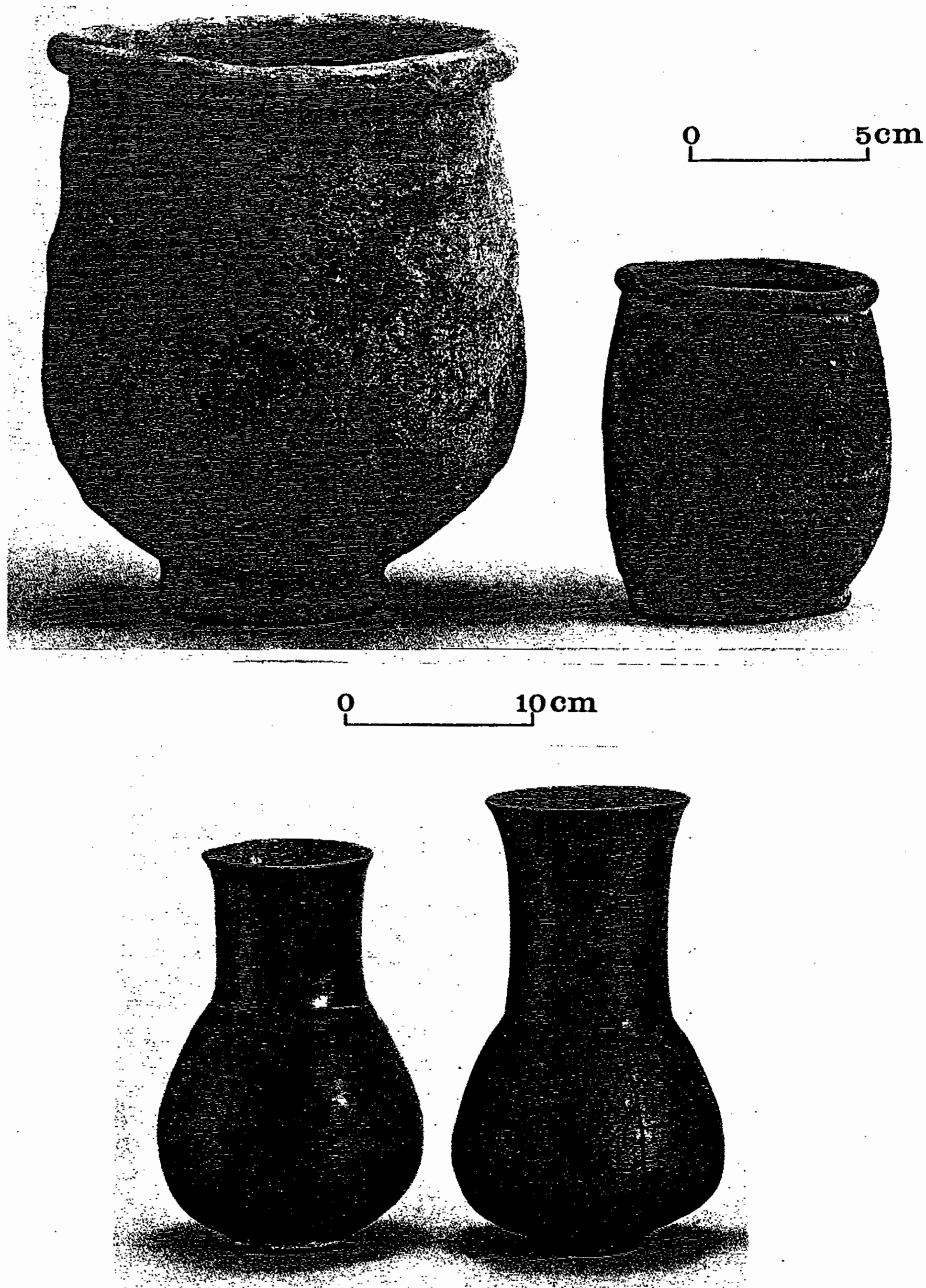


Figure 29. Examples of Rolled-rim Pottery (top) and Long-neck Black Burnished Pottery (bottom) (H. J. Ro 1997: 104-105).

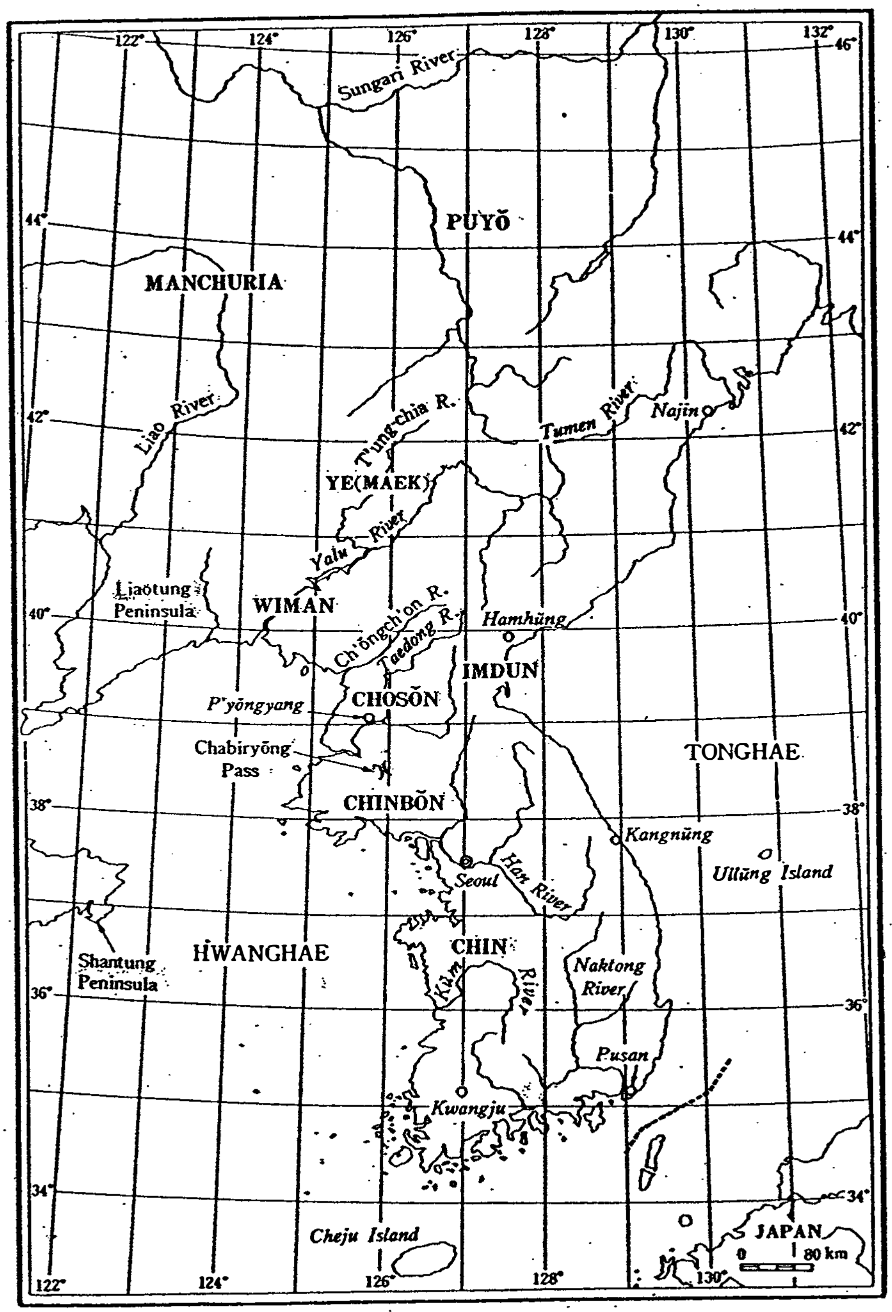


Figure 30. Locations of Wiman Choson and Other Early Polities (G. B. Lee 1984: 18).

The immigrant groups, who had already experienced much more complex socio-political organization and far advanced material culture, contributed to the rapid development of sociopolitical complexity of the Samhan Society. It is also believed that the Samhan group, composed of 78 small and large local polities—54 polities in Mahan, 12 polities in Byeonhan and Jinhan, respectively—developed into the Silla (Jinhan), Baekje (Mahan), and Kaya (Byeonhan) Kingdoms in the following Three Kingdoms Period (see Figure 4).

Iron Age Ⅱ (or Later Iron Age) Culture in Korea

As far as the development of sociopolitical complexity in prehistoric Korea is concerned, Iron Age II (A.D. 1 ~ 300) is the most dynamic interval. This period has been previously called by various names such as Proto Three Kingdoms Period, Former or Early Three Kingdoms Period, Kimhae Period, or Samhan Period. According to the *Samguksaki* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*), the oldest official historical text compiled in Korea (A.D. 1145), each of the Three Kingdoms was founded during the 1st century B.C. However, quite a few Korean historians, who do not trust the founding dates of the Three Kingdoms recorded in the *Samguksaki*, have been reluctant to regard this interval as the Three Kingdoms Period. Instead, they regard the early 4th century A.D. as the beginning of the Three Kingdoms Period, and this date corresponds to the emergence of richly furnished huge tombs that have been believed to be constructed for kings or their close kin members (Figures 31 and 32).

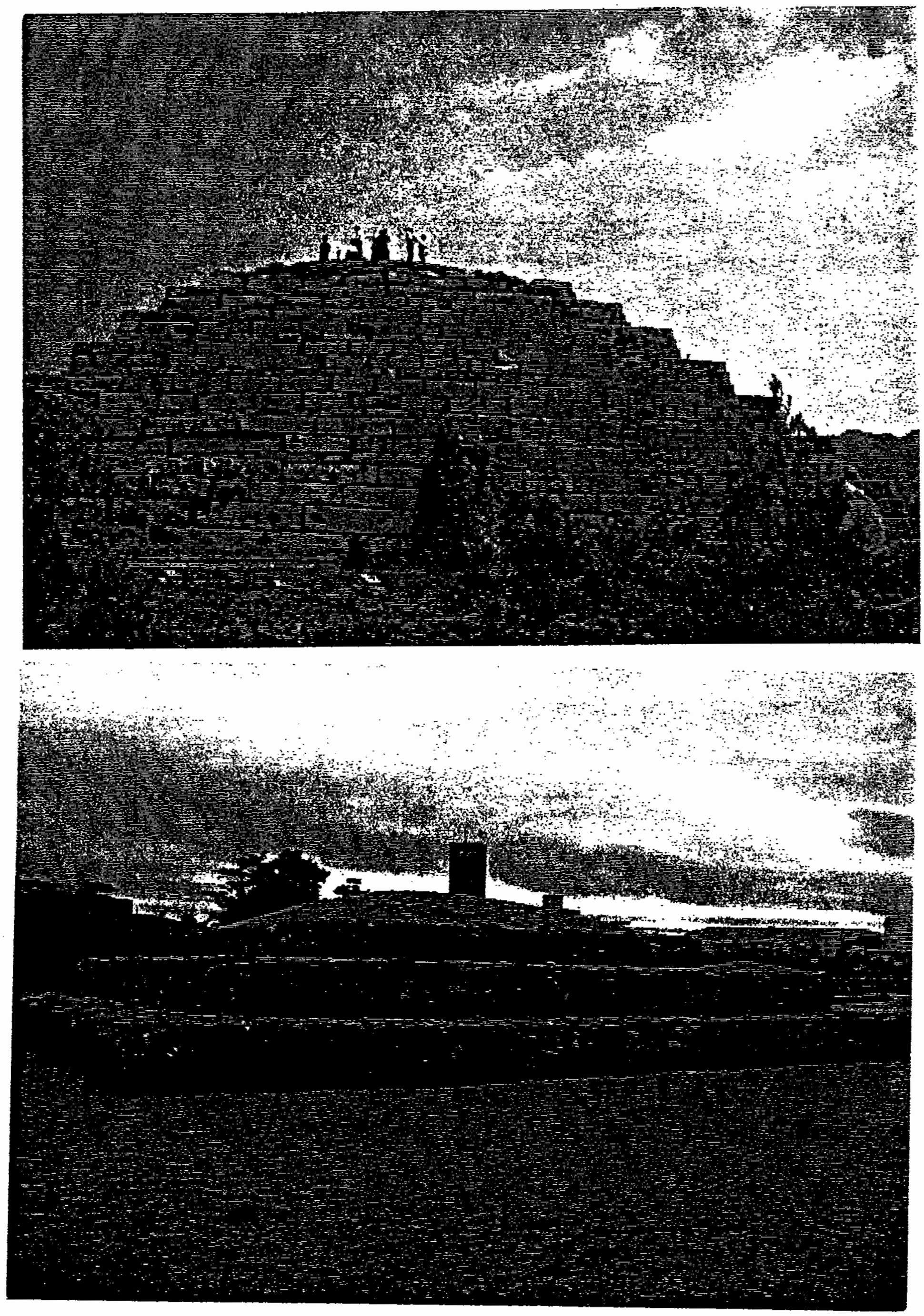
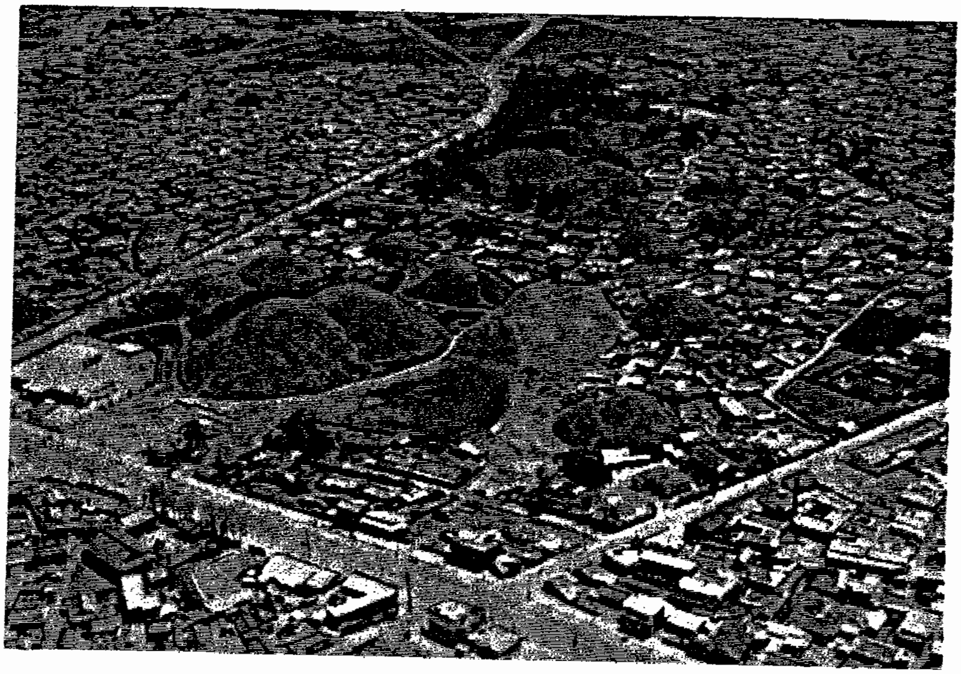


Figure 31. Examples of a Koguryo (top) and a Baekje (bottom) Stepped Stone Mound Tombs (H. J. Ro 1997: 128).



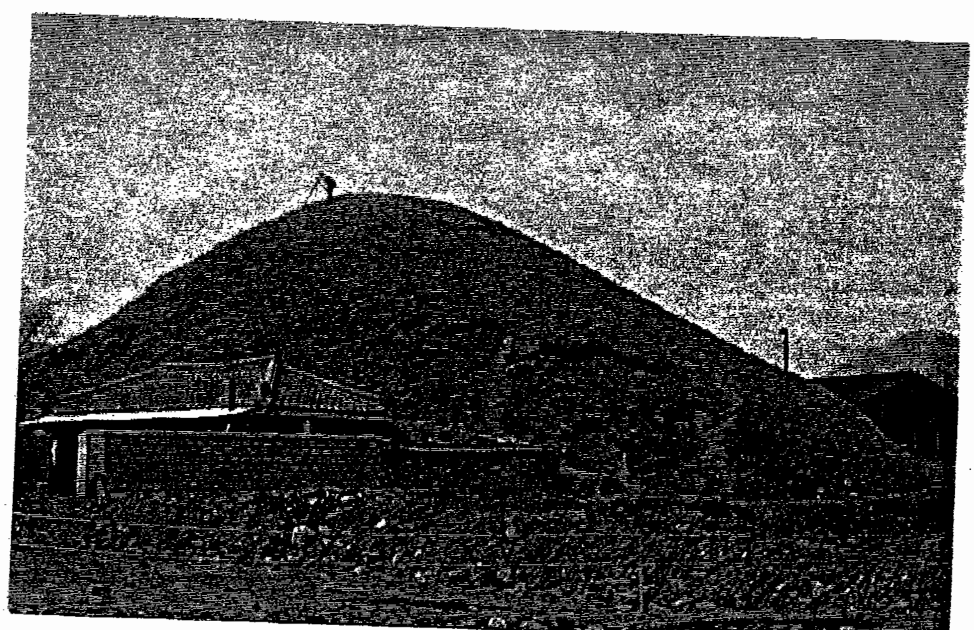


Figure 32. Examples of Silla Wooden Chamber Tombs with Stone Mound in Gyeongju (H. J. Ro 1997: 135).

Sociocultural influences accumulated over a long time, and continuous contacts with already advanced society of China, are considered as prime facilitators of the development of state level societies in ancient Korea. Some historians, paying more attention to the Samhan Society located south of the Han River (see Figure 3) prefer to name this three hundred year interval the Samhan Period rather than the Proto-Three Kingdoms Period (W. Y. Kim 1986: 128-129).

The Iron Age II has been characterized by the disappearance of bronze implements and dolmens, the spread of new and advanced iron implements, the appearance of wheel-made stoneware, stone lined tombs, pit burials with wooden coffin, and jar coffin burials, and the development of rice agriculture accompanied by iron agricultural implements. Large-scale residential sites, including the Dolong and Hansil sites investigated in the Juam Dam archaeological project and shell middens along the South Coasts are typical archaeological remains of the period.

According to the Chinese chronicle, *Tung-i-Chuan* (*Account of the East Barbarians*) of *San-kuo-Chih* (*History of Three Kingdoms*[China] A.D. 220-265, complied in A.D. 289), Jinhan, one of the Three Han Society, exported high quality of iron to Wa (Japan), Lelang, and other local polities in Korea. Archaeological evidence of iron smelting identified at Seongsan shell mound, Masan supports this documentary record (M. L. Choi 1976a: 127-128). In addition, a Wushu Coin, which is a kind of Chinese copper coin issued between 118 B.C. and A.D. 30, or possibly A.D. 186, was found in a deposit later than the deposit to show iron smelting. It is considered as a significant clue to decide the temporal range of iron smelting (Figure 33).

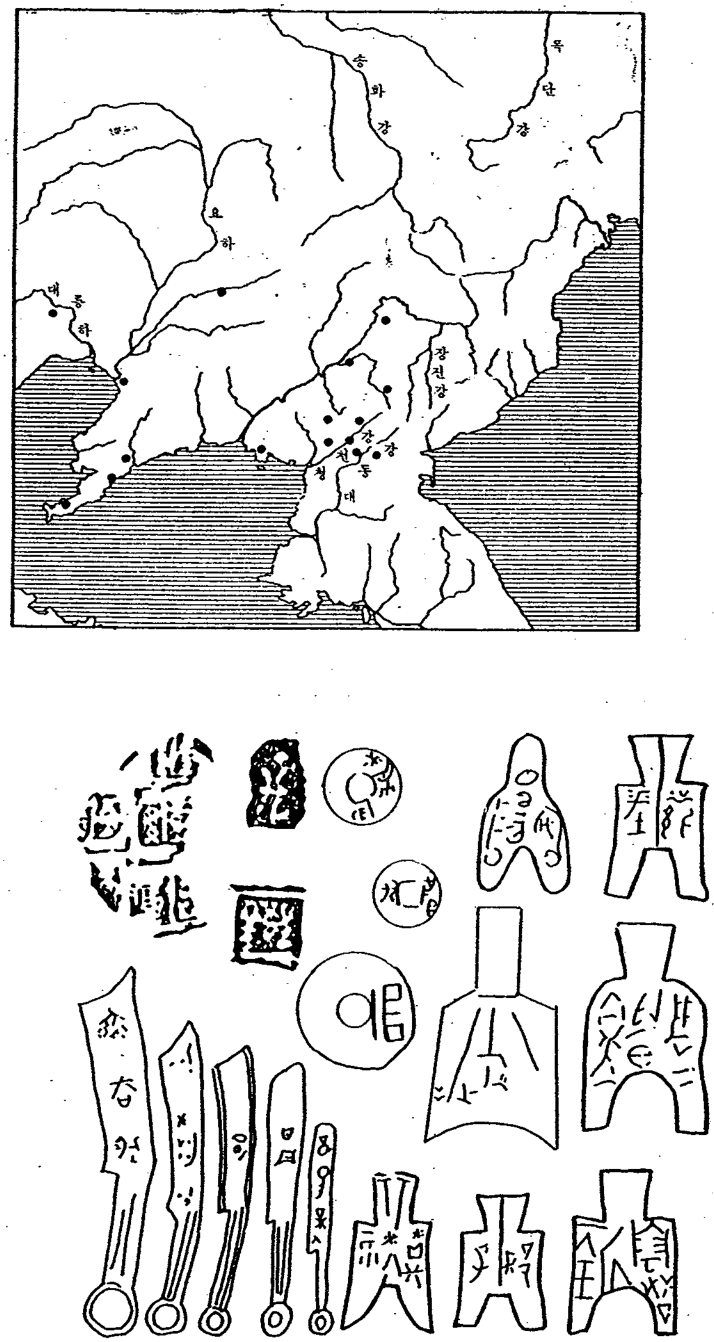


Figure 33: Locations of Mingdao Coin Sites (top) & Examples of Early Chinese Coins (bottom) (Social Science Academy 1977: 65; S. M. Nelson 1993: 184).

During this period, the kingdom of Koguryo in Manchuria and northern Korea was already advanced to the level of an ancient state, and there were frequent cultural and economic contacts of small and large polities of the Samhan group with northern Korea and the Chinese commanderies, especially Lelang. Foreign items such as Chinese coins and official seals, and mirrors are archaeological evidence supporting the documentary records of frequent contacts among those societies at that interval. Cultural developments during this period became a solid framework for the following Three Kingdoms Period, which emerges from prehistory into history with the appearance of written documents.

Periodization of Korean Archaeology

In the Korean archaeological circle, the concept of the Three-Age System is still prevalent, reflecting the colonial-era beginning of research in the field. However, it is undeniable that there are critical problems in this scheme as well as problems of colonial bias in the early research. Domestic and foreign archaeologists have pointed out a number of them (M. B. Yun 1975; J. B. Kim 1979a; Nishitani 1982; H. J. Ro 1987, 1992, 1994; Nelson 1993; Barnes 1983).

J. B. Kim (1979a), a historian, provided a detailed explanation of the historical background of the Three Age System, and pointed out weak and strong points of the model. During the Japanese colonial period (1910-1945), according to him, Japanese scholars provided a periodization of Korean prehistoric culture that was based on an erroneously understood concept of the Three Age System. He deplored that Korean scholarly circles still adhered to the Three Age System without serious consideration of the limitations and problems in the model. Along with introducing new trends of periodization from the western academic circles, Kim reinforced the necessity of using a periodization that focused on socio-economical aspects rather than simply materialistic aspects of artifacts. J. B. Kim, who believed that prehistory was an extension of history, also advocated a periodization containing historical aspects. In 1986 the main topic of the tenth annual symposium of the Korean Archaeological Society was "Problems in the Periodization of Korean Archaeology" (Korean Archaeological Society 1986); disappointingly, however, participants in the meeting still paid more attention to the subdivision of each archaeological period than to concepts and methodologies of archaeological periodization (S. R. Choi 1995).

Besides Korean archaeologists, a few foreign scholars, who have showed quite an interest in Korean archaeology, have also submitted opinions about the periodization of Korean archaeology. Nishitani (1982), Japanese archaeologist specialized in Korean archaeology asserted the necessity of constructing a periodization that could reflect both the universality of world history and the uniqueness of regional cultures. He presented a scheme as follows: Paleolithic Age, Jeulmun Pottery Period, Mumun Pottery Period, Proto-Three Kingdoms Period, and Three Kingdoms Period. But his periodization failed to draw notable scholarly attention.

S. M. Nelson, an American archaeologist, presented a periodizational scheme in her book, *The Archaeology of Korea* (1993) as follows: Forest Foragers (500,000~10,000

B.C.), Early Villages (6,000 ~ 2,000 B.C.), Megaliths, Rice and Bronze (2,000 ~ 500 B.C.), Iron, Trade and Exploitation (400 B.C. ~ A.D. 300), and Three Kingdoms (A.D. 300 ~ 668). The book has a significant meaning in that it is the first and only English textbook wholly devoted to Korean archaeology, and Nelson's chronological system, free from the Three-Age System, was an innovative one. According to her, terms designating archaeological periods such as Paleolithic, Neolithic, Bronze Age and Iron Age have been used with little consistency in Korea, and her periodization was based on major changes in organization. Based on her personal opinion that a sequence of evolutionary steps does not well illuminate the case of Korea, she was also reluctant to apply the typology of band, tribe, chiefdom, and state to Korean archaeology, though it was quite popular among Korean scholars (Nelson 1993: 10). However, her scheme, totally different from those employed in the traditional Korean archaeological circle, has been evaluated as an excessively arbitrary one, and most Korean archaeologists are reluctant to agree with her (S. N. Choi 1995, H. S. Kwon 1993).

G. L. Barnes is another American archaeologist who has worked in Asian archaeology, including that of Korea (1990, 1993, 2001). While Barnes does not present her own periodization, she presented critical comments on the one traditionally employed in Korean scholarly circles (Barnes 1983). Barnes (1983, 1993) also commented that there was little archaeological evidence for the practice of agriculture during the Korean Neolithic Age. Moreover, she singled out a serious gap between traditional historical records and archaeological evidence in the dates and cultures of the Three Kingdoms. According to her, the Late Bronze Age (also called Iron Age

I [300-1 B.C.]) and the so-called Proto-Three Kingdoms Period (A.D. 1-300) are problematic periods in Korean archaeology, which have brought a number of serious misunderstandings and confusions. In particular, she argued that a 300-year span of time (A.D. 1- 300), variously known as the Proto-Three Kingdoms, Samhan, Iron, or Kimhae Periods and even Lelang Period, had caused great confusion. She regarded the expression "Proto-Three Kingdoms Period" as a teleological one, and preferred to refer to this period as Late Iron Age.

Barnes also pointed out that in some cases contemporaneous archaeological sites had been assigned to different archaeological periods, which had been defined by cultural terms rather than temporal terms. in such cases, some archaeological periods overlap with other archaeological periods in temporal dimensions, and it has increased confusion. She suggested the use of absolute dates of artifacts and sites as remedies for the confusions and misunderstandings born of inadequate periodization of the early state formation period in ancient Korea.

Conclusion

This review of Korean archaeology and prehistory has been offered as background to the research I present in the following pages. The following chapter provides additional background, in a different dimension of study. Because the focus of my research is on the formation of complex societies in Korea, I direct my attention in the following chapter to past and recent theoretical discussions of emerging societal complexity, especially as they have been taken up by Korean scholars. This review is necessary to provide the interpretive context within which my own research in the old Samhan region of southwestern Korea will be subsequently presented.

CHAPTER III

DISCUSSIONS ON THE EMERGENCE OF COMPLEX SOCIETY IN KOREA

Complex societies have provided scholars with a number of fascinating research topics including questions of their origins, causes, diagnostic traits, developments and collapses. While the concept of social or cultural complexity has been defined in a number of ways (McGuire 1983: 115; Mingnon 1993: 91; Wenke 1989: 130; Wright 1986), a generally accepted view is to define complexity as the extent of functional differentiation divided into horizontal and vertical differentiations among societal units. According to this view, while horizontal differentiation refers to functional specialization among parts having equivalent ranks in a system, vertical differentiation refers to rank differences among functionally diverse parts in a system (Blanton et al. 1993: 17). Chapman (1993: 169) holds that functional differentiation may be either political or economic, or both, and occasionally horizontal specialization may prompt vertical specialization. Degree of functional differentiation may be used as a barometer to assess the complexity of a certain society. Based on the degree of functional differentiation, furthermore, a society might be placed within a given stage of a developmental series.

According to Rhee and Choi (1992: 52), however, it is more desirable to regard social complexity as the product of ongoing dynamic processes that can be identified and demonstrated with available material data rather than as simply a product of functional differentiation among societal units. In other words, social complexity should be understood in terms of sociocultural dynamics that specialize, integrate, and centralize certain societal units and their functions. The notion of social complexity nevertheless implicitly retains the evolutionary idea that social systems evolve from simple to complex forms just as living organisms have. While simple society refers to an egalitarian society or a society that minimizes social inequalities among individuals or groups, complex society refers to a society in which social distinctions exist such as classes, ranks, or other types of status differences (Mingnon 1993: 91-92).

Dominant Themes in the Study of Korean Sociopolitical Complexity

Discussions of sociopolitical complexity have been influenced by evolutionary stage formulations that have their early origins in the nineteenth century work of Tylor and Morgan, and were later advocated by Service (1962) and Fried (1967). This influence remains strong today, as reflected especially in the continuing work of Korean scholars with the concepts of 'Chiefdom' and 'State'. These discussions are reviewed at length in the following pages because they reflect the theoretical background shared among Korean archaeologists today, and because they define the point of departure for my own research into social complexity as it is manifested in the Samhan region of southwestern Korea.

Periodizations of human history, or developmental schemes of cultural evolution, were hot issues in academic circles far ahead of the appearance of modern anthropology. In the nineteenth century, when evolutionary theory was a dominant perspective in the fields of social science, two developmental models based on the evolutionary perspective were widely favored in scholarly circles. One was a three-stage scheme of cultural evolution presented by E. B. Tylor and the other was L. H. Morgan's model that subdivided Tylor's three stages into seven stages. In the early twentieth century, evolutionary theory lost its dominance among anthropologists and accordingly, evolutionary models of human society also went into decline. In the middle of the twentieth century, however, a cultural evolutionism that repaired major shortcomings of nineteenth century unilinear evolutionism was proposed, and directed scholarly attention back to evolutionary theory once again.

In the 1960s, stimulated by the early discussions of L. A. White (1949), E. R. Service (1962) and M. H. Fried (1967) presented their so-called neo-evolutionary models of sociopolitical development. Service, stressing the integrative functions of social organization, presented a four-stage developmental model depicting the sequential emergence of bands, tribes, chiefdoms, and states. Fried (1967), who viewed stress and competition among political groups as the prime movers of cultural evolution, also proposed a four-stage progressive model. According to Fried's idea, societies could be classified as egalitarian, ranked, stratified, or state in terms of their developmental level.

Both models drew considerable scholarly attention, and they had tremendous influence on archaeological circles as well as anthropological circles. In Korea, as mentioned above, these approaches remain strongly embedded in discussions of sociocultural development today.

In modern Korean historical circle, the periodization of Korean history has been one of the main issues, but the issue of prehistoric or protohistoric complex society has been neglected for a long time, and discussed only as a minor part of the periodization of Korean history. Periodizational schemes have been based on diverse historical perspectives including nationalist historiography, positivist historiography, social-economic historiography, materialist historiography, and neo-nationalist historiography. Historians employed dynastic cycles, temporal orders, and western models in their periodizations of Korean history. However, the topic of developmental processes along evolutionary lines was largely neglected. A series of stages in the order of clan society, tribal society, tribal state, tribal confederation state, and ancient state have been generally accepted, but despite widespread use of this terminology, discussions of the concepts involved, and definitions and actual dates for each stage have not been clearly provided (G. S. Choi 1990a: 256-257). Moreover, archaeological evidence has been rarely used in describing or evaluating the concepts involved.

It was not until a symposium under the title, "The Origin and Development of States in Ancient Korea", planned and sponsored by the monthly magazine *Sindonga* in 1971, that complex society began to be a significant subject in Korean scholarly circles concerned with ancient history and archaeology. Thereafter, some of the most-discussed approaches to the subject were those that adopted anthropological models and theories developed in American scholarly circles as interpretive frameworks or theoretical backgrounds. In particular, several scholars have worked with the so-called neo-evolutionary progressive schemes of social organization presented by Service (1962) and Fried (1967).

There has been more interest in Service's model than in Fried's, no doubt because there had already been presented some archaeological applications and refinements of Service's model in Western scholarly circles (Sanders and Price 1968; Flannery 1973; Renfrew 1973). Accordingly, Korean archaeological circle came to be more familiar with Service's model. Secondly, it is my personal opinion that the greater clarity of Service's text gave it a broader appeal, especially to scholars whose native language is not English. Thirdly, ideology might be another reason that Fried's model was less favored among Korean academic circles. The Korean War (1950 ~ 1953) and the partition of the Korean peninsula forced South Korean society to arm itself with an extremely strong anti-Communism/Socialism political stance. In 1970s and 1980s, even scholarly circles in Korea might not be quite comfortable in this atmosphere discussing Fried's model, which stress "class conflict" or "unequal access to basic resources". It was not until the last decade that even photoprints of academic products from North Korea were available in commercial bookstores in South Korea.

There have been pro and con reactions to these anthropological approaches. In particular, the reaction of the Korean historical circle was exceptionally unfriendly to them (G. D. Lee 1984; H. H. Lee 1991). An anthropologist also offered a harsh critique

(G. S. Jeon 1988, 1990), and some Korean historians who lacked anthropological knowledge relied on this critique as a theoretical justification for rejecting studies that applied the Service model to the study of ancient Korean societies (H. H. Lee 1991, 1995; B. D. Ju 1990). In the following I trace the most essential discussions that have led up to the current state of research on the subject.

Discussions of Korean Sociopolitical Complexity before the 1960s

It was not until the later half of the 1940s that historical circles began to show interest in the topic of the ancient state even as a part of the periodization of Korean history. Following independence from the Japanese colonial occupation after the end of World War II, Korean historians who advocated the perspective of nationalist historiography presented a periodization of Korean history based on dynastic successions, but they failed to provide a clear concept of ancient states. Positivist historiography took the same track. Some historians who applied the ideas of Marx and Engels attempted to set up a stage of "Slave Society" in Korean history, but they failed to achieve any consensus on the characteristics and dates of this Slave Society. Neo-nationalist historians suggested a developmental scheme that progressed through the stages of clan society, tribal society, tribal state, tribal confederation state, and aristocratic state. They tried to apply the criteria and concept of the ancient state presented by Morgan, Marx, and Engels, but with due consideration given to the uniqueness of Korean history (G. S. Choi 1990a: 254-257).

The Korean War (1950 ~ 1953) brought serious damage to every sphere of Korean society, including academic circles. In the field of historical science, a number of influential scholars were abducted or went willingly to North Korea, in particular historians devoted to nationalist, neo-nationalist, and social economy historiographies. After the war, scholarly works based on those perspectives became very rare, and positivist historiography placing primary stress on documentary historical records became the main stream of the Korean historical circle. Thereafter, ancient society came to be discussed on the basis of positivist historiography, and the temporal range of Korean ancient history was restricted to the Three Kingdoms Period, the earliest for which written documents exist. Consequently, the study of complex society in Korea could not involve the pre-Three Kingdoms Period, and traditional historic features came to characterize the ancient state: centralization of political power, succession of kingship, specifics of governmental organization, promulgation of a code of administrative law, and the establishment of foreign policy. The substructures of society, the formation processes and the archaeological evidence were largely neglected in the study of ancient states (G. S. Choi 1990a: 257-258).

The *Hanguk Munhwasa Daegye* series, a comprehensive study of Korean history from diverse points of view was the most remarkable achievement of the Korean historical circle during the 1960s. C. J. Kim (1964), an influential historian who wrote a section on "National History and People", discussed the development of ancient states in

Korea. He proposed a developmental process in the order of tribal state, tribal confederation, and ancient state, not much different from the traditional view. However, his adoption of a concept of lineage in the explanation of consanguinity drew scholarly attention as a pioneer attempt to apply anthropological theories to the study of Korean history.

The credibility of the early records of the *Samguksaki* (*History of the Three Kingdoms*: A.D. 1145), the oldest authentic historical text available in contemporary Korea, has been a critical issue in the Korean historical circle. Viewpoints regarding the early accounts of the *Samguksaki* have been divided into three: 1) a position to trust them as they are, 2) a position to distrust them, and 3) an eclectic position to accept them with a critical analysis (D. H. Lee 1990).

As mentioned, most of the modern scholarly disciplines of Korea were introduced and initiated by government sponsored Japanese scholars during the colonial occupation, including modern historical science. Accordingly, quite a number of the historians who led Korean academic circles after Korea's independence from Japan had been trained and educated by Japanese scholars during the colonial period. Japanese scholars of Koreanology who tended to stress the backwardness of Korean culture and history, had a considerable influence on the first generation of Korean scholars. Japanese scholars of the colonial period had been quite suspicious of the early accounts of the *Samguksaki*, and the inclination to distrust them still strongly remained in both the Korean and Japanese historical circles.

In Korean historical circles, a Chinese official historical record known to be compiled in A.D. 289, the *Tung-i-Chuan* (Account of the East Barbarians) of *San-kuo Chih* (History of Three Kingdoms of Ancient China A.D. 220 - 265) has been considered the only reliable historical document available today to contain records of Korean societies of about the third century A.D. This historical text has been used as a primary resource to support arguments against certain early accounts of the *Samguksaki*. The Korean historical circle has often considered early accounts of the *Samguksaki* as mere myths, legends, or manipulations of facts and incidents which took place in later periods than represented in the document itself. According to the *Samguksaki*, the Koguryŏ kingdom was founded in 37 B.C., the Baekje kingdom in 18 B.C., and the Silla kingdom in 57 B.C. However, the Korean historical circle, which has been reluctant to accept those founding dates of the three kingdoms, have identified King Taejo (A.D. 53-145) in Koguryo, King Go-i (A.D. 234-285) in Baekje, and Maripkan (King) Naemul (A.D. 356-401) in Silla as the genuine founders of the three kingdoms. Moreover, some Korean historians have contended that it was not until the reigns of King Sosurim (A.D. 371-383) in Koguryo, King Chimryu (A.D. 384-384) in Baekje, and King Beopheung (A.D. 514-539) in Silla, that a genuine state structure was fully established in each kingdom. They have identified official acceptance of Buddhism and promulgation of codes of administrative laws with the full establishment of state structures within the Three Kingdoms (C. J. Kim 1964).

By the late 1960s, Korean society was gradually stabilized following the Korean War, and some remarkable progress was made in academic circles. Scholarly publications appeared that integrated former and new research achievements, and these new attempts vitalized Korean academic circles (G. S. Choi 1990a: 258 - 259). In 1967 and 1968, the Society of Korean Economic History held two important symposia. The main issue of these symposia was "Periodization of Korean History", and variant types of periodizations were presented and discussed. The symposia were a chance to seriously survey almost all viewpoints on the subject. The papers and discussions were published under the title of *The Study of Periodization of Korean History* (Society of Korean Economic History 1970), and the book was hailed as a critical achievement of the Korean historical circle at the end of the 1960s.

Some historians showed interest in Morgan's ideas as proposed in *Ancient Society* (1877), but there were few attempts to clarify the concept of each stage of society. The historians implicitly supposed that clan society was based on kin relationships and that tribal society was more extended as a result of the aggregation of several clan societies through marriage or alliance. Some differences in the degree of sociopolitical complexity in terms of population, territory, centralization of power, and authority of the ruler in each stage were assumed, but it is difficult to find explicit criteria to differentiate each kind of society. Without being able to establish a clear identity for the hypothesized ancient state, they accepted by default that historically known Chinese bureaucratic traits such as office names, law codes, writing, official clothing, and settled succession of kingship to the eldest son were its definitive characteristics (M. L. Choi 1984: 73-74).

While available archaeological information was extremely limited, the most influential first generation Korean archaeologist, the late W. Y. Kim (1967a), undertook the first archaeological approach to the emergence of ancient states. Based on both archaeological evidence and a new interpretation of historical evidence for the Chinese Lelang Commandery, Kim proposed a view that went against the traditional one. He criticized the historians' tendency to place the founding dates of the Three Kingdoms as late as the fourth century A.D. According to Kim, this tendency had been prevalent since the Japanese colonial period, and was derived from assigning more credence to Chinese historical texts than to Korean texts, while overestimating the influence of the Chinese commanderies. Traditionally, the Lelang believed to have been located in the modern Pyeongyang region, was said to have blocked the development of ancient states in the Korean peninsula until Koguryo expelled it in A.D. 313. In arguing against the traditional preconception, Kim took the early records of the *Samguksaki* at face value, and sought to employ available archaeological data as much as possible. According to him, archaeological evidence reflective of Chinese influence has been found only in very limited areas within Korea. On the other hand, he noted that a number of archaeological sites dating back to the pre-Christian era in Korea produced highly developed iron objects, and implied the existence of early self-developed incipient state level societies in the regions where the Three Kingdoms were later founded. Kim thus argued that there was no concrete evidence to support rejection and the early accounts of the *Samguksaki*, as the traditional historical circle had done.

In 1965, W. Y. Kim (1967b) excavated a mountain fortress at Pungnap-ri that Korean historians identified as the 'Atan Sanseong (fortress/castle)' recorded in the *Samguksaki*. The excavation revealed a set of potteries ranging over several archaeological periods, including the so-called "Pungnap-ri Type Mumun Pottery" and Silla Pottery. According to the *Samguksaki*, the Atan fortress was repaired in A.D. 286. If the Pungnap-ri site is the Atan Sanseong fortress, it is evident that the fortress was constructed significantly before A.D. 286. Based on archaeological evidence, mainly from pottery, Kim suggested that the Pungnap-ri fortress had functioned from the first century to the fifth century A.D. He viewed the Pungnap-ri fortress as significantly reliable archaeological evidence that supports the founding date of the Baekje Kingdom as given in the *Samguksaki*, namely 18 B.C. This excavation consolidated Kim's position in accepting the accounts of the *Samguksaki* as far as possible. Kim's work of integrating documentary and archaeological accounts contributed to the growth of Korean archaeology as an independent academic discipline. Although some of his contentions are still under examination, his study is regarded as a major landmark inasmuch as it provided a new perspective and important momentum for further studies. It was one of the most significant achievements of Korean archaeology in the 1960s.

Discussions of Korean Sociopolitical Complexity in the 1970s

By the early 1970s, the Korean historical circle had achieved considerable progress in establishing its general framework and overall perspective, but archaeology still remained at an initial stage of collecting and describing firsthand data. The seriously unbalanced academic growth restricted more advanced levels of interdisciplinary study.

In 1971 *Sindonga*, a monthly magazine, planned and supervised a series of interdisciplinary symposia on current issues of ancient Korean history. The series continued for five months, and the five symposia were published under the title *Issue in the Korean Ancient History* (Cheon 1975). Besides historians and archaeologists, influential scholars from interrelated disciplines such as political science, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, and mythology participated and discussed critical issues in Korean prehistory and ancient history. The main topic of the fifth and last symposium was "State Formation and the City-state", and there was productive discussion on the emergence and characteristics of the early state in ancient Korea from diverse perspectives.

The Sindonga Symposium was significant in initiating serious discussions on the subject of complex society in ancient Korea. First, the historical meaning and position of Old Choson in Korean history emerged as an important issue (Cheon 1975:187-198). According to *Samgukyusa (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* ca. A.D. 1281~ 1283*)*, Old Choson was founded in 2333 B.C. In general, the Old Choson which appeared in the Chinese and Korean historical literature as the first ancient state in Korean history has been seen as divided into three periods: Dangun Choson, Gija Choson, and Wiman Choson. However, there had been little scholarly consensus on Old Choson's ethnicity, precise geographical location and territorial boundaries, chronology, sociopolitical level of organization, or techno-cultural contents. A few have denied even the existence of Old Choson. Nevertheless, using available historical documents and archaeological evidence, influential scholars in diverse disciplines synthesized previous opinions and exchanged opinions from various perspectives.

Although this symposium failed to draw consensus, it brought some beneficial agreements for further studies. First, it is more productive to consider Old Choson as a set of consecutive sociopolitical identities spanning a long temporal period than as a fixed single sociopolitical identity. Secondly, Old Choson reached a stage of a highly developed complex society based on quite a developed level of iron metallurgy. Finally, Wiman Choson (194 -108 B.C.), the final stage of Old Choson that was collapsed by a military invasion of the Chinese Han Empire, was a state level society.

The state formation process that lay behind the Three Kingdoms was another main issue of the Sindonga Symposium (Cheon 1975:200-234). Traditionally, Korean historians have posited a pre-state level called the tribal state, composed of a number of small political units. According to this view, several tribal states were in time joined into a tribal confederation state and finally integrated into the Three Kingdoms as genuine ancient states characterized by a hereditary rule.

An influential political scientist and art historian, Y. H. Lee, proposed to introduce Western models of the ancient state into the case of ancient Korea as a way of compensating for insufficient documentary and archaeological resources (Cheon 1975:211-215). He also suggested the Greek city-state as a model for the initial stage of the ancient state in Korea. Lee's idea did not draw scholarly consensus, but his proposal raised a doubt about the developmental process of ancient states in the order of tribal state, tribal confederation, and finally ancient state, that Korean scholars had conventionally accepted without serious consideration. Scholars felt it urgent to reexamine the meaning and validity of those terms always used with a great deal of ambiguity.

Alternatively, G. W. Cheon (1975: 224-225), an influential historian and the moderator of the symposium, proposed to employ Max Weber's model of the City-State (Burgkönigtum) in discussing state formation processes in ancient Korea, and that idea drew positive attention. Participants reviewed examples of city-states in ancient Greece and China to find common links with the case of ancient Korea, and they agreed on the existence of a city-state stage in ancient Korea.

Cheon (1976) also invented a term, "Seongeup Gukga" (Walled-town State) to designate the city-state stage in the history of ancient Korea. In the *Samguksaki*, "Walled-town (Seongeup)" was a term used to designate a local administrative sub-unit, and he posited a walled-town state composed of several walled towns as a stage correspondent with the city-state stage in other countries. Cheon viewed this stage as a middle point in the state formation process, and also believed the concept of a "walled-town state" quite useful for thinking about the state formation process in ancient Korea. He offered the example of Old Choson, and a number of small and large polities (Guk) of the Samhan (Three Han) Society that subsequently developed into Silla, Baekje, and Kaya. He also proposed the "Yeongyeok Gukka (Territorial State)", characterized by expansion of territory as the next stage in the developmental process. Cheon paid special attention to early historical accounts related to expansion of territory through warfare. He also believed the emergence of social stratification and slavery to be crucial signals of state formation, but he did not outline a definite process or clear criteria to characterize this stage.

G. B. Lee, another influential historian, was very responsive to the term and concept of the Walled-town State presented by Cheon, and extended its application (Lee 1976: 25-26, 41-42; 1984; 1990). He believed the walled-town state to be the earliest form of state structure in ancient Korea, and a quite adequate concept and term to reflect the features of initial stratified society in the Korean peninsula. While Cheon believed, however, that most walled-town states appeared and developed during the Iron Age, Lee pushed the beginning date as early as the Bronze Age (ca. 1000 - 400 B.C.). According to him, in the Bronze Age, only a few privileged people possessed bronze implements, and were buried in dolmens that demanded a large amount of manpower to construct. The limited number of individuals owning precious bronze implements and being buried in the dolmens were posited as political rulers who held authority that would be inherited by following generations. According to Lee, these Bronze Age chieftains controlled an agricultural population that farmed plains beyond the earthen walls they built around their settlements on hillside plateaus. He called these small political entities Walled-town States and with them replaced the concept of "Tribal States" frequently used in the past. As a next stage of the walled-town state, Lee proposed the Confederated Kingdom. According to him, the Confederated Kingdom emerged as a result of confederation of a number of walled-town states, and it advanced to the Aristocratic State, characterized by centralization of administrative power, in the next stage (G. B. Lee 1984). Since Lee adopted the model of the walled-town state, he has maintained and strengthened his position. According to him, a number of earthen walls were constructed before the Three Kingdoms Period, even as early as the Bronze Age, and some of them functioned as the political or administrative centers of walled-town states (G. B. Lee 1985:83-90).

Since Cheon and Lee, there have been controversies over the walled-town state model, split into pros and cons. B. W. Kang (1992) criticized Lee's walled-town state model as not more than an unproved hypothesis. According to him, Lee's model did not follow a logical procedure to reach its conclusions, and Kang felt that there was no objectivity or reliability in the concept of the walled-town state. Kang charged that Lee proposed a hypothetical model, but did not even try to verify it. In particular, Kang felt it was a serious mistake to adopt uninvestigated earthen wall sites as archaeological evidence supporting the idea. Kang was also critical of Lee's chronological view. Even Cheon, the first proponent of the walled-town state model, believed that walled-town states mainly existed in the Samhan Period, or Proto-Three Kingdoms Period (A.D. 1-300). But G. B. Lee considered that walled-town states began to appear in the Bronze Age and continued until the third century A.D. According to Kang, the temporal range proposed by Lee is too long an interval for a single stage, and there is no archaeological evidence to support Lee's chronology.

Historian J. B. Kim (1986b), who viewed the walled town state model as not more than an attempt to add the stage of city-state in the developmental process of Korean history, also doubted the logical and scholarly validity of the walled town state model. According to him, the walled town state is an alternative of the city state in ancient Korea, where there were frequent usages of the term “seongeup” (walled town) in historical records, but few, if any, references to characterize the city-state. He also pointed out a lack of archaeological evidence to support the model. Although the walled-state model is not totally free from those critiques, the influence of the concept in Korean academic circles should not be underestimated. It was the first systematic attempt to explain the initial appearance of complex society in ancient Korea, and it prompted valuable discussions on the subject.

It was a historian, J. B. Kim, who played a critical role during the 1970s in scholarly efforts to clarify the development of complex society in ancient Korea. In the early 1970s, he presented a significant article that made the Korean ancient historical circle pay scholarly attention to western anthropological models and theories beyond those of the nineteenth century evolutionism (J. B. Kim 1973). Kim thought that application of anthropological models and theories would be very helpful in the explanation of origins and developments of complex societies in ancient Korea. He also believed that the anthropological approach would be quite helpful in resolving the limitations of insufficient historical documentary records and fragmentary archaeological evidence. Kim published a series of papers that focused on the emergence and development of complex societies in ancient Korea (J. B. Kim 1973, 1977a, 1977b, 1978, 1979b, 1982, 1985), and this series of papers on the subject was subsequently compiled into a single volume titled *Origins and Formations of the Ancient States in Korea* (1986b).

J. B. Kim, who also introduced the scholarly products of western anthropological circles, paid special attention to the neo-evolutionary developmental scheme of band, tribe, chiefdom and state proposed by Service (1962). Based on the criteria suggested by Service (1962) and Sahlins (1961), he examined the sociopolitical organization of ancient Korean societies. He was extremely critical of the term "tribal state" often adopted by the Korean ancient historical circle to designate a developmental stage of society represented by Old Choson and large and small local polities in the Samhan society. According to Kim (1973), the tribal state was a self-contradictory term inasmuch as tribe implies equal relations among members, and state is based on a highly developed unequal stratification of social classes. Instead he suggested the recognition of a chiefdom level as a pre-state stage of sociopolitical development in ancient Korea.

J. B. Kim (1973: 70-82) also opposed a prevailing view of many historians, who viewed the Chinese bureaucratic system and diplomatic relations with China as major factors in state formation in ancient Korea. These historians believed that each of the Three Kingdoms (Koguryo, Baekje, and Silla) as genuine ancient states, emerged much later than described in the *Samguksaki*. They placed them as late as the fourth century A.D., and regarded earlier periods as stage of a tribal state or tribal confederation but did so without serious discussion of the concepts and terms adopted. J. B. Kim understood that this tendency resulted from an absence of clear criteria for the definition of the state and from extremely biased concepts of the state. On the basis of anthropological insights he proposed that the origin of a state level society in Korea should be sought much earlier than the Three Kingdoms Period, as early as during the Old Choson Period. Based on historical documents and archaeological evidence, he concluded that Gija Choson, one of the three Old Chosons (Dangun Choson, Gija Choson, and Wiman Choson) had already reached the stage of a pristine state at least in the fourth or third century B.C. On the other hand, based on Fried's view (1967), he characterized Wiman Choson as a secondary state established through conquest (J. B. Kim 1977a).

J. B. Kim (1978) translated "chiefdom" as the word "Gunjang" used in the ancient Chinese historical document, *Tung-I-Chuan* of the *San-Kuo Chih*, to designate a political leader of ancient Korean society. In consideration of the average population of each Samhan polity described in the historical literature, and of archaeological evidence, in particular bronze implements from stone cists and wood coffin burials, he inferred that the sociopolitical organization of Samhan polities reached that of chiefdom society. He viewed bronze daggers, bronze mirrors, and jades occasionally discovered in prehistoric burials as the status symbols of chieftains. In addition, he understood the "Sodo", a religious center described in historical documents, as an indicator of the theocratic emphasis common to worldwide chiefdom societies. Not limiting himself to the straightforward application of Western models and theories to ancient Korean societies, Kim (1982) pointed out three important aspects that should be considered in applying a general theory to a certain society. First, it is important to fully understand broad trends; second, to have a thorough knowledge of the facts and histories of specific situations; and third, to review available worldwide cases in broad perspectives. His academic background was ancient history, but he was aware of the importance of archaeology and necessity of an archaeological or anthropological approach to the study of origins and developments of ancient states.

While J. B. Kim (1982) was reluctant to view Korean dolmen society as being at the chiefdom stage, others were more inclined to see the dolmens of the Bronze Age as representing chiefdom society. In his interpretation of a dolmen site, Y. J. Lee focused on the movement of a massive capstone, weighing more than four tons, from a quarry about one mile away from the site. Based on experimental results analyzing the construction of Stonehenge in England, he inferred that about 50 persons would have been required to move a single dolmen capstone over a period of one day. Lee, who supposed the main subsistence economy of the Korean dolmen society to be agriculture, thus producing surplus food, placed the dolmen builders in the stage of chiefdom society (Y. J. Lee 1975, 1980; Son and Lee 1974). He estimated the whole population of Korean dolmen society at about three hundred thousand persons, in accordance with a view that the general population density of a chiefdom society was about one person per one square kilometer (Deevey 1960:196). Lee perceived dolmen construction as a ceremony in which community members voluntarily participated rather than working as forced labor. Though he equated the dolmen builders with the stage of chiefdom society, he did not provide a clear definition of chiefdom society.

In summary, since the *Sindonga* symposium in 1971 (Cheon 1975), the origin of the ancient state in Korea has been a hot issue in Korean academic circles. While scholars paid more attention to newly proposed walled-town state and chiefdom society models, the tribal state model lost its prestige. In the end, the walled-town state and chiefdom society models of the 1970s almost replaced the tribal state model, which had been previously adopted and used without serious discussion.

Discussions of Korean Sociopolitical Complexity since the 1980s

Newly introduced anthropological theories and models provided new perspectives and frameworks for approaching the origin of the state in Korea, but the available archaeological resources of the 1970s were still insufficient to allow the application of these models and theories to the study of ancient Korean societies. However, since the 1980s, rapid industrial development of Korea has brought about many large-scale construction projects all over the peninsula, and before the construction projects, archaeological rescue projects have been executed to record and preserve cultural relics in danger of destruction. Although there were serious limitations to many of these projects, unprecedentedly large numbers of field campaigns enhanced the evidential basis of Korean archaeology in both quality and quantity. The neoevolutionary developmental scheme introduced in the 1970s became one of the most popular theoretical frameworks among Korean scholarly circles in the 1980s. As mentioned, J. B. Kim compiled a series of already published articles into a book titled *Origins and Formations of the Ancient States in Korea* (1986), and this volume has been an essential text for students to study this subject. Efforts to find the initial state in ancient Korea led related scholarly circles to an equal interest in chiefdom society.

While J. B. Kim stressed historical records in his arguments, M. L. Choi, the first Korean archaeologist in his generation to obtain a doctorate in anthropology in America, placed primary stress on archaeological remains. Choi made a strong effort to introduce American anthropological theories and methods into the study of Korean archaeology.

Until the early 1980s, only a few Korean universities had a separate archaeology department, and the academic background of most researchers in Korean archaeological circle was not in archaeology but in ancient history. The establishment of typology of artifacts, especially of pottery and chronology based on direct field experience remained by default the main goal of archaeology in Korea for a long time. As a solution to this limitation, Choi made a great effort to introduce current trends as well as methods and theories in American archaeology, and also to build archaeological perspectives and theoretical frameworks in Korean archaeology (M. L. Choi 1981b, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1990a; Fagan 1987; Haas 1989; S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi 1992, 2001).

Traditionally, the dolmen had been understood as one of the two main burial types in the Korean Bronze Age along with the stone cist (W. Y. Kim 1986: 92-96). But M. L. Choi found that the dolmen continued to be constructed as a main burial type in South Jeolla Province, until the Early Iron Age I, after it was replaced by new burial types such as wooden coffin burial, jar coffin burials, and stone lined burials in other regions of Korea (M. L. Choi 1978b: 45-46).

He inferred that the people buried under dolmens were chiefs and their family members, or people having an equivalent economic/ political capacity, rather than common people (M. L. Choi 1973, 1978b). His inference was based on the needs of the labor forces required to quarry and transfer massive capstones of more than four tons apiece. He argued that dolmen construction required a large labor force, food to feed the labor force, and centralized sociopolitical authority capable of mobilizing and controlling the labor force.

Table 6. Panchon-ri Dolmens (M. L. Choi 1976b).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	170×160×50 (E-W)	Not excavated	N/A	
2	290×160×75(E-W)	140×50×55 (E-W)	stone cist	
3	280×220×50(E-W)	110×50×50 (E-W)	stone cist	arrowhead 1
4	170 (Diameter)×?	110×70×?	stone cist	
5	280×210×55(E-W)	120×80×40(E-W)	stone cist	
6	150×110×?(E-W)	110×100×45(E-W)	stone cist	
7	160×100×40(E-W)	120×60×?(E-W)	stone cist	
8	120×70×15(E-W)	Destroyed	?	
9	230×230×60	60×30×30(E-W)	stone cist	
10	260×180×95(E-W)	210×50×?(E-W)	stone cist	
11	shared with No. 6	130×80×?(E-W)	stone cist	
12	shared with No. 4	180×70×?	stone cist	
13	Missing	80×30×20(E-W)	stone cist	
14	shared with No. 13 ?	100×50×20(E-W)	stone cist	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. N/A: not applicable. Fea.: Feature. Measurement in cm.

Based on archaeological data from the dolmen sites investigated in the Yeongsan River Valley, Choi attempted to reconstruct the sociopolitical structure of Korean dolmen society (M. L. Choi 1981a, 1984: 143-155). He selected a dolmen site at Panchon-ri in Naju, South Jeolla Province as the main target of his comprehensive analysis (M. L. Choi

1976b, 1981a). Detailed examination and analysis of available data from the site, including size, orientation, structure and alignment of burial chambers, and furnished artifacts, provided significant information on the social structure of the dolmen society (Table 6).

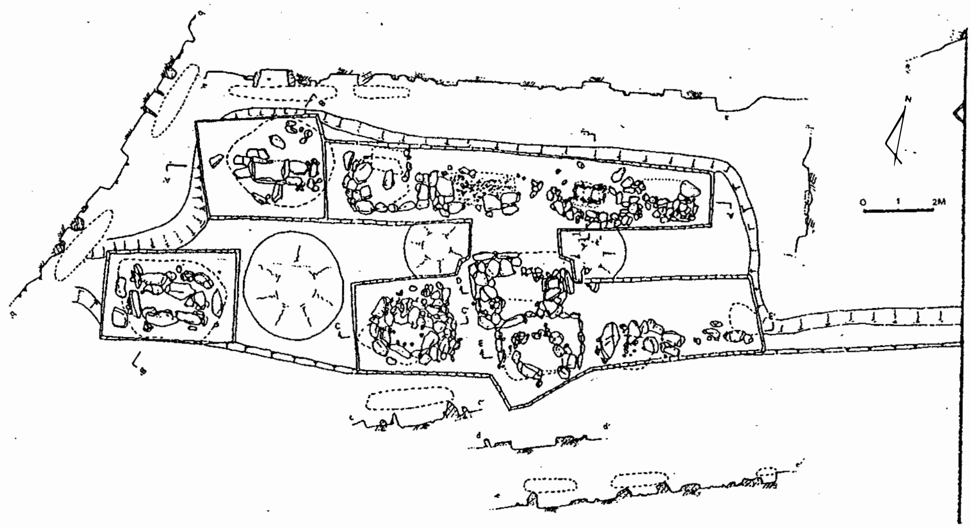
At the Panchon-ri dolmen site, the field excavation identified a total of 14 dolmen burial chambers, all sharing the same east-west orientation of the long axis, within an oval-shaped boundary. The oval-shaped concentration of these burial chambers was understood to imply that this dolmen site might be the cemetery of a family or group of closely related families (Figure 34).

Three paired dolmen burial chambers (Dolmens 4 & 12, 6 & 11, and 13 & 14) were identified, and each pair of them was assumed to be of contemporary construction. While two pairs of the dolmen burial chambers (Dolmens 4 & 12 and 6 & 11[Figure 34]) each shared a single capstone, a capstone or capstones of the other two paired burial chambers of Dolmens 13 and 14 were already missing at the time of investigation. Considering that the other paired burial chambers shared a single capstone, however, the burial chambers of Dolmens 13 and 14 were also believed to have shared a single capstone in their original undamaged context.

The lengths of the long axes of the dolmen burial chambers uncovered at the Panchon-ri dolmen site are mostly between 110 cm and 150 cm with an average about 120 cm except for that of a dolmen burial chamber No. 12, which reaches as long as 180 cm. Thus, except for burial chamber of Dolmen No. 12, none of the burial chambers were sufficiently large for burying a deceased adult in an extended posture. Unless the deceased were infants, it is reasonable to consider different kinds of postures other than that of extended posture. Either burial in a flexed posture or secondary burial were considered as types that could accommodate the size of the burial chambers. Based on the extremely small size of burial chamber of Dolmen No. 13 (80×30×20 cm), and its pairing with burial chamber of Dolmen No. 14 (110×50×20 cm), M. L. Choi interpreted the relationship between the two buried persons in the paired burial chambers of Dolmens 13 and 14 as that of an infant child and his/her father or mother.

Dolmen sites at Jincheon-dong in Dalseong, North Gyeongsang Province (I. G. Kang 1980), and Chunghyo-dong in Kwangju (M. L. Choi 1978a), provided additional examples of paired burial chambers placed under a single capstone. Human bones such as skeleton fragments, 11 teeth, a femur, and a pair of tibiae were found in burial chamber B of the Jincheon-dong Dolmen No. 3: burial chamber A: 116×22×31 cm, burial chamber B: 110×47×40 cm (Figure 35). Based on the form of the teeth and the wear of their enamel, the buried person was inferred to be a female about 20 years old and the relationship of the buried in the paired burial chambers were regarded as that of a mother and child who died simultaneously of disease.

These two examples were suggested by M. L. Choi as potential archaeological evidence for the inheritance of social status from generation to generation in the Korean dolmen society. On the other hand, Chunghyo-dong Dolmen No. 7, having two normal-size burial chambers: 7-1: 150×100×? cm and 7-2: 160×50×? cm under a single capstone (Figure 35) was suggested as a case of another family relationship, a married couple (M. L. Choi 1978a).



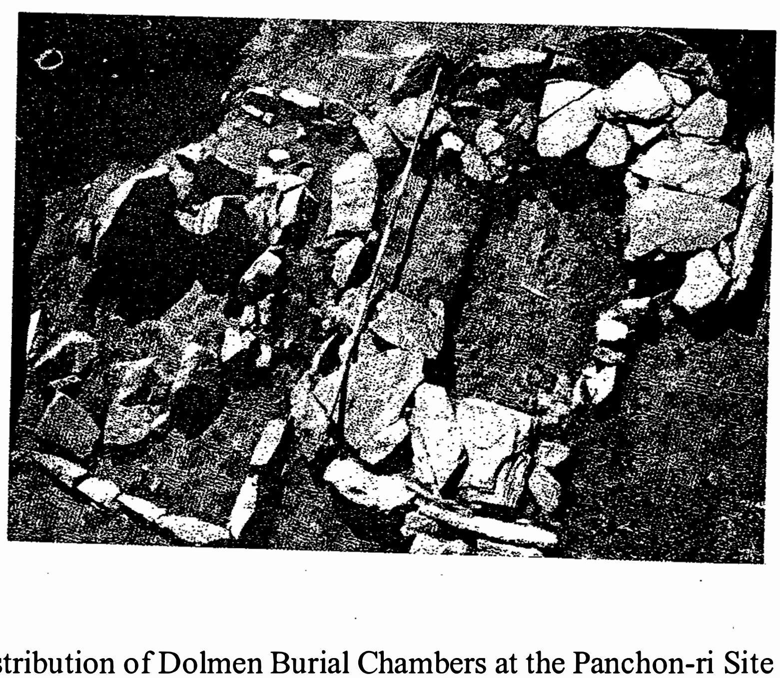


Figure 34. Distribution of Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Panchon-ri Site and Paired Burial Chambers of Dolmens 6 and 11 (Choi 1984: 145, 192).

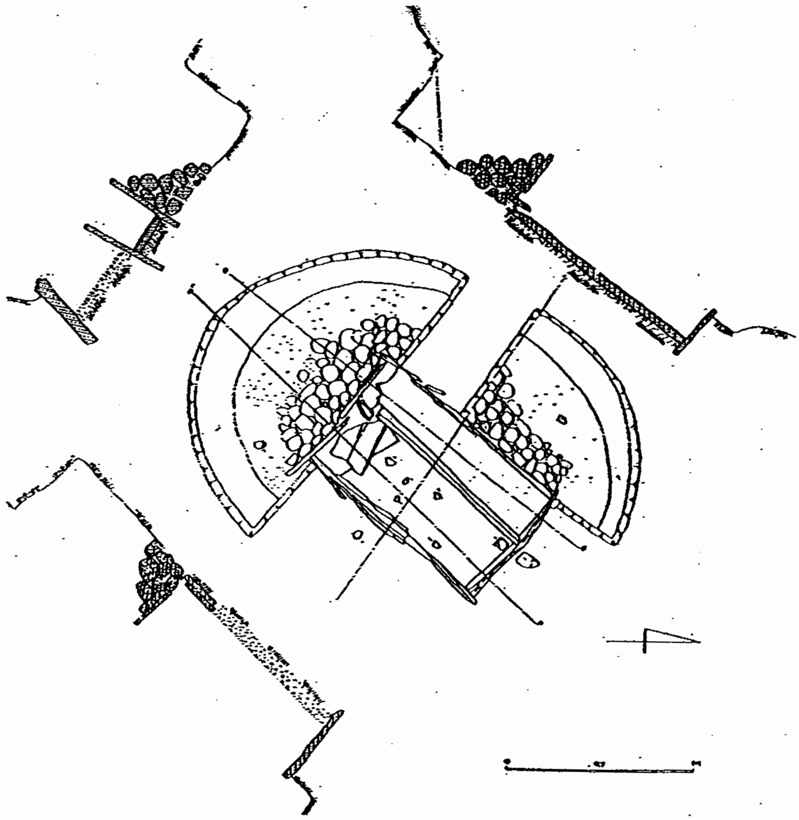


Figure 35. Paired Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Jinchon-dong (top) and the Chunghyo-dong Sites (bottom) (I. G. Kang 1980: 46; M. L. Choi 1978a: 11).

M. L. Choi also expected to distinguish the gender of the buried through burial furnishings, but it turned out to be impossible because the only artifact in the whole Panchon-ri site was a stone arrowhead found near the burial chamber of Dolmen No. 2. Instead, he turned his eyes to a set of dolmen sites in the pool area of the Dongbok Dam that yielded relatively rich burial furnishings (M. L. Choi, et al. 1982). Based on the furnished artifacts, he proposed that some types might imply the gender of the buried, for example spindle whorls implying female and weapons such as polished stone daggers, arrowheads, and spearheads implying male. However, that also turned out to be another challenging task, because only an extremely limited number of Korean archaeological sites have yielded any bone data, which is the most essential to verify gender. According to Choi's analysis, there was no clear correlation between numbers and kinds of artifacts and the structure or size of burial chambers. He concluded therefore that there was no status differentiation based on gender and age among the buried people within the Panchon-ri dolmen cemetery.

M. L. Choi's analysis also called attention to the fact that there were craftsmen to manufacture pottery and bronze implements, as well as other full time specialists in the dolmen society. He interpreted the dolmens as representing the political authority required to control and mediate between these entrepreneurs. Choi posited the economic base of the dolmen society to be agriculture yielding surplus production, in particular rice cultivation, which could generate enough products to subsidize groups of individuals, not engaged in food production. The dolmen sites consisting of groups of dolmens he saw as the family cemeteries of chiefs or people with equivalent economic and political capacity.

Aggregated distributions of dolmens he saw as corresponding to the boundaries of the territories covered by the political power and authority of the people buried there. He carefully proposed that the dolmen society was a kin-based, ranked society that reached the chiefdom level in the developmental process of sociopolitical evolution presented by E. R. Service (1962, 1971). He also saw it was as correspondent to the chiefdom society archaeologically defined by Sanders and Price (1968: 42-44).

While there have been opinions for and against M. L. Choi's interpretation of the dolmen society, Choi has strongly emphasized that his views were a set of hypotheses in the process of verification rather than archaeologically verified final conclusions. He confessed that insufficient and fragmentary archaeological data left a number of critical problems unresolved and expected that his views would be revised and complemented by new data and interpretations. He also pointed out that more archaeological evidence would be necessary to clearly define the dolmen society as a chiefdom-level society, such as chiefs' offices, monuments, symbolic artifacts as indicators of ranks and classes, goods exchanged and traded, burials for commoners, and settlement patterns (M. L. Choi 1981a: 14).

Another view of a prehistoric sociopolitical organization was proposed in the study of a well-known Bronze Age village site at Heunam-ri (see Figure 19: ㉚), Yeoju, Gyeonggi Province in the South Han River Valley, central Korea. In the 1970s, Seoul University Museum (1973, 1974, 1976, 1978) annually excavated at the Heunam-ri site, and seven field campaigns uncovered 16 semi-subterranean houses dated around the 7th century B.C. (Figure 36).

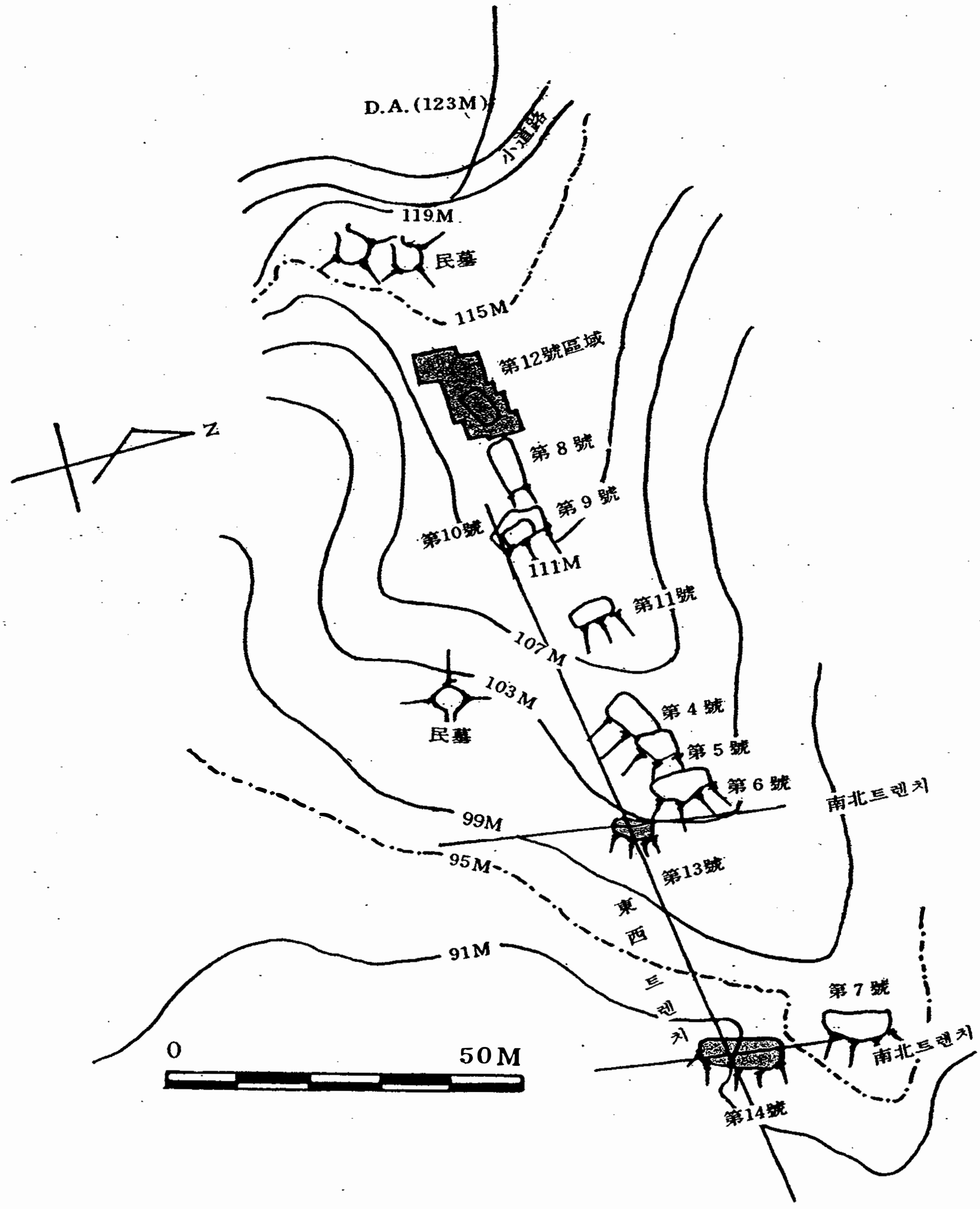


Figure 36. Distribution of Semi-subterranean Houses at the Heunam-ri Village Site (Seoul University Museum 1978: Plate No. 3).

In Korean archaeology, along with a Neolithic site of Osan-ri, Yangyang (see Figure 12: ⑭), the Heunam-ri site has a significant meaning in that while most of multi-year excavations have been planned and executed only for sites that would be destroyed for good, pure academic field campaigns of a single site for quite a period of time have been extremely rare. Choi designed and supervised a comprehensive joint research project at regarding the Heunam-ri village site (M. L. Choi 1986a; M. L. Choi and S. B. Park 1985; M. L. Choi and Y. J. Park 1984a, 1984b; M. L. Choi, et al. 1985) as a part of his long-term research project, 'A Study of Archaeological Cultures in the South Han River Valley'. The joint research along with scientific analysis of pottery was published under the title, *A Prehistoric Village Site at Heunam-ri in Yeoju* (M. L. Choi 1986b).

Based on the premise that residential sites directly reflecting the life and activity of prehistoric people are the most critical archaeological sources for the understanding or reconstruction of prehistoric society, Choi analyzed the available archaeological data from this site in detail. He came to understand that the prehistoric village at Heunam-ri was composed of small nuclear families each consisting of 4-7 family members. Furthermore, comprehensive analytical studies of archaeological features of the site made him believe that it reflected a chiefdom society. In his interpretation of the sociopolitical organization of the prehistoric village at Heunam-ri, Choi paid special attention to House No. 4, a rectangular semi-subterranean house (7.6 × 4.5 × 0.85 m) that had been exposed and investigated in the second and third field campaigns (Figure 37). Along with a group of depressions (35-55 cm in diameter, 15-20 cm in depth) in the southwest corner of House No. 4, a large oval depression [173 × 139 × 30 cm (long axis, short axis, depth)] was identified at the center of the floor (Seoul University Museum 1973, 1974). These depressions, which distinguished House No. 4 from the other houses at Heunam-ri, led the excavation team to postulate House 4 to be a facility with special purpose rather than an ordinary pit house for residence. The floor of the house was covered with a thin layer of hard limy substance, such as found in Yangshao houses of Neolithic China and this was another feature that distinguished House No. 4 from other houses investigated at Heunam-ri. The depressions were regarded as storage pits, and the house was viewed as an independent communal warehouse for the whole prehistoric village at Heunam-ri. The inference that House No. 4 was a warehouse to store goods, mainly from crop cultivation, directed Choi to think the house structure as an archaeological indicator of chiefdom society, a hierarchical society characterized by a redistribution economy (Choi and Park 1984: 7-8, 25).

Along with his research into chiefdom society, Choi also paid a considerable attention to the emergence of states in ancient Korea. In this case, he focused on Wiman Choson, the final stage of Old Choson, previously mentioned. Though Wiman Choson had been accepted as the first state in Korea, fragmentary documentary records and limited archaeological data allowed a number of different interpretations of the characteristics of Wiman Choson. Choi attempted to test Chinese historical accounts of Wiman Choson, in particular those of *Chaoxian Zhuan* (Account of Choson) in *Han Shu* (*History of the Han Dynasty*) and *Chaoxian Liezhuan* (Account of Choson) in *Shizi* (*Historical Records*) against the criteria of state level society presented by Flannery (1972).

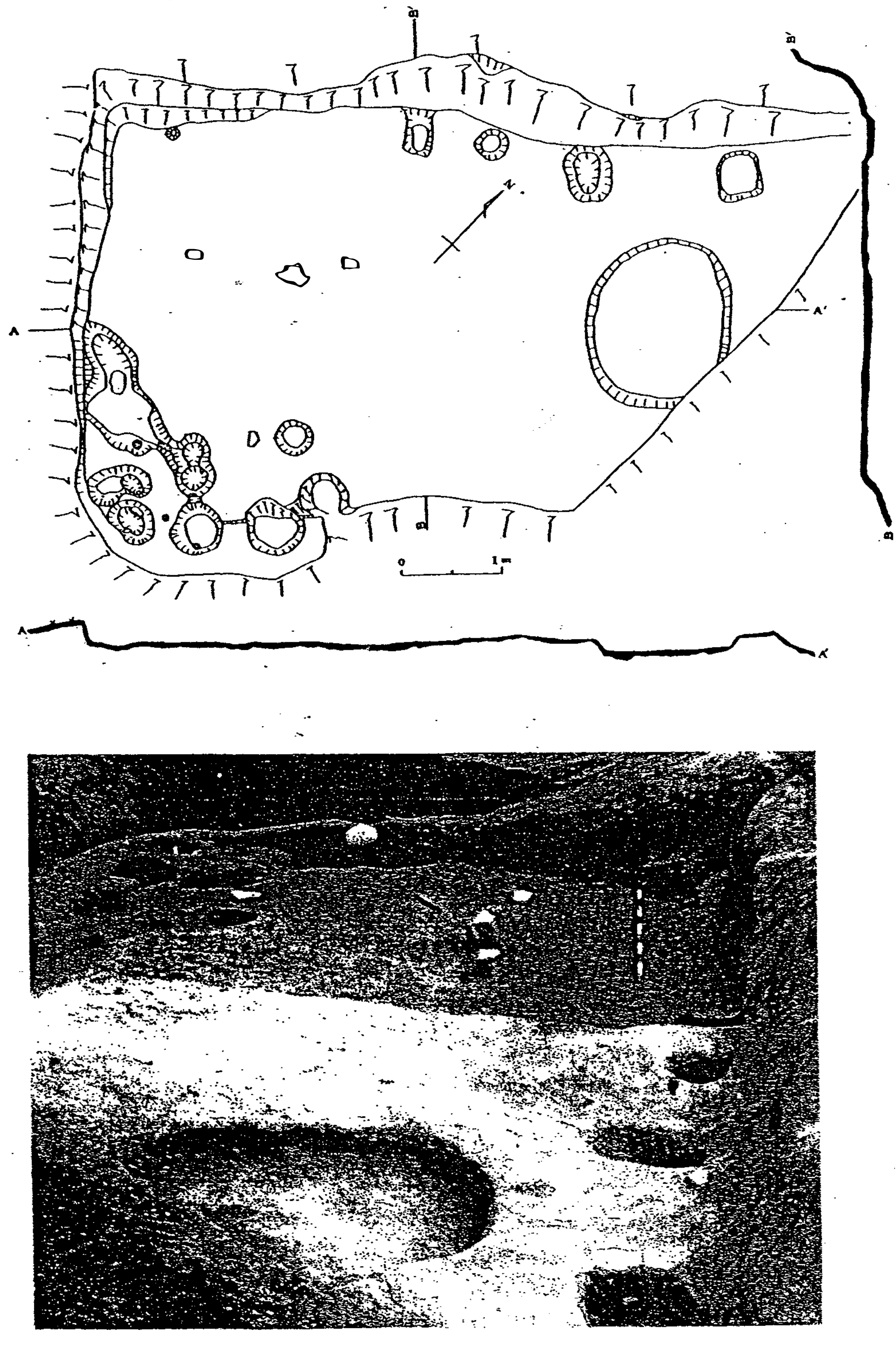


Figure 37. House No. 4 at the Heunam-ri Site: Drawing (top) and Picture (bottom) (Seoul University Museum 1974: Plate No. 5, 6).

In his model, Flannery named a number of common elements that characterize a state-level society, such as population increase, warfare for territorial expansion, occupational specialization, kingship and social stratification, a bureaucratic system, a documented code of law, taxation, and a military draft. Through a detailed analysis of the documentary records, Choi came to believe that most of these elements already existed in Wiman Choson, and quite a few of them could be supported by available archaeological evidence. Based on this analysis, Choi proposed that Wiman Choson had a sociopolitical organization correspondent to that of the ancient state as defined in terms of anthropological models (M. L. Choi 1983c).

Going further, Choi also paid attention to a Chinese documentary record of warfare between the Chinese Han Empire and Wiman Choson. According to the records, Wiman Choson refused to pay tribute to the Emperor of the Han Empire, and even exercised control over the tribute routes of the other local polities in the Korean Peninsula. In traditional Korea up to the end of the nineteenth century, tribute paid to the Chinese emperor and return gifts to the Korean king were a typical and official type of international trade between Korea and China. Based on views that regarded trade as one of the prime movers in the emergence of ancient civilization or states (Renfrew 1975; Lamberg-Karlovsky 1974), Choi paid attention to the role of trade in the case of Wiman Choson. He analyzed available data to figure out the role of trade and exchange in the developmental process of Wiman Choson as an ancient state. In this study (Choi 1985), he adopted Lamberg-Karlovsky's (1974) model as an analytical tool. According to him, through taking advantage of the geographical conditions and physical power, Wiman

Choson meddled in the direct trade and exchange between China and other Korean local polities. Wiman Choson's control over the international trade routes brought immense economic profit, and the economic profit played a critical role in its rapid growth into a state level society far ahead of other contemporary local polities in the Korean peninsula that still had remained at the chiefdom level. The economic yields from control of tribute routes helped to maintain stable social and political development even after Wiman Choson had established itself as an ancient state. Chinese coins, in particular the knife money called Ming-tao-ch'ien and Chinese official seals, often identified in the Korean peninsula, are crucial archaeological evidence to support the idea of international trade. There is no doubt that Wiman Choson's interference in trade that would otherwise profit the Chinese Han Empire irritated China. Han emperor Wu ti sent a large army to attack Wiman Choson, and two years of war (109 ~ 108 B.C.) resulted in the political break down of Wiman Choson (Choi 1985).

Despite the importance of Old Choson, including Wiman Choson, in the ancient Korean history, historical and archaeological data bearing on it are seriously limited. Consequently, scholars have thus far had better means to work on Old Choson's chronology and territorial boundaries than on its social structure. In this circumstance, Choi's attempt to maximize available data through an aptly chosen theoretical framework was a new approach of great significance, though there were still some logical jumps and problems in his application of the theories and models.

J. W. Lee (1982), another historian showing a positive attitude toward the early accounts of the *Samguksaki*, sought after the state formation process of Silla Kingdom

(B.C. 57 - 935 A.D.) using archaeological data from the modern Gyeongju area, North Gyeongsang Province. He employed anthropological theory on stages of sociopolitical development as a conceptual framework for systematic data analysis and interpretation. Based on historical documents and archaeological data, in particular dolmen sites around the Gyeongju area, the motherland of the Silla Kingdom, he classified the sociopolitical development of Silla into five stages: (1) Saro six Chon (Saro six villages) as individual chiefdoms, (2) Saro six villages unified as a small or local state, (3) Saro state as a leader of the Jinhan league (One of the Three Han with Mahan and Byeonhan), (4) Saro state's subjugation of other states in the Jinhan league (Formative Silla), and (5) Silla Kingdom.

According to Lee, no single political ruler reigned over all the six villages of Saro in the first stage, and each village (Chon), consisting of 1,500 ~ 2,000 inhabitants, had its own chief, called Chonjang. In the second stage, the six villages were unified into a single political unit, Saro state. In this stage, immigrant groups from Old Choson and northeast China, who had already experienced developed iron culture and advanced sociopolitical organization, became the main ruling class of the Saro state.

In the third stage, Saro state came to monopolize long distance trade between neighboring small states of the Jinhan league and the Chinese commanderies established in the former Old Choson territory. The Saro state also obtained advanced political, economic, military, and cultural information from the Lelang Commandery far ahead of other small states, and began to exercise political influence over other small states in the Jinhan league. During the fourth stage the Saro state, already holding superior political, economic, military, and cultural power to the other states of the Jinhan league, subjugated them. With the enhanced capacity thus obtained, the Saro state became the foundation for the emergence of Silla. In the final stage, Silla took its place as one of the Three Kingdoms with Koguryo and Baekje. Lee's developmental stage classification was based on the appearance of technological innovations, including the diffusion of Iron culture reflected in archaeological evidence; on population movements from the north accompanying advanced culture; and on the continuance of foreign relations, in particular with the Chinese commanderies (J. W. Lee 1982:255-260).

Critics raised doubts about Lee's classification of early dolmen sites in the Gyeongju area as representative of chiefdoms, but his analysis remains important as a systematic and testable account of developments in the Silla motherland. N. S. Lee (1985) and others (J. B. Kim 1986) argued an alternative view that the dolmens bespoke only a tribal society or a communal society showing only weak differentiation of social classes, and that chiefdom society emerged only during the Late Bronze Age, when abundant bronze implements were manufactured and used.

While N. H. Yun (1985, 1987) highly evaluated the works of J. B. Kim (1977) and M. L. Choi (1983c, 1985) that portrayed Old Choson as an ancient state, he doubted that it was appropriate to employ anthropological models and theories in the study of ancient Korean society, since they had been developed without any consideration of Korea's unique circumstances. He also doubted that there was enough archaeological and historical evidence to identify the Old Choson with a state level society, or to describe its sociopolitical structure. Yun proposed to adopt the case of ancient China as a model for the study of ancient Korean society, and argued that state formation in ancient

Korea occurred much earlier than other scholars assumed. According to Yun, the territory of Old Choson included the whole Liaoning region, not merely the northern part of Korea in the Daedong River Valley. Instead of adopting the traditional archaeological chronology of the Korean peninsula, Yun applied that of the Liaoning region directly to Old Choson society. He suggested that a chiefdom society emerged as early as 5000 B.C. in Old Choson, and that cultural elements such as social and economic stratification, religious priests, warfare, specialized craftsmen, and systematized long-distance trade supported the emergence of a chiefdom level society.

His view was severely criticized by G. B. Lee (1988) an influential historian, and academic circles have been reluctant to agree with Yun's version of ancient Korean history, filled with his own arguments against most of the traditional scholarly views. Recently, H. I. Pai (1999: 357) characterized Yun as one who was preoccupied with a myriad of contested claims over the hypothetical geographical locations of ancient Korean political entities.

It was not until the middle of the 1980s that the Korean anthropological circle, specifically G. E. Kim (1985, 1988) and G. S. Jeon (1988, 1990), took an interest in the discussions being conducted by archaeologists and historians on the emergence and development of complex societies in ancient Korea. They focused on criticizing problems in the applications of the models and theories to Korean societies rather than on encouraging them and offering desirable directions for future studies (J. P. Choi 1994, 1997; J. W. Lee 1998; M. L. Choi and G. T. Kim 1999). Kim criticized the anthropological models and theories of state formation that the archaeologists and historians had used, saying that they left the concepts of state and chiefdom inadequately defined, leading to confusion. He further argued that serious discussion was needed on related subjects such as the distinction between leader and ruler, the acquisition and maintenance of administrative authority, and the nature of power bases and hierarchical systems (G. E. Kim 1985, 1988). G. S. Jeon (1988) urged that although efforts to adopt anthropological approaches in the study of Korean archaeology and ancient history were desirable, there had been serious problems in the process of application. In particular, he harshly criticized Korean scholars' excessive reliance on Service's developmental scheme as a golden rule. Jeon was also highly critical of the tendency to view the chiefdom as a fixed stage of sociopolitical organization rather than as a reflection of a series of processes. He alleged that the neo-evolutionary theories being explored by a few Koreans had no significance to the current western anthropological circle, and his harsh statement encouraged historians in a position strongly against the anthropological approach (G. D. Lee 1989; H. H. Lee 1991).

Contrary to the negative attitudes of these two anthropologists, however, S. N. Rhee (1989) appreciated the anthropological approaches as desirable efforts to open a new dimension in the study of ancient Korean history. Rhee pointed out, however, that discussions of the concepts of chiefdom and state, and the criteria by which to characterize and distinguish them, had been insufficient in Korean academic circles, resulting in some serious confusion among scholars. In order to aid the understanding of Korean scholarly circles, Rhee introduced definitions and characteristics of the chiefdom and the state as discussed in western scholarly circles. He also introduced the settlement archaeology developed in American archaeological circles as one of appropriate methodologies to overcome limitations in approaches that depended only on archaeological features or artifacts for understanding the nature and degree of social stratification. Rhee, who introduced a case study on the Valley of Mexico during the Formative Period (Steponaitis 1981) as an example of an approach based on settlement archaeology, strongly recommended that Korean researchers consider settlement archaeology as a way to advance the ongoing discussion of sociopolitical development. In a subsequent study, he and M. L. Choi explained the development of sociopolitical organizations in ancient Korea from the Neolithic to early historic period through archaeological evidence. They employed Carneiro's idea of classifying the chiefdom category into simple, complex, and maximal chiefdoms, and on the basis of their analysis viewed complex chiefdoms as emerging in ancient Korea around the beginning of the Christian era (S. N. Rhee and M. L. Choi 1992).

Also against the harsh critiques of certain anthropologists and historians, J. P. Choi (1994) insisted that the weaknesses so heavily critiqued in the evolutionary model were too trivial to warrant giving up the entire theory and model. B. W. Kang (1998, 1999) and J. W. Lee (1998) also pointed out in concrete terms that much of this vehement critique was based on an obvious misapprehension of the neo-evolutionary models and other themes of the formation and evolution of ancient political society.

Conclusion: Ancient Korean Society and the Growth of Sociopolitical Complexity

As noted above, the Sindonga Symposium in 1971 was a critical moment that initiated active discussions of complex society and the ancient state in Korea. A few scholars who had studied the literature of American academic circles played the role of pioneers introducing neoevolutionary models and the viewpoints of processual archaeology, and attempting to apply them to ancient Korean society. Through the 1970s and 1980s, these ideas gained much attention, although the reaction of Korean academic circles was not always friendly to the new approaches. By now these debates have settled down considerably, and scholars have turned to work on the study of societal complexity in Korea in a less polemic atmosphere. The neo-evolutionary terms "chiefdom" and "state" have gained acceptance as useful terms for designating general levels of sociopolitical complexity, shorn of much of their earlier theoretical baggage. As fuller data have accumulated, archaeologists have turned to more empirical investigations, and to more concrete regional approaches.

In recent years, the Korean Ancient Historical Society had held a series of conferences on the topics of "Archaeology and Theory: The State from the Archaeological Perspective", "The State from the Archaeological Perspective: Centered on the Baekje Region", and "Formation Process of Ancient States" (Korean Ancient Historical Society 1996a, 1996b, 1997). In addition, a few new books on related topics have gained considerable scholarly attention, and this makes it clear that the study of complex society has become one of the main research subjects in the Korean archaeological circle. *Studies of State Formation in Ancient Korea* (M. L. Choi and S. R. Choi 1997) is a collection of papers reporting a range of studies. *A Comprehensive Study of the Korean Dolmens: Distribution, Type, Origin, Diffusion and Social Reconstruction* (M. L. Choi, C. G. Lee, Y. M. Lee, and S. J. Lee 1999) is a final report of a comprehensive dolmen research project designed by the Cultural Properties Preservation Bureau to conserve and manage Korean dolmen sites systematically. This work consists of an enormous amount of dolmen data from the whole Korean Peninsula and some other countries, along with theoretical research papers on the sociopolitical complexity of Korean dolmen society and on the reconstruction and preservation of dolmens. *Methods and Theories in the Study of Korean Dolmens* (M. L. Choi and S. W. Kim 2000) is another collection of research papers on Korean dolmens, focusing on methods and theories.

In the current academic atmosphere, interdisciplinary study has become prevalent. Joint studies involving a number of interrelated disciplines, in particular the three disciplines of archaeology, ancient history, and anthropology are seen as indispensable in the study of complex societies in ancient Korea. There is no doubt that the numerous archaeological projects accompanying rapid industrialization have played a critical role in elevating the standards of Korean archaeology, and Korean archaeology has now reached a stage that desperately calls for synthetic explanation and interpretation. Unfortunately, the demands of urgent salvage projects now allow archaeologists little time to carry out research beyond rescue fieldwork and the publication of descriptive excavation reports, but more synthetic and integrative work must go forward.

In this situation it appears that the best way to make progress in our understanding of Korean cultural history is by focusing on synthesis and integration of the new archaeological evidence into the already existing interpretive matrix. Research into the sociopolitical development of ancient Korean societies will be best served in the immediate future by adopting a strongly descriptive /integrative approach, drawing together the great corpus of newly available archaeological data with continuing attention to relevant theoretical issues and documentary records. Korean archaeologists now have a great deal of new --but still raw-- data to work with that will allow a much fuller perspective on past settlement, population, and political patterns than was previously available. But these data have yet to be assimilated into a coherent picture of the broader developmental context and trajectory of Korean society. Toward that end, new archaeological data from the Boseong River Valley are presented and analyzed in the following chapters. I attempt to describe some key sociopolitical and settlement patterns of the Samhan region during a critical period with special reference to the dolmen burial complex, and to weave new data into our growing overall understanding of the growth of political complexity in southwestern Korea.

CHAPTER IV

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS IN THE BOSEONG RIVER VALLEY

South Jeolla Province, surrounded by the Noryeong Ridge (northwest), the Sobaek Range (east), and the South Sea (south and west), is located in the southwestern portion of the Korean peninsula (see Figures 1 and 2). The Yeongsan River (northwest), the Tamjin River (southwest), and the Seomjin River (including the Boseong River, an upstream tributary of the Seomjin River, southeast) are three major streams of the province, and they are substantial features in the industry and life of the people. The valleys developed by these streams have been main cultural centers in both prehistoric and historic periods. In general, the archaeological culture of South Jeolla Province has been portrayed in terms of three major regions –the Yeongsan River Valley, Boseong River Valley, and South Coast Region –and each regional archaeological culture has demonstrated a distinctive cultural identity. Geographically, while relatively broad alluvial plains appropriate for crop cultivation are well developed in the Yeongsan River Valley, only small riverside alluvial plains are sporadically developed in the mountainous Boseong River Valley, sandwiched between the Noryeong Mountains and Sobaek Mountains (National Geography Institute 1982: 595-499, 504-508; Y. M. Lee 1989: 175).

Until the 1980s, overall scholarly attention to South and North Jeolla Province archaeology had been quite restricted; furthermore, extremely unbalanced archaeological attention had been paid to different areas within South Jeolla Province. Archaeological field projects had been carried out mostly in the Yeongsan River Valley. Only a few dolmen sites such as Gwangcheon-ri (J. W. Kim and M. B. Yun 1967), Gongbuk-ri (J. W. Kim and M. B. Yun 1967), and Wolsan-ri, Janghak-ri, and Changrang-ri (M. L. Choi et al. 1982), were investigated in the Boseong River Valley. Consequently, a relatively sufficient and reliable archaeological database had been established in the Yeongsan River valley, but archaeological data for the other South Jeolla regions were extremely insufficient and incomplete. This exceptionally unbalanced scholarly accumulation did not allow comparative analysis of the whole of South Jeolla Province, and consequently, comprehensive understanding of prehistoric and historic cultures of the region was not possible.

New Field Investigations

In the middle of the 1980s, a monumental project, the construction of a large-scale multi-purpose dam, Juam Dam brought an opportunity to rewrite South Jeolla Province archaeology. Juam Dam was constructed on the Boseong River, which springs from the southern part of Boseong County, joins with the Seomjin River in Gokseong County, and flows to the South Sea (see Figure 2). In addition, Isacheon Dam, a supplementary dam, was constructed on the Isacheon River as a part of the same project.

Because of the dam construction, a total of 49 villages (*Ri*), which were distributed over nine townships (*Myeon*) within three counties (*Kun*) were to be submerged along with their numerous cultural relics (see Figures 5 and 6). In order to identify and preserve cultural relics in the area to be submerged, a large-scale site survey was planned and carried out. The survey located and identified a number of new and already-known cultural relics both in the area that was to be submerged and in neighboring areas (Jeonnam University Museum 1985). The archaeological site survey and subsequent field campaigns provided archaeological resources significant both in quantity and quality. The new data gave a critical opportunity to reconsider the archaeological culture of South Jeolla Province, especially that of the Boseong River Valley, which had been neglected for a long time. The Juam Dam project thus provided a basic archaeological database that could serve dynamic comparative research in South Jeolla Province and beyond.

As shown in Table 1, the survey reported 1589 dolmens and 11 loci of scattered artifacts in the submergence area and neighboring areas. Some loci of scattered artifacts were potential residential sites that had been occupied over multiple archaeological periods (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 5-6). The dam construction schedule and available human and financial resources did not allow field investigation of all the archaeological sites that were to be submerged; however, a large sample of sites was investigated. Based on consideration of physical circumstances, including academic significance and condition of preservation, a large-scale excavation project was designed.

In the excavations of the first year (November 3rd ~ December 28th 1986), 195 dolmens and 7 semi-subterranean houses were identified and investigated (Table 7). In the second year excavation (June 30th ~ September 15th, 1987), 166 dolmens were investigated (Table 8).

Table 7. The First Field Campaign of the Juam Dam Project Executed in 1986.

	Sites	Features and Quantity	Institutes (Univ.)	References
1	Singi	19 Dolmens	Jeju	C. G. Lee 1987
2	Sinwol C	16 Dolmens	Jeonbuk	D. H. Yun 1987
3	Sinwol D	16 Dolmens	Koryo	Ji and Park 1987
4	Sinwol H	15 Dolmens	Seoul	M. L. Choi et al. 1987
5	Geumpyeong	12 Dolmens	Sungsil	Lim and Choi 1987
6	Dolong	15 Dolmens	Gyowon	Y. H. Jeong 1987
7	Gokcheon	14 Dolmens & 1 Pit House	Chungbuk	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988
8	Naeu	58 Dolmens	Jeonnam	Song and Lee 1988
9	Banwol	10 Dolmens	Hanyang	Kim and Yi 1988
10	Sabi	20 Dolmens	Seonkyunkwan	Son and Lee 1988
11	Dolong	3 Pit houses	Kwangju Museum	Seo and Seong 1989
12	Hansil	1 Pit house	Kwangju Museum	Seo and Seong 1989
13	Naksu	2 Pit houses	Seoul	M. L. Choi et al. 1989
	Total	195 Dolmens & 7 Pit houses		

Table 8. The Second Field Campaign of the Juam Dam Project Executed in 1987.

	Sites	Features and Quantity	Institutes (Univ.)	References
1	Singi	15 Dolmens	Jeonbuk	D. H. Yun 1988
2	Hajuk A	11 Dolmens	Kyeonghui	Y. H. Hwang 1988
3	Hajuk B	13 Dolmens	Seonggyunkwan	Son and Han 1988
4	Hajuk C	31 Dolmens	Jeonnam	Song and Lee 1988
5	Gosuwol	15 Dolmens	Chungnam	M. B. Yun 1988
6	Salchi A	14 Dolmens	Geonguk	M. J. Choi 1988
7	Salchi B	17 Dolmens	Mokpo	S. R. Choi 1988
8	Bokgyo	8 Dolmens	Gyowon	Y. H. Jeong 1988
9	Daejeon	16 Dolmens	Chungbuk	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988
10	Jangseon	9 Dolmens	Hanyang	Kim and Lee 1988
11	Juksan	8 Dolmens	Koryo	Ji and Park 1988
12	Yucheon	9 Dolmens	Jeju	C. G. Lee 1988
	Total	166 Dolmens		

While initially field study of 260 dolmens was planned during 1986 and 1987, in fact 361 dolmens were investigated during that period. The disparities came about from a variety of reasons. First of all, a dolmen capstone identified on the surface ground did not always guarantee the existence of an underground burial chamber that belonged to the capstone. Some capstones identified on the surface had been already dislocated from their original locations, and some items identified as capstones turned out to be merely large rocks. Conversely, dolmen burial chambers were often found under the ground without any indication of capstones on the surface, and occasionally multiple burial chambers were built under a single capstone.

In addition to the 361 dolmens actually excavated in the first and second field campaigns of 1986 and 1987, 20 dolmens or burial chambers isolated from their capstones were identified and investigated in the third and fourth field campaigns. These later field campaigns were designed and executed primarily for the study of Paleolithic culture or semi-subterranean houses of Neolithic and later times but some additional dolmen features were identified and excavated in the midst of the excavations. Eventually, a total of 381 dolmens including 307 burial chambers were identified and investigated by the end of the Juam Dam archaeological project (see Table 2).

In addition to the initially planned two field campaigns, unpredicted circumstances and discoveries called for extension of the field studies. Lithic implements that belonged to the Upper Paleolithic Age, or Mesolithic Age, were identified in the midst of two dolmen site excavations, Geumpyeong at Sinpyeong-ri and Gokcheon at Usan-ri both in Seungju County during the first year field studies.

Further, the archaeological significance of Naksu site at Naksu-ri and Dolong site at Daegok-ri both in Seungju County turned out to be much greater than predicted. Thus in addition to the originally scheduled excavations of 1986 and 1987, a third field campaign was arranged for more detailed investigation of the Naksu and Dolong settlement sites and two newly identified Paleolithic sites, Gokcheon site at Usan-ri and Geumpyeong site at Sinpyeong-ri both in Seungju County. The third field campaign was conducted from May 25th to September 17th, in 1987 (Table 9), and this schedule was overlapped with that of the second field campaign planned in advance.

Table 9. The Third Field Campaign of the Juam Dam Project Executed in 1987.

	Sites	PL	DO	MPH	MPF	IAH	IAF	TKH	Sum	References
1	Dolong-K	0	0	34	29	25	0	11	99	Seo and Seong 1989
2	Hansil-K	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	Seo and Seong 1989
2	Dolong-S	0	0	26	22	25	1	0	74	Choi et al. 1989a
3	Naksu-S	0	0	0	0	16	2	0	18	Choi et al. 1989b
4	Gok-C	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988
5	Geum-Su	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Lim and Yi 1988
	Total	2	3	62	51	66	3	11	198	

C: Chungbuk University, DO: Dolmen, F: Feature, Geum: Geumpyeong, Gok: Gokcheon, H: House, IA: Iron Age II, K: Kwangju Museum, MP: Mumun Pottery Period, PL: Paleolithic location, S: Seoul University, Su: Sungsil University, TK: Three Kingdoms Period.

During the 1987 field work, which overlapped with the rainy season of the Korean summer, weather conditions were extraordinarily hostile. Warnings of typhoon and heavy rain were issued quite a few times from the middle of July to early August. Heavy rain flooded most of the sites under investigation, and fieldwork had to be discontinued for more than a month. Ironically, the heavy rain that halted excavation also unveiled previously unidentified archaeological features. In particular, eight Jeulmun Pottery sherds and some stone implements were exposed at the Hajuk dolmen site (Y. M. Lee 1988). This unexpected discovery of Jeulmun Pottery sherds was enough to make the Korean archaeological circle excited about the hope of discovering the first inland Neolithic site in South Jeolla Province.

The fourth and last field campaign was arranged for the investigations of residential features of Hajuk site at Juksan-ri, Boseong and a Paleolithic deposit of Juksan at Deoksan-ri, Seungju. Also, more detailed investigations of two Paleolithic sites, Gokcheon and Geumpyeong in Seungju, and two residential sites, Dolong and Hansil at Daegok-ri in Seungju were included in the plan of the fourth field campaigns. This fourth and last field campaign of the Juam Dam archaeological project was implemented from December 22nd, 1988, to March 14th, 1989 (Table 10).

Table 10. The Fourth Field Campaign of the Juam Dam Project Executed in 1988-1989.

	Sites	PL	DO	MPH	IAH	IAF	TKH	Sum	References
1	Juksan-S	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	S. B. Yi et al. 1990
2	Gok-C	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	Lee and Yun 1990
3	Hajuk A-G	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Hwang and Shin 1990
4	Hajuk B-Se	0	2	0	2	0	0	4	Son and Lee 1990
5	Hajuk C-J	0	8	2	4	0	0	14	J. H. Song et al. 1990
6	Hansil-K	0	0	2	4	1	6	13	M. H. Lee et al. 1990
7	Dolong-S	0	0	8	23	1	0	32	M. L. Choi et al. 1990
	Total	2	10	12	34	2	6	66	

C: Chungbuk University, Gok: Gokcheon, DO: Dolmen, F: Feature, G: Gyeonghui University, H: House, IA: Iron Age II, J: Jeonnam University, K: Kwangju Museum, MP: Mumun Pottery Period, PL: Paleolithic location, S: Seoul University, Se: Seonggyunkwan University, TK: Three Kingdoms Period

Along with four upper Paleolithic or Mesolithic localities, over a four year period from 1986 to 1989, these four field campaigns uncovered 381 dolmens at 23 locations, and over 250 residential features from five sites, including almost 200 semi-subterranean houses dated from Bronze Age to the Three Kingdoms Period. The descriptive results of the four-year campaign were published in seven volumes of excavation reports under the title *Research Reports on the Excavation of Cultural Relics in the Area Submerged by the Juam Dam* (I) ~ (VII) (Jeonnam University Museum 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d, 1989, 1990).

Although the main archaeological evidence discussed in this dissertation is that of Bronze Age and later periods, brief summaries of the Paleolithic and Neolithic evidence are also offered, because such evidence is so rare and therefore especially significant in the overall picture of South Jeolla Province archaeology.

Sites of the Paleolithic and Neolithic Ages

Paleolithic Age

Archaeological information on the Paleolithic culture was extremely limited not only in the South Jeolla Province but also in southern part of the Korean Peninsula. A few lithic specimens were previously collected from two possible Paleolithic sites, Suncheon (Sample and Mohr 1964: 101) and Jewol-ri, Gokseong (M. J. Choi 1986), and they were all the archaeological remains known for the Paleolithic Culture of South Jeolla Province until the Juam Dam Project. However, there was no actual field study on the two possible Paleolithic locations, and the scholarly significance of them was still in question. The initial site survey did not find any archaeological remains that belonged to the Paleolithic Age, either. Unexpectedly, however, a few lithic specimens of Paleolithic type were uncovered at four locations in the midst of dolmen excavations – Gokcheon, Geumpyeong and Juksan sites in Seungju, and Daejeon in Hwasun. They were the first Palaeolithic sites to be excavated not only in the South Jeolla Province but also in the whole southern part of the Korean Peninsula, south of the Geum River.

Geumpyeong (Sinpyeong-ri) and Juksan (Deoksan-ri) Paleolithic Sites (Seungju)

In the midst of the investigation of a group of dolmens at the Geumpyeong site in 1986, three chipped stone implements, which were identified as remains of Upper Paleolithic Culture, were collected (B. T. Lim and E. J. Choi 1987). The Korean archaeological circle seriously appreciated the significance of this discovery, and another field investigation for the purpose of identifying the palaeolithic deposit was executed in the summer of 1987. In total, 136 lithic specimens, the raw material of which was mudstone (44) and poor quality quartz (92), were uncovered from an area of 3m×8m across. It is reported that while poor quality quartz was easily accessible around the Geumpyeong Paleolithic site, the mudstone had been procured from an area about 20 km away. Except for a few easily definable lithic implements such as two pieces of scrapers and a dihedral burin, most specimens were debitage (Figure 38).

Though the investigation of the Geumpyeong site did not provide reliable chronometric evidence, the existence of a transverse burin that resembled the so-called Verkhoyenskaya Gora type burin (Artifact No. 5 of Figure 38) implies that the lower limit of the Geumpyeong lithic industry may not earlier than 13,000 to 14,000 B.P. This Paleolithic location was understood as quite concrete archaeological evidence for hominid occupation during the terminal Pleistocene in the Boseong River Valley.

The Juksan Paleolithic site at Deoksan-ri in Seungju was also identified by a few lithic specimens in the midst of dolmen investigations in 1987 (D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1988). Most of all, a few wedge-shaped micro-cores, typical remains of the terminal Pleistocene lithic industry in Northeast Asia, including Korea, drew serious scholarly attention (Figure 38). Based on absolute dates from parallel lithic industries in neighboring regions, the lower limit of the site was tentatively placed at about 15,000 B.P. (S. B. Yi, et al. 1990).

Gokcheon and Daejeon Paleolithic Sites

The Gokcheon Paleolithic site was identified in the midst of dolmen excavations executed at the same location in 1986. A few microlithic implements such as scrapers, cores, flakes, and end-scrapers were found in the Pleistocene layer below the dolmen layer, and further investigation identified an apparent Upper Paleolithic cultural layer. Based on the significance of the Gokcheon site, it was further investigated in the third and fourth field campaigns of the Juam Dam Project (Figure 39).

Pollen analysis using the KOH-$ZnCl_2$-Acetolysis method identified 1305 pollens classified into 15 genera, 15 orders, 3 sub-classes, and 2 classes. According to the excavation report, the results of the pollen analysis implied that the climate of those days was basically humid, with repeated cool and warm fluctuations (Y. J. Lee et al. 1990: 92).

While it is still controversial to speak of a separate Mesolithic Age in Korean prehistory, it was strongly claimed that the Gokcheon site retained clearly identifiable cultural layers extending from the Mesolithic Age to the Middle Paleolithic Age. According to the report, three distinctive cultural layers of Mesolithic, Upper Paleolithic, and Middle Paleolithic Ages characterized by its own lithic industry, were identified: While composite tools, flakes, points, and gravers were identified as Mesolithic, gravers, scrapers, and microblade cores were identified as Upper Paleolithic. Middle Paleolithic was represented by side and end scrapers and points. Sequential cultural layers from Middle Paleolithic to Mesolithic were presented as reliable archaeological evidence that showed uninterrupted continuous hominid habitation during the late Pleistocene in this region (Y. J. Lee, et al. 1988; Y. J. Lee and Y. H. Yun 1990).

The Daejeon site at Sasu-ri in Hwasun was another Upper Paleolithic site identified in the midst of dolmen excavations at the same location. Soil assumed to belong to the Pleistocene was identified in the eastern part of the dolmen site, and about 20 lithic specimens, including cleavers, unfinished tools, and cores, were collected (Figure 39). The Daejeon site at Sasu-ri in Hwasun was also reported to be continuously occupied from the Upper Paleolithic into the Mesolithic (Y. J. Lee and Y. H. Yun 1989).

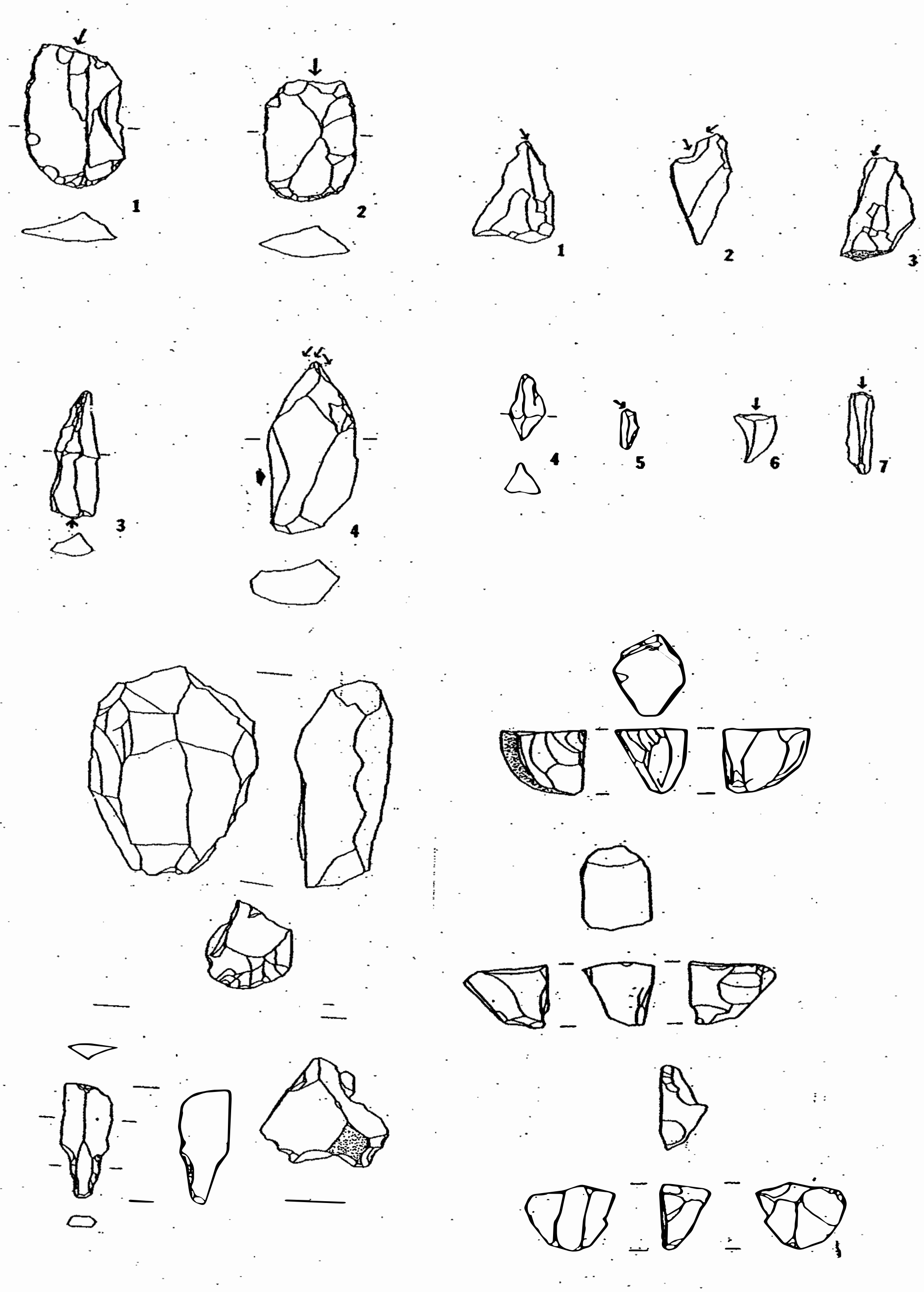


Figure 38. Lithic Specimens from the Geumpyeong (top) and Juksan (bottom) Paleolithic Sites (Lim and Yi 1988: 47-48; Yi et al. 1990: 42-43).

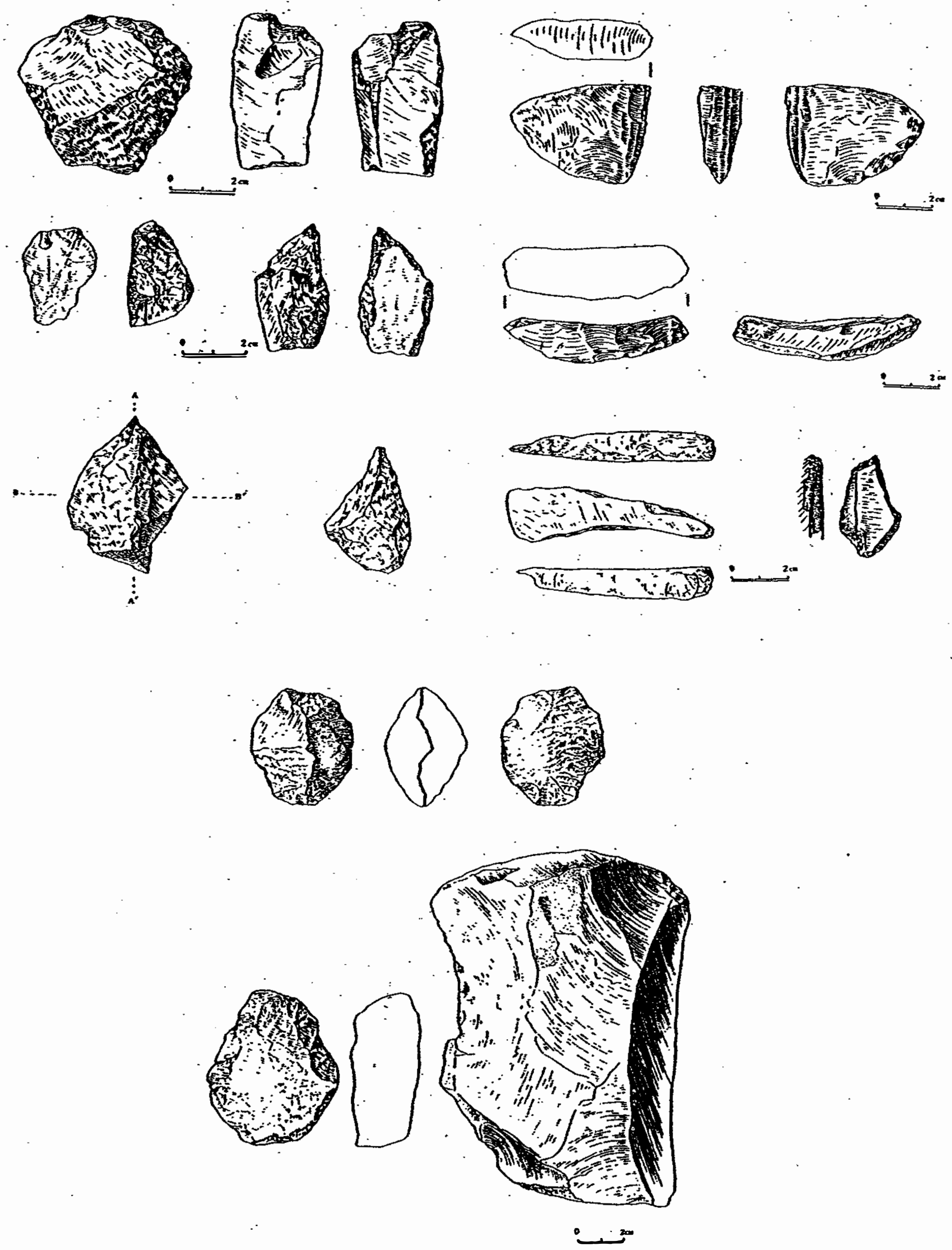


Figure 39. Lithic Specimens from the Gokcheon (top) and the Daejeon (bottom) Paleolithic Sites(Lee and Yun 1990: 116-117; Y. J. Lee et al.1988: 260).

Paleolithic Summary

Overall characteristics of these four Paleolithic sites were quite similar to each other. They were interpreted as part of the hunter-gatherer subsistence system in the Boseong River Valley during the terminal Pleistocene. They also extended the temporal and spatial range of Paleolithic culture in the Korean Peninsula (B. T. Lim and S. B. Yi 1988: 30; S. B. Yi, et al. 1990: 33).

Discovery of Paleolithic Culture in the Boseong River Valley was regarded as one of the most significant outcomes of the Juam Dam archaeological project. Thanks to the identifications of these Paleolithic sites, now it is possible to propose a hypothesis of uninterrupted human occupation from as early as the Paleolithic Age to historical periods in the region. This interpretation was subsequently supported by additional palaeolithic sites, the Okgwa site in Gokseong (S. B. Yi, et al. 1990) and the Juksan-ri site in Boseong (W. H. Hwang and B. S. Shin 1994), which were identified and investigated not far from these four Paleolithic sites shortly after the close of the Juam Dam project.

Neolithic Age

Archaeological research and investigation into the Neolithic Culture of Korea has been extremely limited in the whole of South Jeolla Province including the Boseong

River Valley. Only a few Neolithic sites, mostly coastal or island shell middens had been reported (W. Y. Kim and H. J. Im 1968: H. J. Jo 1986; S. R. Choi 1986a, 1987a; Kwangju National Museum 1989, 1990), and inland Neolithic sites had not been reported in the region prior to the Juam Dam project. Initially, the site survey team failed to find any archaeological evidence of inland Neolithic Culture in the submergence area of the Juam Dam, but the situation changed as research progressed..

The Hajuk dolmen site at Juksan-ri in Boseong was excavated in the summer of 1987, and as mentioned earlier, a continuous heavy rain that delayed the excavation schedule also exposed a number of artifacts spread over multiple archaeological periods from the Neolithic Age to the Iron Age II. Eight Jeulmun Pottery sherds were included among the collected artifacts, and they were the first discovery of any kind of Neolithic remains from an inland setting in all of South Jeolla Province (Figure 40). Korean archaeological circle paid serious attention to the Hajuk site in that it might be the first identified inland Neolithic site in South Jeolla Province (Y. M. Lee 1988).

Based on the archaeological significance of the Hajuk site, another excavation was designed as a part of the fourth field campaigns in 1989 in the hope of finding more concrete evidence of Neolithic Culture, such as semi-subterranean houses and burial features. However, the excavation failed to provide more concrete archaeological evidence of the Neolithic culture beyond additional Jeulmun Pottery sherds. Instead, eight dolmens and nine semi-subterranean houses ranging from the Bronze Age to Iron Age II (Later Iron Age) were identified and investigated (Y. H. Hwang and B. S. Shin 1990; B. H. Son and I. Y. Lee 1990; J. H. Song, et al. 1990).

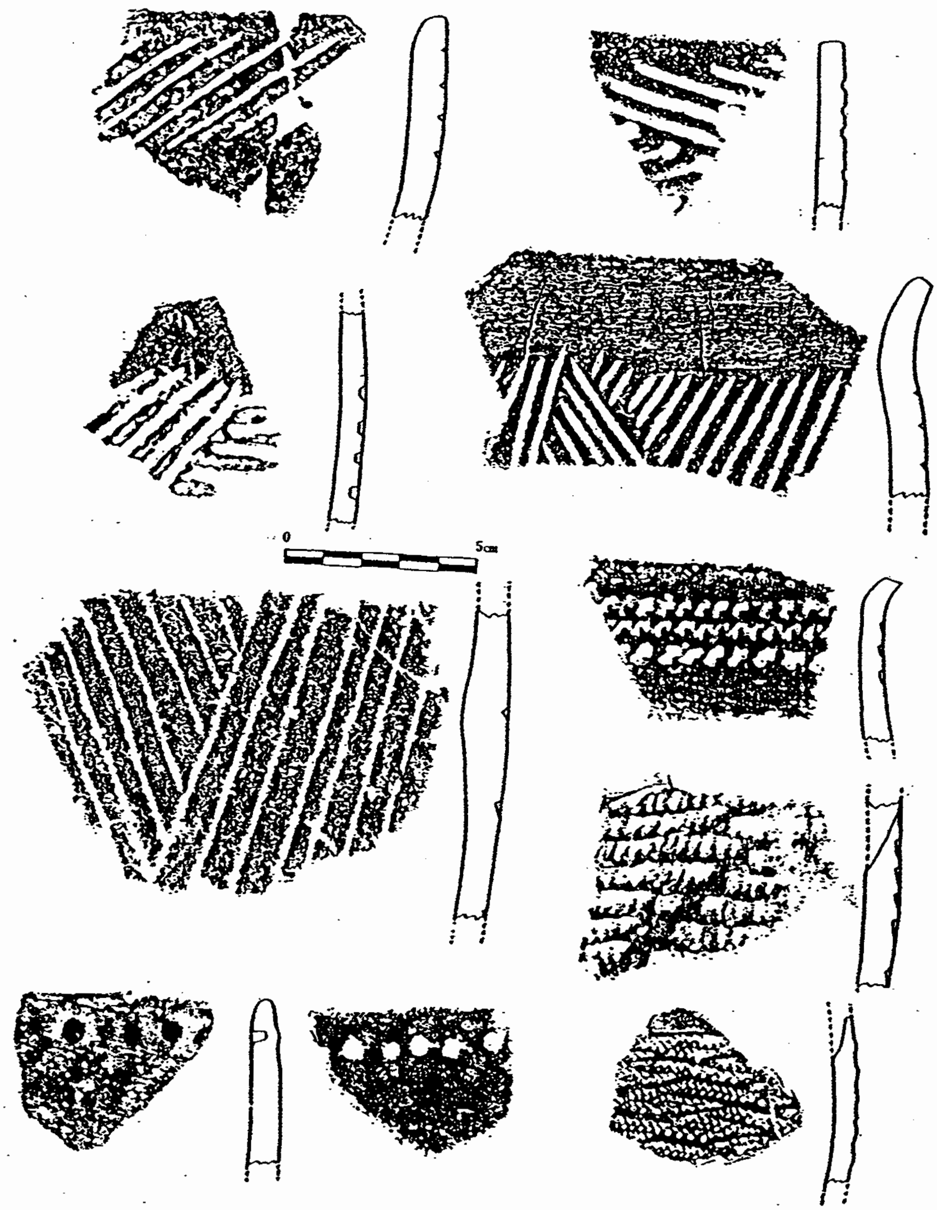


Figure 40. Jeulmun Pottery Sherds from the Hajuk Site (Y. M. Lee 1988: 72).

Sites of the Bronze Age and Iron Age I (Mumun Pottery Period)

According to the established periodization of Korean archaeology, the Korean Bronze Age, which began around 1,500-1,000 B.C., was replaced by the Iron Age I (300 ~ 1 B.C.) about 300 B.C. While most archaeological sites dated to the initial part of the Bronze Age have been reported from the northern parts of the Korean Peninsula, only a few sites in central and southern Korea have been dated to the first half of the first millennium B.C. This chronological view heavily relies on typological studies of a few artifacts, mainly pottery, rather than on chronometrical evidence based on reliable absolute dates of artifacts or archaeological features.

In South Jeolla Province, archaeological sites yielding polished stone implements and Mumun Pottery have been conventionally dated to a period, 500-1 B.C., but this is a very tentative dating supported by insufficient absolute dates and logical explanations. Consequently, archaeological sites or artifacts of the Iron Age I are often not clearly distinguished from those of the Bronze Age in the South Jeolla Province. An opinion to view the dolmen, a main burial type in the Korean Bronze Age lasting as a main burial type also into the Iron Age I (300 ~ 1 B.C.) in South Jeolla Province, is generally accepted in Korean archaeological circle without serious objection (M. L. Choi 1978b). Whether or not this is true, however, remains a serious question that the archaeological data of the Juam Dam Project helps to clarify.

Although there are some controversies over the concept and chronology of the Mumun Pottery Period (Nishitani 1982; S. R. Choi 1995: 371-372), the basic idea that

Mumun Pottery was made and used during both the Bronze Age (1000 ~ 300 B.C.) and the Iron Age I (300 ~ 1 B.C.) is very reasonable based on the evidence of the Boseong River Valley as well as that of South Jeolla Province in general. This fact has an important bearing on the archaeological dating of dolmen culture. Over 500 archaeological features dated to the Mumun Pottery Period were identified and investigated in the Juam Dam archaeological project. These included 381 dolmens and 78 semi-subterranean houses and 51 small features assumed to be outside storages and primitive form of kilns for Mumun Pottery. Dolmens and semi-subterranean houses provided a strong picture of the sociopolitical pattern in the region during the time leading up to the Three Kingdoms Period.

Dolmens

The dolmen grave structure is an important part of the worldwide megalithic tradition, which includes dolmens, menhirs (standing stones), chamber tombs, passage graves, gallery graves, stone circles (stone henges), and stone alignments. In Europe, megalithic structures such as dolmens, stone henges, and stone alignments have been reported in England, France, Sweden, Portugal, Denmark, and the Netherlands. To the south and east, dolmens have been identified in Minorca, Malta, Sardinia, Bulgaria, Kavkaz, Dacca, Ethiopia, the Sudan of Africa, Palestine, Iran, Pakistan, Tibet, southern India, Indonesia, Borneo, and Malaysia as well.

In northeast Asia, dolmens have been found and investigated in northeastern China, the island of Kyushu in Japan, and the Korean Peninsula. Korea in fact has the greatest concentration of dolmens known from northeast Asia (M. L. Choi 2000: 1-2). Since M. L. Choi (1975) identified and reported some 5,500 dolmens in South Jeolla Province in 1975 through extensive field surveys and literature reviews, annually a number of dolmens have been additionally identified in South Jeolla Province. According to a recent comprehensive research on Korean dolmens, as many as 19,068 dolmens, about 65 % of 29,510 dolmens identified in the whole Korean Peninsula, had been identified in South Jeolla Province as of 1999 (M. L. Choi 1999: 4). In Japan, dolmens probably diffused from the Korean Peninsula during the Final Jomon Period, around the 5th ~ 4th century B.C., and in the subsequent Yayoi Period dolmen graves became a major burial type in southern Japan (C. M. Aikens and T. Higuchi 1982).

The dolmens was the most common and significant archaeological feature in the Juam Dam submergence area as well. As mentioned, 260 dolmens among 1589 dolmens identified in the initial site survey (see Table 1) were originally scheduled to be investigated in the first and second field campaigns in 1986 and 1987. As mentioned, the first two field studies investigated 361 dolmens at 23 locations, and 20 dolmens were additionally identified and investigated in the midst of the third and fourth field campaigns designed for excavating Paleolithic deposits or residential features. Consequently, a total of 381 dolmens at 23 locations were investigated in the Juam Dam archaeological project within Seungju, Boseong, and Hwasun Counties, (Tables 11).

In Korea, dolmens have been prominently in discussions of the growth of societal complexity, as noted in Chapter III. The rich assemblage of dolmens brought to light by the Juam Dam project in South Jeolla Province is of great importance to developing a better understanding of the growth of complex society in a region later famed as part of the Three Kingdoms' hegemony that dominated early historic times in Korea.

Table 11. Dolmens Excavated in the Juam Dam Submergence Area.

	Sites	QDSS	QDAE	QOBC	No.	REFERENCES
1	Banwol	10	10	9	28	B. M. Kim and S. B. Yi 1988
2	Dolong	8	15	12	20	Y. H. Jeong 1987
3	Geumpyeong	11	12	8	13	Lim and Choi 1987
4	Gokcheon	16	16	17	24	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988
5	Hansil	2	3	3	19	Seo and Seong 1989
6	Juksan	12	13	10	22	D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1988
7	Naeu	52	58	50	25	Song and Lee 1988
8	Sabi	16	20	12	29	B. H. Son and I. Y. Lee 1988
9	Singi	12	19	19	1	C. G. Lee 1987
10	Sinwol C	13	16	6	4	D. H. Yun 1987
11	Sinwol D	32	16	16	5	D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1987
12	Sinwol H	13	15	4	9	M. L. Choi et al. 1987
13	Yucheon	14	9	9	1	Lee 1988 (Isacheon Dam)
14	Hajuk A	10	11	5	33	Y. H. Hwang 1988
15	Hajuk B	12	15	11	34	B. H. Son and B. G. Han 1988
16	Hajuk C	23	39	40	35	J. H. Song and Y. M. Lee 1988

17	Gosuwol	18	15	8	37	M. B. Yun 1988
18	Salchi A	19	14	13	48	M. J. Choi 1988
19	Salchi B	16	17	15	49	S. R. Choi 1988
20	Singi	15	15	14	30	D. H. Yun 1988
21	Bokgyo	13	8	3	102	Y. H. Jeong 1988
22	Daejeon	24	16	15	104	Y. J. Lee et al. 1988
23	Jangseon	9	9	8	106	B. M. Kim and H. I. Lee 1988
	Sum	370	381	307		

QD: Quantity of dolmens, SS: reported in the site survey, AE: actually excavated, BC: burial chambers, No.: Site Number in Figure 5 except for the Yucheon site (Figure 6).

Bokgyo Dolmens (392-4 Bokgyo-ri, Nam -myeon, Hwasun)

At the Bokgyo site, 13 dolmens were identified, and eight of them were selected for excavation (Table 12). The eight dolmens were aligned in a row with a direction of northwest and southeast, paralleling the direction of flow of the Dongbok River and the trend of the adjacent mountain ridge (Figure 41). All the eight dolmens investigated were Southern Type dolmens with propping stones supporting a capstone.

Only 3 burial chambers were identified: Dolmens 6-8, and the long axes of the burial chambers were longer than 170 cm (Table 12), large enough for burying an adult in an extended posture (Figure 41). A stone line with 30 ~ 40 cm size cobbles, regarded as a border mark of the burial, was identified outside burial chamber of Dolmen No. 7.

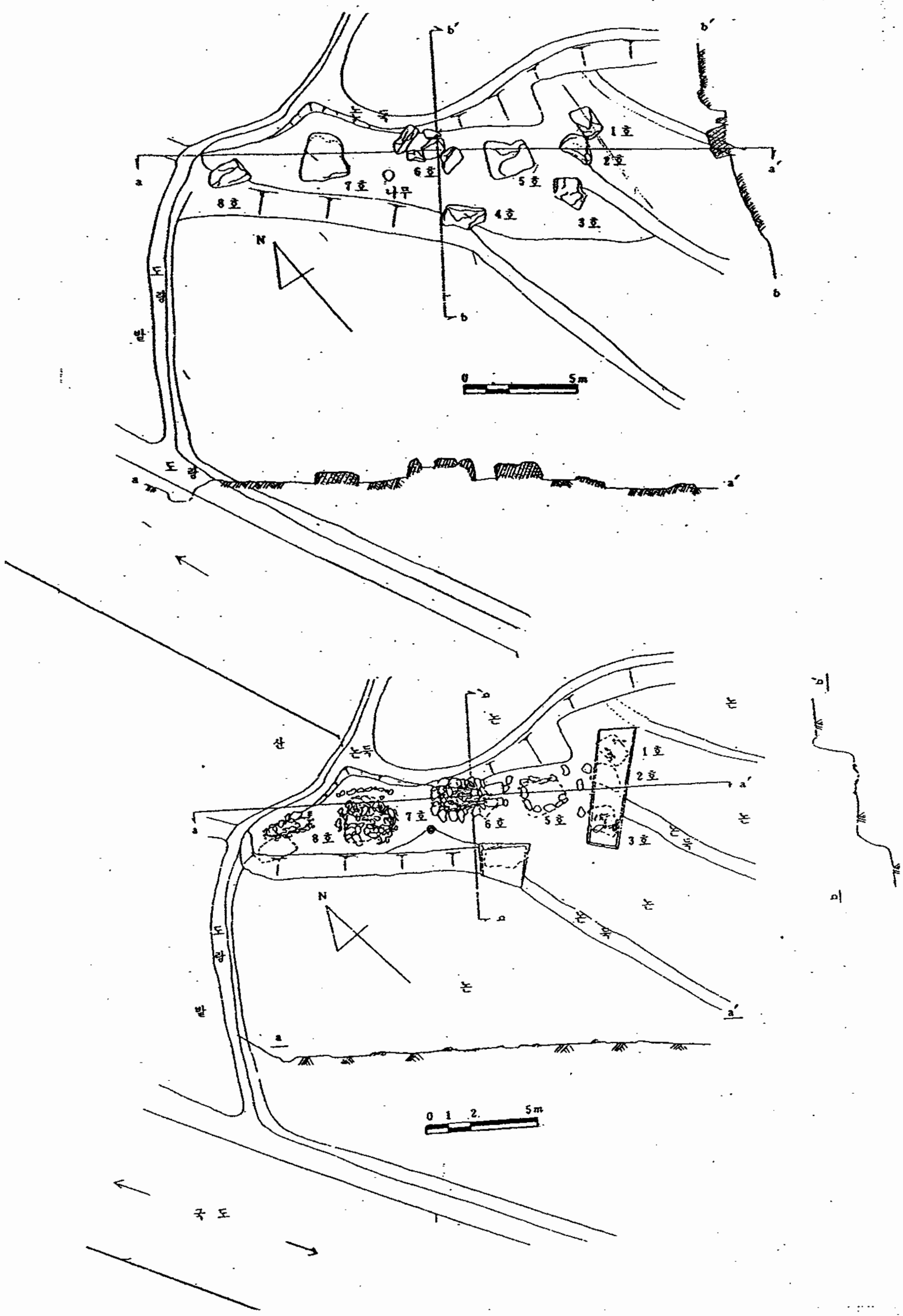


Figure 41. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Bokgyo Site (Y. H. Jeong 1988: 199-200).

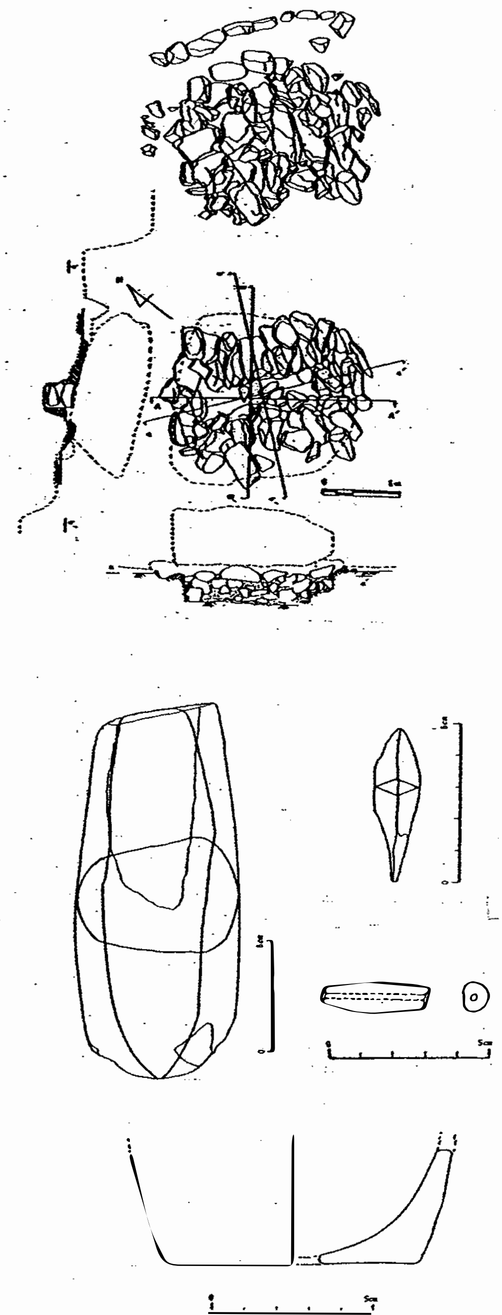


Figure 42. Burial Chamber of Dolmen No. 7 with an Outside Stone Line and Artifacts from the Bokgyo Site (Y. H. Jeong 1988: 205, 222).

Only a few stone implements, including a polished arrowhead, an ax, a whetstone and a few Mumun pottery sherds were found in the investigations (Figure 42).

Table 12. Bokgyo Dolmens (Y. H. Jeong 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	160×128×36(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	ax 1
2	118×101×18(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
3	135×114×62(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	arrowhead 1
4	166×96×37(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
5	208×170×76(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	MP base 1
6	298×118×62(NW–SE)	177×41×38(NW–SE)	SCI	MPS, whetstone 1
7	225×211×64(NW–SE)	198×66×36(NW–SE)	SC	
8	181×110×59(NW–SE)	180×35×17(NW–SE)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm.

Gosuwol Dolmens (Bonggap-ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

At Gosuwol site, the initial site survey for the Juam Dam archaeological project identified 18 dolmens on a low hillside plateau fronting the Boseong River, and 13 dolmens within an area of 30m × 10m across were assigned for excavation (Figure 43).

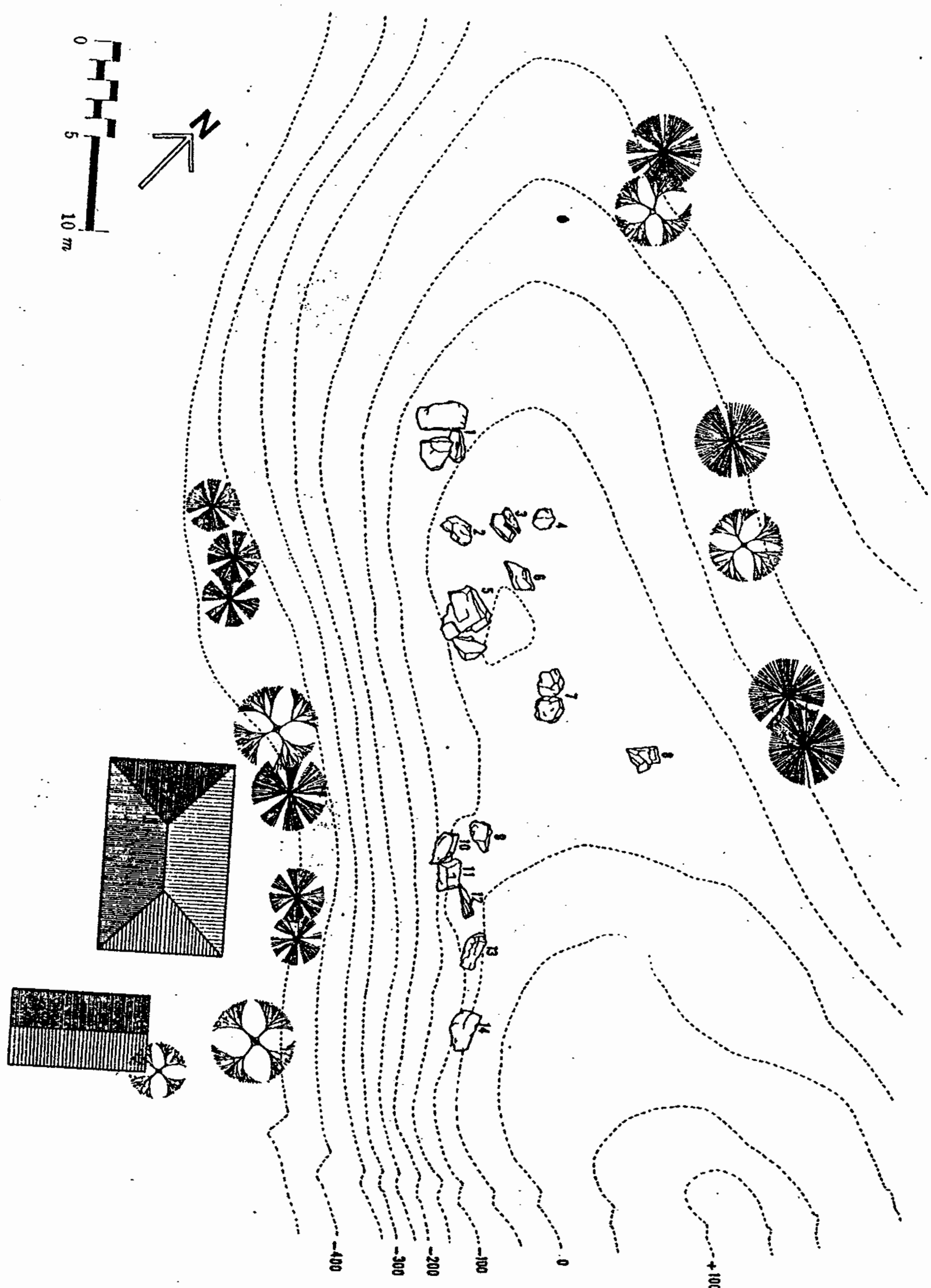


Figure 43. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones at the Gosuwol Site (Yun 1988: 182).

Additionally two more dolmens were identified in the midst of the field study (Table 13), and only 8 burial chambers were identified out of the total 15 dolmens investigated. The burial chambers were not well preserved, and the long sides of the burial chambers aligned in a direction of northwest and southeast, paralleling the trend of the hill. Gravels were paved on the floor of a few burial chambers. Except for two Southern type dolmens, Dolmens No. 1 and No. 5, the other 13 dolmens were Capstone type dolmens. Only three polished stone arrowheads and a polished stone knife were uncovered through the whole investigation.

Table 13. Gosuwol Dolmens (M. B. Yun 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	270×200×80(NW–SE)	250×80×?(NW–SE)	SC	
2	170×110×50(E–W)	110×45×?(NW–SE)	SC	
3	165×85×90(E–W)	205×47×?(NW–SE)	SC	
4	110×110×60(E–W)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
5	275×215×125(NW–SE)	155×55×?(NW–SE)	SC	
6	120×110×40(E–W)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
7	Broken (?)	150×40×30(NW–SE)	SC	stone knife 1
8	155×85×110(NE–SW)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
9	155×110×50(NE–SW)	170×40×40(NW–SE)	SC	arrowhead 3
10	170×100×50(NE–SW)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
11	140×110×35(NE–SW)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	

12	165×90×50(E–W)	Not found (N/A)	N/A
13	205×95×40(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A
14	220×145×90(NW–SE)	130×35×?(NW–SE)	SC
15	Missing (N/A)	215×48×?(NW–SE)	SC

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm.

Dolong Dolmens (575 Daegok-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

The initial site survey identified 8 dolmens at the Dolong dolmen site located on an alluvial plain developed in the Songkwang River in front of the site (Figure 44). In the midst of excavation, 4 dolmen burial chambers isolated from their own capstones and three dolmen capstones were additionally identified and investigated (Table 14).

While a group of dolmens in the same location often share the same or similar orientation of capstones and burial chambers, mixed orientations (north and south, or east and west) were reported at the Dolong dolmen site. All Dolong dolmens were verified as the Southern Type. Without exception, a stone cist was adopted as dolmen burial chamber structures (Figure 44), and they retained the same orientation of long axes to those of their own capstones. Along with a few Mumun Pottery sherds, six polished stone arrowheads, a polished stone knife, a net-sinker, and an ax were found in the excavation of the Dolong dolmen site.

Table 14. Dolong Dolmens (Y. H. Jeong 1987).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	260×250×150(E–W)	155×50×23(E–W)	SC	
2	2	360×210×150(E–W)	216×62×25(E–W)	SC	lid 1, horn shaped handle 2, arrowhead 1
3	3	360×210×100(E–W)	186×40×33(E–W)	SC	MP base 1, handle 1, net sinker 1
4	3-1	Missing (N/A)	150×34×24(S–N)	SC	arrowhead 1
5	4	170×150×50(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	arrowhead 2
6	4-1	260×150×120(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
7	5	180×130×60(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
8	6	190×120×60(N–S)	180×50×12(N–S)	SC	
9	6-1	160×70×30(N–S)	100×57×?(N–S)	SC ?	
10	7	150×130×70(E–W)	154×44×28 (E–W)	SC	triangular knife 1, arrowhead 1
11	7-1	Missing (N/A)	120×22×23 (N–S)	SC	
12	8	190×120×60(E–W)	216×45×28 (E–W)	SC	arrowhead 1
13	8-1	Missing (N/A)	180×50×32 (E–W)	SC	
14	9	250×160×184(E–W)	184×35×28 (E–W)	SC	MPS
15	9-1	Missing (N/A)	122×20×22 (E–W)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Fea.: Feature, Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dohnen in the midst of actual investigation.

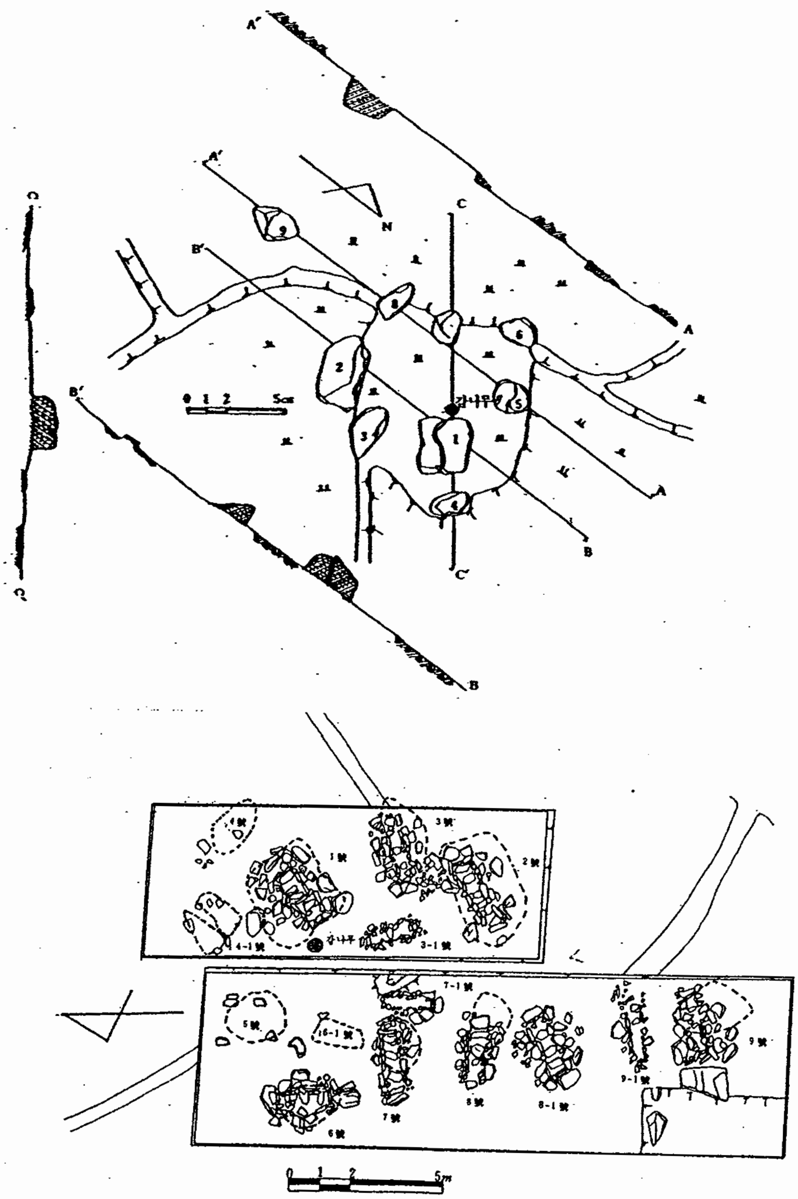


Figure 44. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Dolong Site (Y. H. Jeong 1987: 417, 419).

Hansil Dolmens (288-293 Daegok-ri, Sŏngkwang-myeon, Seungju)

The initial site survey reported two destroyed dolmen capstones at Hansil village, which was also reported as a potential large scale settlement site during the Iron Age I and II (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 20-21). In addition to the two dolmens, a burial chamber already isolated from its capstone was identified in the midst of investigation (Table 15). In total, 3 burial chambers of stone cist structures were investigated (Figures 45 and 46). Dolmen No. 2 did not yield any artifacts, and only a few Mumun Pottery sherds from Dolmen No. 1 and a polished stone arrowhead and Mumun Pottery sherds from Dolmen No. 3 were uncovered.

Table 15. Hansil Dolmens (S. H. Seo and N. J. Seong 1989).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	Destroyed (N/A)	185×60×?(N–S)	SC	Mumun Pottery sherds
2	Missing (N/A)	126×26×?(N–S)	SC	
3	Destroyed (N/A)	170×30×45(N–S)	SC	Mumun Pottery sherds, arrowhead 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

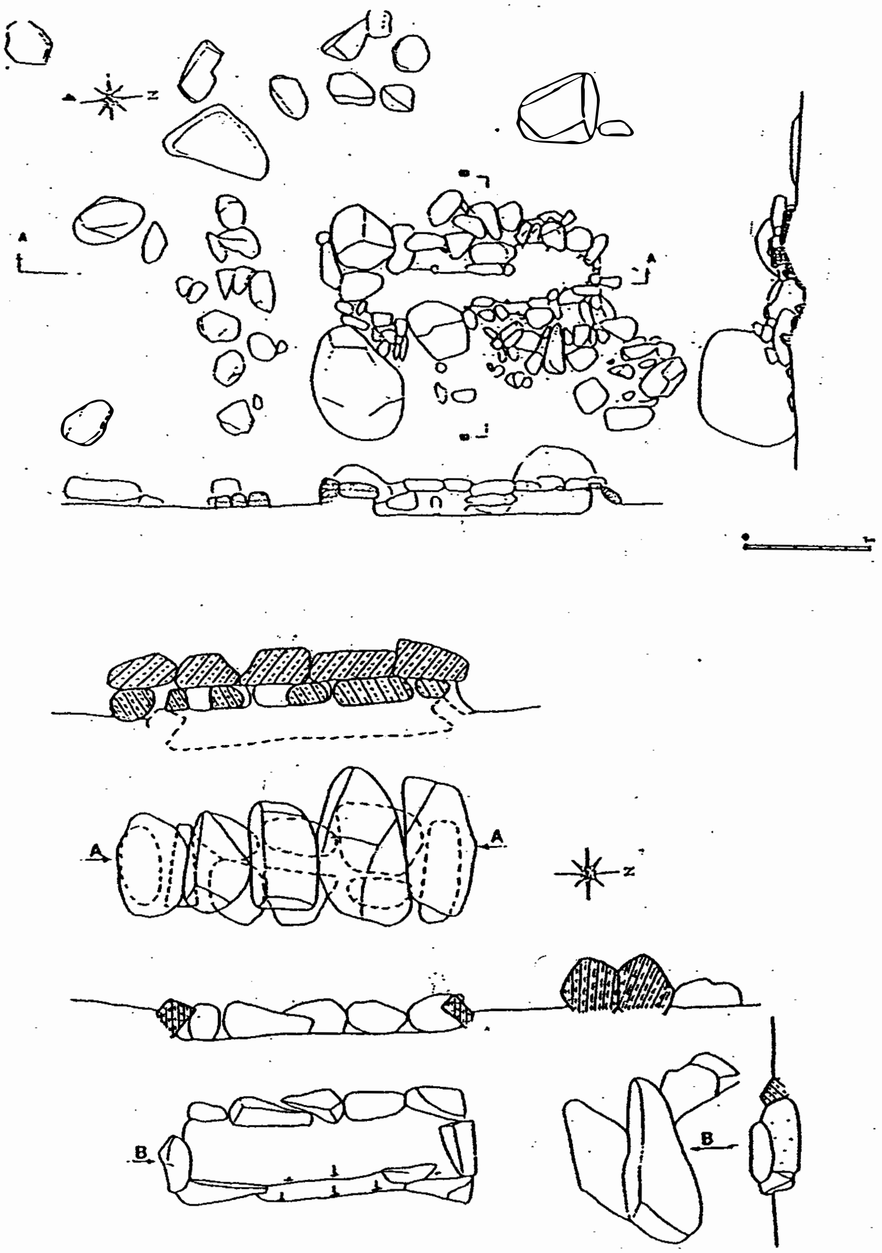


Figure 45. Burial Chambers of Dolmens No 1 (top) and No. 2 (bottom) at the Hansil Site (Seo and Seong 1989: 569).

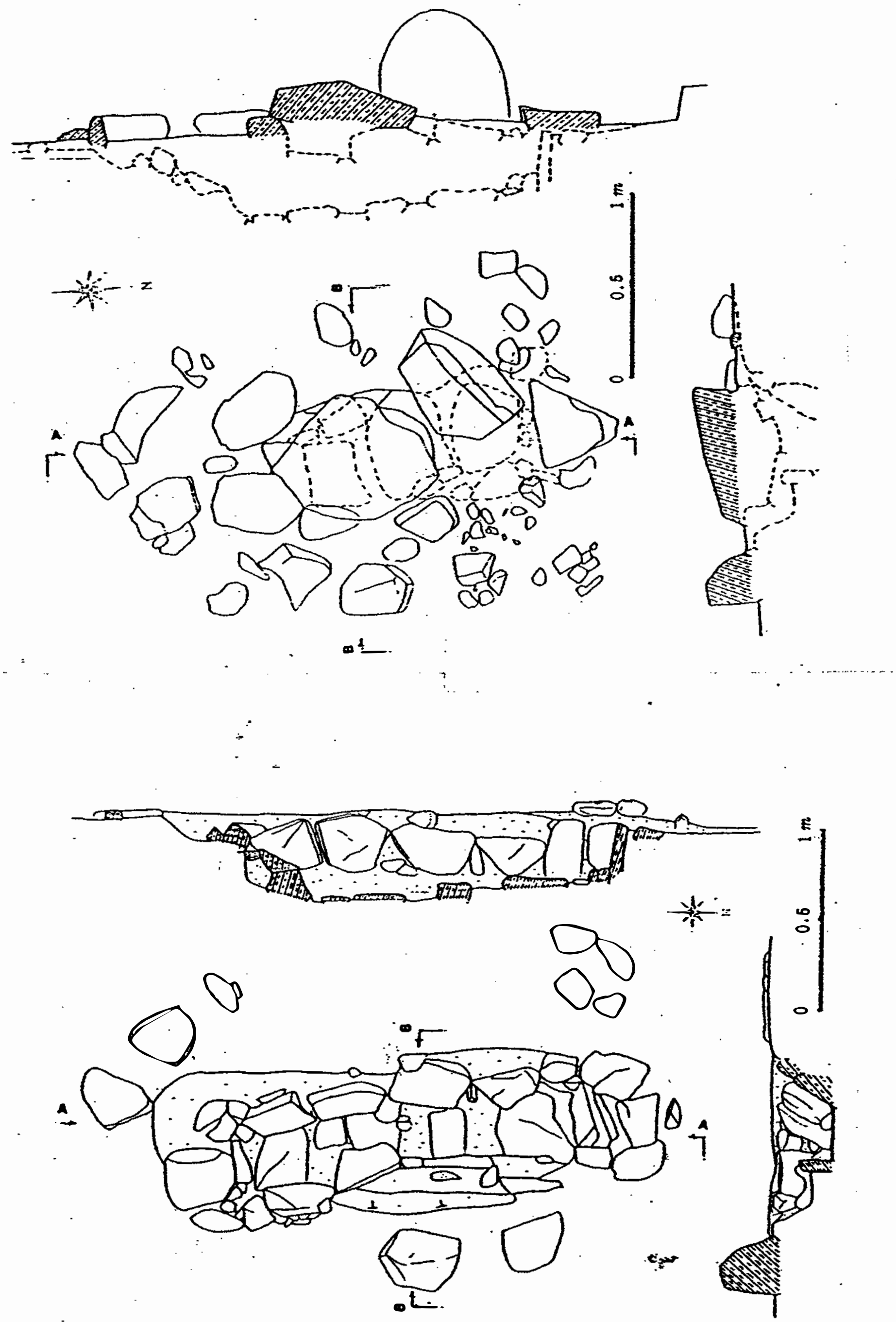


Figure 46. Burial Chamber of Dolmen No. 3 at the Hansil Site: before (top) and after (bottom) removing a capstone (Seo and Seong 1989: 570).

Singi Dolmens (268 Daekwang-ri, Juam-myeon, Seungju)

Other neighboring dolmen sites identified in the Juam Dam Project are located on riversides where streams join with the main stream of the Boseong River, but the Singi dolmen site is located near a small stream in a narrow valley. The initial site survey identified 12 dolmens (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 6-7). In the midst of excavations, 10 dolmen capstones, completely buried under the ground, additionally identified, and three large rocks reported as dolmen capstones in the site survey turned out not dolmen capstones (Figure 47). In total, 19 dolmens were investigated at the Singi dolmen site (Table 16). According to residents, there used to be more dolmens at the site, but some of them had been destroyed since 1948 when the Singi village was first built.

Table 16. Singi Dolmens at Daekwang-ri (C. G.. Lee 1987).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	234×188×116(E–W)	245×61×60(E–W)	SC	RB jar 1, arrowhead 1, whetstone 1
2	235×134×77(E–W)	150×41×38(E–W)	SC	MP rim 1, base 1
3	Missing(N/A)	171×44×41(E–W)	SC	RB jar 1, arrowhead 2
4	Missing(N/A)	141×39×31(E–W)	SC	arrowhead 3
5	Missing(N/A)	125×38×41(E–W)	SC	MP 1, arrowhead 3
6	Missing(N/A)	155×41×35(E–W)	SC	

7	Missing(N/A)	157×38×45(E–W)	SC	MP base 1, arrowhead 5
8	Missing(N/A)	138×37×45(E–W)	SC	MPS
9	Missing(N/A)	166×38×48(E–W)	SC	MPS, RBS, arrowhead 1
10	Missing(N/A)	176×49×71(E–W)	SC	MS, arrowhead 1
11	145×105×61(E–W)	60×57?	SCI	
12	250×210×74(E–W)	212×50×43(E–W)	SC	RB jar 1, MP jar 1
13	204×140×60(NW–SE)	Disturbed	SCI (?)	MPS, arrowhead 1
14	201×140×75(E–W)	Disturbed	SCI (?)	MPS
15	235×170×76(E–W)	151×105(E-W)	SCI	
16	Missing(N/A)	133×36×45(E–W)	SC	
17	190×108×40(E–W)	135×45(E–W)	SCI	MPS
18	205×148×98(E–W)	165×95(N–S)	SCI	whetstone 1
19	215×134×98(N–S)	160×68(N–S)	SCI	grindstone 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery sherds, N/A: not applicable, RB: Red burnished pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm.

Two kinds of burial chamber structures were identified: stone cists for burial chambers of Dolmens Nos. 1~ 10, 12, and 16, and stone circles for burial chambers of Dolmens Nos. 11, 13~14(?), 15, and 17~19. A stone cist is the most common type of burial chamber found with both Southern and Capstone type dolmens, and a stone circle is the next common burial chamber type. Some distinctive features were reported among the two kinds of burial chambers. First, while dolmens that adopted a stone cist as a burial chamber structure were distributed in the western part of the site within a relatively limited space, the other dolmens that adopted a stone circle were scattered more widely in the eastern part of the site. Second, while 75 % of the stone cist type burial chambers (8 of 12) were large enough for burying a deceased adult in extended posture (longer than 150 cm), only 43 % of the stone circle type burial chambers (3 of 7) were of a size that would allow an extended posture. Third, burnished red pottery jars and polished stone arrowheads, two typical artifact types yielded by Korean dolmens, were only found in stone cist type burial chambers. No notable artifacts were found in stone circle type burial chambers. The burial chamber of Dolmen No. 13, which was classified as a stone circle type burial chamber, produced a polished stone arrowhead, but the structure of the burial chamber was not quite clear.

Based on the locations of dolmens and their associated artifacts, dolmens adopting a stone cist as their burial chambers were reported to be built earlier than dolmens adopting a stone circle (C. G. Lee 1987: 42). While chrometrical evidence was not available to determine date of the Singi Dolmen site within this dolmen site, it was dated by the artifact evidence to the final stage of the early Mumun Pottery Period or the early stage of the late Mumun Pottery Period (500 ~ 1 B.C.). This inference was based on the typology of artifacts, including Mumun pottery, burnished red pottery, polished stone arrowheads, and grooved stone adzes (Figure 47).

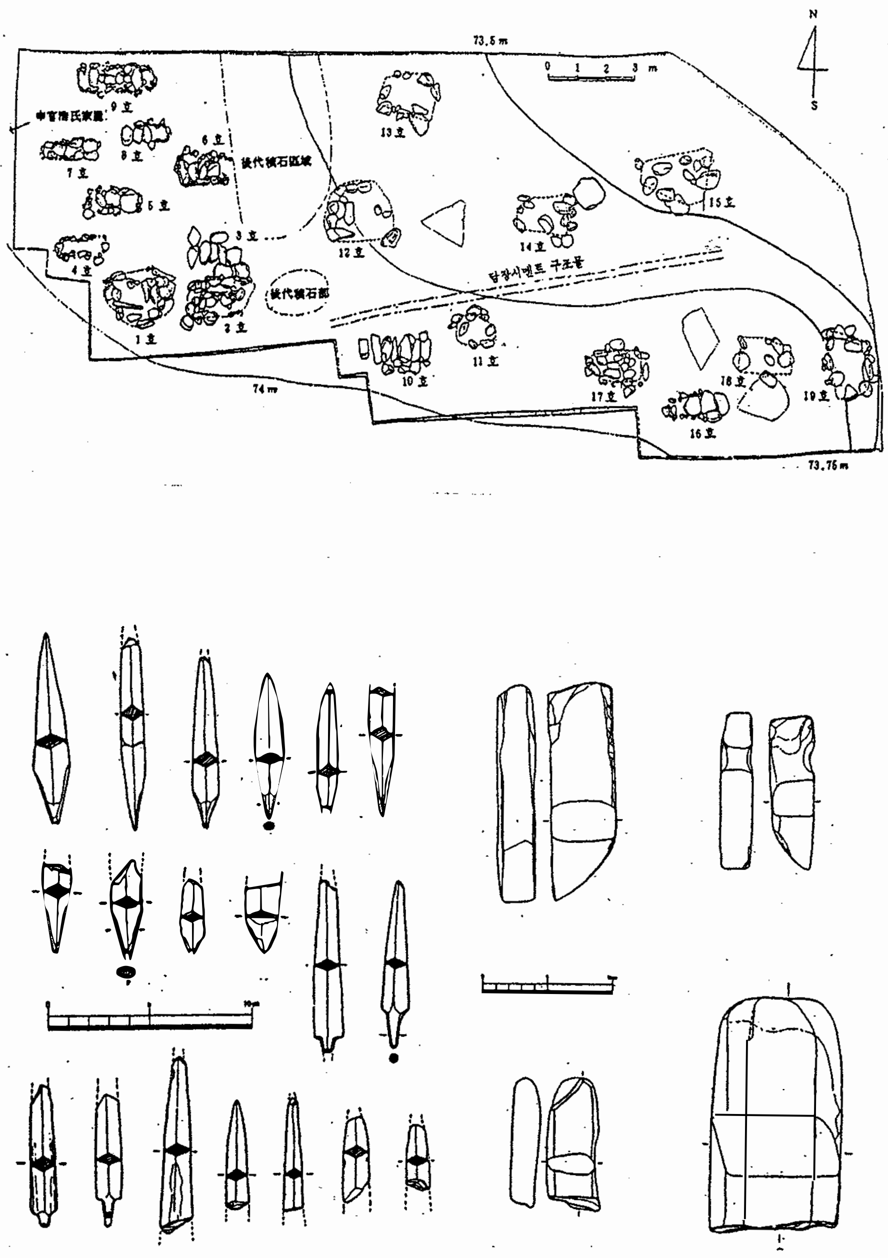


Figure 47. Distribution of Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Singi Site and Stone Implements therein (C. G. Lee 1987: 44, 85-86).

Singi Dolmens (Deokchi-ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

The initial site survey reported 15 dolmens reported at Singi village at Deokch-ri. Additionally, more dolmens were identified, and the total number of dolmens at the Singi site turned out to be 26. Except for two dolmens isolated from the others, all were aligned in five rows along a hill sloping to the south (Figure 48). As shown in Table 17, the long sides of the dolmen capstones were oriented to east and west, except for a few that did not retain their original shapes or that showed unusual length differences between the long and short sides of capstones.

Five dolmens, the burial chambers of which would be under water in a paddy field, and 7 dolmens on a steep slope, were excluded from investigation. Another two seriously damaged dolmens were also excluded from excavation. In total 15 dolmens, including four burial chambers isolated from their own capstones, were fully investigated (Figure 48). Unlike other dolmen sites in the Juam Dam area, all dolmens at the Singi site were Capstone type dolmens. .

The long sides of burial chambers oriented northeast and southeast except for Dolmen No. 1, which oriented east and west. The orientation of dolmen burial chambers has been believed to be related to the head orientation of the deceased. In general, the deceased's head was laid to the east, and this orientation is also indicated by burial furnishings.

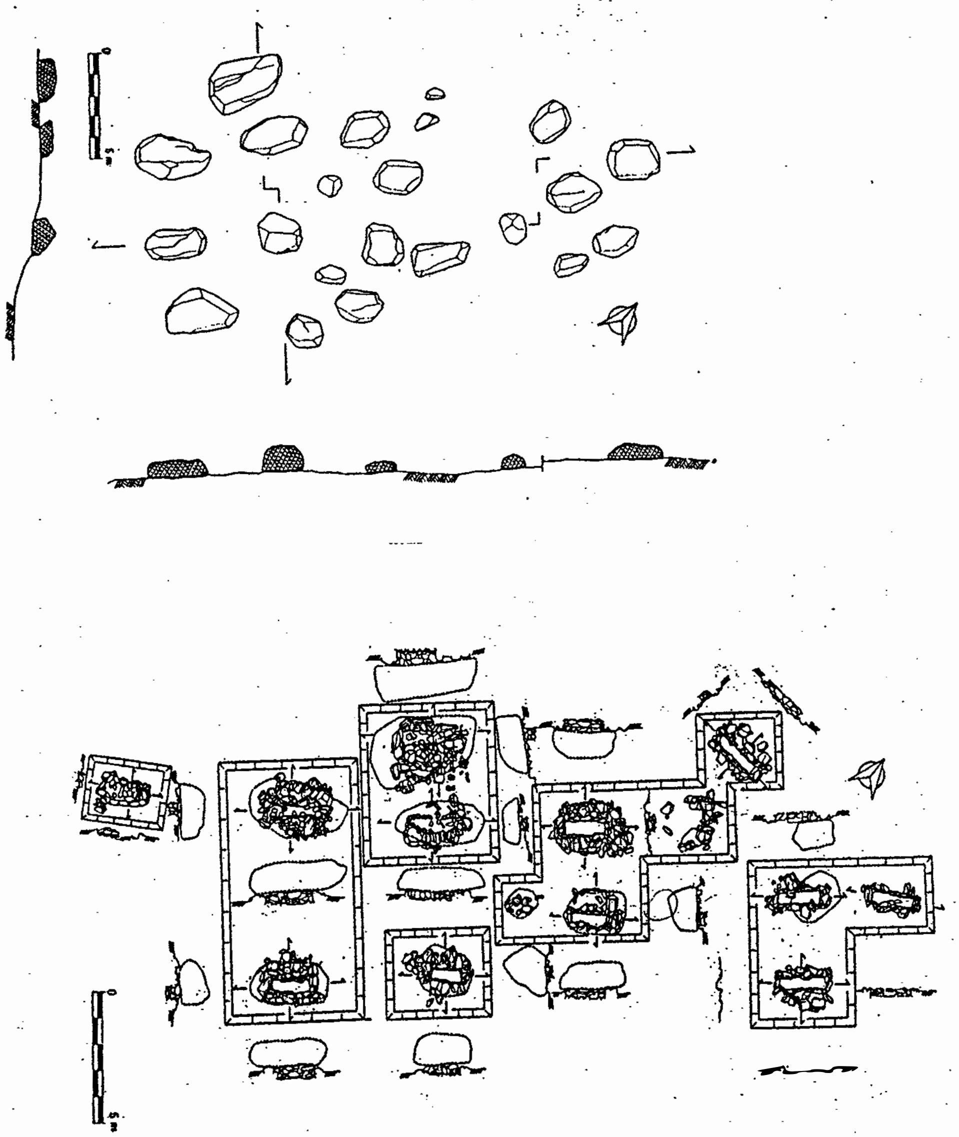


Figure 48. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Singi Site (D. H. Yun 1988: 105-106).

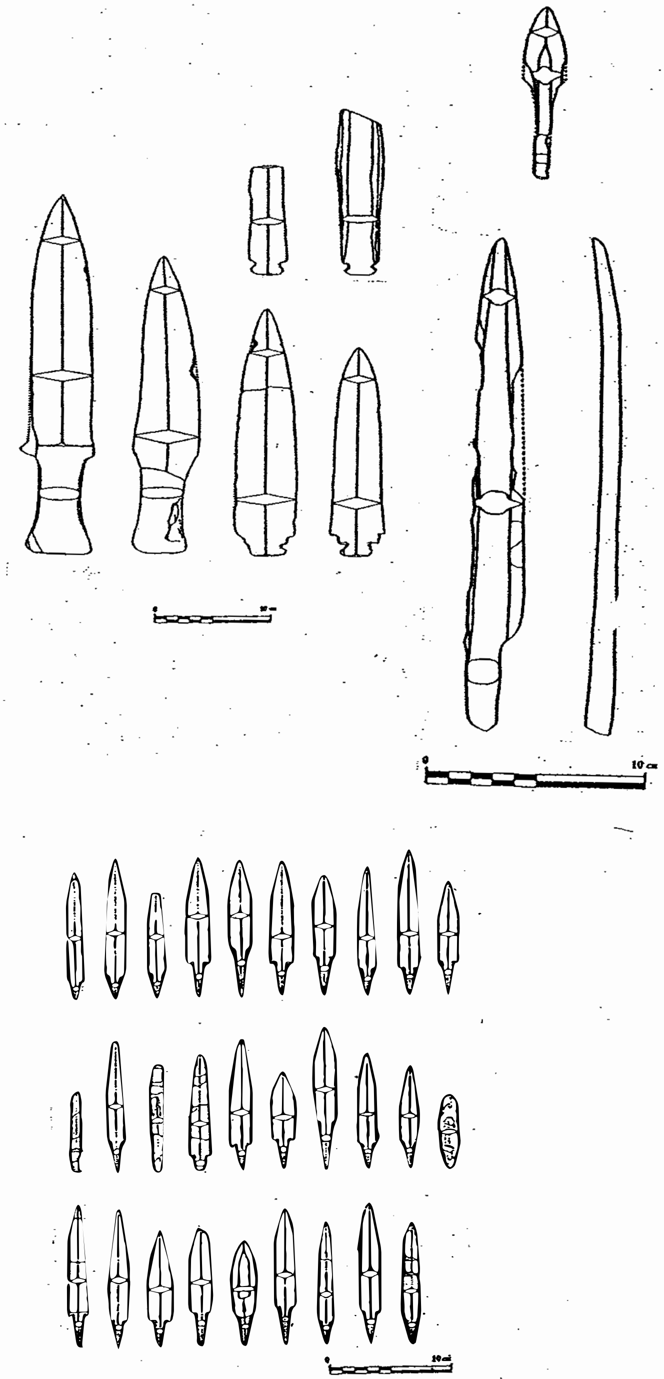


Figure 49. Lithic (daggers & arrowheads) and Bronze (a dagger & an arrowhead) Implements at the Singi Site (D. H. Yun 1988: 125, 127).

Relatively rich artifacts were found at the Singi dolmen site, including two bronze artifacts: a Liaoning style dagger and an arrowhead. Strikingly, 29 polished stone arrowheads, a polished stone dagger and a bronze arrowhead were all found together in Dolmen No. 15 (Figure 49). Typologically, the Liaoning Style bronze dagger was of a later type probably manufactured during the transition from Liaoning Style bronze daggers to Korean Style bronze daggers. A uniquely shaped bronze arrowhead was considered to be a copy of a polished stone arrowhead (D. H. Yun 1988: 100-101).

Table 17. Singi Dolmens at Deokchi-ri (D. H. Yun 1988).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	300×190×45(E–W)	150×50×45(E–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, bronze dagger 1
2	15	195×135×60(E–W)	170×40×45(NE–SW)	SC	arrowhead 30 (1 bronze), dagger 1,
3	16	230×150×30(E–W)	160×50×35(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, spear 1
4	17	86×85×35(E–W)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
5	18	205×190×85(E–W)	130×47×40(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1
6	19	265×115×80(E–W)	160×42×58(NE–SW)	SC	MPS
7	20	Broken (?)	220 (diameter)	SCI	MPS, arrowhead 1, adz 1
8	21	220×145×20(E–W)	165×50×55(NE–SW)	SC	dagger 1, arrowhead 3
9	22	270×135×45(E–W)	165×50×55(NE–SW)	SC	spear 1
10	23	285×195×80(E–W)	170×50×45(NE–SW)	SC	spear 1
11	26	320×220×60(E–W)	160×40×50(NE–SW	SC	dagger 1

12	B1	Missing (N/A)	160×40×45(NW–SE)	SC	spear 1
13	B2	Missing (N/A)	160×45×45(NE–SW)	SC	
14	B3	Missing (N/A)	180×45×30(NE–SW)	SC	chisel 1
15	B4	Missing (N/A)	185×55×33(NE–SW)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

Juksan Dolmens (415 Deoksan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

At the verge of the Juksan hamlet, the site survey team identified 12 dolmens in paddy fields and waysides (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 27-28). Eight dolmens assigned for excavation were aligned in two rows with a north and south orientation (Figure 50). Because the site had been seriously disturbed by cultivation for a long time, only four burial chambers were identified (Table 18). Except for a Southern Type dolmen, Dolmen No. 8, all other dolmens were of the Capstone Type. Dolmen No. 3 was reported to have dual capstones.

A few microlithic tools belonging to the Upper Paleolithic Period were found in the midst of the dolmen excavation (Figure 51), and they drew serious scholarly attention. In order to explore for further archaeological information on Paleolithic culture at the Jukan site, another field investigation was designed and executed from December 22nd of 1988 to January 25th of 1989 as a part of the fourth field campaigns of the Juam Dam project (S. B. Yi and et al. 1990). Five dolmen burial chambers (A~E in Table 18) were additionally identified and investigated in the midst of investigation of the Paleolithic deposit (S. B. Yi and et al. 1990).

Table 18. Juksan Dolmens (D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	260×130×100(NW–SE)	Not found	N/A	
2	170×110×85(NW–SE)	Not found	N/A	
3	210×140×75(N–S)	176×34×35(NW–SE)	SC	
4	180×170×100(N–S)	150×54×25(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, chunk 1
5	Destroyed	Not found	N/A	arrowhead 1 (disturbed)
6	190×150×70(NW–SE)	Destroyed	?	MP base 1, arrowhead 1
7	230×160×90(NW–SE)	146×37×24(NW–SE)	SC	
8	260×200(N–S)	156×25×23(NW–SE)	SC	MPS
A	Missing (N/A)	174×60×60(NW–SE)	SC(?)	arrowhead 1
B	Missing (N/A)	175×55×35(NW–SE)	SC(?)	stone dagger 1
C	Missing (N/A)	140×50×25(NW–SE)	SC(?)	
D	Missing (N/A)	170×40×40(NW–SE)	SC(?)	stone dagger 1
E	Missing (N/A)	158×60×25(NW–SE)	SC(?)	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MPS: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

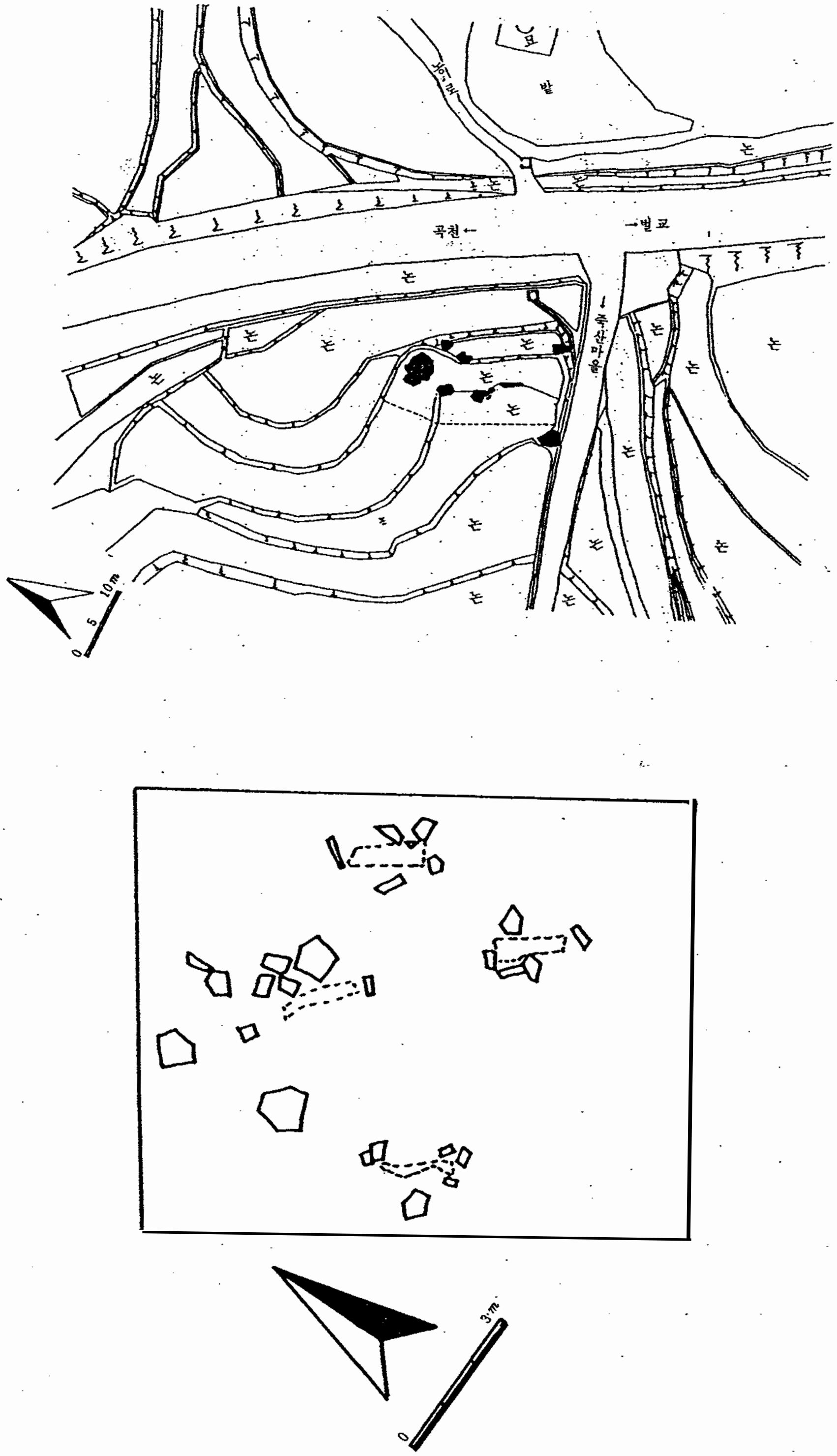


Figure 50. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Juksan Site (Ji and Park 1988: 39-41).

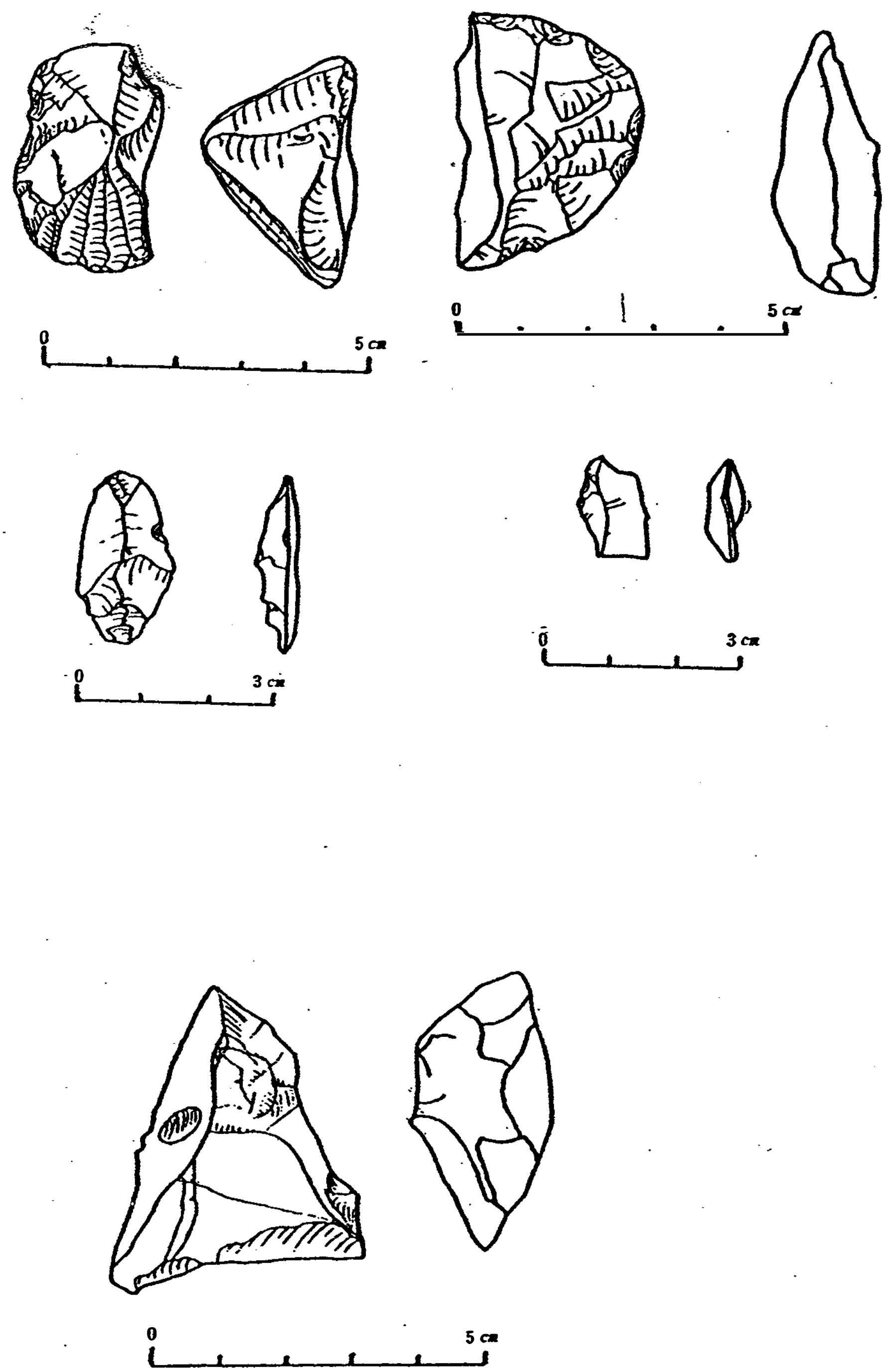


Figure 51. Paleolithic Lithic Specimens from the Juksan Site (Ji and Park 1988: 48).

Jangseon Dolmens (433 Jeolsan-ri, Nam -myeon, Hwasun)

At the Jangseon site, the initial site survey reported 9 dolmens in a paddy field. Eight burial chambers were found (Figure 52), but they were too damaged to yield useful information (Table 19). Along with a few Mumun and red burnished pottery sherds, a polished stone arrowhead and a tubular jade were found during the excavations (Figure 52).

Table 19. Jangseon Dolmens (B. M. Kim and S. I. Lee 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	280×200×200(NW–SE)	Unclear (NW–SE)	SC	
2	215×110×?(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
3	346×192×40(NW–SE)	Unclear (S–N?)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1
4	292×152×110(NW–SE)	205×60×?(NW–SE)	SC	MPS
5	300×250×140(NW–SE)	Unclear (?)	SC	MPS
6	260×170×74(E–W)	Unclear (?)	SC	
7	200×150×60(NW–SE)	215×134×?(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, tubular jade 1
8	277×122×?(E–W)	Unclear (?)	SC	
9	149×56×32(NW–SE)	Unclear(E–W)	SC	burnished red sherds

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. MS: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

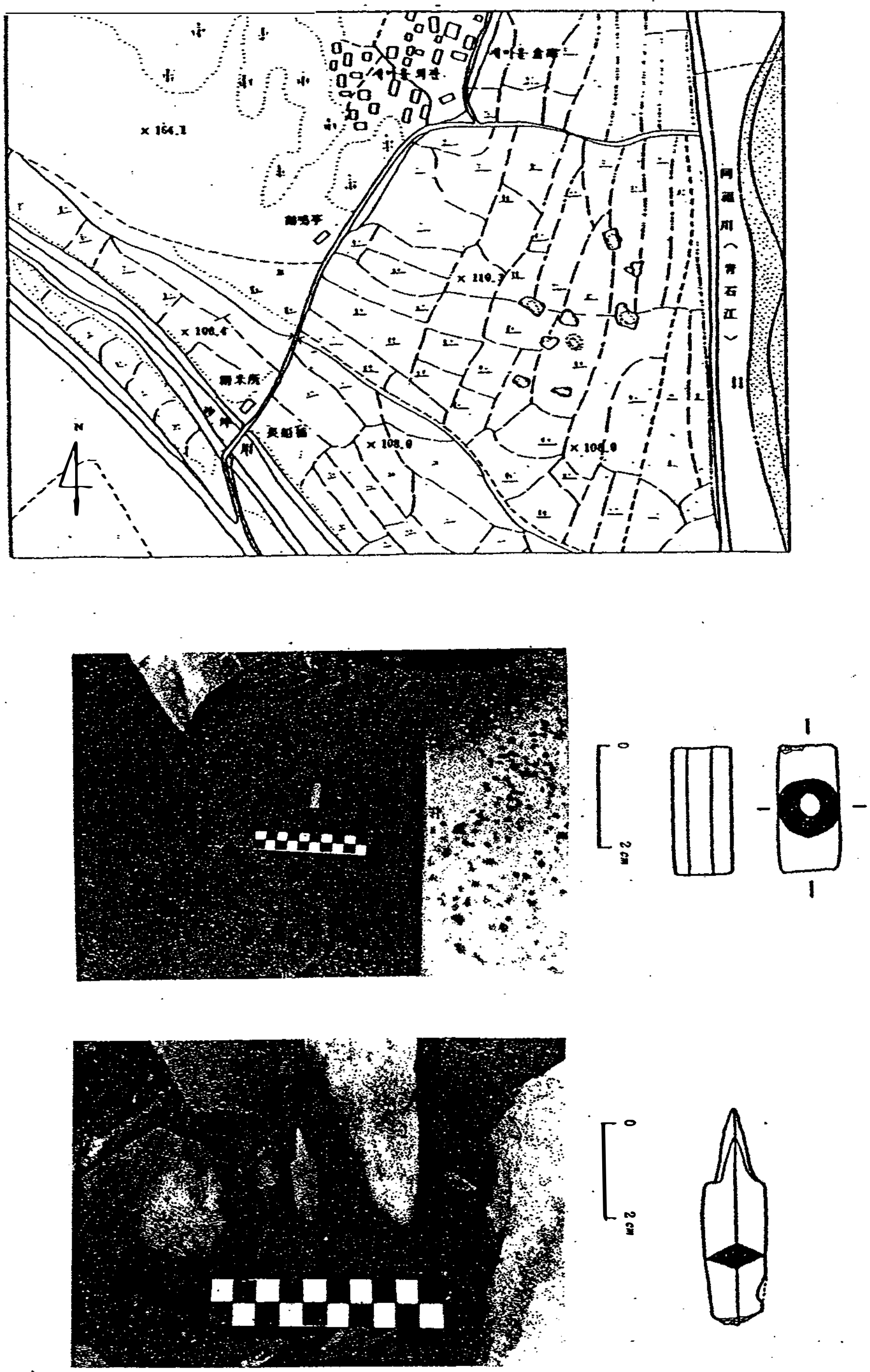


Figure 52. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones at the Jangseon Site, and a Polished Stone Arrowhead and a Tubular Jade therein (Kim and Lee 1988: 293, 310, 327).

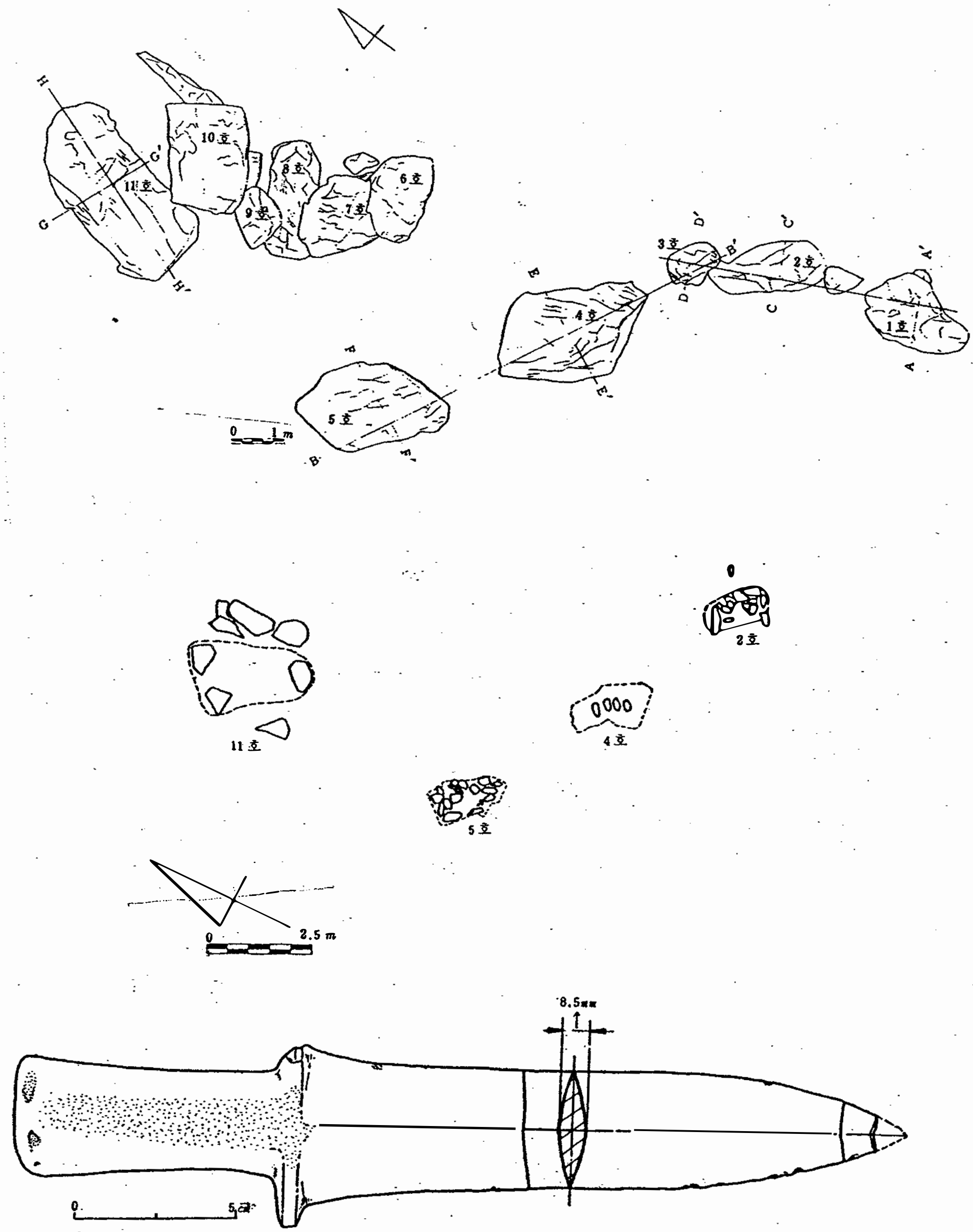


Figure 53. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Hajuk A Site and a Polished Stone Dagger therein (Hwang 1988: 234, 236-237).

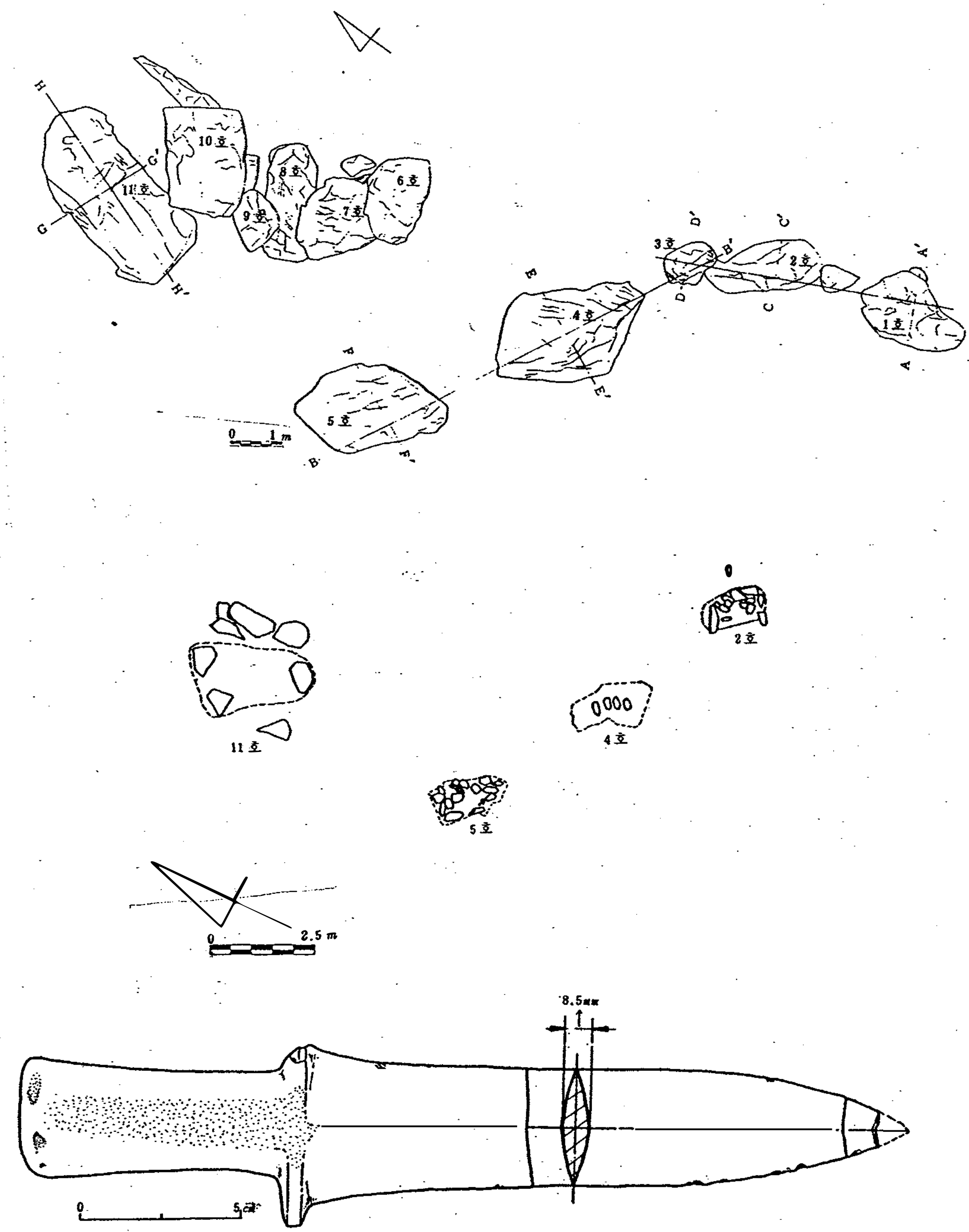


Figure 53. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Hajuk A Site and a Polished Stone Dagger therein (Hwang 1988: 234, 236-237).

Hajuk A Dolmens (Juksan -ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

The Hajuk A dolmens at Juksan-ri are one of four groups of dolmens located on the alluvial plain developed in the Dongbok River, which joins with the Boseong River. While in total 11 dolmens were investigated (Figure 53), only 5 burial chambers were identified (Table 20). A polished stone dagger was the only artifact found at the Hajuk A dolmen site (Figure 53).

However, along with hundreds of Mumun Pottery sherds, a grinding stone set and an iron arrowhead were collected in the surrounding area. Also, a profile of a semi-subterranean house belonging to the Mumun Pottery Period was identified.

Table 20. Hajuk A Dolmens (Y. H. Hwang 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	190×140×45(N–S)	73×50×30 (NE–SW)	PG	dagger 1
2	216×95×50(NW–SE)	105×70×25 (NW–SE)	PG	
3	100×80×50(Moved)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
4	360×210×70(NW–SE)	190×90×25 (NW–SE)	PG	
5	275×215×125(NW–SE)	195×96×? (NW–SE)	PG	
6	Broken (?)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
7	Broken (?)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
8	Broken (?)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	

9	220×160×80(Moved)	Not found (N/A)	N/A
10	Broken (?)	Not found (N/A)	N/A
11	140×110×35(NE–SW)	300×170×?(N–S)	PG

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, PG: pit grave, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

Hajuk B Dolmens (Juksan -ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

The Hajuk B dolmens, also at Juksan-ri, are another of the four dolmen groups found in the alluvial plain developed by the Dongbok River Valley. In total 12 dolmens oriented north and south along the ridge of a paddy field were selected for excavation. Nine burial chambers, consisting of seven stone cists and two pit graves, were identified and investigated. In addition, 3 burial chambers of stone cists isolated from their own capstones were found in the midst of excavation as well (Figure 54). Also, 2 burial chambers isolated from their own capstones, were identified in the midst of the field campaign of 1989 for the investigation of residential features (Son and I. Y. Lee 1990).

Consequently, in total 15 dolmens were investigated at the Hajuk B site (Table 21). A polished stone dagger (Figure 54) from the burial chamber of Dolmen No. 4 was the only artifact found in the whole excavation. While no particular treatment was identified in the floors of pit grave type burial chambers, pebbles, broken stones, and flat stones were paved into the floors of stone cist type burial chambers.

Table 21. Hajuk B Dolmens (B. H. Son and B. G. Han 1988; Son and I. Y. Lee 1990).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1-1	200×140×45(NW–SE)	220×70×30(NW–SE)	SC	
2	1-2	150×80×40(NE–SW)	140×120×30 (?)	PG	
3	2	260×100×60(N–S)	220×70×30(N–S)	PG	
4	3	180×120×40(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
5	4	150×110×20(N–S)	180×40×20(NW–SE)	SC	dagger 1
6	5	170×140×40(E–W)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
7	6	240×150×60(NW–SE)	206×70×30(NW–SE)	SC	
8	7	220×160×100(NE–SW)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
9	8	240×150×120(NW–SE)	140×80×20(NW–SE)	SC	
10	9	280×180×60(N–S)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	
11	10	Missing (N/A)	destroyed (NW-SE)	SC	
12	11	Missing (N/A)	destroyed (NW-SE)	SC	
13	12	Missing (N/A)	160×50×20(NW–SE)	SC	
14	A	Missing (N/A)	254×160×?(NW–SE)	SC	
15	B	Missing (N/A)	470×420×?(NE–SW)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

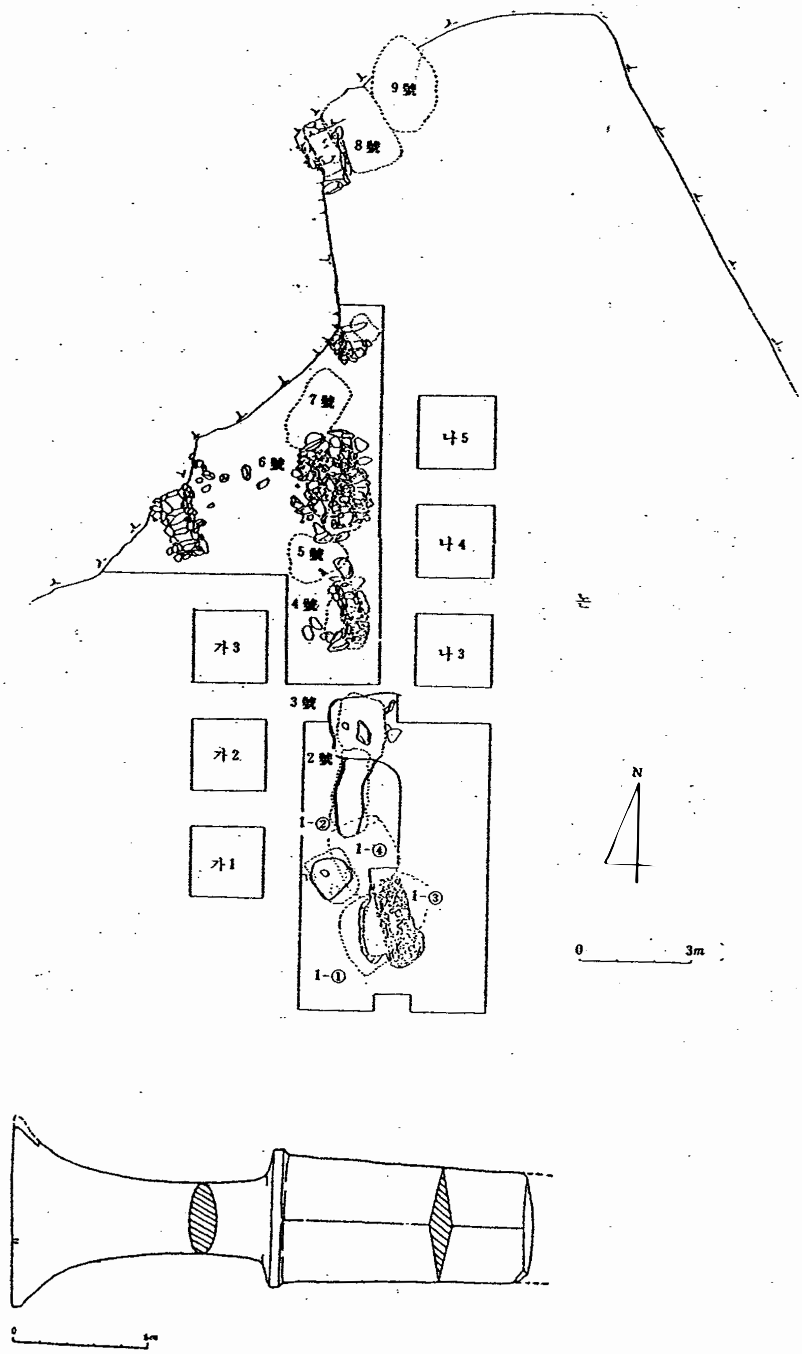


Figure 54. Distribution of Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Hajuk B Site and a Polished Stone Dagger therein (Son and Han 1988: 270).

Hajuk C Dolmens (77 Juksan -ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

Another dolmen group at the Hajuk C site was the largest among the four dolmen groups found in the alluvial plain of the Dongbok River Valley. In 1987 summer, 23 dolmens, aligned north and south in three rows parallel with the flow of the Dongbok River, were assigned for excavation (Figure 55). The heavy rains of 1987 flooded or destroyed dolmens on the riverside, but also exposed dolmen capstones. In the excavation of 1987, in total 31 dolmens were investigated and 8 dolmens (Dolmens Nos. 1-8, 1-9, 2-1, 11-2, 11-3, 13-1, 14-2 and 19-1) were additionally identified and investigated in the excavation designed for study of semi-subterranean houses in 1989 Spring.

In all, the total number of features investigated at the Hajuk C site turned out to be 39 dolmens (Table 22). In a case of Dolmen No. 6, two burial chambers were built under a single capstone (Figure 56). Three types of burial chamber structures were identified: stone cists, stone circles, and pit graves. Only two dolmens (Nos. 1 and 17) adopted a pit grave as a burial chamber structure, and all other dolmens adopted stone cists or stone circles. Except for one dolmen (No. 1) which adopted a pit grave burial chamber structure, propping stones to support the dolmen capstone were found only in dolmens adopting a stone cist burial chamber. Stone pavements installed around burial chambers and a lid stone to cover a burial chamber were also identified among dolmens adopting a stone cist burial chamber structure.

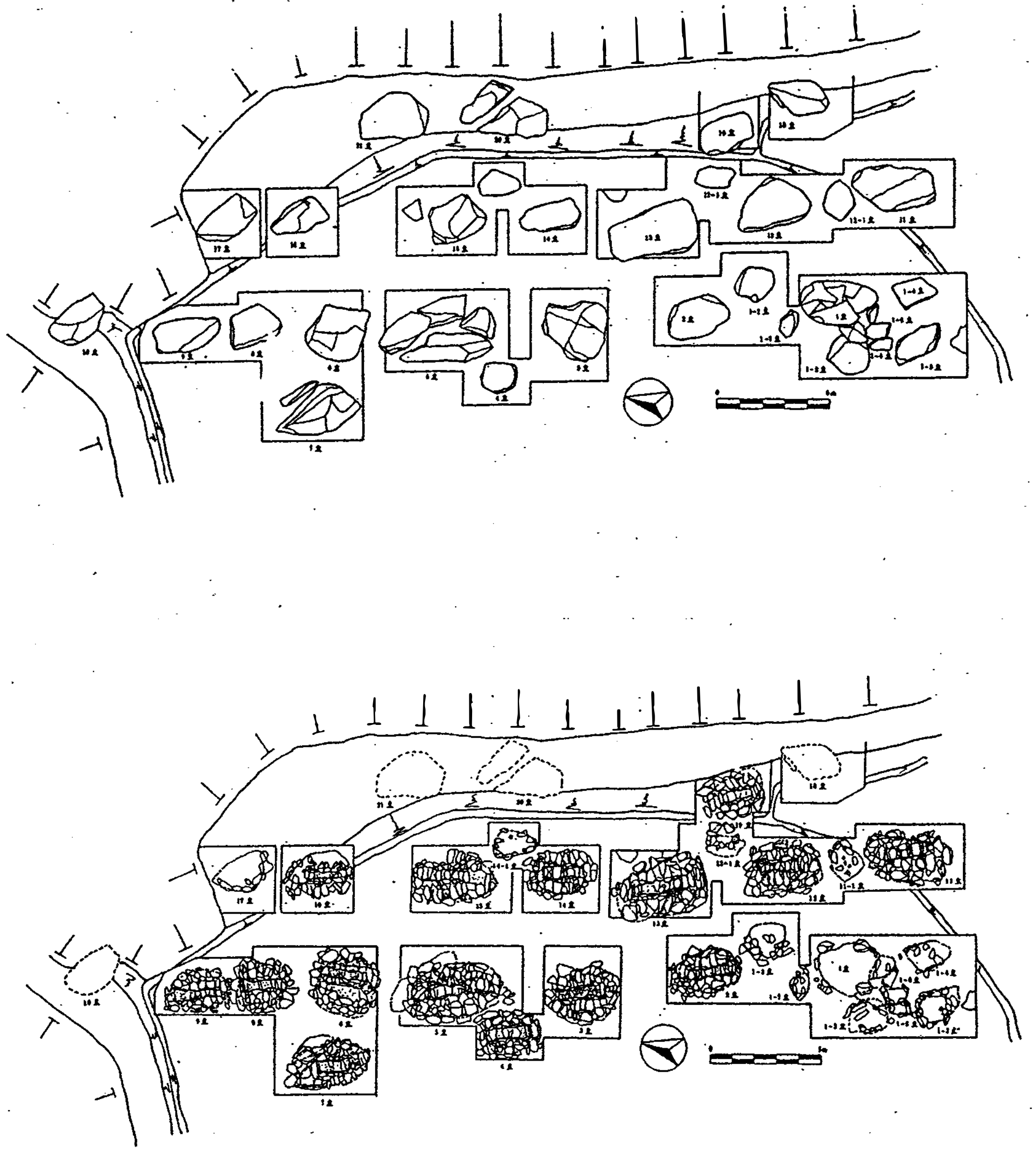


Figure 55. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Hajuk C Site (Song and Lee 1988: 349-350, 352).

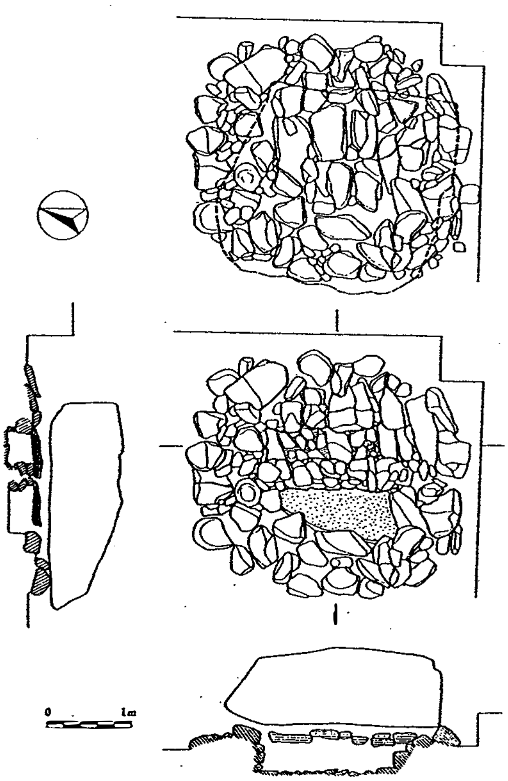


Figure 56. Paired Burial Chambers of Dolmen No. 6 at the Hajuk C Site
(J. H. Song and Y. M. Lee 1988: 360, 400).

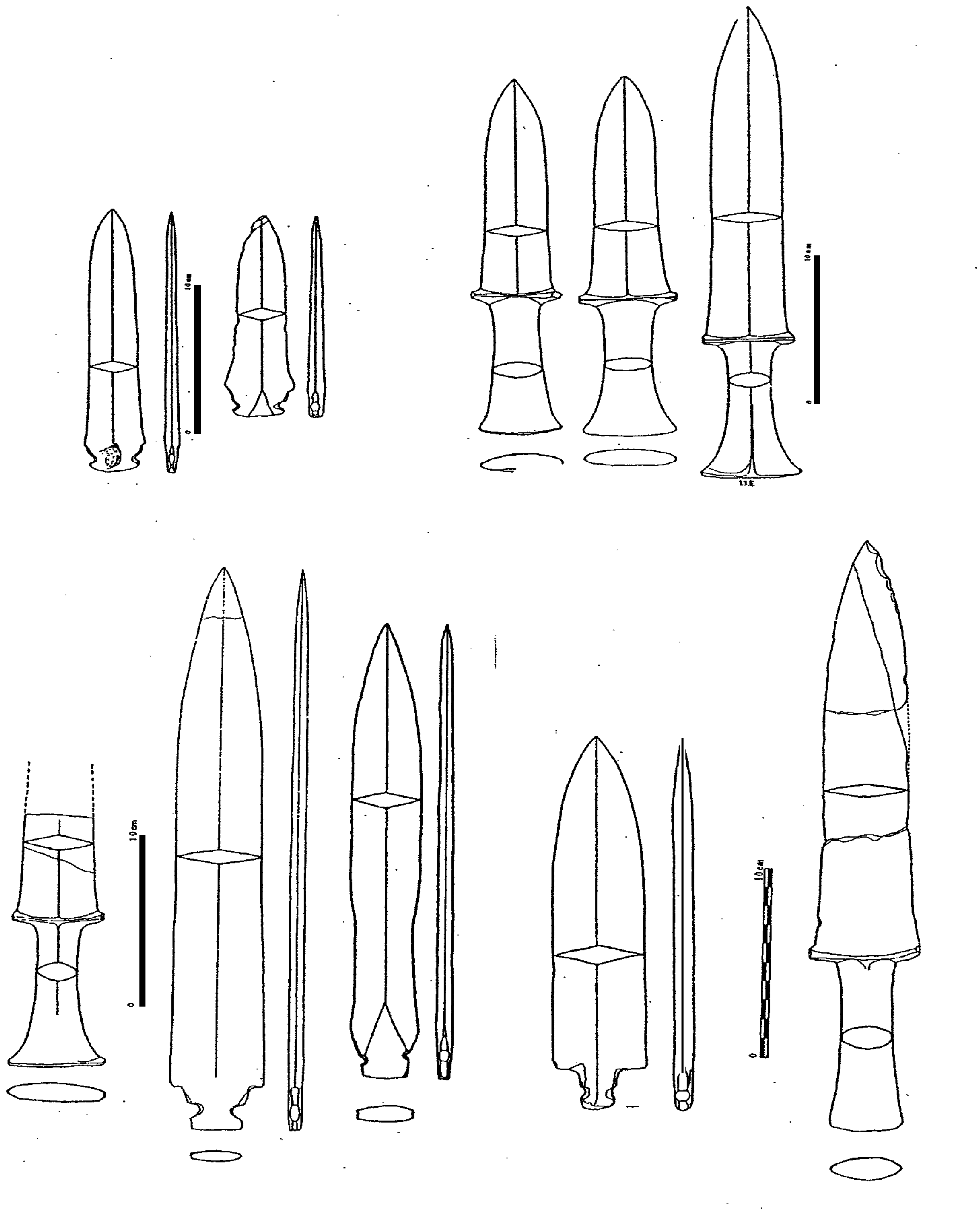


Figure 57. Polished Stone Daggers from the Hajuk C Site (Song and Lee 1988: 379-382).

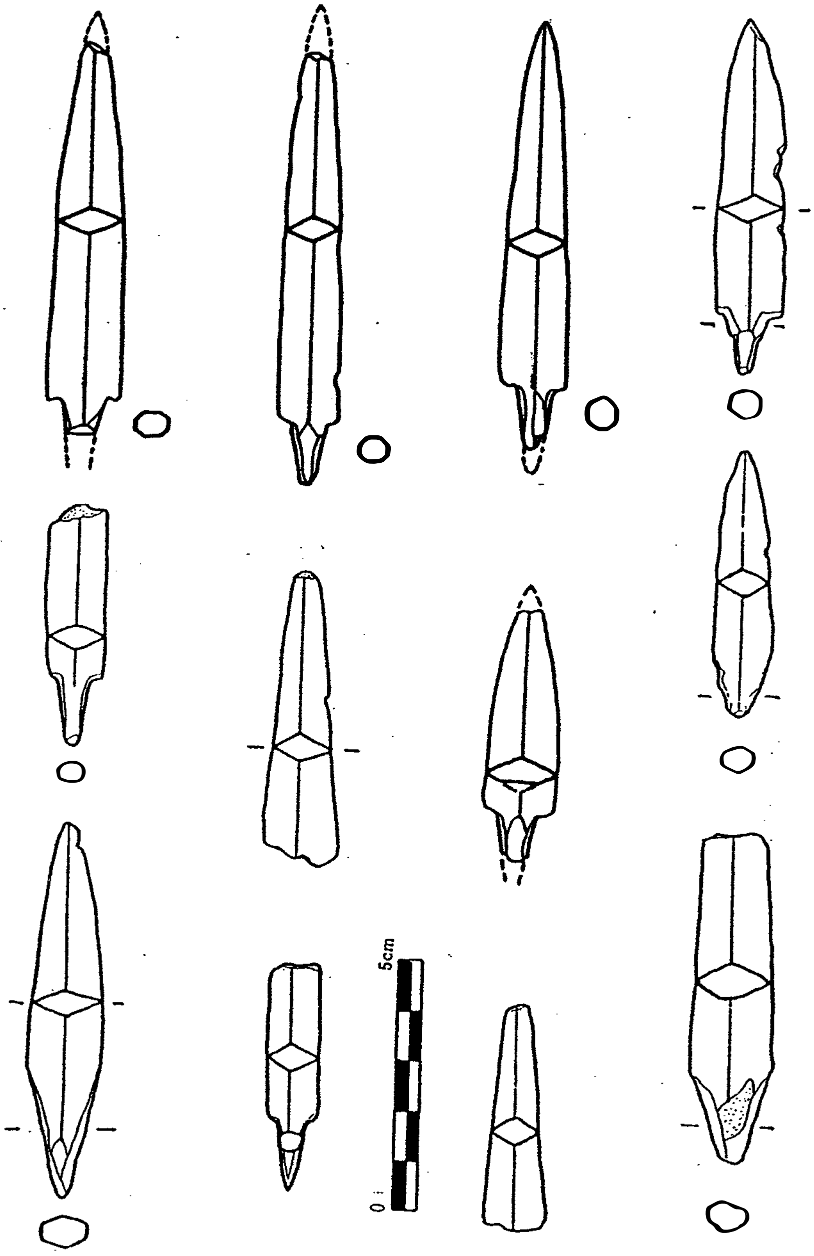


Figure 58. Polished Stone Arrowheads from the Hajuk C Site (Song and Lee 1988: 383).

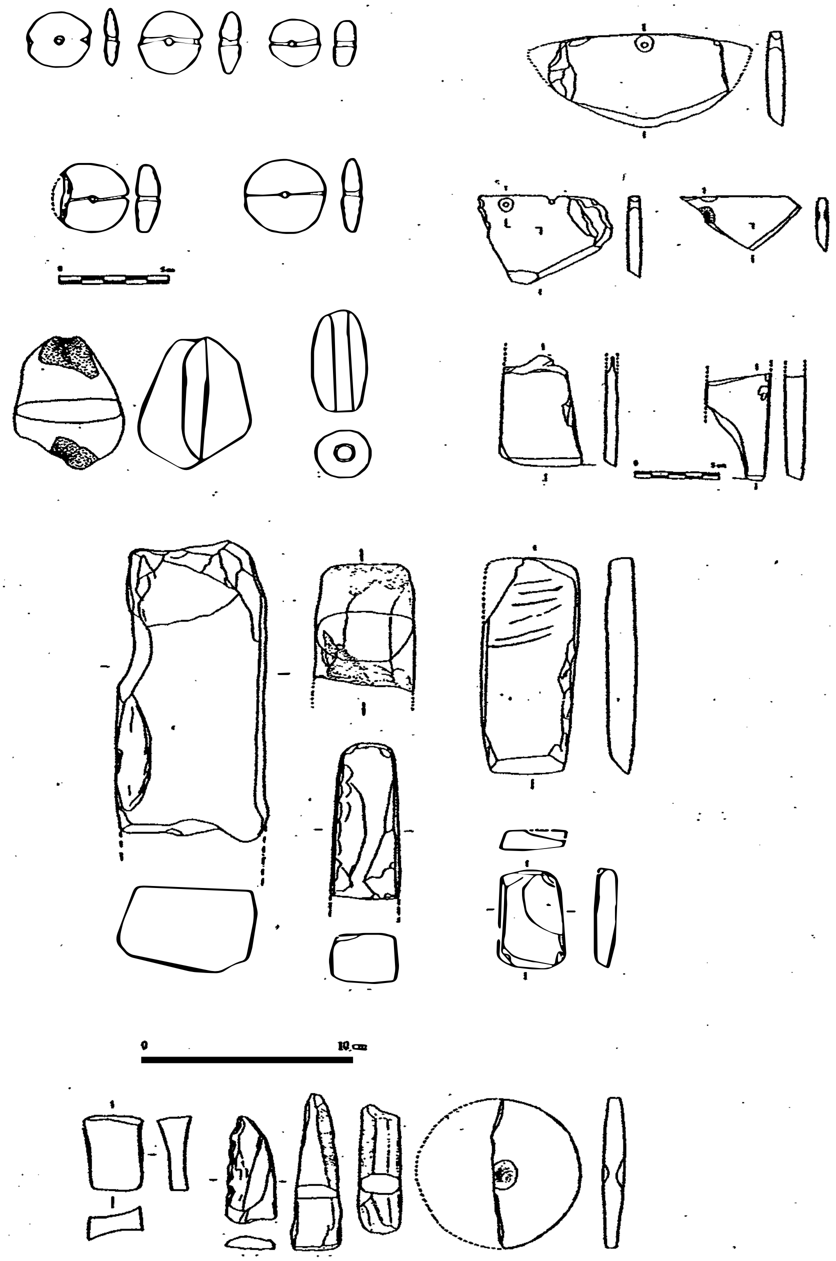


Figure 59. Other Stone Tools from the Hajuk C Site (Song and Lee 1988: 384-385, 388).

As shown in Table 22, while burial chambers adopting a stone cist were large enough to allow a deceased adult to be buried in extended posture (150 ~ 210 cm), the length of stone circle burial chambers was too short for extended interment except in the case of Dolmen No. 1-4, which was 140 cm long. Also, while there was no extra floor treatment for stone circle or pit grave burial chamber structures, the floors of stone cist burial chamber structures were paved with flat stones.

In the Hajuk C dolmen site, relatively rich burial goods were furnished, including Red burnished Pottery, Mumun Pottery sherds, fire making stones, and a number of polished stone implements including daggers, arrowheads, knives, grinding stones, grinding pestles, axes, and grooved adzes (Figures 57 - 59). Most of these artifacts were collected from dolmens with stone cist burial chambers.

From time to time, artifacts of later archaeological periods, such as Kimhae Pottery sherds, were identified in a few dolmens. These later period artifacts seemed to indicate that these dolmen sites had been disturbed over a long span of time, rather than suggesting that dolmens continued to be built until such a late period in the Boseong River Valley or South Jeolla Province.

Table 22. Hajuk C Dolmens (Song and Lee 1988; Song et al. 1990).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	360×220×130(N–S)	260×140× ?(N–S)	PG	MPS, RBS, Gs and Gp
2	1-1	180×150×55(NW–SE)	70×40× ?(N–S)	SCI	MPS, RBS

3	1-2	200×165×50(NW–SE)	120×70× ?(N–S)	SCI	net sinker 1, MPS
4	1-3	225×115×50(NW–SE)	110(diameter)×110	SCI	
5	1-4	170×120×45(NW–SE)	140×85× ? (N–S)	SCI	MPS, handle 1
6	1-5	100×47×10(NW–SE)	50×30× ? (N–S)	SCI	
7	1-6	110×70×30(NW–SE)	70×60× ? (N–S)	SCI	MPS, chisel 1
8	1-7	120×70×25(E–W)	50×25× ? (E–W)	SCI	
9	1-8	180×110×30(N–S)	60×80× ? (N–S)	SCI	grooved adze 1, arrowhead 1
10	1-9	110×90×20(N–S)	90×40× ? (N–S)	SCI	arrowheads 2
11	2	220×180×95(NW–SE)	180×53×40(N–S)	SC	net sinker 1, MPS, burnished red (2)
12	2-1	185×85×30(N–S)	100×50×20(N–S)	SCI	stone knife 1
13	3	280×250×80(N–S)	170×50×45(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 4, dagger 1
14	4	170×125×65(N–S)	200×50×35(N–S)	SC	MPS, net sinker 1, grindstone 1
15	5	450×220×65(NW–SE)	170×50×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, arrowhead 1, stone knife 1, net sinker 1
16	6	260×250×90(N–S)	160×50×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, net sinker 1, ax 2, knife 1
			130×50×40(N–S)	PG	
17	7	390×250×60(NW–SE)	165×50×60(N–S)	SC	MPS, RB 1, arrowhead 2, knife 1, spindle whorl 1
18	8	230×160×50(N–S)	150×60×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, knife 1, dagger 1, net sinker 1, arrowhead 1
19	9	320×180×60(NW–SE)	160×55×45(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, net sinker 1, dagger 1, arrowhead 1, plane blade 2
20	10	265×180×80(N–S)	disturbed/ destroyed	?	
21	11	360×190×110(N–S)	180×55×40(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 2, grinding pestle 1
22	11-1	150×140×25(N–S)	90×50× ? (N–S)	SCI	MPS, RBS
23	11-2	Missing (N/A)	163×53×45 (N–S)	SC	arrowheads 2
24	11-3	Missing (N/A)	170×40×40 (N–S)	SC	arrowheads 3

25	12	345×200×80(NW–SE)	170×60×45(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 2
26	12-1	190×90×20(N–S)	70×60× ? (E–W)	SCI	MPS, fire building stone 2
27	13	410×240×85(NW–SE)	200×60×45(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, RBS, dagger 1, arrowhead 1
28	13-1	145×90×30(E–W)	90×60×25(E–W)	SCI	lithic net sinker 1
29	14	250×120×50(NW–SE)	180×60×40(N–S)	SC	dagger 1
30	14-1	180×115×35(NW–SE)	120×60×?(N–S)	SCI	saw blade 1
31	14-2	180×110×40(N–S)	170×80×30(N–S)	SCI	lithic net sinker 1
32	15	280×210×85(NW–SE)	210×55×45(N–S)	SC	MPS, ax 1, dagger 2, arrowhead 4
33	16	280×140×55(NW–SE)	140×45×40(N–S)	SC	MPS
34	17	300×170×60(NE–SW)	100×100×30	PG	Mumun sherd 1
35	18	270×160×110(N–S)	Destroyed by flood	?	MPS, RBS
36	19	250×150×50(NW–SE)	140×40×20(NW–SE)	SC	MPS
37	19-1	70×60×25(N–S)	unclear	?	
38	20	310×200×90(NW–SE)	Destroyed by flood	?	dagger 1
39	21	320×220×75(NW–SE)	Destroyed by flood	?	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, Gs: Grinding stone, Gp: Grinding pestle, MP: Mumun Pottery, PG: pit grave, RB: Red burnished pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

Sinwol-C Dolmens (705-1 Obong-ri, Juam-myeon, Seungju)

At the Sinwol C dolmen site, the initial site survey identified 13 dolmen capstones oriented south to north along the flow of the Boseong River (Figure 60).

Only four burial chambers were identified, and two burial chambers isolated from their own capstones were additionally identified (Table 23).

Table 23. Sinwol C Dolmens (D. H. Yun 1987)

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	240×200×60(N–S)	210×50×40(N–S)	SC	tubular jade 1
2	220×150×55(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
3	270×150×100(N–S)	160×40×35(N–S)	SC	dagger 1
4	180×100×50(N–S)	170×50(N–S)	SC	MPS
5	170×50×40(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
6	150×100×45(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	MPS
7	260×200×90(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	arrowhead 1
8	140×110×40(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
9	200×200×60(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
10	160×140×50(N–S)	160×50×20(N–S)	SC	arrowhead 1
11	560×450×80(E–W)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	MPS
12	95×100×70(E–W)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
13	290×140×70(E–W)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	
14	380×230×100(N–S)	Not found(N/A)	N/A	MPS
A	Missing	170×45×25(N–S)	SC	
B	Missing	170×80×?(N–S)	SC	dagger piece 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MS: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

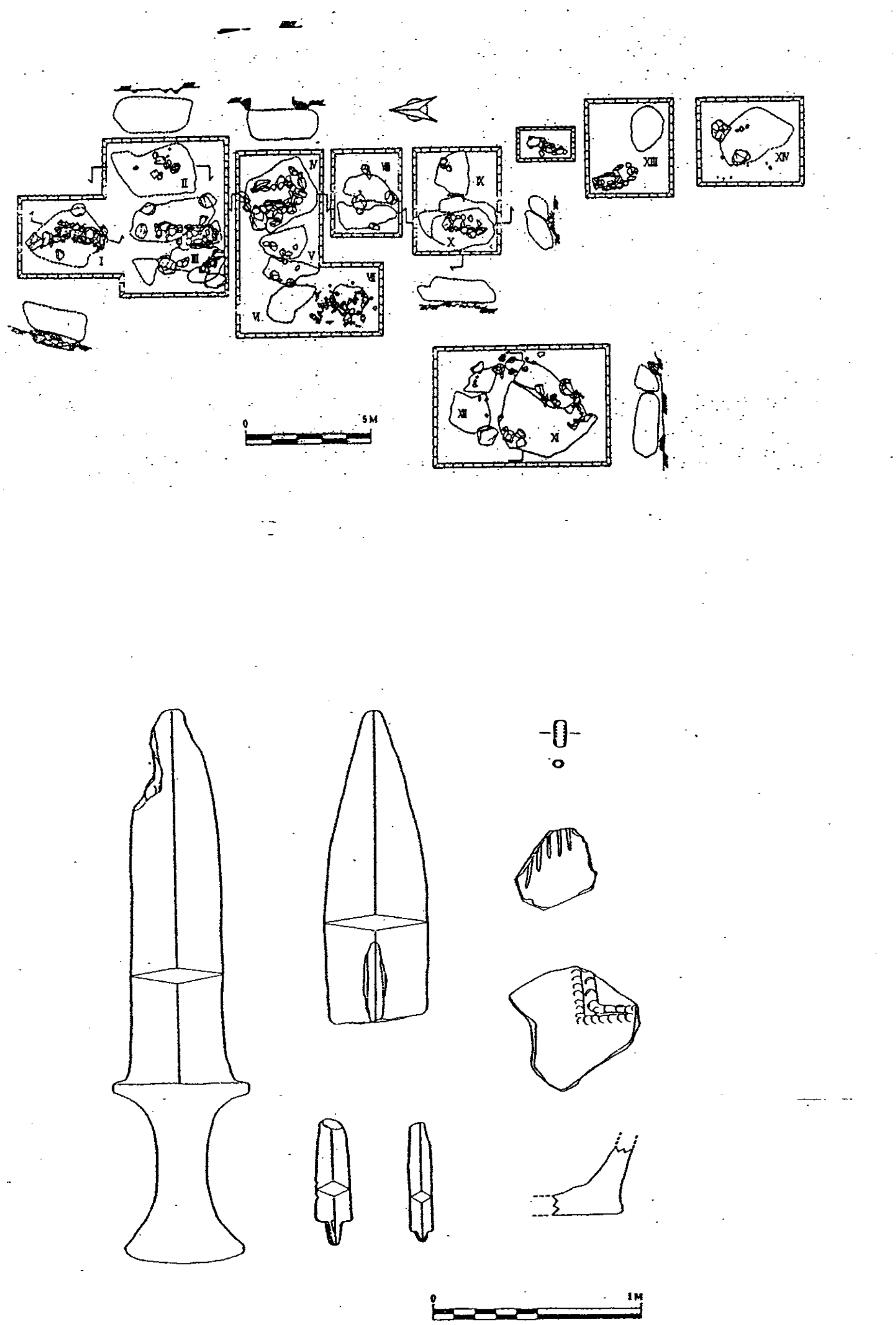


Figure 60. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones (dotted) and Burial Chambers at the Sinwol C Site and Artifacts therein (D. H. Yun 1987: 152, 165).

According to the excavation report, the south walls of the burial chambers were wider than the north walls, and the deceased were buried with their heads to the south. Two polished stone daggers, a polished stone arrowhead, and a tubular jade were found in these burial chambers, along with a polished stone arrowhead and a few Mumun pottery sherds from outside of the burial chambers (Figure 60).

Sinwol D Dolmens (Obong-ri, Juam-myeon, Seungju)

At the Sinwol D dolmen site, the initial site survey reported 32 dolmen capstones aligned to north and south in four rows (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 10-11). Two dolmen capstones were additionally identified, and 15 out of a total of 34 dolmens were assigned for excavation (Figure 61). As usual, Southern Type and Capstone Type dolmens were mixed together, and the stone cist was a dominant burial chamber structure (Table 24) at the Sinwol D site.

Burial chambers were mostly aligned to north and south, paralleling the flow of the Boseong River and the direction of an adjacent mountain ridge except for Dolmen No. 9-1which had an orientation of east and west (Figure 61). Polished stone daggers and burnished red pottery jars were uncovered from burial chambers (Figure 62), and some artifacts were also found around burial chambers or between stone pavements. Based on the typology of polished stone daggers, polished stone arrowheads, and burnished red jars, this site was tentatively dated to the Iron Age I, or Early Iron Age (300-1 B.C.),.

Table 24. Sinwol D Dolmens (D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1987).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	270×190×140(N–S)	130×30×30(N–S)	SC	MPS, chipped ax 1
2	2	220×130×70(N–S)	Unclear (?)	PG?	MPS
3	3	240×170×100(N–S)	135×30×22(N–S)	SC	
4	4	270×210×73(N–S)	155×37×30(N–S)	SC	dagger 1, triangular knife 1,
5	5	340×200×70(N–S)	150×32×27(N–S)	SC	MPS, cupmarks 10 in capstone
6	6	200×110×88(N–S)	105×35×32(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS
7	7	187×110×50(N–S)	130×33×27(N–S)	SC	MPS, dagger 1, arrowhead 1
8	8	252×190×54(N–S)	155×43×340(N–S?)	SC	MPS, RB jar 1
9	9	318×174×90(N–S)	170×50×40(S–N)	SC	MPS, whetstone 1
10	9-1	155×94×50(N–S)	94×50×26(E–W)	SC	
11	10	270×190×60(N–S)	120×37×30(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, arrowhead 1, flake 1
12	11	222×175×42(N–S)	106×35×37(N–S)	SC	MPS, plane blade 1
13	12	185×134×55(N–S)	130×30×28(N–S)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1
14	13	212×166×38(E–W)	Unclear (disturbed)	SC ?	MPS
15	14	180×160×75(E–W)	?	PG?	MPS
16	15	280×52×40(N–S)	Unclear (disturbed)	SC ?	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, PG: pit grave, RB: Red burnished Pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

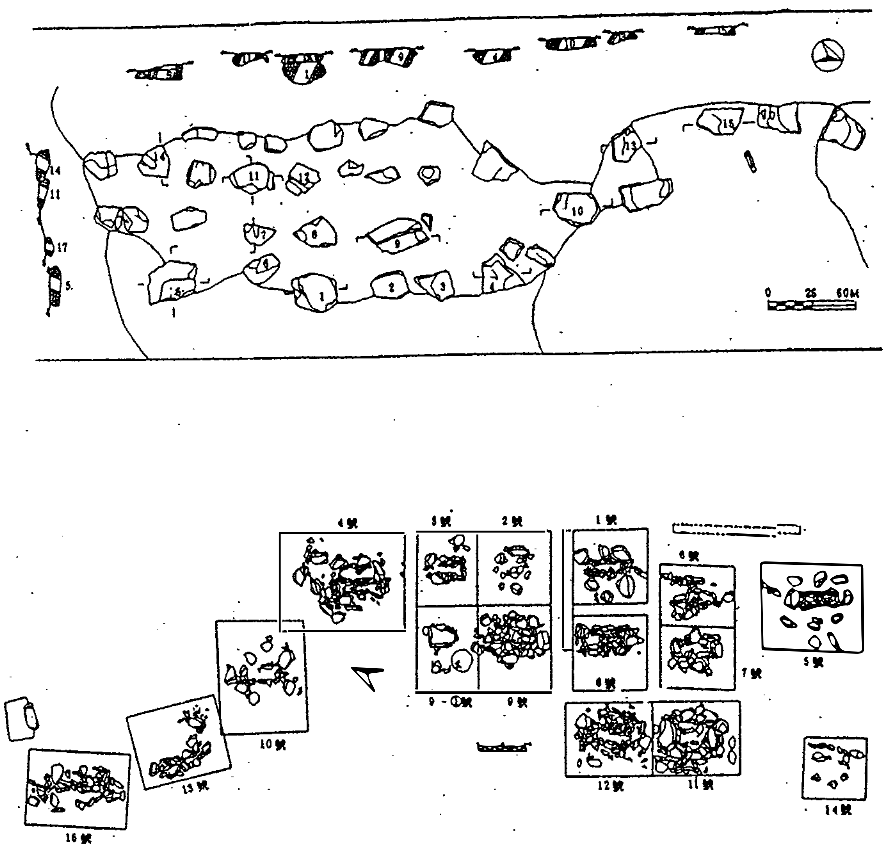


Figure 61. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Sinwol D Site (D. S. Ji and J. G. Park 1987: 228, 238).

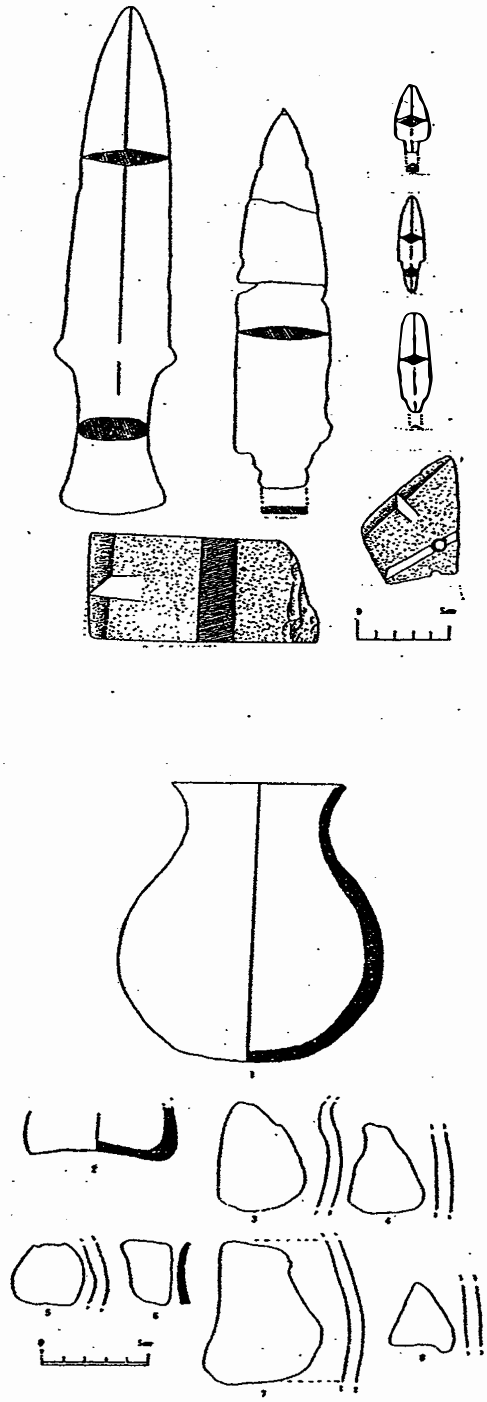


Figure 62. Polished Stone Implements and Red Burnished Pottery from the Sinwol D Site (Ji and Park 1987: 254, 256).

Sinwol H Dolmens (Obong-ri, Juam-myeon, Seungju)

The initial site survey identified 13 dolmens at the Sinwol H Dolmen location, and two more dolmen capstones were additionally identified later. Orientation of the dolmen capstones did not show any consistent pattern (Figure 63) and only four burial chambers were found among 15 dolmens investigated (Table 25). Obviously, many dolmen capstones were dislocated from their original places by unidentified processes. Along with only a few Mumun Pottery sherds, a polished and a chipped stone ax were all the artifacts uncovered from the excavation. There was also insufficient evidence to identify dolmen types.

Table 25. Sinwol H Dolmens (M. L. Choi, et al. 1987)

	Fea No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1.	3	230×158×68(NW–SE)	?×?×?(NW–SE)	SC?	
2	4	467×258×174(NE–SW)	140×?×?(NW–SE)	SC?	
3	9	283×208×96(NE–SW)	Unclear (disturbed)	SC?	
4	10	303×130×93(NE–SW)	Unclear (disturbed)	SC?	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, SC: stone cist. ?: Unclear, Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

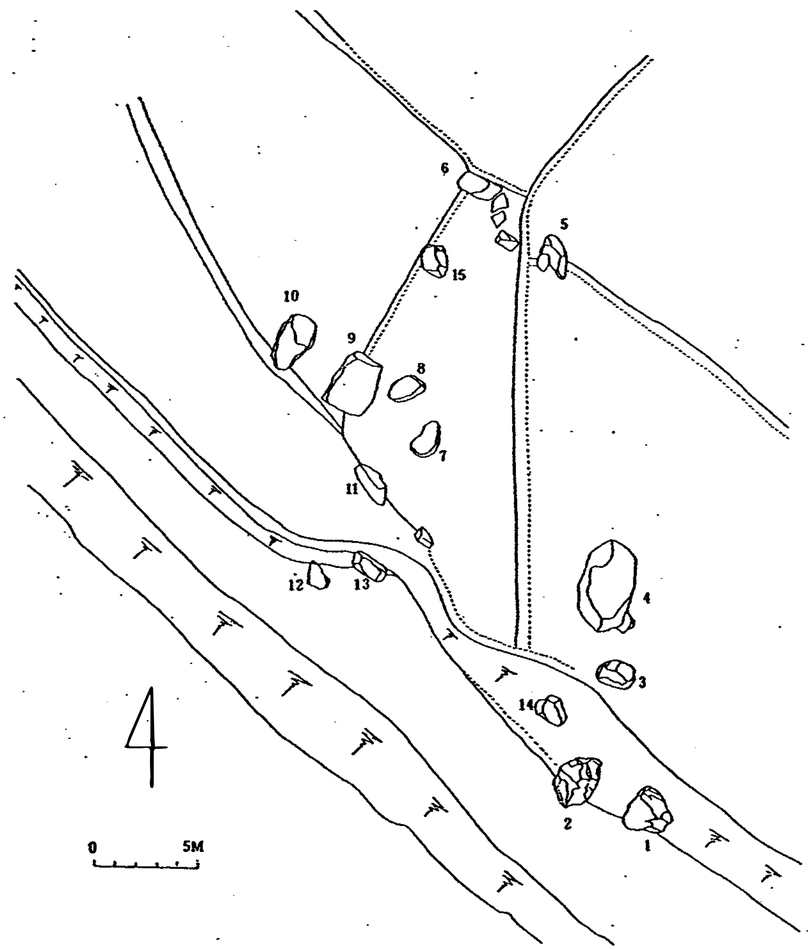


Figure 63. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones at the Sinwol H Site (Choi et. al 1987: 313).

Daejeon Dolmens (15 Sasu-ri, Nam -myeon, Hwasun)

In the initial site survey, 24 dolmens were reported on a hill at Daejeon village (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 37), and 13 of them were assigned for excavation. In the midst of investigation, three dolmens were additionally identified and excavated, including two burial chambers isolated from their own capstones.

While serious damage did not allow identifying the structure of three burial chambers, the other dolmens adopted stone cists as their burial chamber structures without exception (Table 26). Long sides of the burial chambers were oriented in the direction of flow of the Dongbok River (Figure 64). Except for the burial chamber of Dolmen No. 22, the other burial chambers were of sufficient size to allow burial of a deceased adult in an extended posture.

The capstones of the dolmens were thought to have been obtained from a mountain about 500 m away from the Daejeon site. Along with some Mumun pottery sherds, the dolmen excavation yielded a few polished stone implements, including two daggers, a semi-lunar knife, two grinding stones, and two arrowheads (Figure 65). In addition, about 20 lithic specimens that belonged to the Upper Paleolithic type were identified in diluvial deposits in the easternmost part of the site.

Table 26. Daejeon Dolmens (Y. J. Lee, et al. 1988)

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	270×150×70(E–W)	Destroyed (NE–SW)	?	MPS , grinding stone 1
2	4	200×120×60(E–W)	Not found	N/A	
3	5	150×120×30(E–W)	175×35×25(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, stone material 1
4	8	180×110×50(E–W)	190×65×35(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, dagger 1, arrowhead 1
5	10	270×120×70(E–W)	280×190×?(NE–SW)	SC	grinding stone 1
6	12	110×90×30(N–S)	Destroyed (?)	?	
7	13	140×80×60(N–S)	170×35×20(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, chipped burin 1
8	14	170×90×30(N–S)	Destroyed (?)	SC	
9	16	320×140×120(N–S)	Destroyed (?)	SC	MPS, chipped ax 1
10	20	130×125×25(E–W)	180×50×30(NE–SW)	SC	chipped ax 1
11	22	100×70×(N–S)	110×90×?(NE–SW)	SC	
12	23	180×140×90 (NW–SE)	160×50×35(NE–SW)	SC	MPS
13	24	100×80×40(N–S)	170×?×??	SC	raw stone material 2
14	25	130×80×40(N–S)	Destroyed (?)	?	
15	27	Missing (N/A)	170×40×25(N–S)	SC	
16	28	Missing (N/A)	166×96×37(NE–SW)	SC	MPS

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature. MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

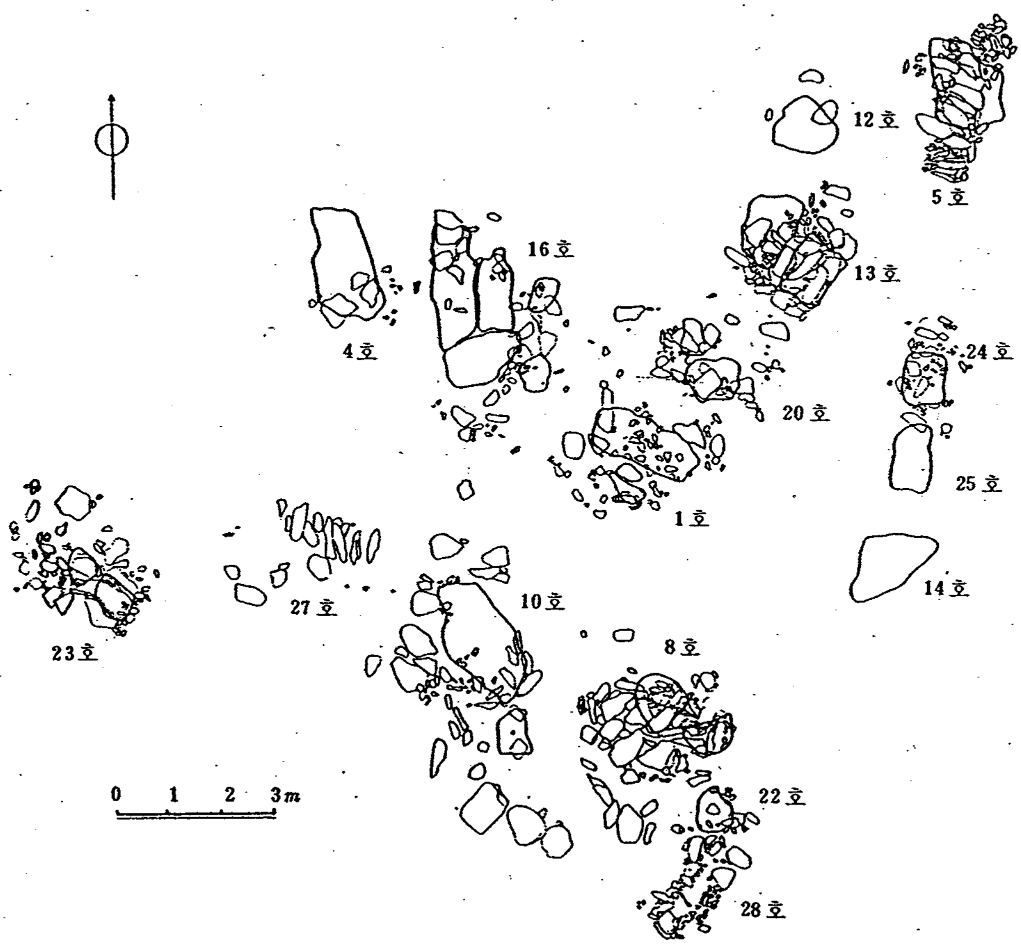


Figure 64. Distribution of Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Daejeon Site (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988: 250).

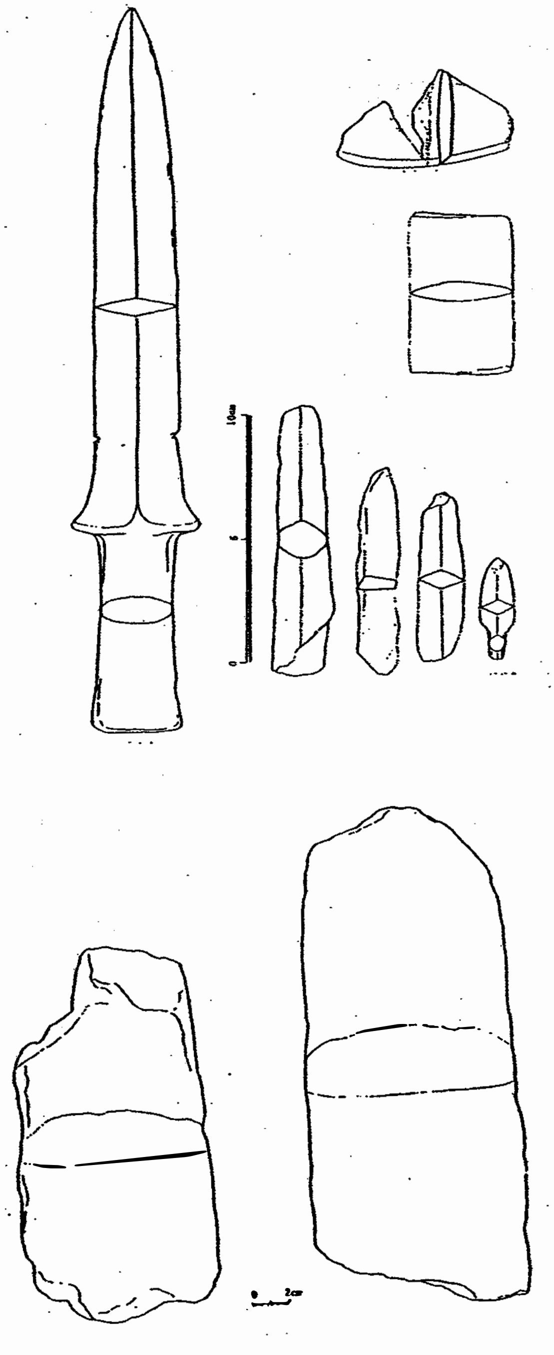


Figure 65. Lithic Implements from the Daejeon Site (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988: 256-257).

Salchi A Dolmens (Sicheon-ri, Bognae-myeon, Boseong)

At the Salchi A site, the initial site survey reported 19 dolmens on the slope of the Cheonbong Mountain range (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 58-59). Subsequently, more dolmens were identified, and total number of dolmens turned out to be 23 within an area about 340 m^2 across Excluding seriously damaged dolmens, 14 relatively well preserved dolmens were excavated (Figure 66)

Thirteen burial chambers, consisting of eight stone cists and five pit graves, were identified (Table 27). Most of the burial chambers were quite seriously damaged and did not provide detailed information, except for the burial chambers of Dolmens 14, 21, and 23, (Figure 66). A polished stone dagger handle and a Mumun pottery base were all the artifacts yielded at the Salchi A dolmen site.

Table 27. Salchi A Dolmens (M. J. Choi 1988).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	2	255×184×70 (NE–SW)	154×78×36(NW–SE)	SC	
2	4	222×56×68(NE–SW)	108×58×30(N–S)	SC	
3	6	Broken (N–S)	126×40×26(E–W)	SC	
4	7	159×142×48(NE–SW)	112×108×32(E–W)	PG	
5	10	150×130×36(N–S)	86×34×30(E–W)	PG	
6	13	247×203×120(NW–SE)	Not found (N/A)	N/A	

7	14	182×125×48(NE–SW)	100×64×36(NE–SW)	SC	
8	15	179×119×68(N–S)	110×80×40(NE–SW)	SC/PG?	
9	16	144×132×50(NE–SW)	84×60×34(NE–SW)	SC/PG?	
10	17	134×119×64(NE–SW)	110×90×30	PG	
11	18	202×174×120(N–S)	136×66×38(NE–SW)	SC	
12	20	186×162×50(E–W)	104×50×42(NW–SE)	SC	
13	21	186×162×80(NW–SE)	80×64×22(NW–SE)	SC	
14	23	174×60×66(NE–SW)	110×100×50(?)	SC	dagger handle 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, PG: pit grave, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first colunm are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

Salchi B Dolmens (Sicheon-ri, Bognae-myeon, Boseong)

While 16 dolmens were investigated at the Salchi B site (Table 28), the dolmen capstones were aligned northeast and southwest in three rows, paralleling to the trend of the Cheonbong Mountain behind the village, and to the flow of the Boseong River (Figure 67). The long axes of the burial chambers retained the same orientation to those of the capstones, and the stone cist and the stone circle were adopted as burial chamber structures (Figure 67). In a few stone cist burial chambers, stone pavements were identified, and along with a few Mumun Pottery and Red burnished Pottery sherds, polished stone daggers and arrowheads, and a grooved adz, were uncovered (Figure 68).

Table 28. Salchi B Dolmens (S. R. Choi 1988a).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	172×115×87(NE–SW)	110×90×10 (NE–SW)	SCI	MPS
2	2	130×108×55(NE–SW)	108×90×10 (N–S)	SCI	MPS, dagger 1,
3	3	211×128×52(NE–SW)	180×38×40(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, RBS
4	4	180×123×102(NE–SW)	120×115(NE–SW)	SCI	MPS
5	5	121×83×109(NE–SW)	Destroyed	?	MPS, RBS, arrowhead 2
6	6	210×117×53(N–S)	140×90×20(NE–SW)	SCI	MPS, arrowhead 1
7	6-1	Missing (N/A)	120×30×50(NE–SW)	SC	MPS
8	7	315×194×73(NW–SE)	130×70×35(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1
9	8	144×96×73(NE–SW)	80×60(NE–SW)	SCI	MPS
10	9	213×203×97(NE–SW)	140×120×15(NE–SW)	SCI	MPS
11	10	154×112×77(NE–SW)	100×95×20(NE–SW)	SCI	MPS, RBS, net sinker 1
12	11	80×75×50(NE–SW)	Not found	N/A	
13	12	246×153×74(NE–SW)	Destroyed	?	MPS
14	13	270×191×125(NE–SW)	150×40×35(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, RBS, arrowhead 2
15	14	226×146×102(NE–SW)	158×68×15(NW–SE)	SC	
16	15	170×127×65(NE–SW)	120×90(NW–SE)	SCI	MPS
17	16	175×170×742(N–S)	Not found	N/A	dagger 1, grooved adz 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, RB: Red burnished Pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

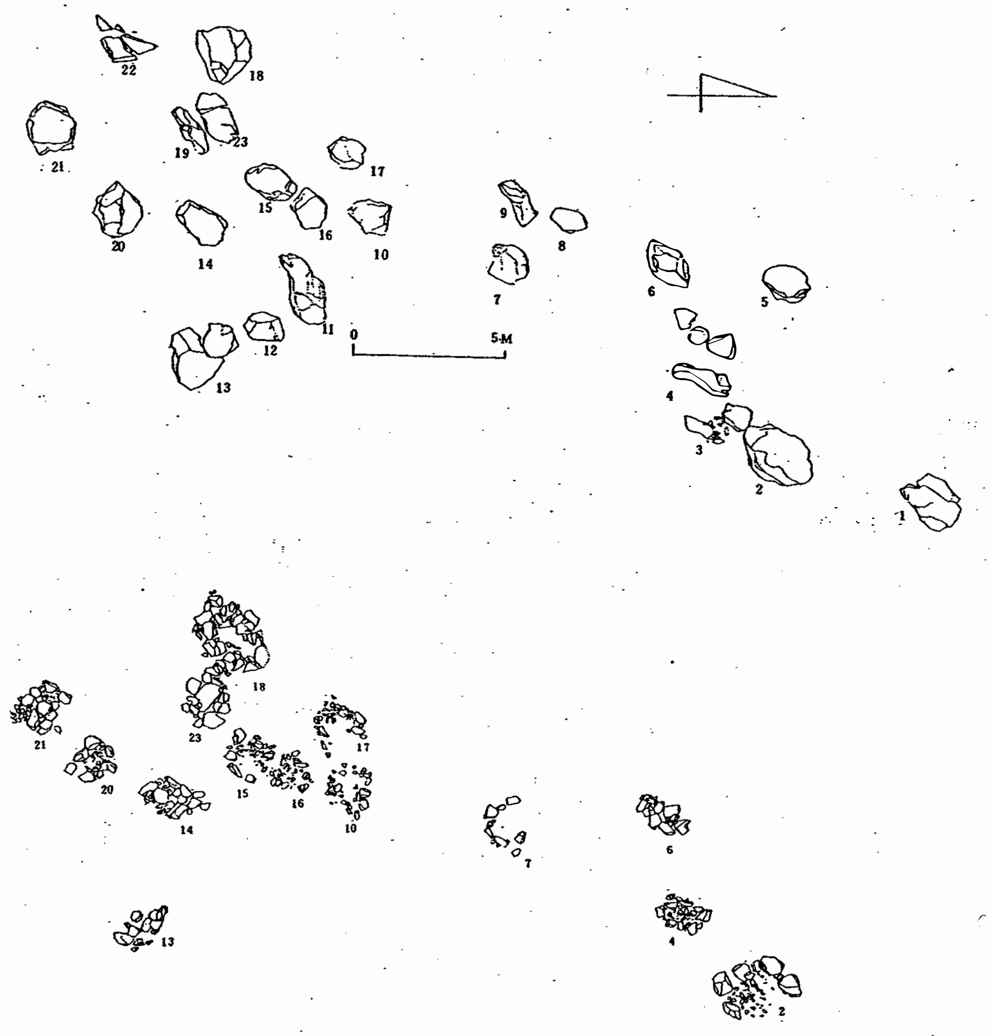


Figure 66. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Salchi A Site (M. J. Choi 1988: 41).

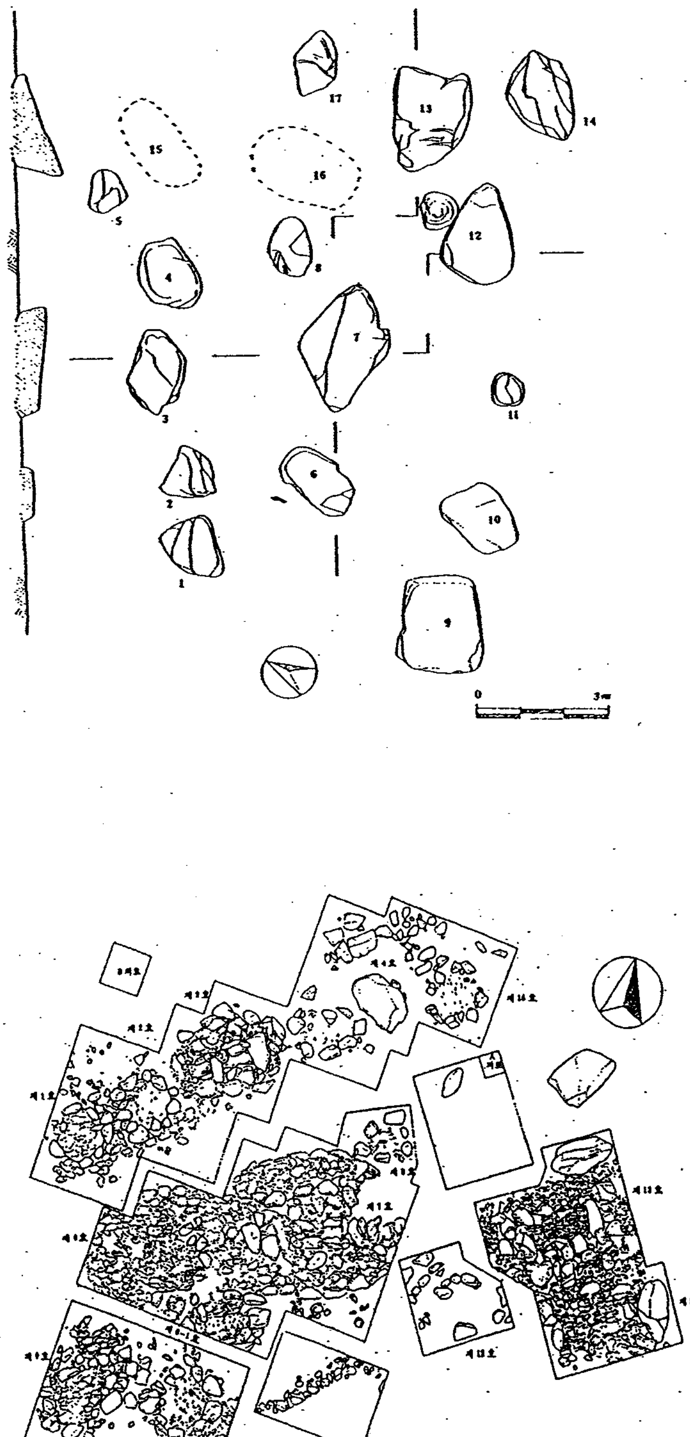


Figure 67. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Salchi B Site (S. R. Choi 1988a 127, 129).

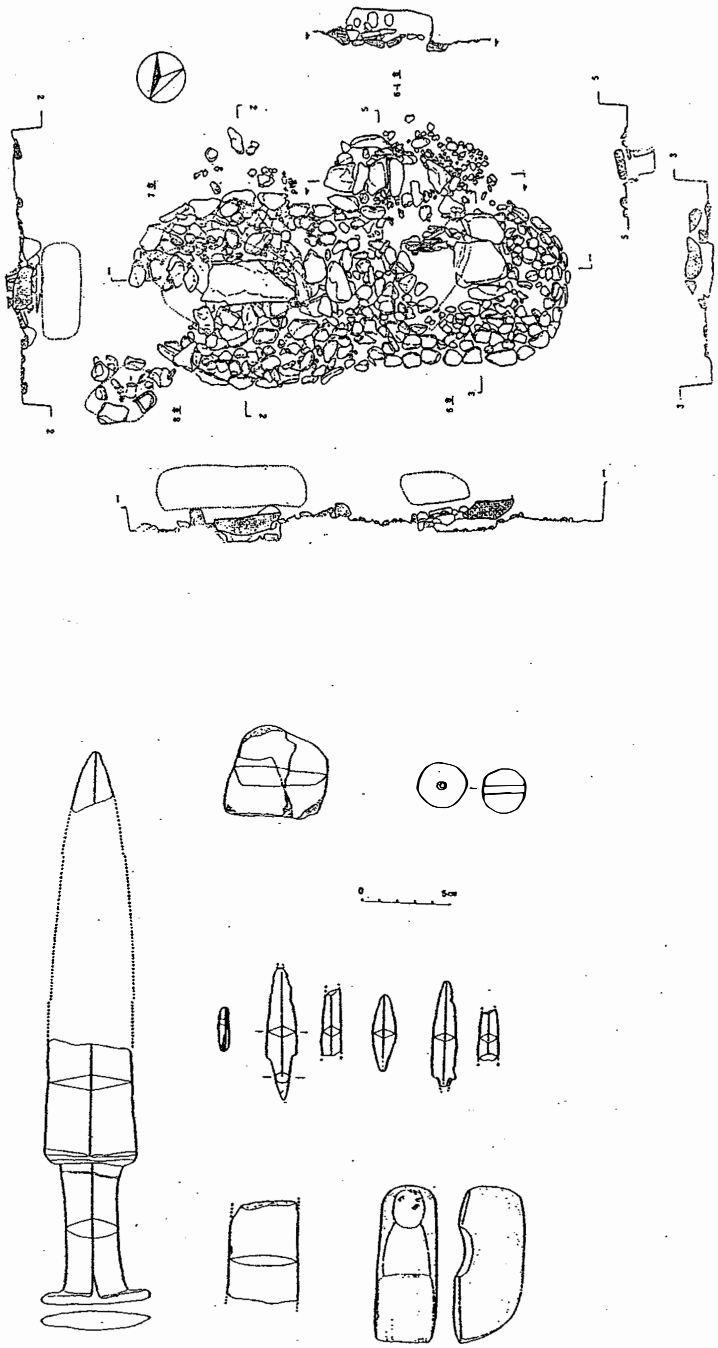


Figure 68. Examples of Stone Pavements and Stone Implements and a Net-sinker Found at the Salchi B Site (S. R. Choi 1988: 134, 144).

Geumpyeong Dolmens (858 Sinpyeong-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

In the site survey, 11 dolmens were reported at Geumpyeong village, which was located in an alluvial plain formed by the meandering of the Boseong River (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 15-16). Before actual investigation, executed as a part of the Juam Dam project in 1986 (first year), another dolmen capstone was identified, and the total number of dolmens at the Geumpyeong site turned out 12 (Figure 69).

In total, eight burial chambers were identified under seven capstones among the 12 capstones investigated (Table 29). Under the capstone of dolmen No. 7, which was the largest dolmen capstone at Geumpyeong (324×200×180 cm), a pair of burial chambers --a stone cist and a pit grave-- were identified (Figure 69). The capstones of dolmens No. 11 and No. 12 turned out to be propping stones originally used to support a capstone of Dolmen No. 7. Two more capstones turned out to be merely huge rocks. While the stone cist burial chamber was dominant at the site, as shown in Table 29, the burial chamber of Dolmen No. 2, which was of unclear structure, might be a stone circle-- which is not uncommon as a burial chamber structure in South Jeolla province.

Along with a few Mumun Pottery sherds, the Geumpyeong dolmens yielded a few polished stone implements, including an arrowhead, a triangular knife, two daggers, and an earthen spindle whorl. In addition, three lithic specimens belonging to Upper Paleolithic Period were found in the midst of dolmen investigation.

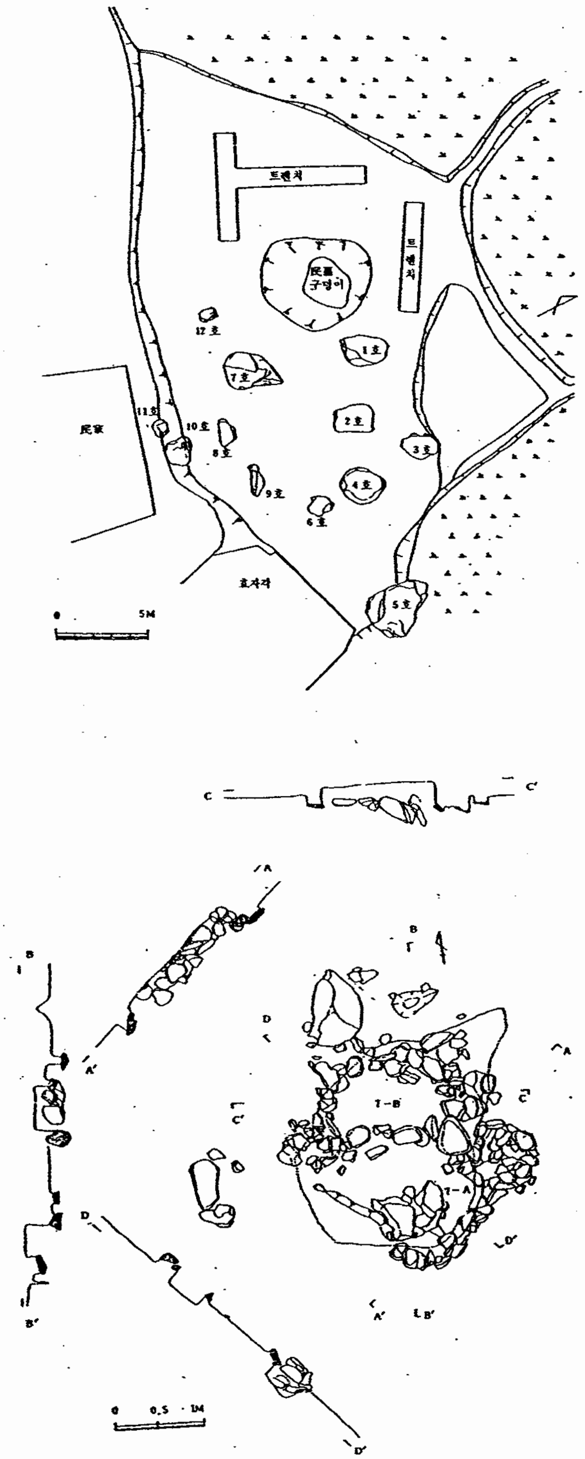


Figure 69. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and a Paired Burial Chambers of Dolmen No. 7 at the Geumpyeong Site (Lim and Choi 1987: 348, 360).

Table 29. Geumpyeong Dolmens (B. T. Lim and E. J. Choi 1987).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	1	238×158×85(N–S)	155×45×35(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1, flake 1
2	2	200×160×90(N–S)	Unclear (?)	SCI ?	1 cupmark on capstone
3	3	200×140×60(NE–SW)	112×40×30(NE–SW)	SC	MPS
4	4	228×200×60(NE–SW)	165×65×60(E–W)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1, dagger 1
5	5	360×280×60(NE–SW)	160×45×?(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, triangular knife 1,
6	7	324×200×180(NE–SW)	170×50×30(N–S)	SC	MPS, chisel 1
			190×120×?(E–W)	PG ?	MPS, flake 1, spindle whorl 1
7	8	150×86×80(NE–SW)	115×40×?(E–W)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, PG: pit grave, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm.
While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

Gokcheon Dolmens (Usan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

At the Gokcheon site, the initial site survey identified 16 dolmen capstones (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 23-24), but three dolmen capstones located in a resident's front yard were excluded in the investigation. One dolmen capstone reported as being out of its original location was excluded from investigation, and five dolmen burial chambers isolated from their original capstones were additionally identified and investigated (Figure 70).

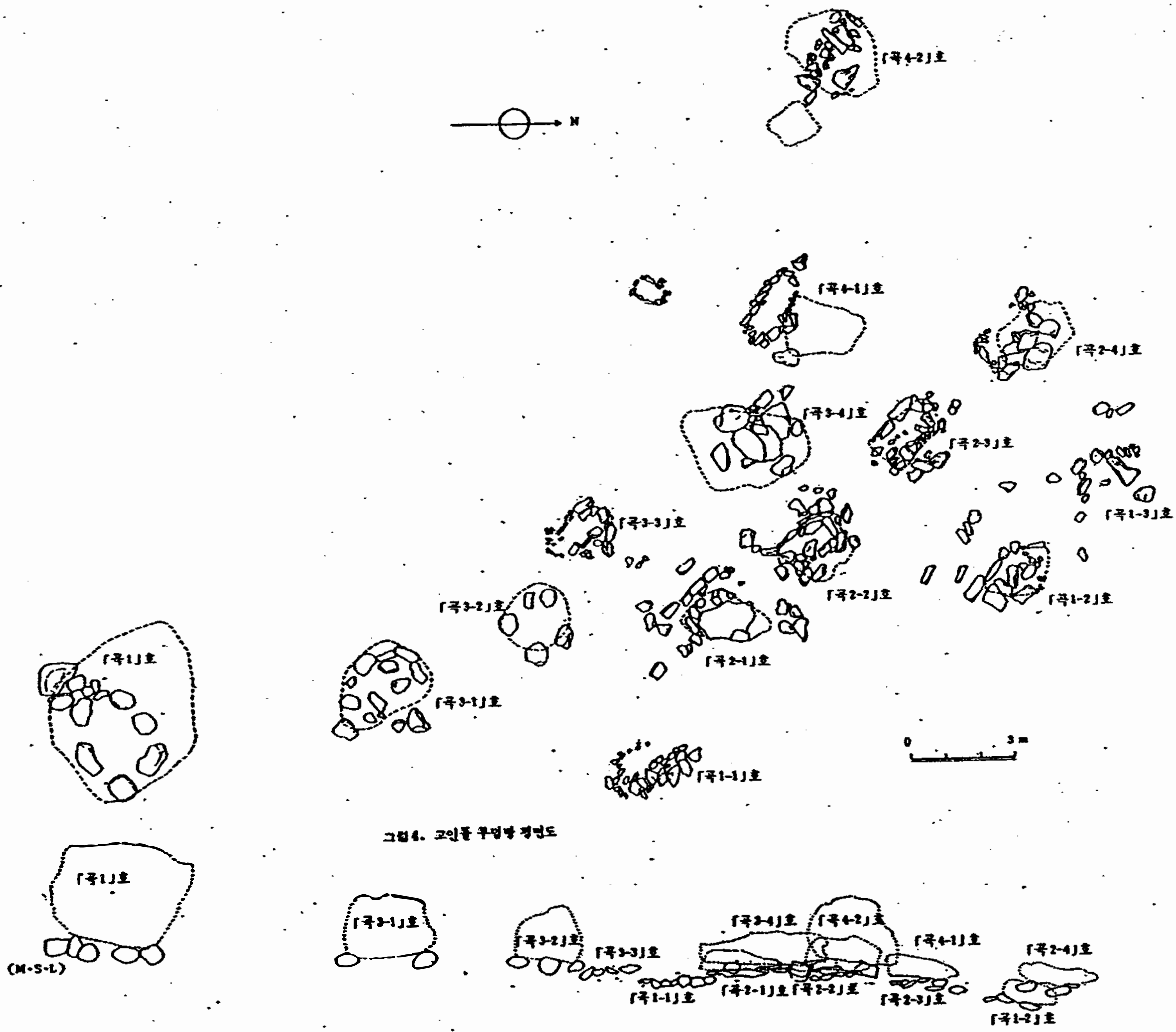


Figure 70. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at Gokcheon Site: dotted lines represent capstones (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988: 59).

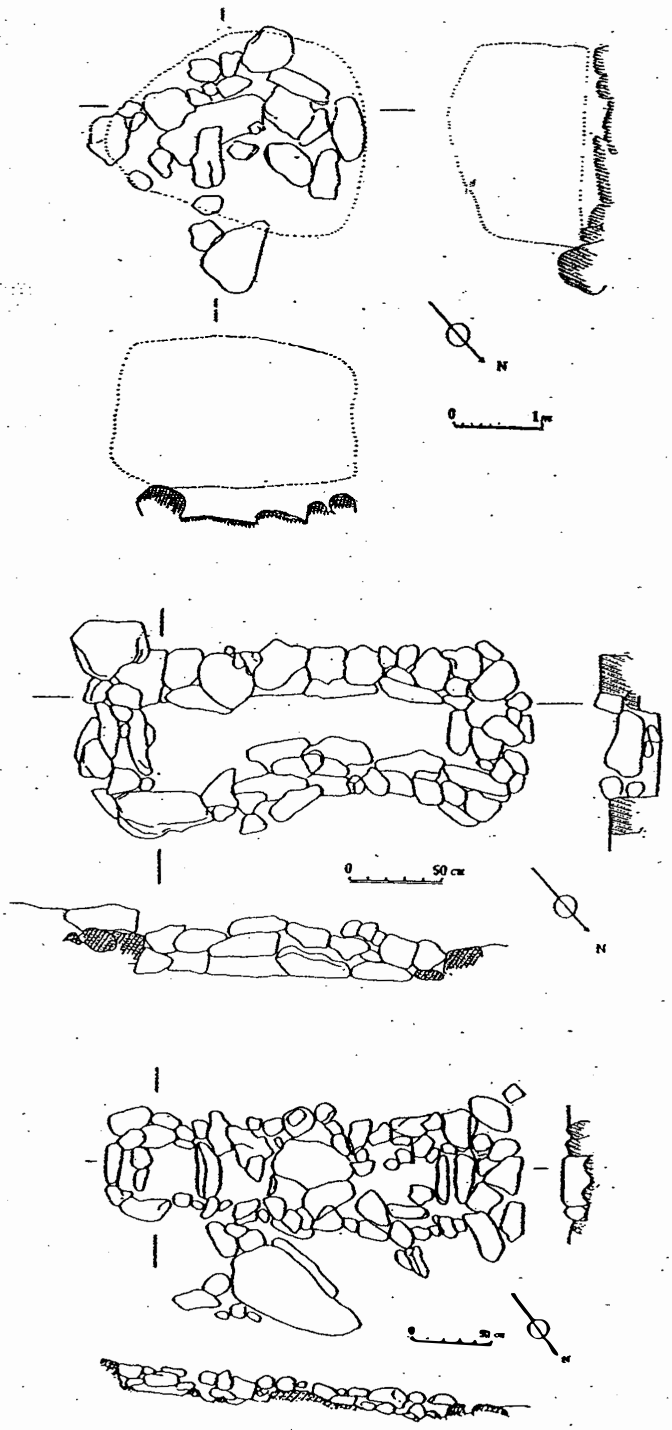


Figure 71. Burial Chambers of Dolmens 3-1 (paired) and 4-2 (inside compartment) at the Gokcheon Site (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988: 66, 69).

In total, 16 dolmens were investigated at the Gokcheon site (Table 30). Within a range of 32 m × 22 m across, 14 burial chambers were aligned northwest and southeast in four rows parallel to the flow of the Songkwang River, except for burial chamber No. 1 which was oriented northeast and southwest. Based on the size of the capstone, the different alignment, and no burial furnishings in the burial chamber, Dolmen No. 1, which was at the center of the dolmen group, was interpreted as an altar rather than an ordinary dolmen burial (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988: 29). Two burial chambers were identified under a single capstone of Dolmen No. 3-1 (Figure 71). In addition, a burial chamber of Dolmen No. 4-2 was divided into two compartments by interior stones. A few stone implements such as polished daggers and arrowheads, an ax, and whetstones were collected from the Gokcheon site along with a few Mumun Pottery sherds. Microlithic tools of Paleolithic type were also identified in a diluvial deposit under the cultural layer of the dolmen burial chambers.

Table 30. Gokcheon Dolmens (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988a, 1988b).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size(Orientation)	Burial Chambers Structure	Artifacts
1	1	500×360×230(E–W)	180×125×40(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, unfinished stone tool 1
2	1-1	Missing (N/A)	285×95×30(N-S)	SC	MPS, RBS, ax 1, arrowhead 1
3	1-2	180×120×60(N-S)	125×65×25(NW–SE)	SC	RBS, grooved adz 1
4	1-3	Missing (N/A)	130×30×25(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
5	2-1	230×140×40(N-S)	210×100×30(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, whetstone 1

6	2-2	210×160×35(N-S)	160×80×30(NW–SE)	SC	MPS
7	2-3	200×100×60(N-S)	110×60×25(NW–SE)	SC	MPS
8	2-4	230×170×50(N-S)	160×40×30(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1
9	3-1	240×200×190(N-S)	215×125×?(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 2
			185×45×35(NW-SE)	SC	MPS, whetstone 1, arrowhead 1
10	3-2	150×120×90(E–W)	100×90×40(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, whetstone 1
11	3-3	Missing (N/A)	120×35×30(NW–SE)	SC	Mumun base 1
12	3-4	370×200×70(E–W)	150×35×20(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, Mumun base 1
13	4-1	230×180×150(E–W)	170×65×40(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, RBS, dagger 1
14	4-2	170×120×80(E–W)	170×65×40(NW–SE)	SC	rim-perforated & MPS
15	A	Missing (N/A)	90×37×44(NW–SE)	SC	
16	B	Missing (N/A)	195×55×37(NW–SE)	SC	MPS

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, RB: Red burnished pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.
While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation.

Naeu Dolmens (334-3 Usan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

The Naeu site is the largest dolmen group identified in the Juam Dam archaeological project (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 24-26), and 52 dolmens in several rows were aligned north and south (Figure 72).

Burial chambers were identified in association with 44 dolmen capstones out of 52 capstones investigated, and six burial chambers isolated from their capstones were identified in the midst of investigation (Figure 72). In total, 50 burial chambers were identified and investigated, and there was no Dolmen No. 20; the number was apparently omitted by mistake in the process of enumerating the dolmens (Table 31).

Table 31. Naeu Dolmens (J. H. Song and Y. M. Lee 1988).

	Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	260×170×60(N–S)	130×40×40(N–S)	SC	MPS
2	2	250×180×100(NE–SW)	160×50×45(N–S)	SC	MPS
3	3	190×100×35(NE–SW)	130×45×40(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
4	4	180×180×70(NE–SW)	172×50×40(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
5	4-1	Missing (N/A)	168×40×35(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1, arrowhead 1
6	5	150×90×30(N–S)	167×40×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, triangular knife 1, arrowhead 1
7	6	180×85×65(N–S)	180×26×40(N–S)	SC	comma shaped jade 1
8	6-1	Missing (N/A)	90×47×30(NE–SW)	SC	
9	6-2	Missing (N/A)	140×40×20(N–S)	SC	arrowhead 1
10	7	210×120×50(NE–SW)	123×50×55(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 3, mace 1, dagger 1,
11	8	310×180×90(N–S)	147×56×55(N–S)	SC	MPS, bronze dagger 1, jade 8,
12	9	150×95×40(NE–SW)	160×47×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, dagger 1, arrowhead 2
13	10	250×120×60(N–S)	120×50×45(NE–SW)	SC	MPS
14	11	280×260×80(N–S)	130×40×55(N–S)	SC	MPS
15	11-1	Missing (N/A)	140×30×37(N–S)	SC	MPS

16	12	210×120×50(NE–SW)	175×45×45(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
17	13	140×150×50(NE–SW)	Not found	N/A	
18	14	175×220×100(NE–SW)	152×25×35(N–S)	SC	RBS, dagger 1, chisel 1
19	14-1	Missing (N/A)	90×45×18(N–S)	SC	
20	15	150×100×40(N–S)	120×30×35(NE–SW)	SC	
21	16	130×60×30(N–S)	182×36×35(NW–SE)	SC	grooved adz 1, arrowhead 1
22	17	220×220×90(NE–SW)	173×34×25(NW–SE)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 1,
23	17-1	Missing (N/A)	200×60×45(NE–SW)	SC	
24	18	100×150×40(E–W)	Not found	N/A	arrowhead 1
25	19	250×200×100(N–S)	145×50×45(N–S)	PG	arrowhead 1
26	21	150×80×30(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
27	22	200×150×120(NE–SW)	170×40×38(NE–SW)	SC	dagger 1, arrowhead 2, MPS, RBS,
28	23	230×200×50(NE–SW)	135×40×40(N–S)	SC	dagger 1, arrowhead 1
29	24	285×210×100(NE–SW)	175×50×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, eggplant deign pottery 1
30	25	220×130×50(NE–SW)	145×50×30(N–S)	SC	dagger 1, arrowhead 1
31	26	190×120×60(NE–SW)	160×40×30(NE–SW)	SC	arrowhead 1
32	27	240×260×90(NE–SW)	135×50×65(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, dagger 1
33	28	100×100×35(NE–SW)	135×38×23(N–S)	SC	MPS
34	29	180×130×50(N–S)	85×35×23(N–S)	SC	
35	30	120×90×30(N–S)	Not found	PG	arrowhead 1
36	31	190×140×60(N–S)	170×50×45(N–S)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
37	32	160×90×30(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
38	33	280×170×80(NE–SW)	168×38×26(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, dagger 1

39	34	80×130×30(NW–SE)	140×60×?(NW–SE)	SCI	MPS, arrowhead 1
40	35	170×130×65(N–S)	110×70×(N–S)	SCI	MPS, raw material 1
41	36	130×100×20(N–S)	105×90×(N–S)	SCI	
42	37	150×210×80(N–S)	110×80×(N–S)	SCI	
43	38	190×130×70(NE–SW)	150×43×20(NE–SW)	SC	bronze dagger 1
44	39	200×150×60(NE–SW)	150×40×15(NE–SW)	SC	
45	40	260×150×80(NE–SW)	110×35×25(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, net sinker 1
46	41	280×140×80(N–S)	180×35×20(N–S)	SC	dagger 1
47	42	300×190×80(NE–SW)	155×30×40(N–S)	SC	MPS, RBS, dagger 1
48	43	170×150×55(N–S)	170×30×30(NE–SW)	SC	RBS
49	44	350×270×110(NE–SW)	175×35×34(NE–SW)	SC	RBS, MPS, arrowhead 1
50	45	140×130×90(NE–SW)	115×30×25(N–S)	SC	arrowhead 1, dagger 1
51	46	190×140×60(N–S)	150×48×30(N–S)	SC	RBS, MPS
52	47	Broken (?)	190×40×35(N–S)	SC	MPS, dagger 1
53	48	280×130×100(N–S)	170×47×40(NE–SW)	SC	dagger 1
54	49	260×180×65(NE–SW)	Not found	SCI	
55	50	160×150×50(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
56	51	140×120×40(NE–SW)	Not found	N/A	
57	52	Broken(?)	177×38×30(N–S)	SC	
58	53	300×220×110(NE–SW)	200×50×45(NE–SW)	SC	MPS, arrowhead 2, dagger 1, jade 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, N/A: not applicable, PG: pit grave, RB: red burnished pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation

Table 32. Size Distributions of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Naeu Site.

	Dolmen Capstones		Burial Chambers	
	Size Range	Quantity	Size Range	Quantity
1	~ 149 CM	9	~ 99 CM	4
2	150 ~ 199 CM	18	100 ~ 119 CM	5
3	200 ~ 249 CM	8	120 ~ 139 CM	9
4	250 ~ 299 CM	11	140 ~ 159 CM	12
5	300 CM ~	4	160 ~ 179 CM	16
6			180 CM ~	5
	Total	50	Total	50

In many cases, dolmen capstones were seriously damaged, and there was little noticeable pattern in the alignment of capstones except the general direction of north and south. As shown in Table 32, while more than half of the dolmen capstones were relatively small, less than 2 meters long, eight dolmens with relatively large capstones, more than 2.8 meters long, were located in the central and southern parts of the site. Three types of burial chambers found among the Naeu dolmens included stone cists (45), stone circles (5), and pit graves (2). As can be seen in Table 33, a majority of dolmens adopted a stone cist as their burial chamber structure. Stone pavements were identified in 38 dolmen burial chambers, and lid stones covering on the top of a burial chamber were identified on 33 dolmen burial chambers. Except for burial chambers isolated from their capstones and dolmens with a stone circle burial chamber, most dolmens had lid stones in the Naeu dolmen site.

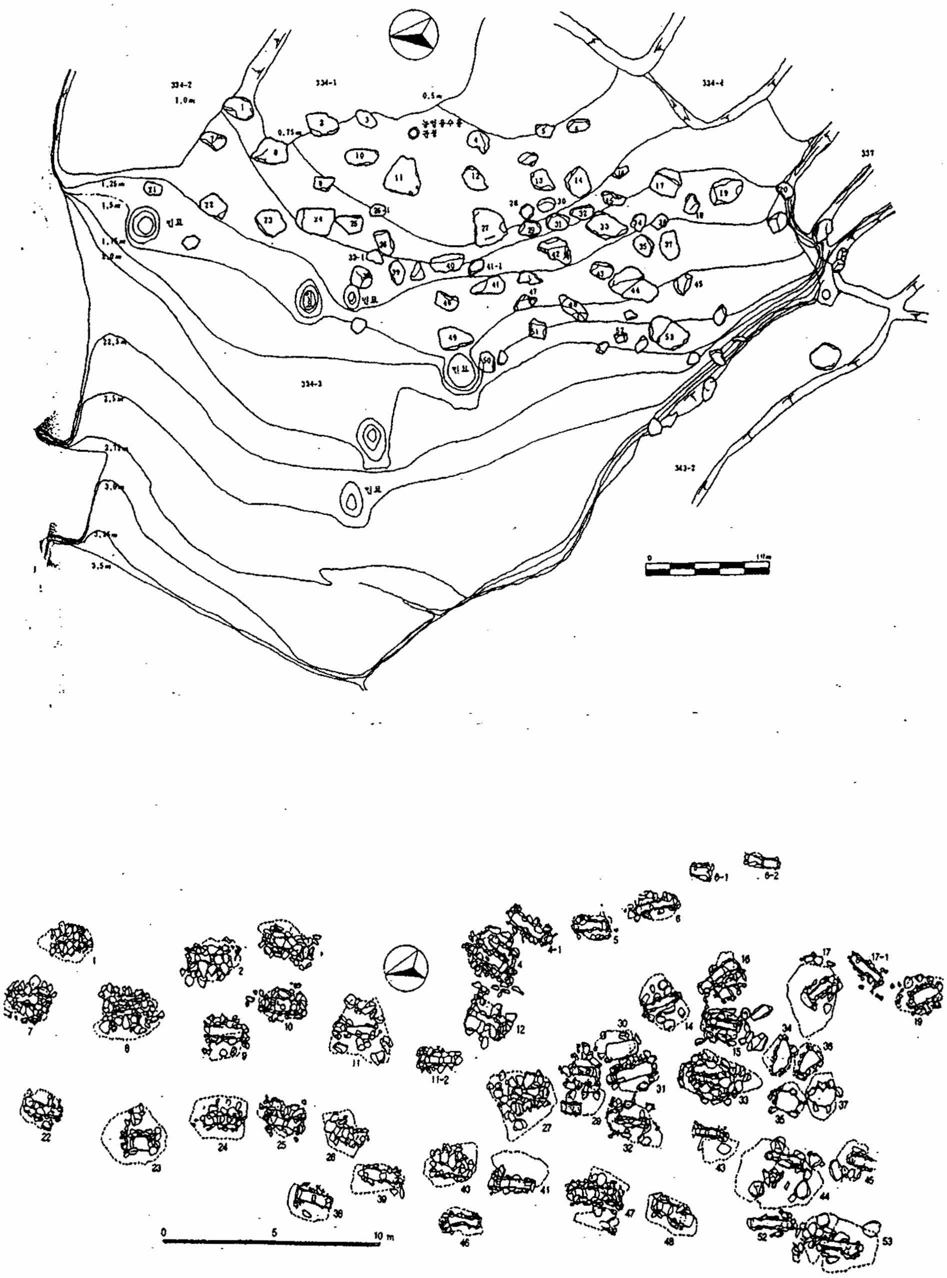


Figure 72. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Naeu Site (Song and Lee 1988: 211, 213).

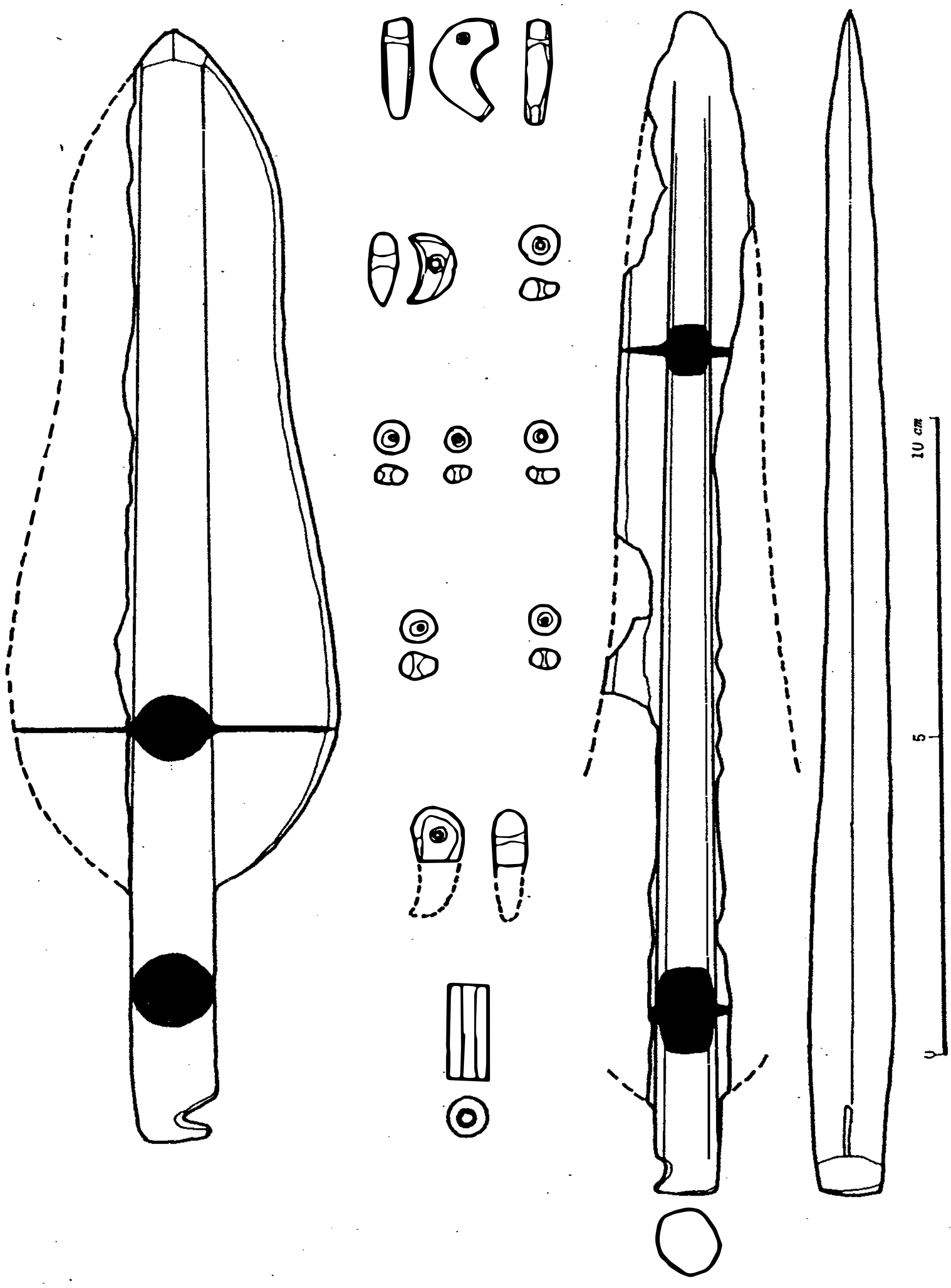


Figure 73. Bronze Daggers and Jades from the Naeu Site (Song and Lee 1988: 286).

The Naeu dolmen site yielded the richest artifacts of all dolmen sites found in the Juam Dam area, both in quality and quantity. Burial furnishings included such items as two bronze daggers (Figure 73), polished stone daggers and arrowheads, red burnished and egg plant design pottery and jades, in addition to Mumun pottery sherds and a few stone implements.

Banwol Dolmens (260 Wolsan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

In the site survey, 10 dolmens were identified at the Banwol site (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 28-29). All the 10 dolmens were located on a resident's private land. Eight of them encircled a landowner's parents' grave, and the other two dolmens were at a close distance (Figure 74). According to residents, four dolmens were destroyed in 1954 for the construction of a road and a grave, and obviously the destruction of dolmens has continued since then. In total, 10 dolmens were investigated (Table 33). While burial chambers were not identified under four dolmen capstones, two burial chambers were identified under the capstones of Dolmens No. 6 and No. 7 (Figure 74). One burial chamber (No. 7-1) was divided into two, a main burial chamber and an auxiliary burial chamber.

The main axes of the burial chambers were parallel with the flow of the nearby river. Along with an earthen bead and a stone ax from disturbed layers, a few Mumun pottery sherds and a knobbed comma shaped stone were recovered from this dolmen site.

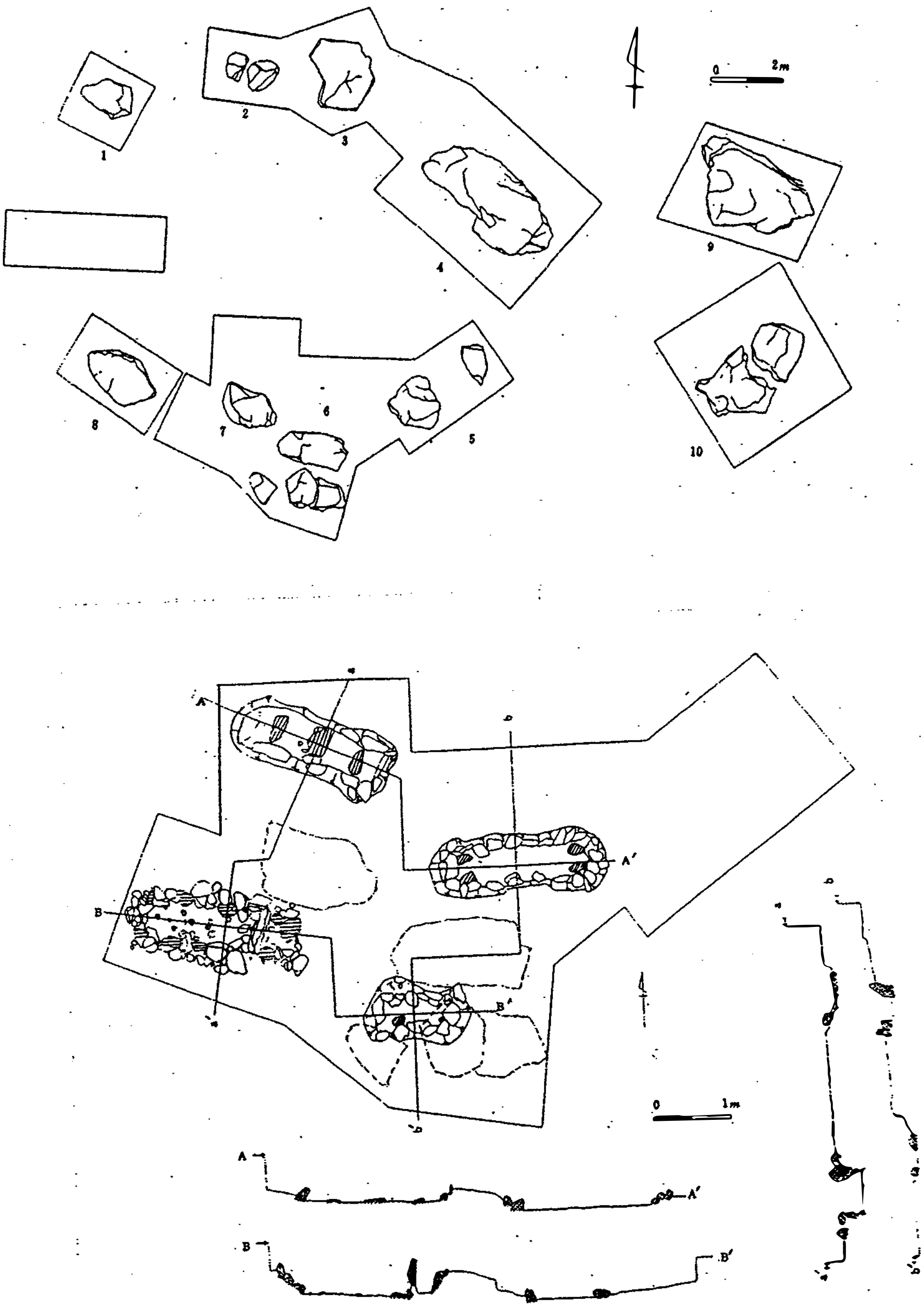


Figure 74. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Paired Burial Chambers of Dolmens 6 and 7 at the Banwol Site (Kim and Yi: 420, 453).

Table 33. Banwol Dolmens (B. M. Kim and S. B. Yi 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	150×100×60(E–W)	Not found	N/A	
2	130×80×80(E–W)	Not found	N/A	
3	210×180×80(N–S)	210×60×45(E–W)	SC	
4	400×180×80(E–W)	180×80×? (E–W)	SC	knobbed comma-shaped bead 1
5	150×100×60(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
6	180×170×80(?)	170×50×? (E–W)	SC	Mumun sherds
		80×40×? (E–W)	SC	
7	160×100×70(E–W)	220×60×45(E–W)	SC	
		190×60×? (E–W)	SC?	
8	210×130×50(E–W)	Destroyed	?	
9	340×220×80(E–W)	160×75×40(E–W)	SC	cupmark 1 on the capstone
10	270×160×70(N–S)	120×?×40(E–W)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm.

Sabi Dolmens (447 Wolsan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

While the initial site survey identified 16 dolmen capstones on a low hillside at the Sabi dolmen site (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 29), 13 of them were excavated. Only five solemn capstones retained underground burial chambers, and seven burial chambers isolated from their own capstones were additionally identified (Figure 75).

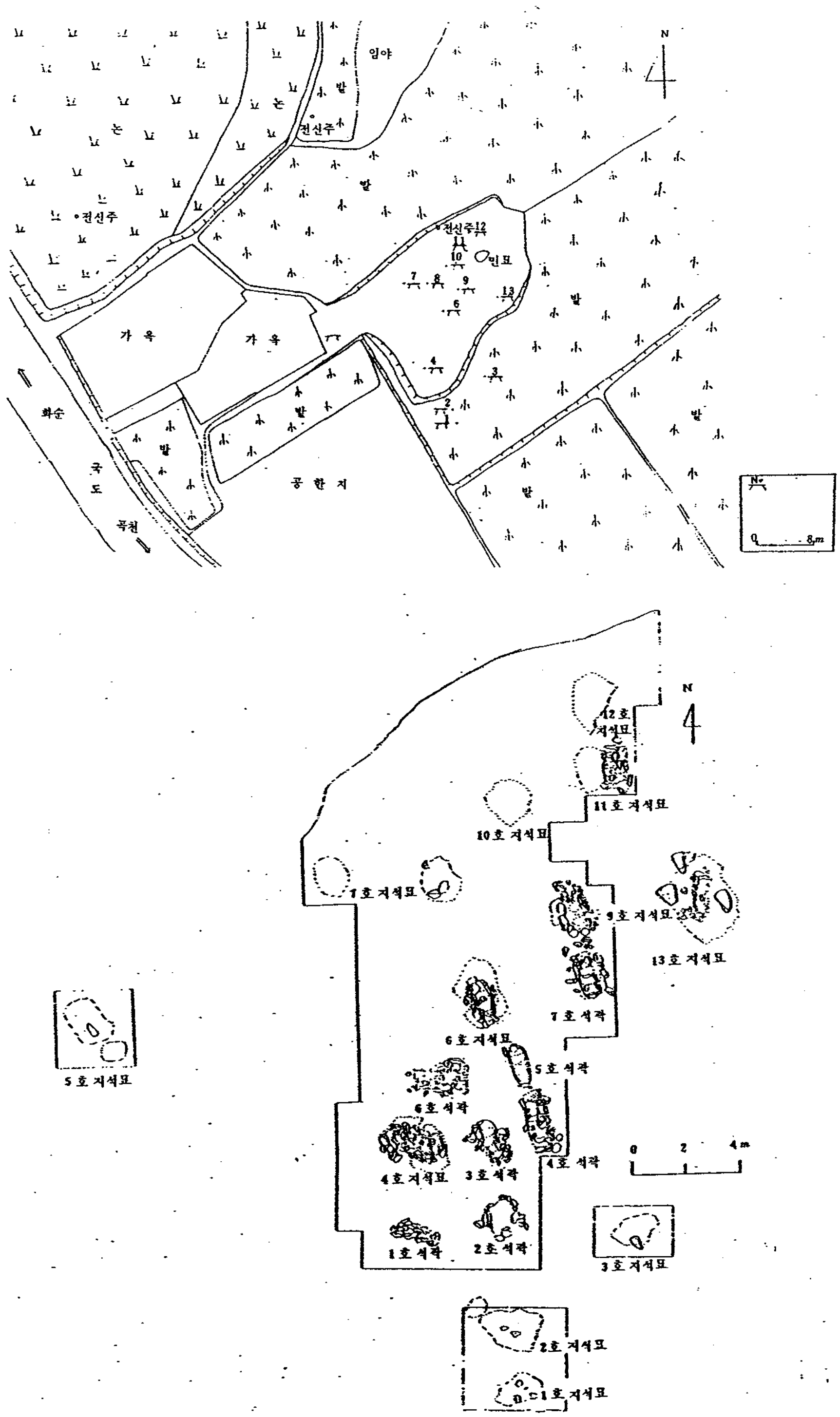


Figure 75. Distribution of Dolmen Capstones and Burial Chambers at the Sabi Site (Son and Lee 1988: 482-483).

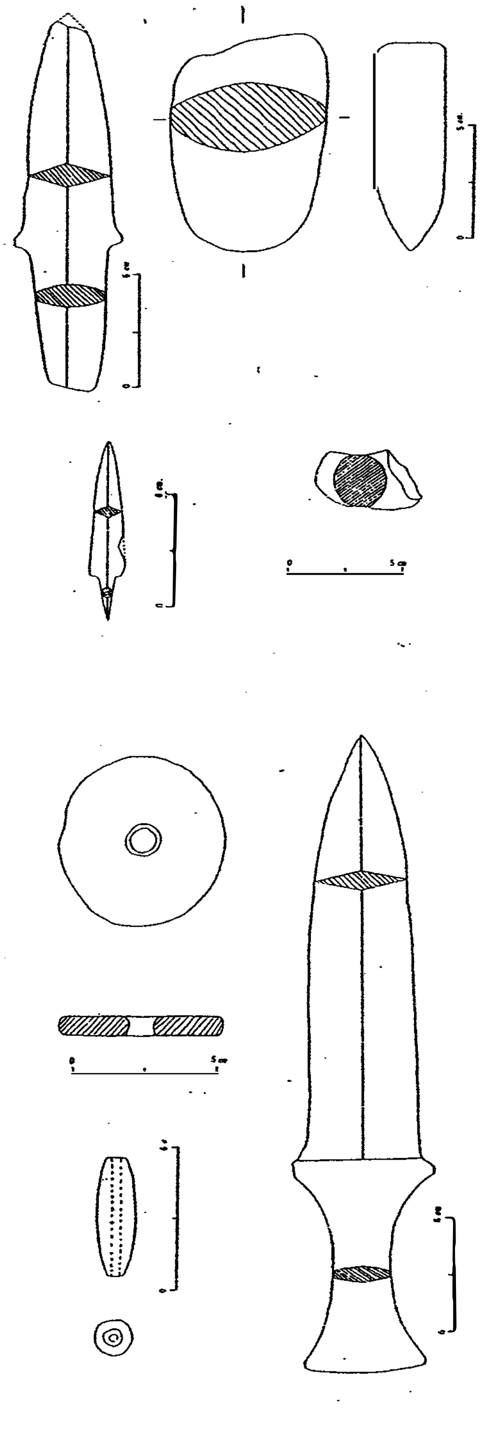


Figure 76. Artifacts Recovered from the Sabi Site (Son and Lee 1988: 506-507).

In total 20 dolmens were investigated (Table 34), and the Sabi dolmen site was seriously damaged in general. Only a few stone implements were uncovered without any Mumun Pottery sherds (Figure 76).

Table 34. Sabi Dolmens (B. H. Son and I. Y. Lee 1988).

	Fea .No	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	1	194×142×50(E–W)	Not found	N/A	semilunar knife 1
2	2	256×160×82(E–W)	Not found	N/A	
3	3	254×156×52(E–W)	Not found	N/A	
4	4	244×166×76(E–W)	176×90×50(NW–SE)	SC	ax 1
5	5	192×140×102(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
6	6	234×204×66(NW–SE)	158×52×50(NW–SE)	SC	dagger 1
7	7	158×134×114(NW–SE)	Not found	N/A	dagger 1
8	8	184×170×80(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
9	9	152×140×40(N–S)	148×84×46(N–S)	SC	
10	10	188×186×110(N–S)	Not found	N/A	
11	11	160×126×100(N–S)	112×82×40(N–S)	SC	
12	12	126×190×60(NE–SW)	Not found	N/A	
13	13	358×288×170(N–S)	136×52×46(N–S)	SC	arrowhead 1
14	B1	Missing (N/A)	156×44×24(NW–SE)	SC	net sinker 1, spindle whorl 1
15	B2	Missing (N/A)	136×84×40(N–S)	SC	
16	B3	Missing (N/A)	160×76×46(NW–SE)	SC	
17	B4	Missing (N/A)	188×76×50(NW–SE)	SC	

18	B5	Missing (N/A)	132×70×14(NW–SE)	SC	
19	B6	Missing (N/A)	190×70×40(E–W)	SC	
20	B7	Missing (N/A)	160×104×40(N–S)	SC	dagger 1

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the long axis. Fea.: Feature, N/A: not applicable, SC: stone cist. Measurement in cm. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each dolmen in the midst of actual investigation

Yucheon Dolmens (Yupyeong-ri, Seungju-eup, Seungju)

While all dolmen sites described above were located in the Boseong River Valley, where the main Juam Dam was to be constructed, the Yucheon dolmen site was located in the Isacheon River Valley, where the supplementary Isacheon Dam was to be constructed (Figure 77, see Figures 5 and 6). The geographical distance from the Yucheon site to other previously described dolmen sites was not much far.

In the initial site survey, 14 dolmens reported at Yucheon site (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 34). A rock reported as a dolmen capstone turned out to be not a dolmen capstone, and a dolmen capstone buried under the surface was subsequently identified (Figure 77). In addition, a burial chamber isolated from its capstone was identified and investigated, and in total 9 dolmens, including an isolated burial chamber, were investigated (Table 35, Figure 77). Out of the nine dolmens, five were of the Southern Type, adopting a stone circle as a burial chamber, and four were of the Capstone Type, adopting a stone cist as a burial chamber.

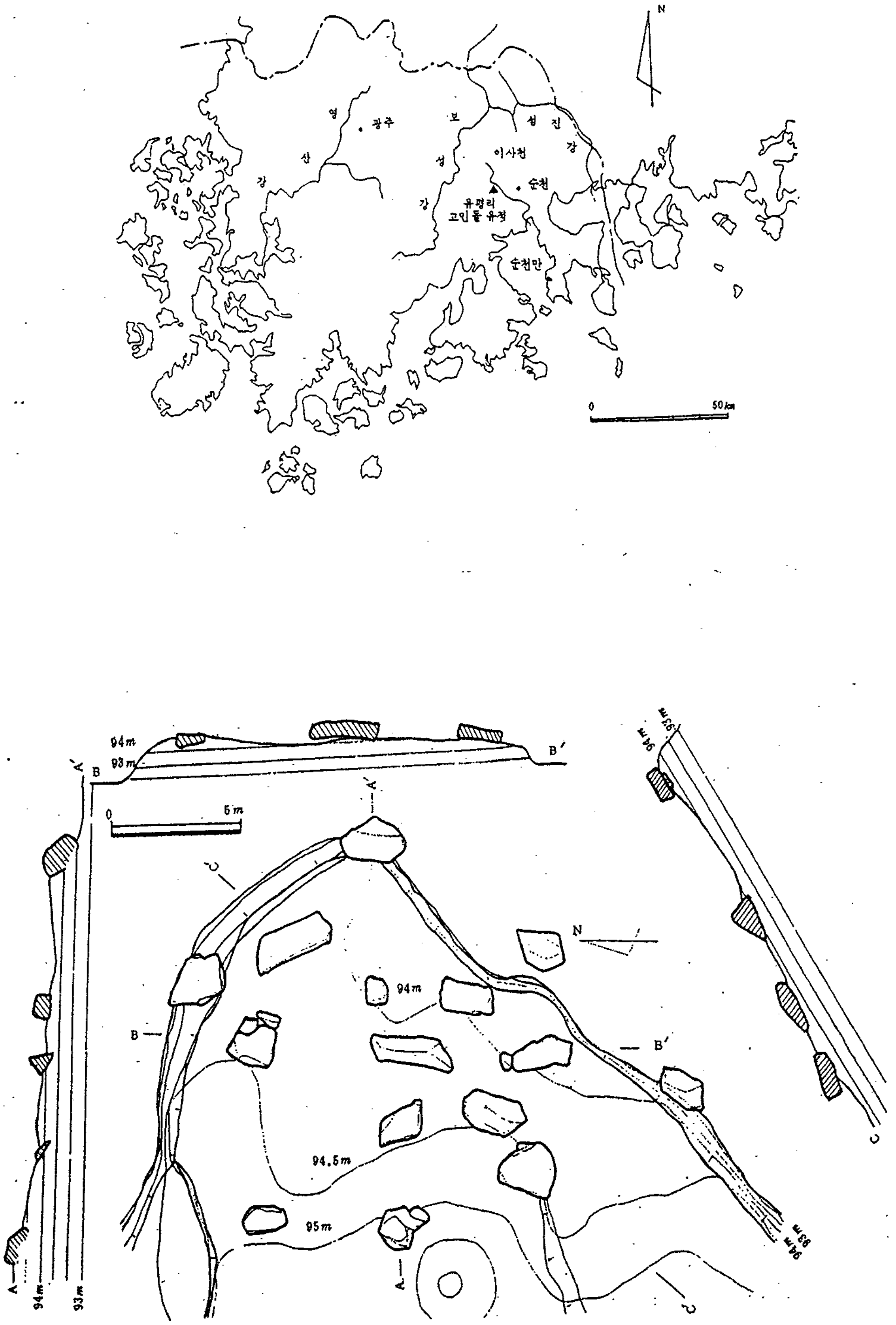


Figure 77. Location of the Yucheon Dolmen Site and Distribution of Dolmen Capstones at the Yucheon Site (C. G. Lee 1988: 341, 344).

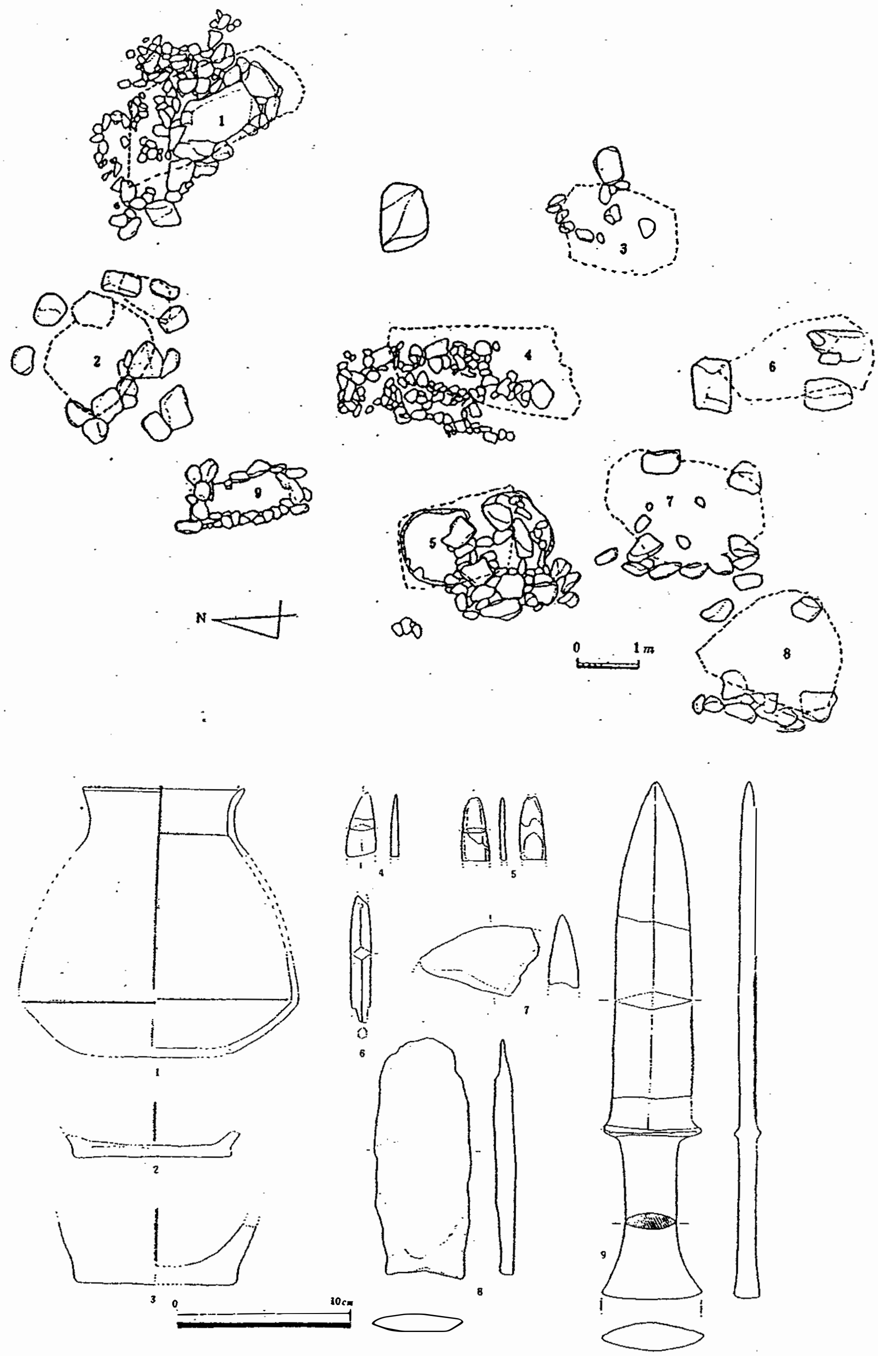


Figure 78. Distribution of Dolmen Burial Chambers at the Yucheon Site and Artifacts therein (Lee 1988: 346, 367).

Along with a few Mumun pottery sherds, two polished stone daggers (including an unfinished one), a discoidal mace, and three polished stone arrowheads were uncovered (Figure 78). The Yucheon dolmen site in the Isacheon River Valley was reported to share a similar dolmen culture with the site of the Boseong River Valley (C. G. Lee 1988: 338).

Table 35. Yucheon Dolmens (C. G. Lee 1988).

Fea. No.	Capstones Size (Orientation)	Burial Chambers Size (Orientation)	Structure	Artifacts
1	315×130×65(N–S)	150×50×? (N–S)	SC	dagger 1
2	230×130×55(NW–SE)	210×120×? (NW–SE)	SCI	
3	193×125×64(N–S)	170×100×? (N–S)	SCI	arrowhead 1,
4	310×240×92(N–S)	280×150×38(N–S)	SC	RB with eggplant design 1
5	190×125×28(N–S)	120×60×?(N–S)	SC	arrowhead 1
6	237×120×47(N–S)	160×100×??(N–S)	SCI	MPS, dagger piece 1
7	228×170×67(N–S)	170×35×20(N–S)	SCI	
8	245×160×55(N–S)	150×110×?(N–S)	SCI	
9	Missing (N/A)	145×47×30(N–S)	SC	

Burial chamber size- length×width×height. Capstone size- length×width×thickness. Orientation: direction of the log axis. Fea.: Feature, MP: Mumun Pottery, RB: Red burnished pottery, S: sherds, SC: stone cist, SCI: stone circle. Measurement in cm.

Dolmen Summary

In the Juam Dam archaeological project, a total of 381 dolmens at 23 locations were investigated, and the descriptive results of the investigations were published in four volumes of excavation reports, *Research Reports on the Excavation of Cultural Relics in the Area Submerged by the Juam Dam* (I) ~ (IV) (Jeonnam University Museum 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c). Quantity of dolmens and dolmen burial chambers investigated at each of the 23 dolmen locations is listed in Table 36. The dolmen investigation of the Juam Dam submergence area was the largest scale of dolmen investigation not only in South Jeolla Province but also in the Korean Peninsula. Though, as of 1987, a total of 10,871 dolmens of 1,208 groups had been identified in the South Jeolla Province, only 123 dolmens at 20 locations had been officially excavated, excluding the dolmens excavated in the Juam Dam archaeological project (Y. M. Lee 1987: 12-13).

While in total, 307 burial chambers were identified and investigated, 55 burial chambers were already isolated from their original capstones. Out of total 326 capstones, 247 capstones retained underground burial chambers, and paired burial chambers were identified under 5 single dolmen capstones as follows – Dolmen No. 6 at the Hajuk C site, Dolmen No. 7 at the Geumpyeong site, Dolmen No. 3-1 at the Gokcheon site, and Dolmens No. 6 and No. 7 at the Banwol site. In total 79 capstones not associated with burial chambers are assumed to have been dislocated from original places by unknown processes or merely huge size of rocks rather than dolmen capstones.

The structures of 307 burial chambers are classified into three types: stone cist, stone circle, and pit grave. As illustrated in Table 36, while as many as 236 dolmens (76.9 %) adopted a stone cist as their burial chamber structure, as few as 17 dolmens (5.5 %) adopted a pit grave as their burial chamber structure.

Table 36. Dolmens and Dolmen Burial Chambers.

	Sites	Dolmens		Capstones		Burial Chambers		Kinds of Burial Chambers			
		QD	D/B	QC	C/B	QB	B/C	SC	CI	PG	UC
1	Bokgyo	8	5	8	5	3	0	2	1	0	0
2	Gosuwol	15	7	14	7	8	1	8	0	0	0
3	Dolong	15	3	11	3	12	4	12	0	0	0
4	Hansil	3	0	2	0	3	1	3	0	0	0
5	Singi A	19	0	10	0	19	9	12	7	0	0
6	Singi B	15	1	11	1	14	4	13	1	0	0
7	Juksan	13	3	8	3	10	5	9	0	0	1
8	Jangseon	9	1	9	1	8	0	8	0	0	0
9	Hajuk A	11	6	11	6	5	0	0	0	5	0
10	Hajuk B	15	4	10	4	11	5	9	0	2	0
11	Hajuk C	39	0	37	0	40	2	17	15	3	5
12	Sinwol C	16	10	14	10	6	2	6	0	0	0
13	Sinwol D	16	0	16	0	16	0	14	0	2	0
14	Sinwol H	15	11	15	11	4	0	4	0	0	0
15	Daejeon	16	1	14	1	15	2	12	0	0	3
16	Salchi A	14	1	14	1	13	0	10	0	3	0
17	Salchi B	17	2	16	2	15	1	5	8	0	2

		QD	D/B	QC	C/B	QB	B/C	SC	CI	PG	UC
18	Geumpyeong	12	5	12	5	8	0	6	0	1	1
19	Gokcheon	16	0	11	0	17	5	17	0	0	0
20	Naeu	58	8	52	8	50	6	45	4	1	0
21	Banwol	10	3	10	3	9	0	8	0	0	1
22	Sabi	20	8	13	8	12	7	12	0	0	0
23	Yucheon	9	0	8	0	9	1	4	5	0	0
	Sum	381	79	326	79	307	55	236	41	17	13
	Ratio 1 (%)							76.9	13.4	5.5	4.2
	Ratio 2 (%)							80.3	14.0	5.8	

B: burial chamber, C: capstone, CI: stone circle, D: dolmen, PG: pit grave, Q quantity, SC stone cist, /B: without burial chamber, /C: without capstone, UC: unclear.
Ratio 1: to all the burial chambers (307).
Ratio 2: to all the burial chambers excluding 13 unclear ones (294)

Along with Mumun Pottery, the dolmen burial chambers were furnished with Red burnished Pottery, earthen net-sinkers, jades, bronze daggers and arrowhead, and diverse stone implements such as grooved adzes, arrowheads, chisels, grinding stones and pestles, plane blades, spears, saw blades, daggers, stone knives, spindle whorls, and whetstones. Considering that no artifacts or only a few artifacts such as stone implements and Mumun Pottery sherds have been uncovered from the dolmens investigated in the Yeongsan River Valley and other regions of Korea, the dolmens of the Juam Dam submergence area are believed to yield relatively rich artifacts both in quantity and quality.

In particular, four bronze implements, three Liaoning style daggers (Singi Dolmen No. 1, and Naeu Dolmens No. 8 and No. 38) and an arrowhead (Singi Dolmen No. 15) need special attention. Shortly after the Juam Dam archaeological project, more than 10 bronze implements had been uncovered from a few dolmens sites located in the South coast, and drew scholarly attention, such as Bonggye-dong (Y. M. Lee 1990), Jeokryang-dong (Y. M. Lee and G. J. Jeong 1993), Pyeongyeo-dong (Y. M. Lee et al. 1993), and Orim-dong (Y. M. Lee and G. J. Jeong 1992) dolmen sites. Before the Juam Dam dolmen excavations, however, a Liaoning style bronze dagger known to be uncovered from a dolmen at Wundae-ri in Goheung (Y. M. Lee 1993: 39) was the only bronze implement reported from dolmen sites in South Jeolla Province, and less than ten bronze implements had been reported from dolmen sites in the Korean Peninsula as well. These artifacts furnished in dolmen burial chambers as burial goods and meaning of combinations of theses artifacts will be analyzed and discussed in the following Chapter V, comprehensively.

Settlement Sites

In South Jeolla Province, the most common archaeological features are dolmens and jar coffin burials, and these two burial features demonstrate the greatest concentration in South Jeolla Province. Accordingly, most of archaeological field studies in South Jeolla Province had been concentrated on these two burial features, easily noticed on the surface rather than other archaeological features, unnoticed on the surface.

Table 37. Pit Houses Reported in South Jeolla Province before the Juam Dam Project.

	Sites	Location	QOH	Note	Reference
1	Songam-dong	Kwangju	1	MPP	M. L. Choi 1977
2	Wonsan-ri	Kwangju	1	MPP	M. L. Choi 1977
3	Wunam-dong	Kwangju	1	MPP	Y. M. Lee 1981
4	Jangcheon-ri	Yeongam	12	MPP	S. R. Choi 1984, 1986b, 1986c
5	Geonsan-ri	Jangheung	1	MPP	M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1982
		Sum	16		

A profile o fpit house was identified at the Wunam-dong site and at the Geonsan-ri site, but these 2 houses were not actually excavated.

MPP: Mumun Pottery Period. QOH: Quantity of Semi-subterranean Houses.

As shown Table 37, before the Juam Dam archaeological project, extremely limited numbers of residential features had been reported in South Jeolla Province. In the whole South Jeolla Province, only 14 semi-subterranean houses had been actually excavated. At Wunam-dong site and Geonsan-ri site, a profile of the Mumun Pottery Period semi-subterranean house was identified, but there were no actual excavations for these two sites. While a few more potential residential sites had been reported, further field investigations on these sites beyond surveying and collecting some artifacts from the surrounding areas were not executed. In strict sense, therefore, Jangcheon-ri site, where 12 Mumun Pottery Period semi-subterranean houses were investigated, was the only dependable residential site investigated in South Jeolla Province before the Juam Dam archaeological project. Moreover, all these sites are located in the Yeongsan River Valley, and there was even no report of residential site in the Boseong River Valley.

As shown in Table 1, the initial site survey for the Juam Dam archaeological project reported 11 loci of scattered artifacts, assumed to be potential residential sites. Among them, in particular, the Dolong and Hansil sites at Daegok-ri, located on a relatively broad alluvial plain drew scholarly attention. Based on quite favorable environmental conditions for a location of prehistoric and protohistoric village and a variety of artifacts collected from site survey, Korean archaeological circle strongly believed the Dolong site to be a large scale of village site over multiple archaeological periods.

In the first field campaign of the Juam Dam project, the Naksu site located on a small plain in a low hillside of the Naksu village and the Dolong and Hansil sites were investigated along with 10 dolmen sites in 1986 (see Table 7). The field investigations were executed only for quite limited portions of these sites, and in total 10 semi-subterranean houses were identified as following: 6 Iron Age II houses at the Naksu site, 2 Mumun Pottery Period houses and a Three Kingdoms Period house at the Dolong site, and a Three Kingdoms Period house at the Hansil site.

The outcome of these fieldworks was much more than first discovery of residential features in the Boseong River Valley. In particular, the Dolong site turned out a large scale village site that had been occupied for multiple archaeological periods, and based on the exceptional significance of these sites, archaeological circle called for detailed investigation of the whole areas of the site. Consequently, the first field campaign of these residential sites came to be trial investigations in order to figure out general characteristics of these sites. The third field campaign of the Juam Dam project was designed mainly for the detailed investigations of the Dolong and Hansil sites at Daegok-ri and Naksu site. The Dolong and Naksu sites had been investigated over a three month period in 1987 summer, and almost 200 archaeological features, ranging from Bronze Age through the Iron Age II, or even the Three Kingdoms Period, were identified and investigated (see Table 9).

In 1989, the fourth field campaign was designed for the investigations of the Hansil site and unexcavated part of the Dolong site in the previous field campaigns. The fourth field campaign also uncovered over 50 semi-subterranean features ranging from the Mumun Pottery Period to the Three Kingdoms Period from three residential sites, Dolong and Hansil sites at Daegok-ri, and the Hajuk site at Juksan-ri (see Table 10). All residential features investigated in the Juam Dam submergence area are summarized in Table 38.

Table 38. Residential Features Identified in the Juam Dam Submergence Area.

	Sites	MPH	MPF	IAH	IAF	TKH	TKF	Sum	H	F	Sum
1	Dolong	70	51	73	2	12	0	208	155	53	208
2	Hansil	2	0	3	0	7	1	13	12	1	13
3	Gokcheon	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	0	3
4	Hajuk	2	0	7	0	0	0	9	9	0	9
5	Naksu	0	0	16	2	0	0	18	16	2	18
	Sum	77	51	99	4	19	1	251	195	56	251

F: Feature, H: House, IA: Iron Age II, MP: Mumun Pottery Period, TK: Three Kingdoms Period

The excavation of residential sites in the Juam Dam project has a significant meaning in that it was the first field campaign to investigate the whole area of a residential site in the history of Korean archaeology. Before the Juam Dam project, most residential site investigations had been conducted in a way to find and investigate only a few semi-subterranean houses in a limited area rather than to investigate the whole site. Mostly not more than 10 features were investigated in a field campaign for one or two months, though occasionally a few sites had been excavated for a few times over several years. However, after the Juam Dam project, investigation of the whole area of an archaeological site became a basic formula in most rescue archaeological projects in Korea, and a number of large scale of field investigations have been conducted.

As shown in Table 38, over 250 subterranean or semi-subterranean features, ranging from the Bronze Age to the Three Kingdoms Period, had been identified and investigated at five archaeological sites: the Naksu site at Naksu-ri, the Dolong and Hansil sites at Daegok-ri, the Gokcheon site at Usan-ri, Seungju County and the Hajuk site at Juksan-ri, Boseong County. Primary focus of this dissertation is to analyze, synthesize, and interpret the 381 dolmen burial structures investigated at 23 locations (see Table 36) rather than residential features. Extensive and detailed archaeological analysis of the residential culture of the Boseong River Valley focused on the Dolong and Hansil sites at Daegok-ri, Seungju was already executed (S. O. Kim 1996). Because of importance of these sites to overall study of archaeological understanding of the region, however, they are briefly summarized here.

Gokcheon Site (Usan-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

The initial site survey reported a group of dolmens at Gokcheon village of Usan-ri, and they were investigated as a part of the first field campaign in 1986 (see Table 30). In the midst of the dolmen excavations, a semi-subterranean house was identified and investigated, and two more semi-subterranean houses were also investigated during another excavation designed for Paleolithic deposit in 1987. In total, 3 pit houses were identified at Gokcheon site, and all the 3 houses belonged to the Mumun Pottery Period (Table 39). Pit houses associated with dolmens were also investigated at the Dolong site and the Hansil site of Daegok-ri, and at the Hajuk site of Juksan-ri in the Juam Dam area, and another example of this association was reported at the Jangcheon-ri site, Yeongam in the Yeongsan River Valley as well (S. R. Choi 1986b, 1986c).

Table 39. Gokcheon Site Houses (Y. J. Lee, et. al. 1988a, 1988b).

Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	Facility	Artifacts	Note
1	390×310×24(E–W)	ov	ph, he, storage, entrance	MP, ah 2, ax 1, ns2	destroyed by fire
2	290(diameter)×25	ro	ph	MP, ah 8	outside ph
3	410×280×10(NW–SE)	ov	ph	MP	charcoal

Size - long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth. Orientation: direction of the long side, ah: polished stone arrowhead, Fea.: Feature, FP: floor plan, he: hearth, MP: Mumun Pottery, ns: net sinker, ov: oval, ph: posthole, ro: round. Measurement in cm.

House No. 1 was identified in the midst of dolmen excavations in 1986, and the oval plan house floor was reported to be hardened without special treatments such as plastering with clay or firing. Five postholes were found inside the house wall, and four were found outside the house wall. An entrance paved with cobbles was identified in the southeastern corner of the house, and an outside hearth was also found. An oval plan (26.5×22.5 cm) storage pit was identified in the western corner of the house. Based on charcoal inside the house, it was assumed to have been destroyed by fire rather than other reasons. Along with a few Mumun Pottery sherds, a few stone implements were uncovered, including an ax, two arrowheads, and two net sinkers (Figure 79). The shallow house wall was reported to be an evidence of a transition from semi-subterranean houses to above-ground houses (Y. J. Lee et al. 1988a). House No. 2 and House No. 3 were exposed in the midst of investigation for Paleolithic Culture in 1987. The floor of House No. 2 of round plan was also hardened without evidence of special treatment. Outside the house wall, 12 postholes set at a regular interval were found (Figure 80).

Along with Mumun Pottery sherds, 8 polished stone arrowheads were uncovered from the house. The same kind of floor hardening was also noticed at House No. 3. Inside the house wall, 3 small and 1 large postholes were found, and there was much charcoal in the center of the house within an area of 82cm ×68 cm across. No artifacts were uncovered except for only a few Mumun Pottery sherds (Figure 80).

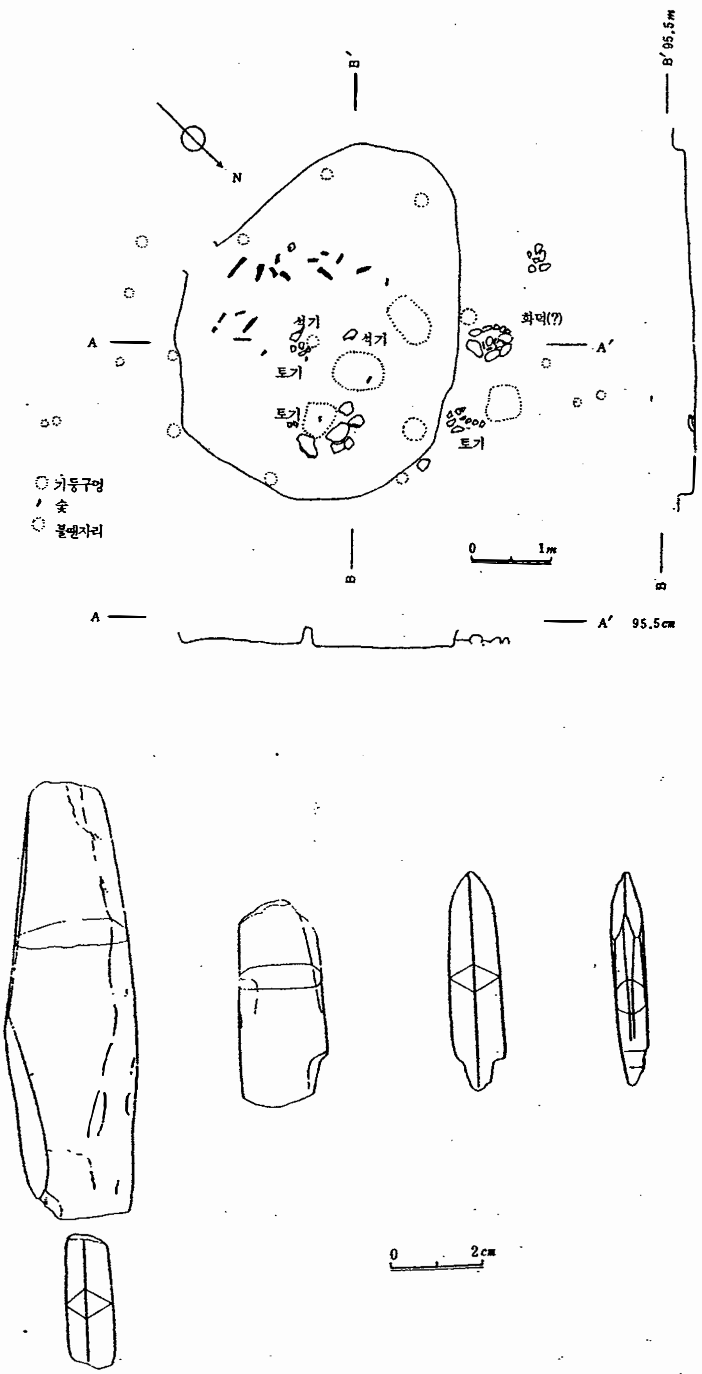


Figure 79. House No. 1 and Stone Implements therein at the Gokcheon Site (Y. J. Lee 1988a: 84-85).

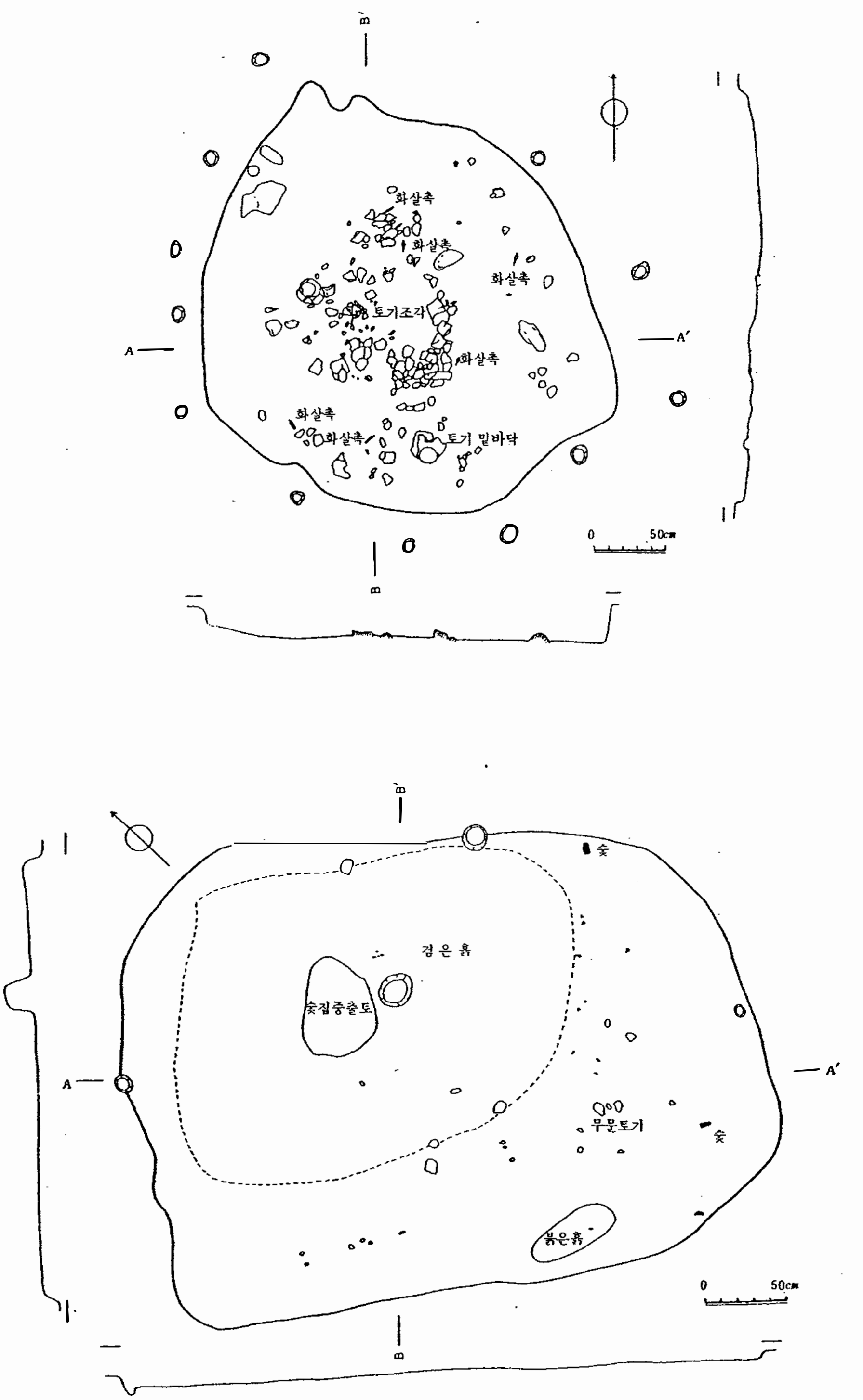


Figure 80. Houses No. 2 (top) and No. 3 (bottom) from the Gokcheon Site
(Y. J. Lee et al. 1988b: 100, 103).

Hajuk site (Juksan-ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong and Bokgyo-ri, Nam-myeon, Hwasun)

As mentioned, the initial site survey reported four groups of dolmens at the Hajuk village on an alluvial plain developed by the Dongbok River, a branch stream of the Boseong River, and in total 65 dolmens were investigated (see Tables 20-22). The site survey also reported artifacts such as a polished stone dagger and Kimhae and Baekje Pottery sherds around the Hajuk dolmen groups. Based on environmental conditions and these artifacts, the Hajuk site was considered as a potential residential site occupied over more than one archaeological period (M. L. Choi and Y. M. Lee 1985: 47).

In the midst of the dolmen excavations, an iron arrowhead, a few stone tools and a variety of pottery sherds were also collected, and the heavy rain of 1987 summer exposed a number of artifacts at five localities and a profile of a destroyed semi-subterranean house. As described above, 8 Jeulmun Pottery sherds, the first appearance of Jeulmun pottery from the inland South Jeolla Province drew serious scholarly attention (Y. H. Hwang 1988: 227-229; Y. M. Lee 1988). The Jeulmun Pottery sherds also proposed a possibility of the existence of Neolithic features, specifically, semi-subterranean houses at the Hajuk site which had not been reported in South Jeolla Province yet. Another field investigation for the study of residential features of the Hajuk site was included in the fourth field campaign of the Juam Dam project.

At 5 localities of the Hajuk site, in total 9 pit houses were investigated. Two houses from the Bokgyo locality were those of Mumun Pottery Period, and the other 7 houses from 3 localities at the Hajuk village were those of the Iron Age II.

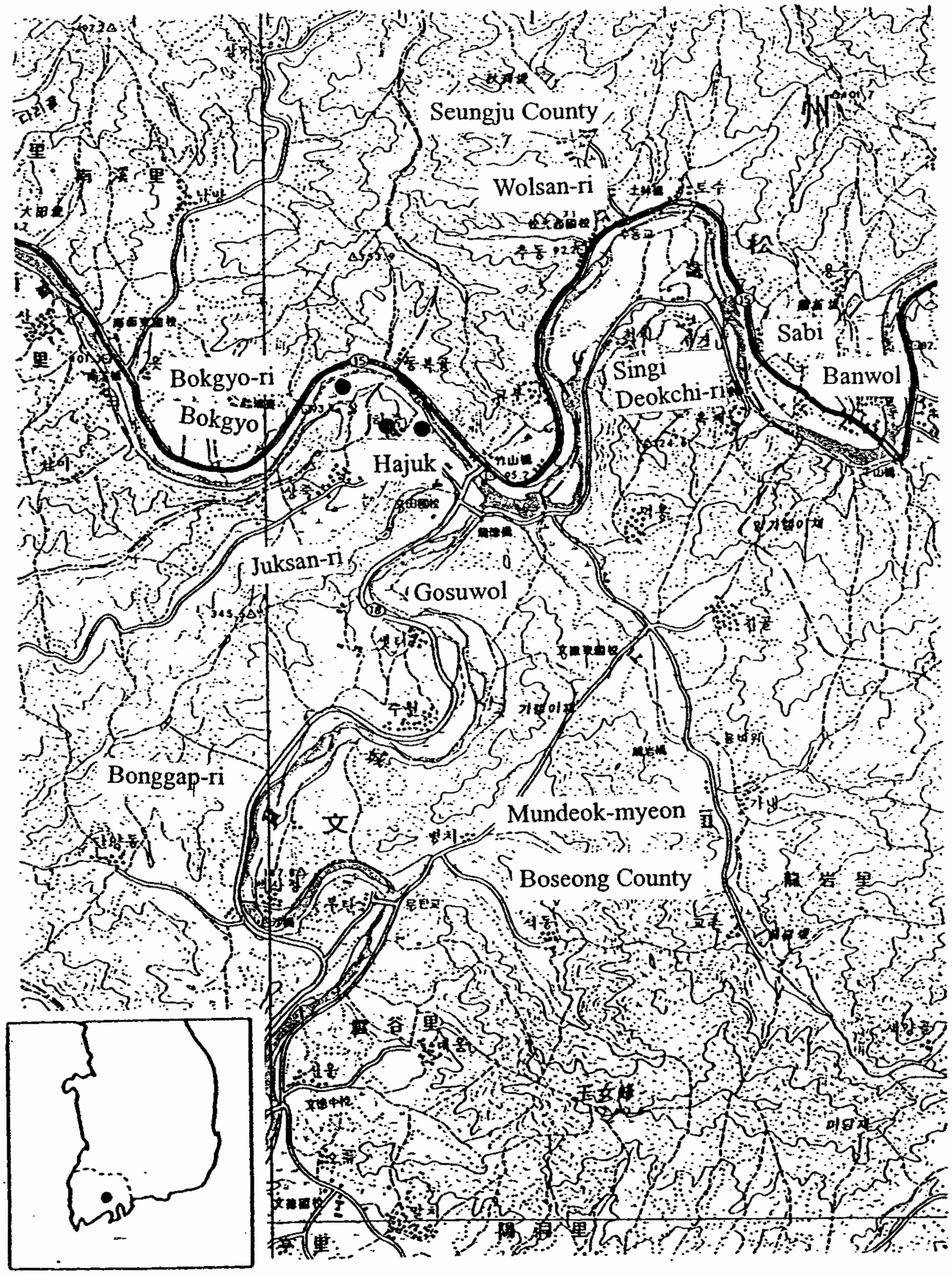


Figure 81. Locations of the Hajuk Site and other neighboring Sites: Bokgyo locality (left), Hajuk localities (middle and right) (After Song et al. 1990: 241).

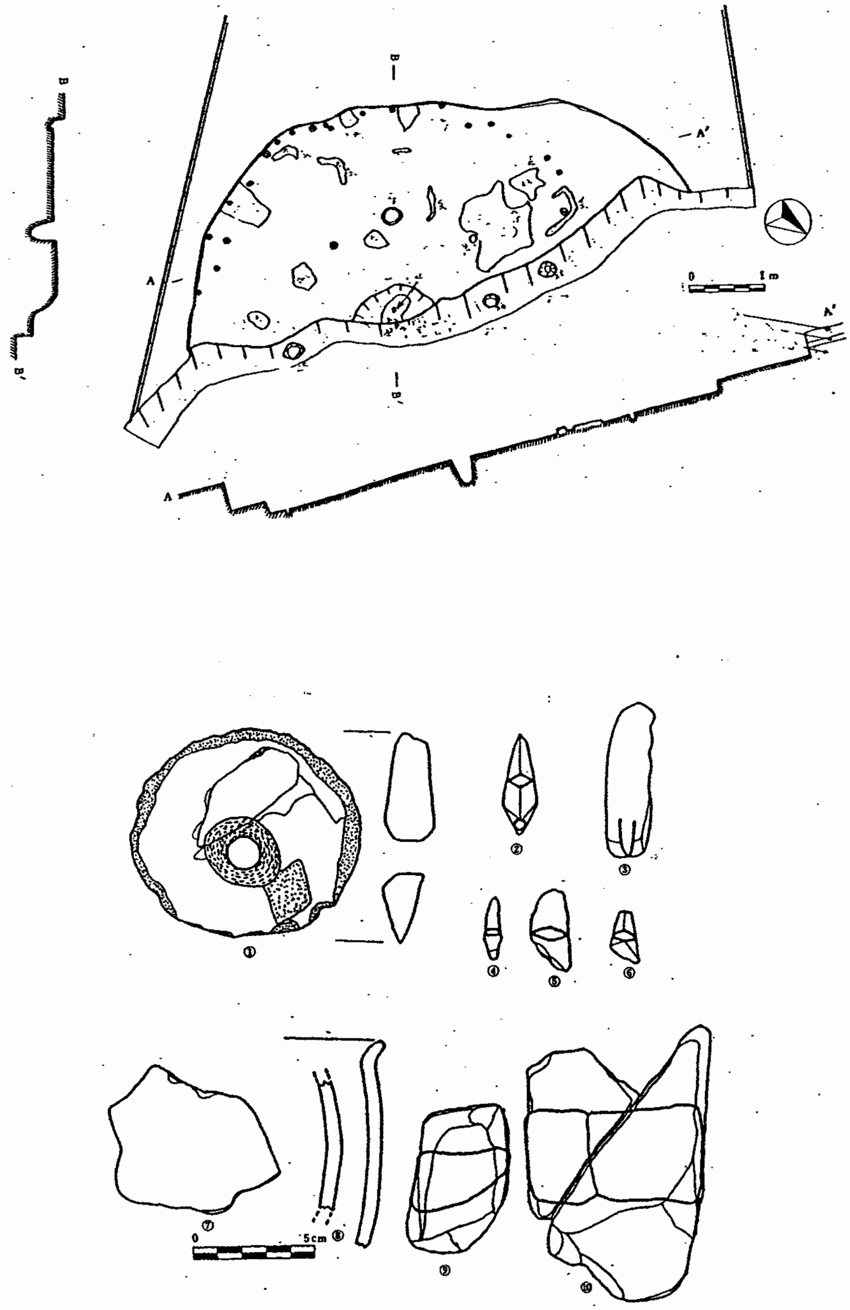


Figure 82. House No. 1 and Artifacts therein at the Bokgyo Locality of the Hajuk Site (Song et al. 1990: 260-261).

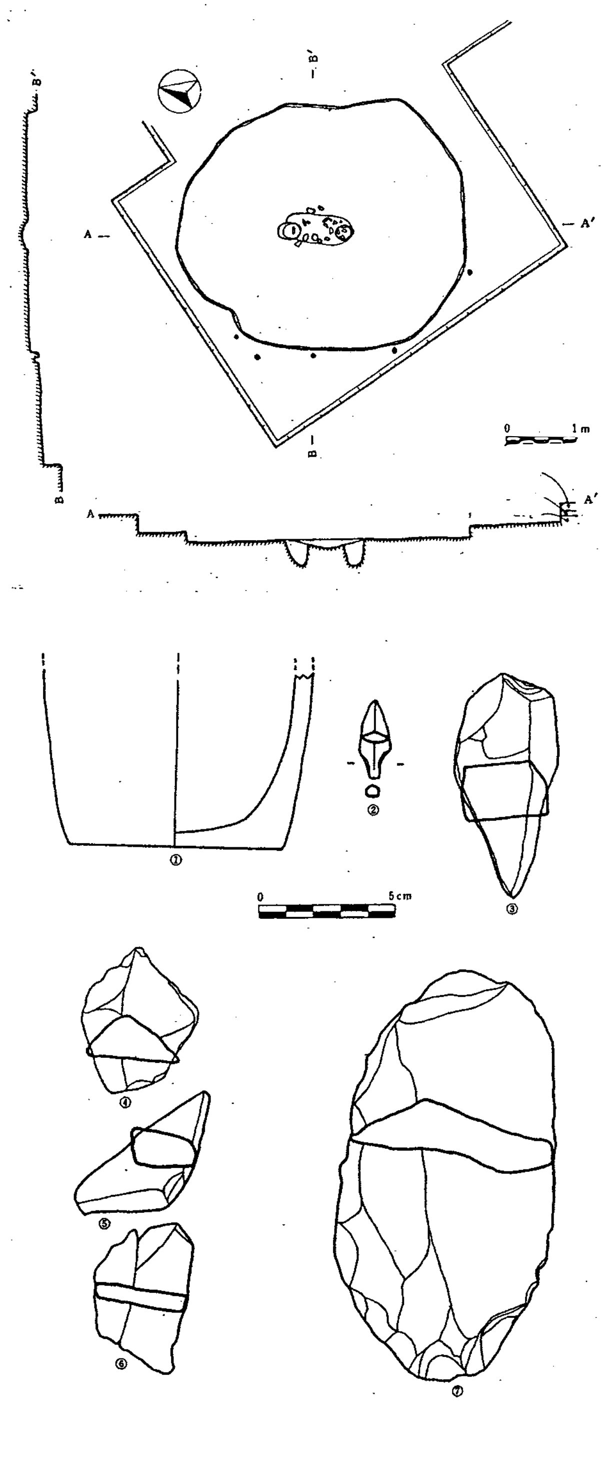


Figure 83. House No. 2 and Artifacts therein at the Bokgyo Locality of the Hajuk Site (Song et al. 1990: 263-264).

Jeonnam University Museum, which took charge of 3 localities among the total the 5 localities of the Hajuk site, investigated the Bokgyo locality (Figure 81). The heavy rains of 1987 summer exposed the profile of House No. 1, and in the midst of investigation of this house, House No. 2 was identified. Both pit houses were features of the Mumun Pottery Period (Table 40).

Table 40. Hajuk Site Houses at the Bokgyo Locality (J. H. Song et al. 1990).

Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	Facility	Artifacts	Note
1	695×265?×17(E-W)	ro	ph, pr, dp	MP, ah, discoidal mace, chisel	extended from a round plan house
2	370×350×15 (N/A)	ro	ph, dp	MP, ah, grindstone, point	workshop for stone tools?

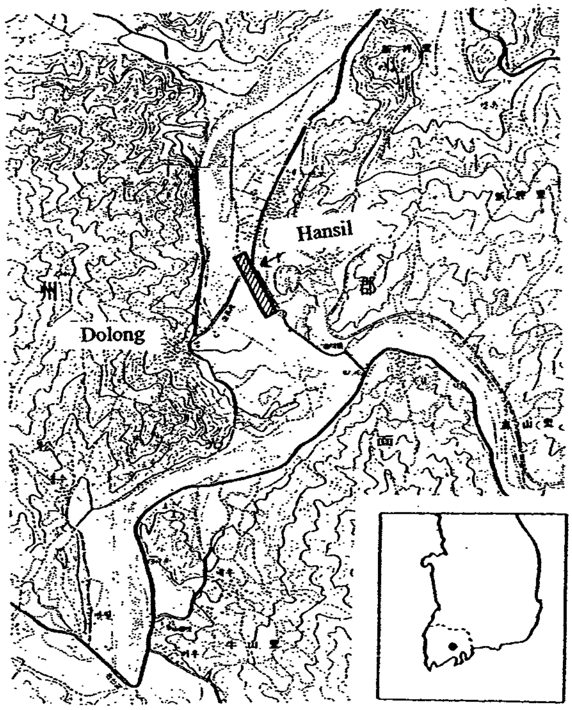
Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side, ah: polished stone arrowhead, dp: depression, Fea.: Feature, FP: floor plan, MP: Mumun Pottery, ph: posthole, ro: round. Measurement in cm.

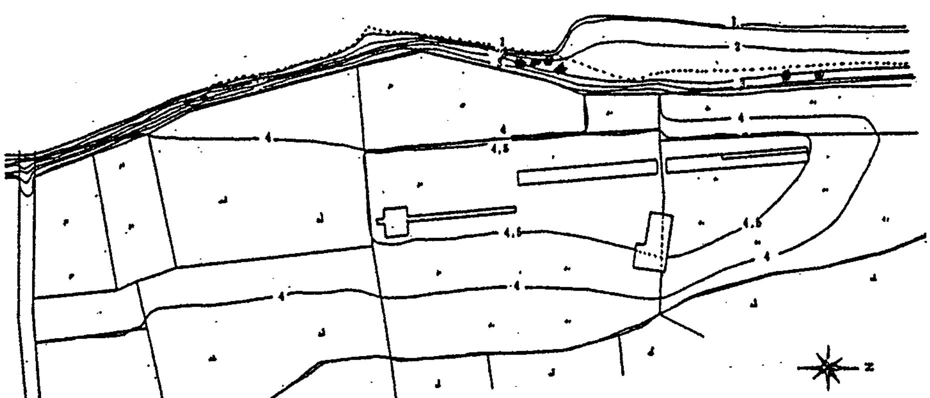
The House No. 1 was already seriously destroyed not to allow measure its size (Figure 82). Based on the distribution of postholes and charcoal on the floor, this house was reported to be projected from a round floor plan house of a diameter of about 560 cm. At the center of the house floor, a depression (110cm×120cm×35cm) surrounded by three postholes of diameter 25 cm×35-40 cm were found. It was reported that 4 postholes rather than the identified 3 postholes had encircled the depression in the original context. The house floor was hardened with clay, and 21 postholes of 10 cm (diameter) × 10 cm (depth) set at regular intervals of about 20 cm were identified along the house wall. A few Mumun Pottery sherds and a few stone implements, including a discoidal mace, arrowheads, a plane blade, and a saddle quern were uncovered from the house. While a radiocarbon date of 2950 ± 120 B.P. (95 % confidence interval, half life 5570 years) was yield from charcoal data from the House No. 1, reporters regarded this radiocarbon date to be much earlier than actual date of the house based on the current chronological view.

House No. 2 also had a depression (100cm×40cm×15cm) at the center of the house floor, and a posthole was identified at the each side of the depression (Figure 83). Postholes were also identified outside house wall. There were Mumun Pottery sherds and some stone implements inside the depression, including a polished arrowhead, a grindstone, unidentified cobble tools, raw materials, and unfinished stone tools. Based on the stone implements and raw stone materials, House No. 2 was assumed to be a workshop of manufacturing stone implements rather than an ordinary house for residence.

Hansil Site (288-293 Daegok-ri, Sonkwang-myeon, Seungju)

Hansil village and Dolong village are two natural villages of the Daegok-ri, Seungju. These two villages were separated by the Songkwang River, a branch stream of the Boseong River, and they faced each other across the River (Figure 84).





F igure 84. Locations of the Hansil and Dolong Sites and Local Geography of the Hansil Site (M. H. Lee et al. 1990: 351; Seo and Seong 1989: 492).

As a part of the first field campaign of the Juam Dam project, the Hansil site was excavated for a month period along with the Dolong site in 1986 winter. The field investigation identified a Three Kingdoms Period semi-subterranean house at Hansil site. The whole area of the Hansil site, about 2,000 m^2 was planned to be investigated in 1987 summer with the Dolong site, but the investigation of 1987 was limited to set a few trenches without identifying or investigating more archaeological features. It was because the heavy rains halted the fieldwork for a month period, and the committee of the Juam Dam archaeological project placed a primary stress on the investigation of the Dolong site rather than that of the Hansil site. The Hansil site was investigated as a part of the fourth field campaign of the Juam Dam project for two month period. While a total of 13 semi-subterranean features (12 houses and 1 storage pit) were identified and investigated at the Hansil site, they have been assumed to be only a limited portion of residential features of the Hansil site, considering the size and temporal range of the Hansil site.

Among the 13 semi-subterranean houses, 2 pit houses were reported to be belonged to the Mumun Pottery Period (Table 41), and the other houses belonged to the Iron Age II or Three Kingdoms Period. Overall archaeological characteristic of the Hansil site was reported to be not much different from that of the Dolong site. However, it was reported that while the Dolong site had been aggressively occupied from the Mumun Pottery Period through the Iron Age II, or Three Kingdoms Period, the Hansil site had been occupied mainly after the Iron Age II rather than during the Mumun Pottery Period. According to the excavation report, while pit houses after the Iron Age II were identified in the whole area of the site, the Mumun Pottery Period pit houses were only identified at certain area of the site. In addition, while in case of the Dolong site, quite a portion of the Mumun Pottery Period houses were round floor plan house with a depression in the center of the floor, the round floor plan houses were not identified at the Hansil site. Also, the population occupation at the Hansil site was assumed to have been lasted until a little later period than at the Dolong site, and this idea was based on the appearance of later types of pottery at the Hansil site, as late as the 5th century A.D. (M. H. Lee, et al. 1990: 347-348).

Table 41. Hansil Site Houses: Mumun Pottery Period (M. H. Lee, et al. 1990).

Fea. No	Size (Orientation)	FP	Facility	Artifacts	Note
A4	495×298×15(E–W)	rr	projection (160×70)	MP	projection at north wall: entrance?
A5	500~520×10~15	ro	ph, projection, storage pit (50×25)	MP, RB, EG, ax, ns	projection at north: entrance?

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side, EG: eggplant design pottery, fp: floor plan, MP: Mumun pottery, ns: net sinker, ph: posthole, RB: red burnished pottery, ro: round, rr: rectangular with round corners. Measurement in cm.

Dolong Site (577-586 Daegok-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

As mentioned, the Songkwang River divided Daegok-ri into two natural villages facing each other, the Dolong village and Hansil villages. While the Dolong village, where the Dolong site was located, was placed in west, the Hansil village, where the

Hansil site was located, was placed in east respectively (see Figure 84).

To the east side of the Dolong village, the Songkwang River flew, and the other three directions of the Dolong village were surrounded by low hills. The Songkwang River in front of the Dolong village had a great volume of water, and had provided abundant aquatic products. It was believed that the physical environmental conditions of the Dolong village during the prehistoric and historic periods had been quite favorable to support a large scale faming village.

Korean archaeological circle fully appreciated the significance of the Dolong residential site, and the investigation of the Dolong site was included in three field studies among the total four field campaigns of the Juam Dam archaeological project. The field campaigns to the Dolong site thoroughly uncovered an area as wide as some 4,800 m^2, and identified as many as 208 archaeological features, including semi-subterranean houses, storage pits or workshops, and kilns. All archaeological features uncovered at the Dolong site by the three field campaigns are summarized in Table 40.

Except for three Iron Age II houses uncovered at a hillside behind the main excavation area in 1989, all the archaeological features investigated at the Dolong site are illustrated in Figure 85. The period names of "Bronze Age I" and "Bronze Age II" in the Figure 85 are interchangeable with those of "Bronze Age" and "Iron Age I" adopted here, respectively. Archaeological features at the Dolong site and artifacts therein implied that the Dolong site had been occupied from the middle of the Bronze Age, as early as the 5th century B.C. through the Three Kingdoms Period, as late as 5th century A.D.

In the first investigation of the Dolong site in 1986, as mentioned, 3 semi-subterranean houses consisting of 2 Mumun Pottery Period houses and a Three Kingdoms Period house were uncovered (Figure 86). It was the first discovery of prehistoric or protohistoric residential features in the Boseong River Valley, and the significance of this incident was seriously appreciated much more than a discovery of a residential site. It turned out to be a discovery of one of the largest prehistoric and protohistoric village sites in the whole Korean Peninsula.

Table 42. Houses and Features Identified at the Dolong Site (Choi et al. 1989, 1990; Seo and Seong 1989; Lee et al. 1990).

	Year	MPH	MPF	IAH	IAF	TKH	TKF	Sum	H	F	Figure 85
1	1986 (K)	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	0	Area A
2	1987 (S+K)	60	51	50	1	11	0	173	121	52	Area A & C
2A	1987 (S)	26	22	25	1	0	0	74	51	23	Area C
2B	1987 (K)	34	29	25	0	11	0	99	70	29	Area A
3	1989 (S)	8	0	23	1	0	0	32	31	1	Area B
	Sum	70	51	73	2	12	0	208	155	53	

F: Features, H: Houses, IA: Iron Age II, MP: Mumun Pottery Period, TK: Three Kingdoms Period
S: Seoul University. K: Kwangju Museum.

The scholarly significance of the site called for thorough investigation of the whole area of the site, and the third field campaign of the Juam Dam project in 1987 was mainly designed for the investigation of the Dolong site. Due to the considerable size of the Dolong site, the site was divided into north region and south region (Area A and Area

C in the Figure 85, respectively), and each region was assigned to Kwangju Museum and Seoul University for excavation, respectively. In the field campaign of 1987, a total of 173 archaeological features, consisting of 121 semi-subterranean houses, 50 Mumun Pottery Period features, and 2 pottery kilns were uncovered by the two institutes. In 1989, there was another field investigation of the Dolong site for the Area B (see Figure 85) which was not excavated in the third field campaign of 1987, and additional 32 archaeological features were uncovered (Table 42).

As shown in Table 42, in total 208 archaeological features were uncovered at the Dolong site through three field studies, and in total 121 archaeological features were reported to be the Mumun Pottery Period features. The 121 Mumun Pottery Period features consisted of 70 pit houses (Table 43), 50 small features (Table 44), and a Mumun Pottery kiln (Figure 87).

The characteristic of the 50 small features was not clearly identified. While some of them were reported as independent storage pits (Seo and Seong 1989: 461-464), a few of them were assumed to be outside hearths and Mumun Pottery kilns (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 235). Mumun Pottery Period houses were divided into two types based on the house floor plan and presence of a depression in the center of house floor, often assumed to be a workshop. Except for an oval floor plan house, all the Mumun Pottery Period houses found at the Dolong site showed a round floor plan or rectangular floor plan, and the depression was identified only in the round floor plan houses except quite limited cases (see Table 43). The round floor plan house with the workshop facility was placed in earlier phase than the rectangular floor plan house without the workshop facility.

Table 43. Dolong Site Houses (Choi, et al. 1989, 1990; Seo and Seong 1989).

	Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP/Facility	Artifacts	Note
		Seoul University 1987			
1	2	400×190×30(NW–SE)	re/	MP, ah, ns 3	storage/warehouse ?
2	5	400×300×18(NW–SE)	rr/pr: en, hearth (dp)	MP, rp, ah 2, ns, sw 3, chisel 2, dagger 1, gs 3, etc.	workshop for stone tool manufacture ? pr: entrance ?
3	8	510×380×10(N–S)	rr/	MP	
4	9	460×400×12(NW–SE)	rr/	MP, ah 2, rp	
5	10	430×380×10(NE–SW)	rr/	MP, ah 1	
6	15	.580×310×7(N–S)	rr/	MP	
7	17	460×380×20(NE–SW)	rr/hearth	MP, ax, chisel	destroyed by fire he: convex lens type
8	18	650×550×10(NE–SW)	rr/	MP, grooved adze	floor only
9	20	?×300×20(NE–SW ?)	rr/	MP, ah, sw, ns 4	
10	22	400×300×20(NW–SE)	rr/ph, dp :110×65×15	MP, sw, rp	dp with postholes
11	28	?×?×27(?–?)	rr/	MP	fired earth
12	29	670×20	ro/ph, dp: 105×?×?	MP, ah 3,	dp (ph): workshop
13	30	350×?×?(NE–SW?)	rr/	MP, gs	
14	33	710×10	ro/	MP	
15	34	510×460×45(NW–SE)	ro/ph ?	MP, sw, ah	destroyed
16	37	400×390×25(NW–SE)	rr/ph,	MP	he (pit: 65×55×15)
17	38	290×?×5(?–?)	rr/	MP, ns 2, ah	
18	39	380×250×15(NW–SE)	rr/	MP	
19	43	450×430×30(E–S)	re/dp(ph):	MP, mano	workshop?

20	46	430×340×30(NE–SW)	rr/	MP	
21	48	310×240×35(NW–SE)	rr/	MP	house ?
22	49	340×260×9(NE–SW)	rr/	MP, RB	destroyed by fire
23	51	560×25	ro/ph, dp	MP, ns	
24	52	320×260×27(E–W)	rr/	MP, pb, tk	
25	53	310×260×10(NW–SE)	rr/entrance, dp (he)	MP	entrance (shelf)
26	58	300×210×7(NW–SE)	rr	MP	storage/ warehouse
		Seoul University 1989			
27	2	660(d)×35	ro/ dp1: 150×90×54 dp2: 110×90×?	MP	dps crossed at right angle.
28	5	?×?×?	?/	MP	fired floor only
29	7	410×350×22(NE–SW)	ov/dp: 150×100×40		
30	12	310×280×26(NW–SE)	rr/ph	MP	1 ph in the house center. fired floor
31	16	?×?×?	?/dp	MP	dp only
32	19	420×380×20(NE–SW)	rr/ph, dp: 130×56×15	MP	postholes in both sides of the dp
33	21	300×275×32	re/	MP	
34	27	430×30	ro/dp: 100×50×20		partly fired floor
	Kwangju Museum 1987				
35	1	686×642×28(E-W)	ro/ph, dp: 140×84×38	MP, dagger, ns, ah 3, gs	dp: workshop pit
36	2	500~550×24	ro/ph, dp: 130×62×24	MP, ah, gs	dp: workshop pit
37	3-1	316~350×13	ro/	MP, dagger, ah,	oxidized steel
38	5	350×10	ro?	MP, charcoal	destroyed by fire
39	7	490×405×26(NE–SW)	rr/	MP, sw, charcoal	destroyed by fire

40	8	610×418×18(NW–SE)	rr/	MP, sq	
41	9	420×28	ro/ph, dp: 130×50×10	MP, rp	dp: workshop pit
42	10	550×430×41(NW–SE)	rr/ph	MP, chisel, ax, charcoal	destroyed by fire C^{14}: B.C. 430±100
43	11	390×16	ro/ph, dp: 75×55	ah, MP, gs 2	dp: workshop pit
44	12	385×310×29(NE–SW)	re/	MP, ah, clay bead, pb, sk	destroyed by fire
45	13	496×420×21(NE–SW)	re/	MP, ah, tk, da, gs	destroyed by fire
46	14	450×360×15(NW–SE)	rr/	MP, sw, gs	
47	14-1	380×270×27(E–W)	rr/	MP	
48	15	390~420×19	ro/dp: 140×85×27	MP, ns, stone tools	workshop for st.
49	16	410×330×28(NW–SE)	rr/	MP	
50	16-2	420×240×5(NE–SW)	rr/	MP, ah, gs,	
51	17	465×460×19	rr/ph, dp: 180×100×20	ah, gs, RB	pebbles in the posthole
52	18	390×308×26(N–S)	rr/ pr, fired earth	MP, ah	fired earth (100×50)
53	18-1	470~520×19	ro/ph, pr: 110×155 dp: 120×70×20,	gs, knife, ah, RB	
54	21-1	390~400×6	ro/ph, dp: 145×80×6	MP, ah	dp with ph:
55	22	540×450×20(NW-SE)	rr/ph,	MP, ah, gs, rp	
56	26	480×420×15(NE–SW)	rr/dp: 100×44×13, fired earth	MP, gs, RB	an accessory pit
57	27	430×355×22(NE–SW)	rr/ph, dp: 90×55×20	MP, sq, ah 4, ax, ns, rp	an accessory pit
58	29	410×350×25(N-S)	rr/ph, pr, fired earth	MP, sk, rp,	
59	32-1	?	rr?/	MP	
60	33-1	400+×360+×36	rr?/	MP, knife	accessory pit
61	34	520×500×17	rr/ph, dp: 120×50×27	MP, adz, gs 5	accessory pit

62	34-1	390×370×41	rr/ph, pr (70×70: semicircle)	ah, pb, gs, rp	pr: many stone tools
63	36	690~720×21	ro/	tk, ah, dagger, RB, MP	
64	37	?×?×20	ro?/ph	MP, gs 2	accessory pit
65	38-1	410×410×10	rr/	MP, gs	
66	39	720×615×19(NW-SE)	ov/ph, dp: 160×80×31	ah, chisel, gs, rp	dp: stone and chisel)
67	40	477×350×24(NW-SE)	rr/	MP, pb, gs	
68	40-1	435×310×20(NW–SE)	rr/	MP, sw, gs, sq	
69	43	447×300×30(N–S)	rr/	MP, spear	
70	48	580×370×25(E–S)	re/	unfinished stone tools, MP, RB,	destroyed by fire C^{14} (B.C. 280±100)

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side.
ah: polished stone arrowhead, dp: depression, en: entrance, Fea.: Feature, fp: floor plan, gs: grinding stone, he: hearth, MP: Mumun Pottery, ns: net sinker, pb: plane blade, ph: postholes, , pr: projection, re: rectangular, ro: round, rp: rim-perforated pottery, rr: rectangular with rounded corners, sk: semi-lunar knife, sq: saddle quern, st: stone tools, sw: spindle whorl, tk: triangular knife.. Measurement in cm..
While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each feature in the midst of actual investigation.

Table 44. Dolong Site Small Features (Choi, et al. 1989; Seo and Seong 1989).

	Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	Artifacts	Note
		Seoul University 1987			
1	1	100×88×30(NW-SE)	ov		little charcoal
2	2	100×90×10(N-S)	rr	Mumun Pottery	fired clay and charcoal
3	3	115×90×16(NE-SW)	ov		little charcoal
4	4	150×143×19(NW-SE)	re		little charcoal
5	5	116×80×30(NE–SW)	re	Mumun Pottery	fired clay and charcoal

6	6	140×125×22(N–S)	re	Mumun Pottery	
7	7	140×88×14(N-S)	re	arrowhead 1, dagger 1	
8	8	146×80×7(E–W)	re	Mumun Pottery	
9	9	190×90×10(E-W)	re	Mumun Pottery	
10	10	88×62×9(NE-SW)	re	Mumun Pottery	charcoals
11	11	130×100×8(NE-SW)	ov		charcoals
12	12	120×100×7(NE-SW)	ro		fired clay and charcoal
13	13	100×188×13(NW–SE)	ov		
14	14	100×70×32(E–W)	ov		charcoal
15	15	116×86×34(NW-SE)	re	Mumun Pottery	
16	16	118×52×25(NE–SW)	re		
17	17	94×64×70(N-S)	ov	Mumun Pottery	fired clay and slates
18	18	110×50×8(NW-SE)	ov		
19	19	156×146×20(N-S)	ro		charcoal
20	20	90×76×19(NW-SE)	ov	Mumun Pottery	charcoal
21	21	90×60×26(NE–SW)	ov		
22	22	130×100×10(NE–SW)	ov		much charcoal
		Kwangju Museum 1987			
23	A	165×150×35(N-S)	ov	arrowhead	
24	B	130×110×58(NE-SW)	rr	MP, arrowhead, gs	
25	C	110×77×?(NE-SW)	re		
26	D	190×164×52(E-W)	ov	Mumun Pottery	
27	E	130×90×50(NE–SW)	ov	Mumun Pottery	
28	F	95×90×38(N–S)	tr	Mumun Pottery	

29	G	170×155×40(N-S)	ro	Mumun Pottery
30	H	115×100×40(E–W)	ro	Mumun Pottery
31	I	103×93×35(NW-SE)	ro	arrowhead
32	J	102×75×35(NE-SW)	rr	
33	K	115×107×45(NE-SW)	ro	MP, arrowhead, RB, , gs
34	L	63×45×12(NW-SE)	rr	
35	M	110×61×15(N–S)	ov	
36	N	80×40×12(NE–SW)	fan	Mumun Pottery
37	O	190×132×70(NW-SE)	ov	Mumun Pottery
8	P	129×48×19(E–W)	ov	
39	Q	125×80×33(N-S)	tr	Mumun Pottery
40	R	100×90×18(NE-SW)	ro	Mumun Pottery
41	S	142×103×40(NE-SW)	ov	MP, arrowhead, gs
42	T	175×128×40(NW-SE)	rr	
43	U	82×56×19(E–W)	rr	Mumun Pottery
44	V	120×80×35(N–S)	tr	
45	W	90×55×15(NW-SE)	ov	Mumun Pottery
46	X	110×78×22(NW-SE)	ov	
47	Y	100×67×40(NE-SW)	rr	Mumun Pottery
48	Z	320×105×10(NE-SW)	ov	Mumun Pottery
49	A[1]	180×75×35(NW–SE)	tr	
50	B[1]	220×70×25(E–W)	?	

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side,
ah: polished stone arrowhead, Fea.: Feature, fp: floor plan, gs: grinding stone, RB: red burnished pottery,
re: rectangular, ro: round, rr: rectangular with rounded corners.
Measurement in cm.

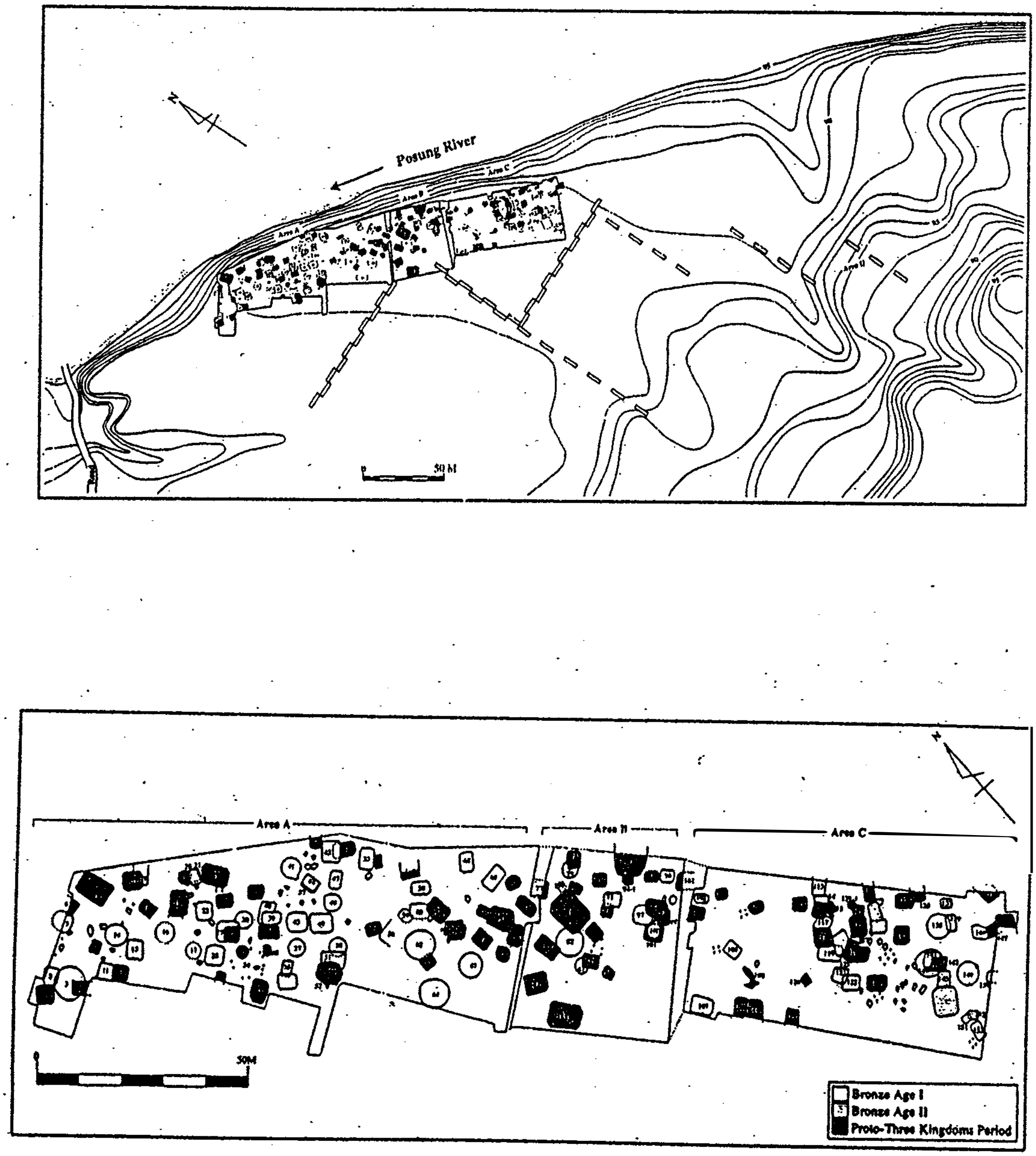


Figure 85. Local Geography of the Dolong Site and the Distribution of the Residential Features (M. L. Choi et al. 1990: 455; S. O. Kim 1996: 98).

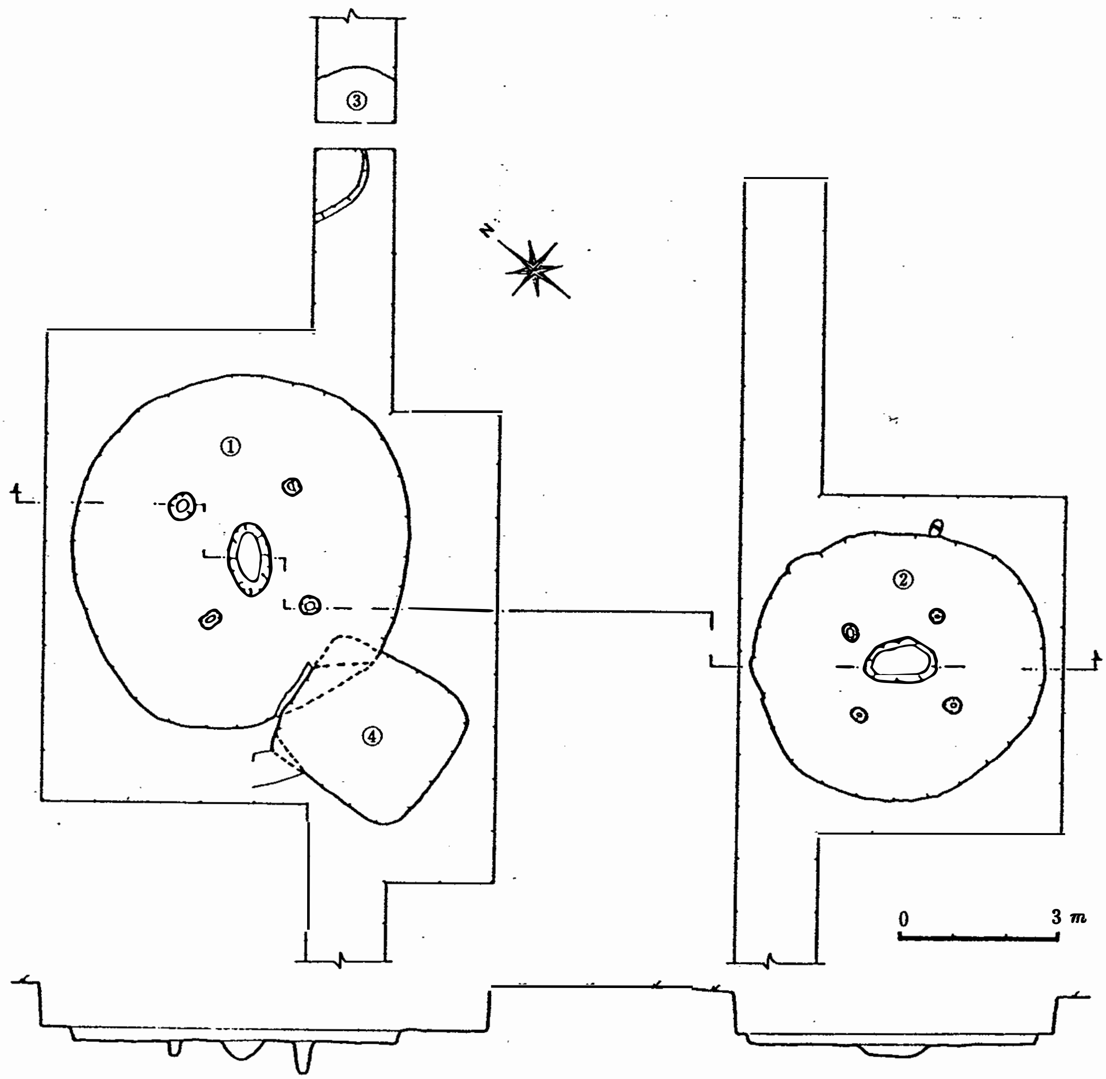


Figure 86. Examples of the Pit Houses at the Dolong Site: Bronze Age Houses (① ②) and Three Kingdoms Period House (④) (Seo and Seong 1989: 497).

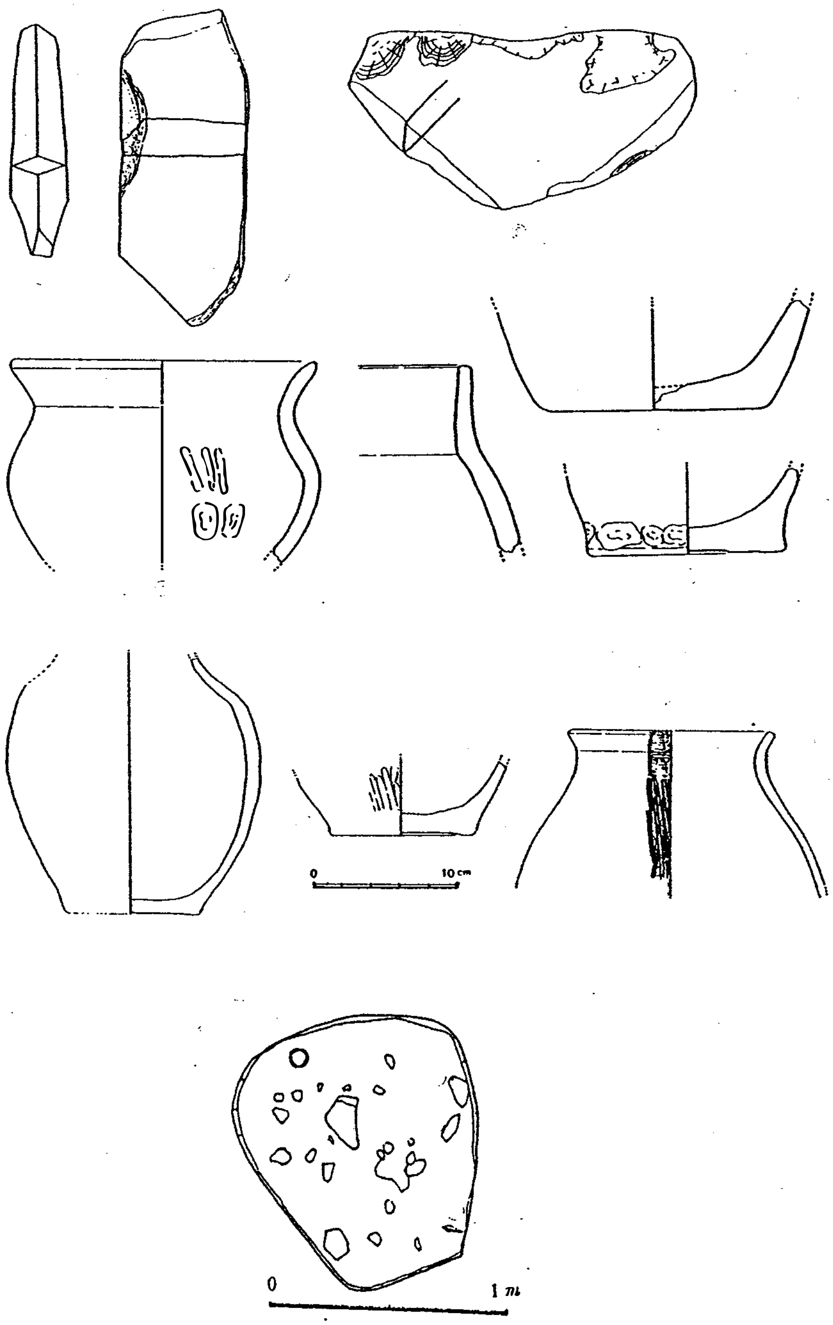


Figure 87. A Mumun Pottery Kiln and Artifacts therein at the Dolong Site (Seo and Seong 1989 531, 556).

Sites of the Iron Age II (Proto Three Kingdoms Period) and Later Periods

In South Jeolla Province, as mentioned, though 16 Mumun Pottery Period pit houses were identified or investigated at 5 locations, there was no report of any residential site of the Iron Age II. Sinchang-ri jar coffin burial site (W. Y. Kim 1964), Masan-ri site (M. L. Choi 1976b), and Gungok-ri shellmound site (S. R. Choi 1987b, 1988b, 1989) were almost all sites of the Iron Age II formally investigated in the region.

As shown in Table 38, however, the Juam Dam archaeological project identified and investigated 123 archaeological features dated to the Iron Age II or later period consisting of 118 semi-subterranean houses, 1 kiln, and 4 storage facilities from 4 locations. Thanks to these archaeological data from these residential sites, there is no doubt about continuous population habitation in the Boseong River Valley from as early as Upper Paleolithic or even Mesolithic Age to the historical periods.

Hajuk Site (Juksan-ri, Mundeok-myeon, Boseong)

Overall picture of the Hajuk site was already mentioned in the section of the Mumun Pottery Period sites. While Jeonnam University investigated 3 localities among the 5 localities, Gyeonghui University and Seonggyunkwan University excavated one locality, respectively. The localities of the Hajuk site investigated by Gyeonghui University, Seonggyunkwan University, and Jeonnam University are named locality G, locality S, and locality J, respectively. In total, 7 semi-subterranean houses dated to the Iron Age II were investigated at the Hajuk site (Table 45) along with 2 Mumun Pottery Period houses at the Hajuk site.

A pit house exposed by the heavy rain of 1987 summer was fully investigated at the locality G. The house had a square floor plan with rounded corners, and the floor was covered with about 3 cm thick clay. In the northern wall, a hearth built by clay and cobbles was found, and four postholes were identified outside the house wall. Two stone net sinkers, Mumun and lattice patterned pottery sherds, and a grindstone were all artifacts uncovered from the house. Considering, the relatively small size, limited amount of artifacts, and clay masses, this feature was supposed to be a space to manufacture pottery rather than a residential place (Y. H. Hwang and B. S. Sin 1990).

At the locality 'S', 2 pit houses were investigated. House B1 has an oval floor plan, and a hearth facility was identified at the southeastern corner of the house. Postholes set at regular intervals of about 30cm were identified outside the house wall, and this house yielded a polished stone dagger, a net sinker, and lattice design pottery sherds. House S2 had a round floor plan, and the diameter of house floor was reported to be 540~550 cm. The house floor was covered by clay (5-10 cm thick), and there was a hearth. Only a few lattice design pottery sherds were uncovered (B: H. Son and I. Y. Lee 1990; J. H. Song, et al. 1990).

Jeonnam University identified 4 houses of the Iron Age II at 2 localities (Houses J1-J4). Houses J1 and J2 were identified nearby the Hajuk C Dolmen site, and the other two houses (J3 and J4) were identified at a low hillside behind the Hajuk village.

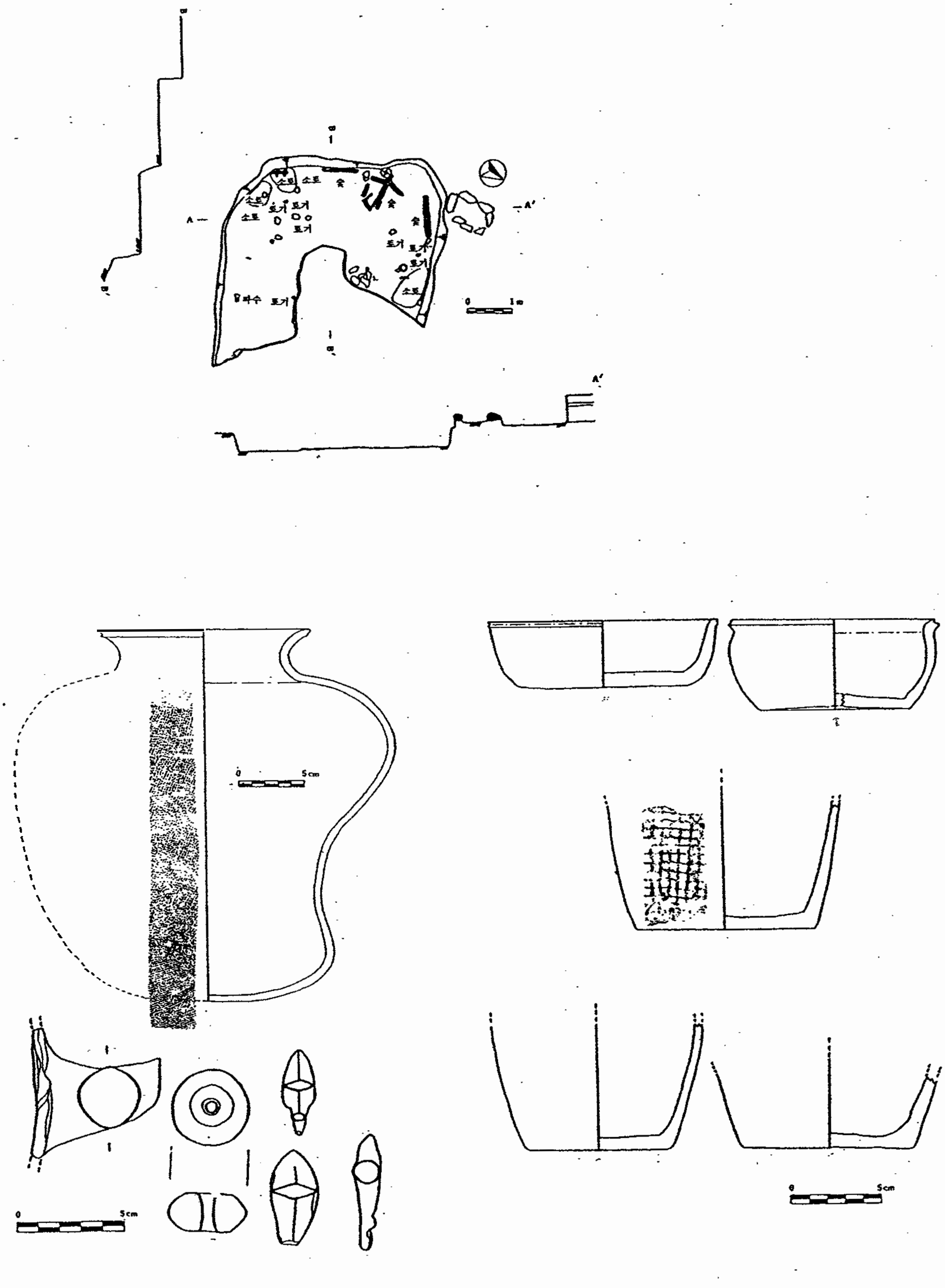


Figure 88. House J1 and Artifacts therein at the Hajuk Site (Song et al. 1990: 251-253).

Table 45. Hajuk Site Houses (Hwang & Shin 1990; Son & Lee 1990: Song et al. 1990).

	Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	FT	Facility	Artifacts	Note
1	G1	205×250×30	rr	cl	ph, hearth	lithic ns 2, MP, whetstone 1, po	outside house postholes
2	S1	246×207×50(N–S)	ov	x	ph, hearth	lithic ns 2, ax, po	outside house postholes
3	S2	540~550×40~50	ro	cl	hearth	po,	
4	J1	500×450×45(N–S)	rr	x	hearth 2	ah 2 iron ah, sw,	half destroyed, charcoal, fired post and clay masses, stoneware
5	J2	500×500×?	rr	x		ah 2, po	
6	J3	525×495×27(N–S)	rr	ha	hearth, drainage	po	
7	J4	420×370×50 (N–S)	ov	x	hearth	charcoal, po	house?

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side, cl: clay, fp: floor plan, ft: floor treatment, MP: Mumun Pottery, ns: net sinker, ph: posthole, po: lattice patterned, mat impressioned, or cord patterned pottery, ro: round, rr: rectangular with round corners, scl: sandy clay, sw: spindle whorl. Measurement in cm.
G: Gyeonghui University, S: Seonggyunkwan University, J Jeonnam University.

House structure, inside and outside facilities, and artifacts uncovered from these houses are summarized in the Table 45, and the relationship between the House No. J1 (Figure 88) and Hajuk C Dolmen No. 1-9 (see Table 22) called for interpretation. The distance between the House J1 and burial chamber of Dolmen No. 1-9 (a stone circle structure) was only 20 cm, and the level of the house floor was about 60 cm lower than that of the dolmen layer. According to the reporters (Song et al. 1990: 219), populations of the Mumun Pottery Period and Iron Age II had dwelled on the similar level of ground surface, and this interpretation could explain the existence of artifacts belonging to multiple archaeological periods from Neolithic to Iron Age II or even Three Kingdoms Period on the same layers.

Though the Hajuk site, located at an alluvial plain developed by the meandering of the Boseong River, is believed to share quite comparable overall characteristics with the Dolong site, unlike the case of the Dolong site thorough investigation of the site was not allowed, and only as few as 9 pit houses were uncovered. Considering the environmental conditions and physical size of the Hajuk site, and such various types and kinds of artifacts collected from the surface layer, spread over multiple archaeological periods from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age II or the Three Kingdoms Period, however, there is no doubt that archaeological significance of the Hajuk site was not less than that of the Dolong site.

Hansil Site (Daegok-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

The overall character of the Hansil site was already presented in the section of the sites during the Mumun Pottery Period. At the Hansil site, a total of 13 features were identified and investigated during the first and fourth field campaigns of the Juam Dam project in 1986 and 1989. Except for two Mumun Pottery Period pit houses, all features uncovered at the Hansil sites were dated to the Iron Age II or the Three Kingdoms Period (Table 46), specifically, 3 pit houses to the Iron Age II, and 1 storage facility (Figure 89) and 7 pit houses to the Three Kingdoms Period.

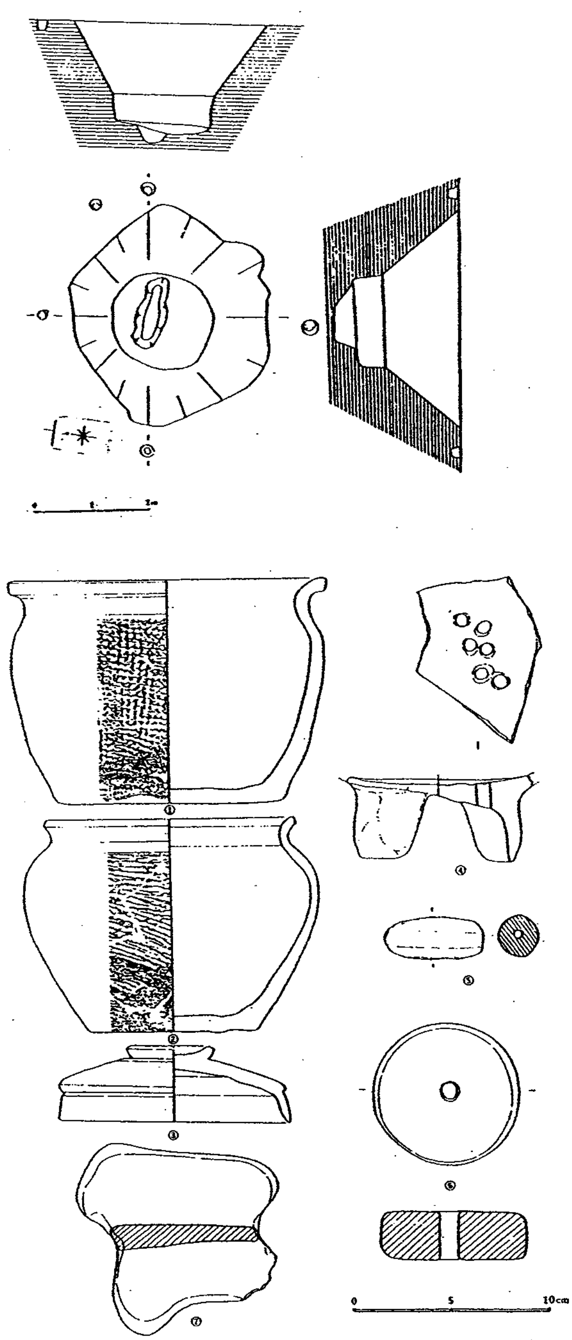


Figure 89. Feature C4 and Artifacts therein at the Hansil Site (Lee et al. 1990: 381-382).

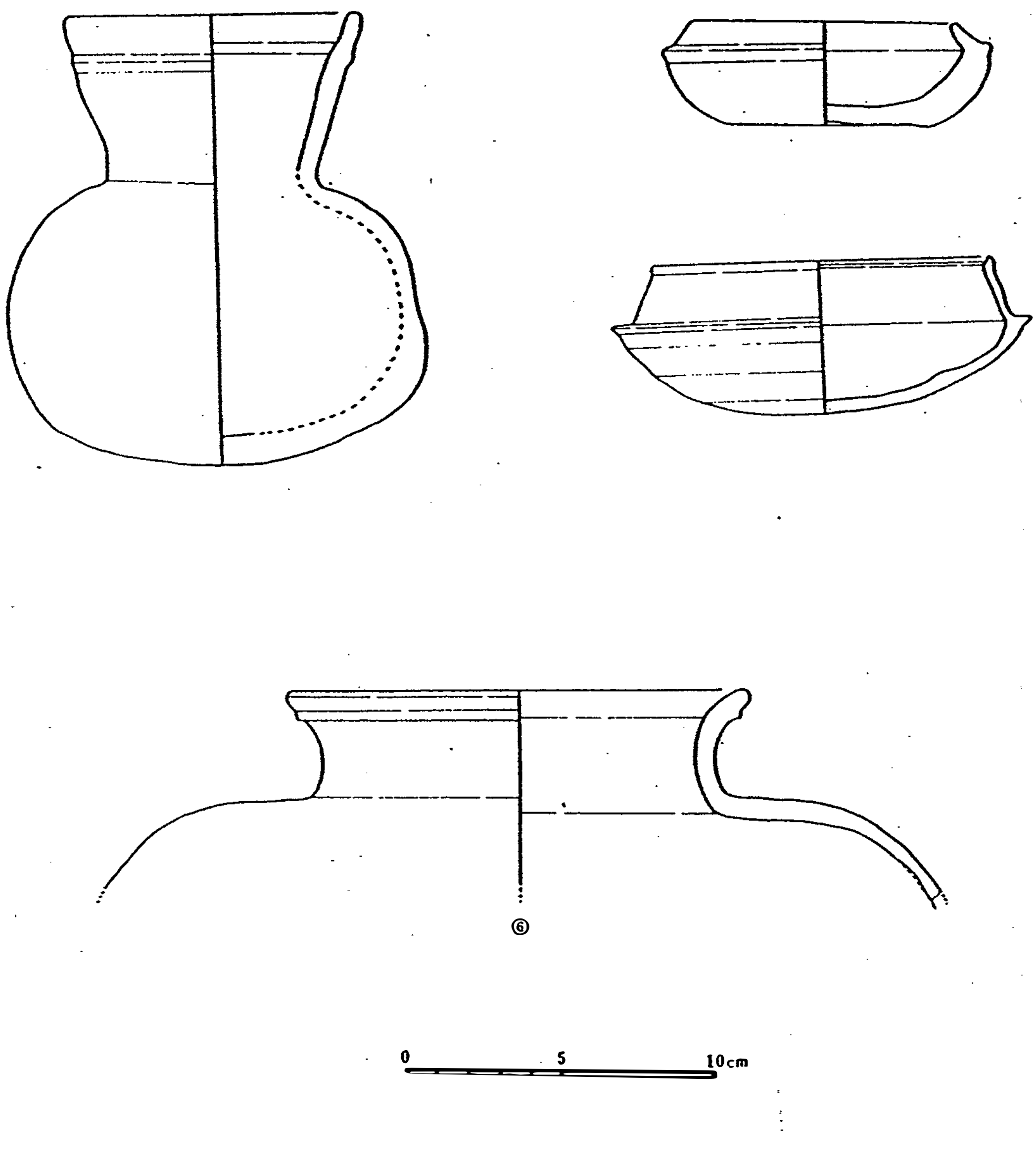


Figure 90. Pottery from the Hansil Site: examples presented to be similar to those from jar coffin burials of the Yeongsan River Valley (Lee et al. 1990: 362-363).

Basically, the presence of grayish blue *kyeongjil* pottery (finer and harder pottery) was adopted as a main criterion to distinguish the features of the Three Kingdoms Period from those of the Iron Age II. This criterion was also applied to the cases of the Dolong site as well. A few pottery types from the Hansil site (Figure 89) were viewed to be quite similar to those from jar coffin burials with huge earthen mounds of the Yeongsan River Valley. Based on the chronological view on the burials, the occupation of the Hansil site was proposed to be continued until the 5th century A.D. or even later phase (M. H. Lee et al. 1990: 347). In addition, a radiocarbon date from a charcoal sample from a pit house of the Dolong site, House 51 (K-87), 1600 ± 100 B.P. (A.D. 350 ±100) was presented as another evidence to indicate the occupation of the Dolong and Hansil sites until the late phase (Seo and Seong 1989: 487). Feature C4 with an unusual depth of about 180 cm was reported to be an independent storage facility rather than a residential facility (Figure 90).

Table 46. Hansil Site Houses and a Storage Facility (M. H. Lee et al. 1990).

Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	FT	Facility	Artifacts	Note
Iron Age II						
A3	375×240×45(N–S)	tr	sc		none	house ?
A6	475×414×15(N–S)	re	sc	fc: 60×70×15	po	A6
C3	790×720×30(N–S)	re	ch	ph, fc: 150×5	po	charcoal
Three Kingdoms Period						

A1	795×720×55(NW–SE)	ro	ch	ph, fc 95×60×20 fc: pm	po, iron knife, ns	regularly spaced phs,
A2	497×320×25(N–S)	re	sc	fc 120×70×17 fc: pm	po, sw, iron sickle	charcoal, fired soil, stones: hypocaust ?
B1	850×755×10(N–S)	re	cl	ph, he, storage	po, sw, ns, clay figure, iron knife & sickle	
C1	484×350×14(E–W)	tr	sc	fc: 100×100×15 fc: 130×75×15	po, jades, ah, chisel	
C2	420×330×17(N–S)	re	sc	fc: 95×35 fc: 80×80	iron piece (?)	fc with charcoal
C5	540×424×36(NE–SW)	re	sc		po, bead, gs	destroyed by fire,
86-1	370×280×10(E–W)	rr	sc	ph	po, iron knife	
C4	340 (170: floor)×180	ro	sc	ph, dp: 130×50×35	po, ns, ws	storage pit

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side, ah: polished stone arrowhead, ch: hardening with sandy clay, cl: plastering clay on floor, fc: fired clay as a hearth facility, fp: floor plan, ft: floor treatment, he: hearth, ns: net sinker, ph: posthole, pm: pseudo morphic, po: lattice patterned, mat impressioned, or cord patterned pottery, rr: rectangular with round corners, sc: sandy clay floor without hardening, sw: spindle whorl, tr: trapezoidal. Measurement in cm.

Dolong Site (Daegok-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

At the Dolong site, in total 87 features of the Iron Age II or later period were identified and investigated (Tables 47 and 48). While Kwangju Museum assigned 12 pit houses to the Three Kingdoms Period, Seoul University assigned no feature to the period. The actual dates of features uncovered by each institute did not seem to be much different from each other. Basically, there was no doubt that the Dolong site had been occupied over multiple archaeological periods and that occupation at some areas of the Dolong site could be initiated or terminated quite earlier or later than other areas. In fact, a few pottery data from the Iron Age II pit houses uncovered by the Seoul University (Figure 91) were also dated in terms of the traditional pottery chronology, and they were reported as potteries of A.D. 4-5 C (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 244). However, the reporters were quite cautious to attach a label of the "Three Kingdoms Period House" to the pit houses uncovered from the Dolong site. It was mainly based on a fact that there was little archaeological evidence to show any connection between the Dolong site and one of the Three Kingdoms, specifically Baekje Kingdom. Furthermore, the Boseong River Valley seemed to have been the territory of the Mahan or a local polity rather than of the Baekje Kingdom; accordingly, the residential sites investigated in the Juam Dam submergence area were considered to be remains of the Mahan or a local polity independent from the Baekje Kingdom as far as archaeological evidence was concerned. Also, there have been new opinions to call for reconsideration of the traditional chronological view on the appearance of the stoneware pottery based on the investigations of kilns of the Iron Age II (B. H. Choi 1988, 1991; S. R. Choi 1992, 1993)

The archaeological data from the Dolong site indicated that the occupation of the Dolong site continued around a thousand year, from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age II or later period. Also two very unusual archaeological features of the Iron Age II were identified at the Dolong site, a pottery kiln and a group of storage pits (Figures 93 and 94).

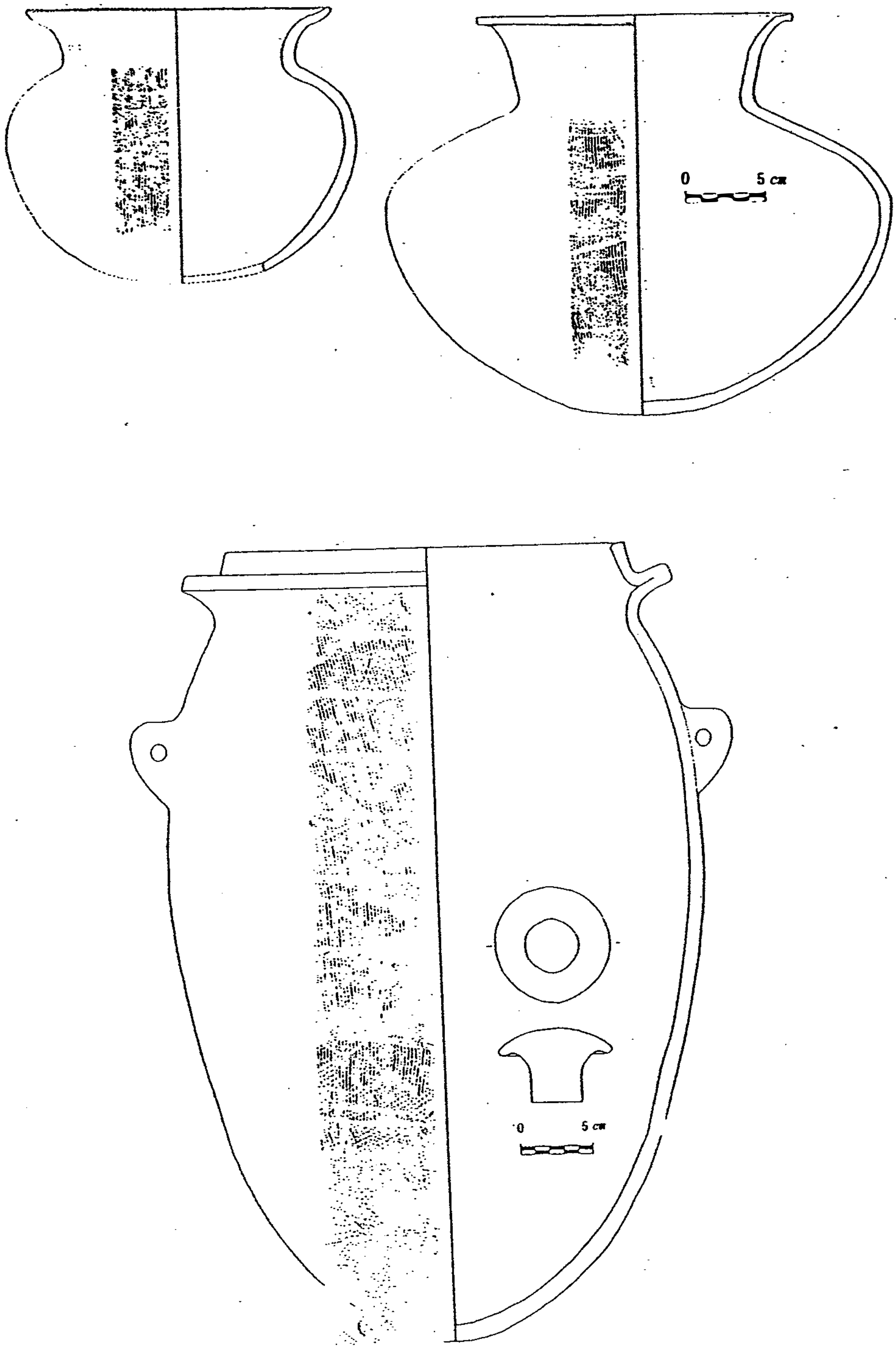


Figure 91. Pottery from the Iron Age II Houses at the Dolong Site: dated to A.D. 4-5 C (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 320, 327).

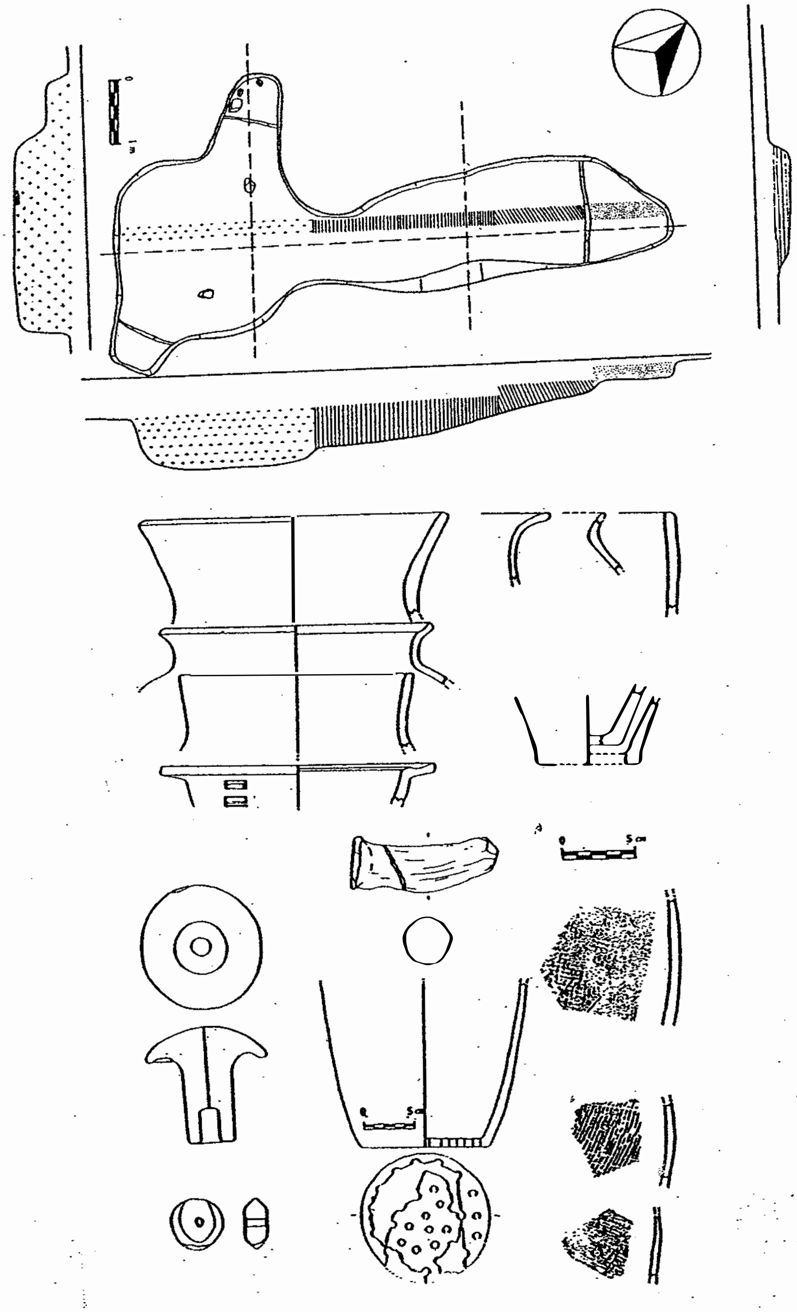


Figure 92. An Iron Age II Pottery Kiln and Artifacts therein at the Dolong Site (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 328-329).

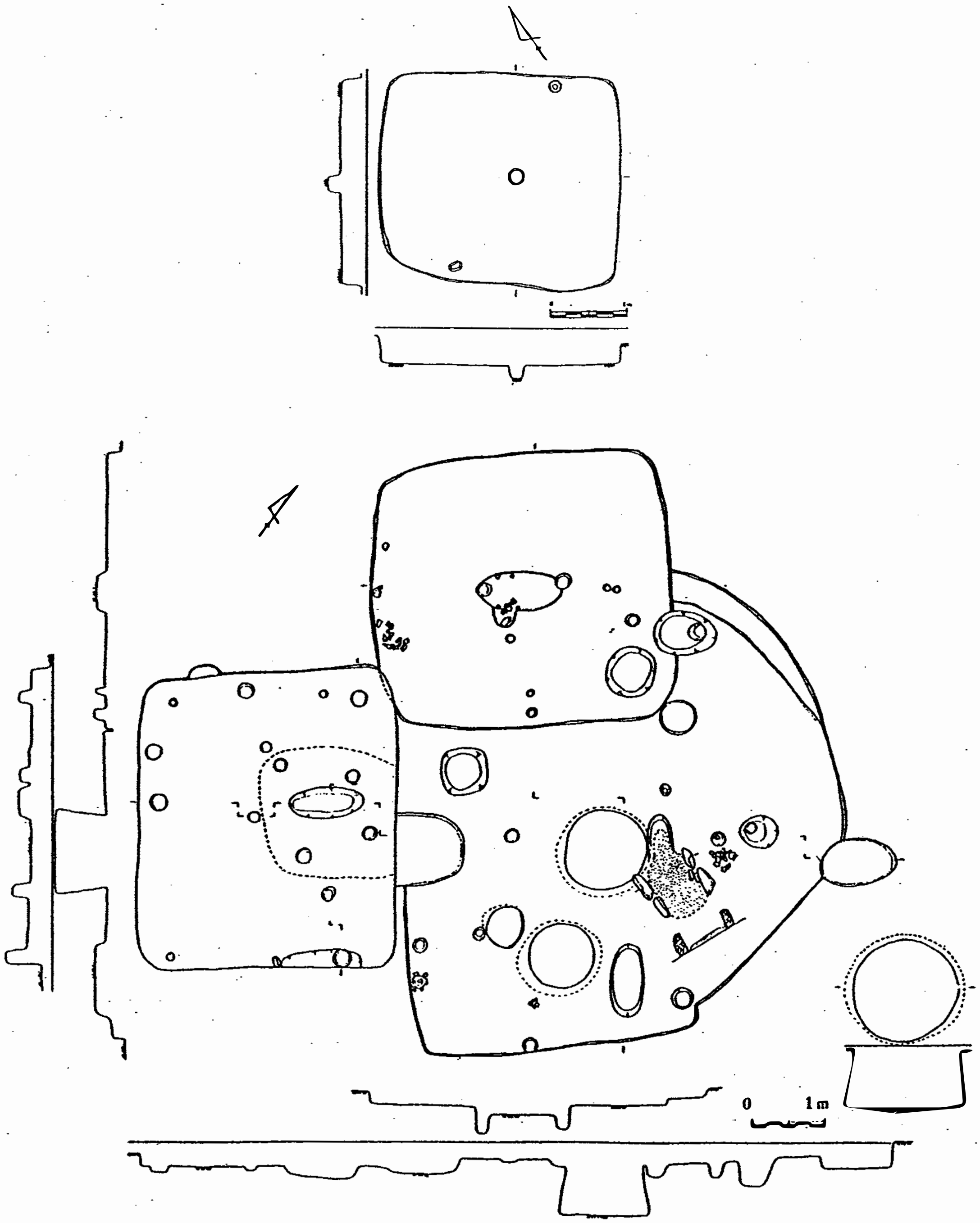


Figure 93. A Mumun Pottery Period House (a posthole at the center) & an Iron Age II Feature (a group of storage pits overlapped with 5 pit houses) (Choi et al. 1990: 463, 465).

Table 47. Dolong Site Houses: Iron Age II (Choi, et al. 1989, 1990; Seo and Seong 1989).

	Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP/FT/Facility	Artifacts	Note
		Seoul University 1987			
1	1	350×300×30(NW–SE)	rr/hac/hearth	po, charcoal	stoneware
2	3	450×320×35(NW–SE)	rr/hac/ph, hearth	po, iron piece, sw	regularly set phs destroyed by fire
3	6	320×310×45(NW–SE)	rr/hac/he with stone	MP, po	destroyed by fire
4	7	470×390×50(NW–SE)	rr/x/sp, hearth, pit	po, iron ah, knife	pit: workshop for stone tool (?)
5	11	200×190×5(NE–SW)	rr/x/	po	accessory of No 12
6	12	380×300×25(NW–SE)	rr/x/	sw, po	
7	13	500×410×70(N–S)	rr/hac/hearth, dps	po, dagger, grindstone, sw	dp: storage or manufacturing
8	14	480×350×70(NW–SE)	rr/hac/hearth	po	destroyed by fire
9	16	460×300×45(NE–SW)	rr/x/dp: 210×130	po, MP	dp: storage?
10	19	500×430×45(NW–SE)	rr/hac/he?	po, knife	destroyed by fire
11	23	340×290×30(N–S)	rr/x/hearth	po, MP, gs	
12	24	580×?×25(NW–SE)	?/x/hearth?		destroyed by fire
13	25	400+×360×35(N–S)	?/x/hearth?	po, chisel	
14	26	420×380×15(NW–SE)	rr/x/	po, unfinished stone tools	
15	27	150×140×10(NW–SE)	rr/x/	po,	Baekje pottery
16	32	310×280×50(NW–SE)	?/x/	po, dagger	
17	35	360×310×43(NW–SE)	rr/x/hearth?	po	
18	40	450×380×25(NW–SE)	rr/x	po	
19	41	350×320×30(E–W)	rr/x	po	

20	44	420×320×60(NW–SE)	rr/x/he, en	po, ah, sw	
21	45	250×240×10(N–S)	rr/x/hearth	po	
22	47	420×330×27(NW–SE)	?/x/	po	
23	54	390×?×40(?–?)	x/ph, he (pit)	none	unique hearth
24	55	380×310×40(NW–SE)	rr/hac	ah, sw, po	
25	56	490×?×20(NW–SE)	?/x/hearth?	po, anvil stone	destroyed by fire
		Seoul University 1989			
26	1	600×400×34(NW–SE)	re/fi/ph, he, dp 2,		ph around the wall
27	3	930×680×53(NW–SE)	re/fi/ph, hearth		ph around the wall
28	4	370×280×12(NW–SE)	ov/x/	none	
29	6	400×?×35(?)	?/x/		
30	8	310×300×22	rr/x/hearth		
31	9	260×?×20(?)	rr/x/dp: 90×37×12		accessory of No. 10
32	10	740+×?×40(?)	ov/fi/dp: 140×80×50		OL No. 9
33	11	360×260×24(NW-SE)	rr/fi/hearth		
34	13	360×?×45(NW–SE?)	rr/hearth		
35	14	?×?×?	re		
36	15	?×?×?	re/x		
37	17	410×360×24(NW-SW)	rr/fi/ph, hearth		
38	20	380×320×44(NW-SE)	rr/fi/he, dp: 60×30×20	deep bowl, st	
39	22	290×33	ro/fi		crops
40	23	410×300×41(NW-SE)	rr/fi/hearth, dp2	pot	
41	24	580×420×37(E-W)	re/fi/hearth, dents		
42	25	770×570×76(NW-SE)	re/fi/ph, hearth		six postholes

43	26	410×320×45(E-W)	re/fi		
44	28	?×?×?	rr/scl/dp		OL No. 7
45	29	?×?×?	?/?/ph		raised house?
46	B1	?×?×?(?-?)	?/wr/drainage		
47	B2	?×?×?(?-?)	?/wr/drainage		
48	B3	510×350×30(NW-SE)	rr/wr/drainage		
		Kwangju Museum 1987			
49	6	410×280×10(NW–SE)	ov/scl/ph, hearth (?)	po	
50	8-1	660×540×25(N–S)	ov/ha/ph, pr:	po, ik, sw	
51	13-1	?×?×15(?–?)	rr/ha	none	destroyed
52	15-1	210~240×5	ro/ha	sk, gs, sw, ns	sandy clay & pebbles in floor
53	16-1	500×250×?	rr/?	ik, gs, po	stoneware
54	20	280~310×22	ro/x/ph, hearth	po	accessory pit
55	21	384×320×23(NE–SW)	rr/x/ph, hearth	po	
56	23	420×340×37(E–W)	ov/x/ph, hearth	po	
57	24	590×440×29(NW–SE)	re/hac/ph, he, pr	po, bead, ns, sw	destroyed by rain
58	25	?×?×15(?–?)	rr/hac/hearth	po	
59	28	550×445×40(NE–SW)	re/cl/ph, he, dp:	MP, po, gs	dp: 120×43×13
60	29-1	385×315×15	re/x/ph, hearth		
61	30	340×290×11	rr/x/ph, hearth	po, ah	
62	31	430×310×28(N–S)	rr/x/ph, hearth	dagger, ah, po	
63	32	503×390×27(NW–SE)	rr/ha/ph, hearth	ah, sw, anvil	
64	33	420×350×20(NW–SE)	rr/x/hearth	ah, po	
65	34-2	290? ×?×12(?-?)	tra/x/	none	house ?

66	35	840×570×55(N–S)	rr/ha/ph, he, dp: 90×25×10	po, ah	
67	36-1	?× 370×?(NW–SE ?)	?/ha/	knife, po	
68	37-1	?×?×32(?-?)	?/x/	ah, ns	
69	42	420×370×25(NW-SE)	rr/cl/ph, hearth	ik, chisel, sw	
70	44	460×350×22(N–S)	rr/cl/hearth	sq, po	
71	46	363×255×25(N–S)	re/cl/hearth	po	warehouse ?
72	47	635×456×52(NW–SE)	re/cl/	po, paddle	
73	49	330~360×25	ro/ha/ph, hearth	po	

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth orientation: a direction of long side. ah: polished stone arrowhead, cl: clay, dp: depression, Fea.: Feature, fp: floor plan, ft: floor treatment, hac: hardening with clay, ik: iron knife, MP: Mumun Pottery, ns: net sinker, ph: posthole, po: lattice patterned, mat impressioned, or cord patterned pottery, RB: red burnished pottery, ro: round, rr: rectangular with round corners, scl: sandy clay, sp: storage pit, st: steamer, sw: spindle whorl, wr: weathered rock. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each feature in the midst of actual investigation. Measurement in cm.

Table 48. Dolong Site Houses: Three Kingdoms Period (S. H. Seo and N. J. Seong 1989).

	Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	FT	Facility	Artifacts	Note
1	3	550×440×20(N–S)	rr	ha	hearth	po, paddle, earthen pipe, MP	
2	4	313×286×23(E–W)	re	x	projection	po	warehouse?
3	7-1	?×?×?(?–?)	?	x		abundant po	warehouse?
4	7-2	600×330×16(NW-SE)	rr	fi	ph, hearth	po	
5	14-2	550×420×37(NE-SW)	rr	fi	hearth	po, iron ah, gs 2,	
6	18-2	? ×?×?	?	x	hearth	sw, po	
7	19	420×330×24(NW–SE)	ov	x	hearth	po	
8	38	430×410×50	rr	cl	hearth	po, MP	

9	40-2	?×?×?	?	x	hearth	po, iron sickle	
10	45	340×295×30(NW–SE)	rr	x	hearth	po, MP	
11	50	500×320×29(N–S)	rr	x	hearth	po, charcoal	
12	51	510×350×50(NE–SW)	rr	cl	hearth 2	po, ah, paddle	C^{14} A.D. 350

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side.
ah: polished stone arrowhead, cl: clay, Fea.: Feature, fp: floor plan, ft: floor treatment, ov: oval, ph: posthole, po: lattice patterned, mat impressioned, or cord patterned pottery, rr: rectangular with rounded corners. While numbers in the first column are simple serial numbers assigned for convenience sake, numbers in the second column are numbers assigned to each feature in the midst of actual investigation. Measurement in cm.

Naksu Site (Naksu-ri, Songkwang-myeon, Seungju)

In the initial site survey, the Naksu site was identified by a few pottery sherds found at an inclined hillside. Though only a few artifacts were identified in site survey, positive environmental conditions for a location of prehistoric and protohistoric village drew scholarly attention. In 1986, 6 semi-subterranean houses of the Iron Age II were identified, and the significance of the site called for detailed and extensive excavation. In 1987 another field campaign for the Naksu site was designed and carried out. Along with two auxiliary facilities, in total 16 semi-subterranean houses of the Iron Age II (Table 49) were investigated (Figure 94).

These Naksu houses were built on a weathered rock layer, and some houses were built in an "L"-shape in order to cut workload by taking advantage of the natural slope of the hillside where the Naksu village was located. Iron, lithic and earthen implements and *yeonjil* (soft) and *kyeongjil* (hard) pottery were uncovered.

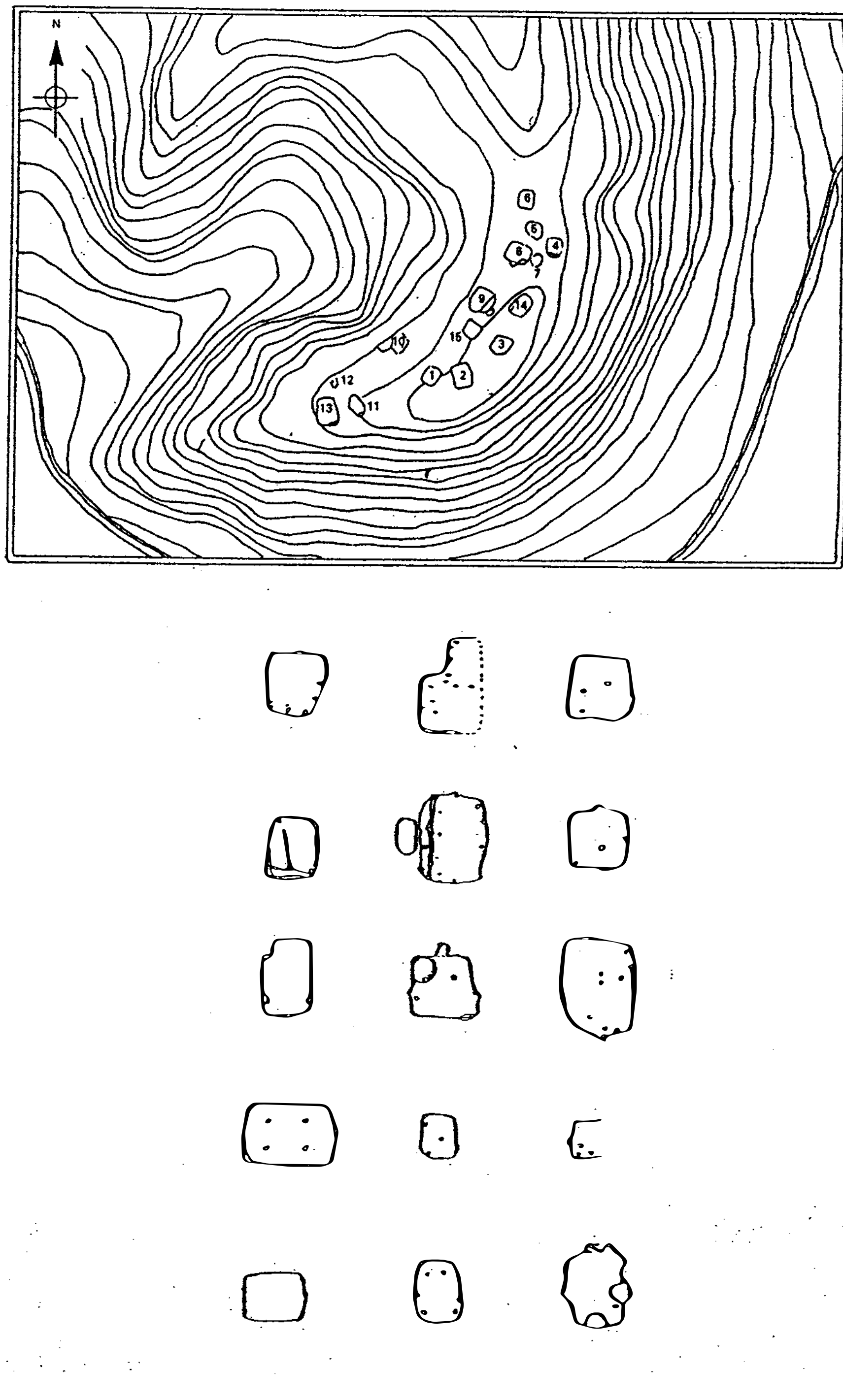
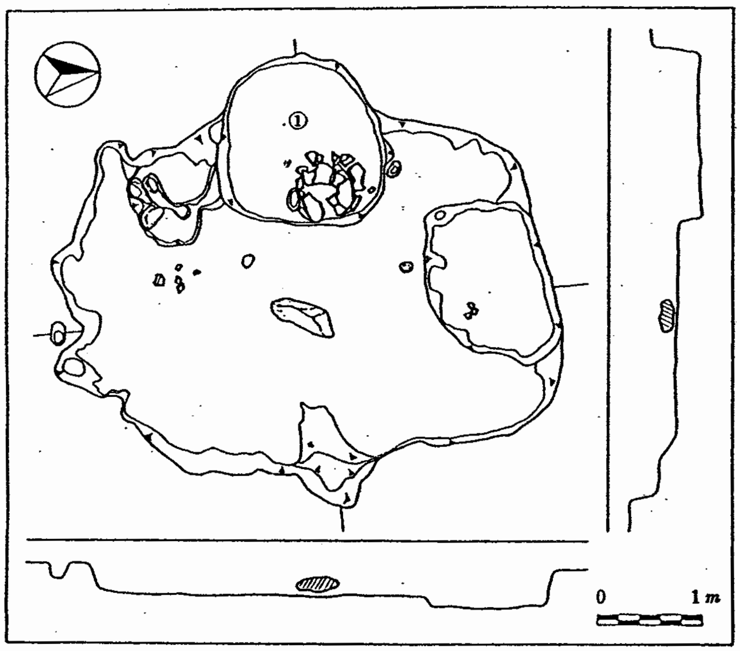


Figure 94. Distribution of Semi-subterranean Houses Uncovered at the Naksu site and their House Floor Plans (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 77, 107).



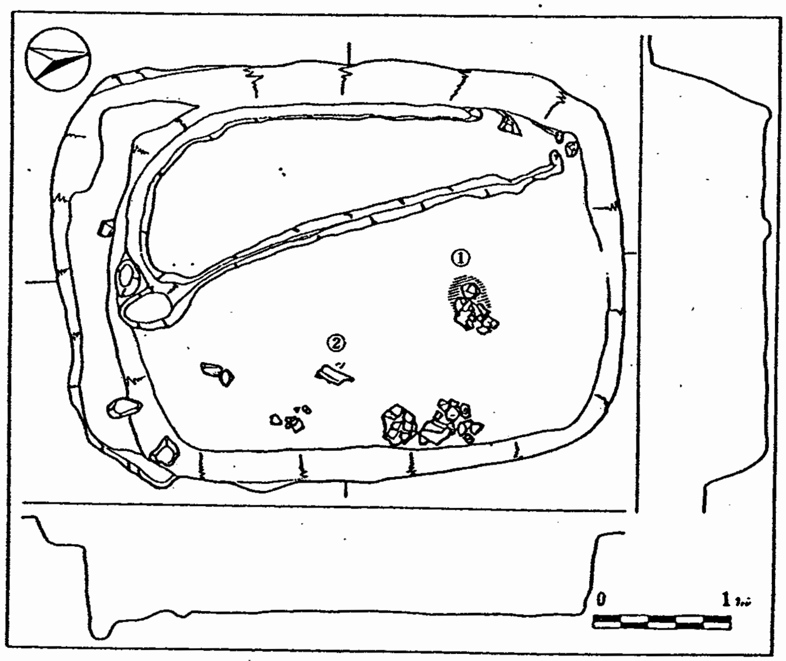


Figure 95. House No. 11 with Inside Storage Pit (top) and House No. 4 with Drainage (bottom) (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 83, 98).

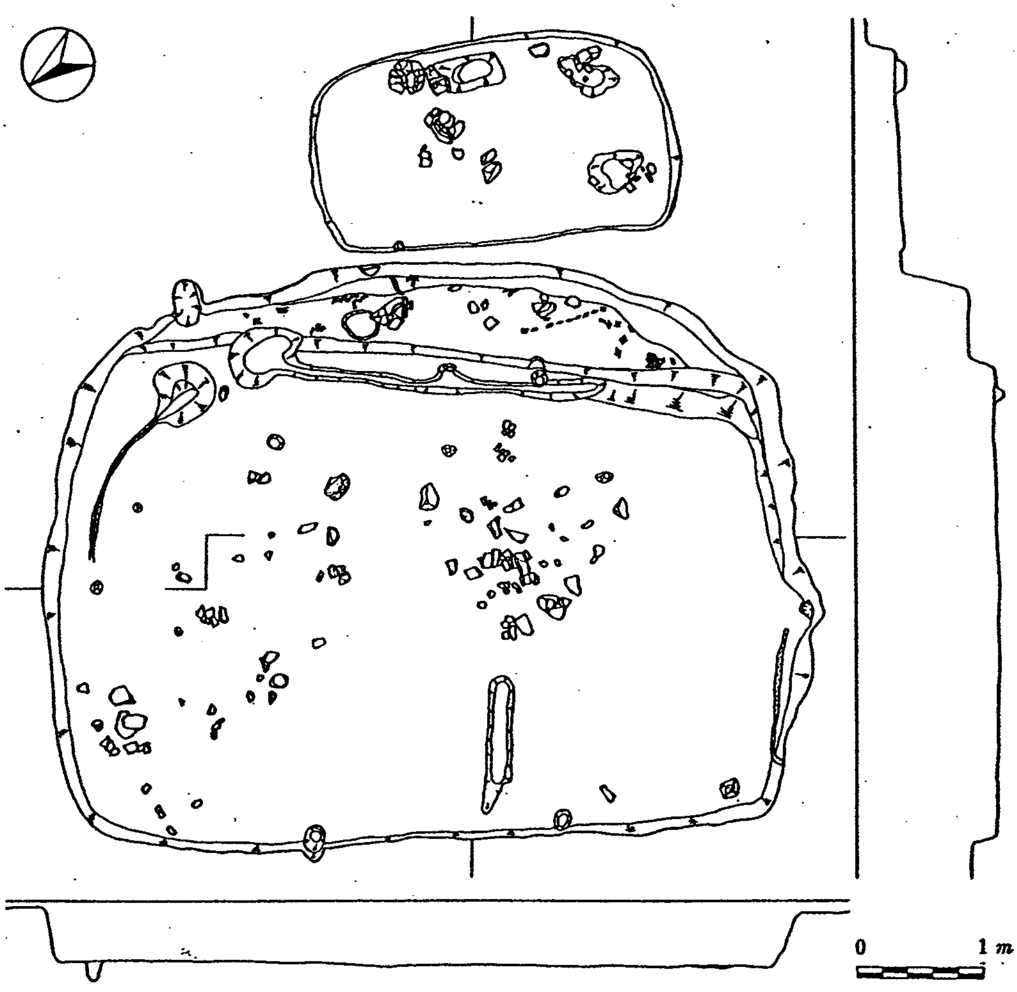


Figure 96. House No. 9 with an Auxiliary Feature (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 92).

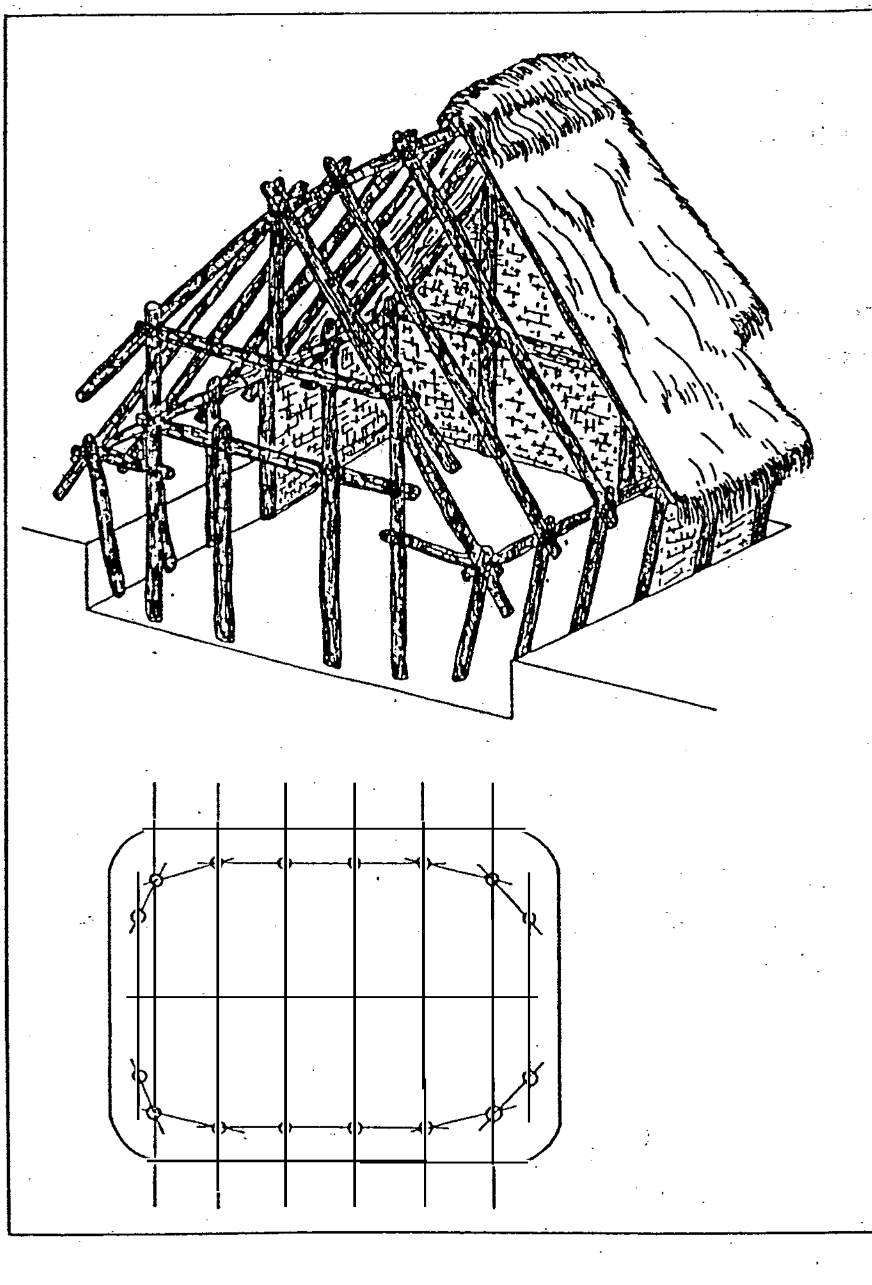


Figure 97. A Virtual Reconstruction of a Naksu House (M. L. Choi et al. 1989: 108).

Table 49. Naksu Site Houses (M. L. Choi, et al. 1989).

Fea. No.	Size (Orientation)	FP	FT	Facility	Artifacts	Note
1	460×320×26(NE–SW)	re	ha		po, charcoal	destroyed by fire
2	590×370×35(N–S)	rr	ha	ph, he, storage pit	grindstone, po	ph around the wall
3-1	380×340×20(NE–SW)	rr	ha	ph, he	po	
3-2	304×288×20(NE–SW)	rr	ha		po	
4	415×330×100(N–S)	rr	ha	ph, he, shelf, dr	sw, po, ah, iron	
5	425×420×43(N–S)	rr	ha	ph	po	
6	410×300×12(N–S)	rr	cl	ph	grindstone, po, charcoals	
7	280×230×25(N–S)	rr	x	ph, drainage	po, iron knife	storage (?)
8	490×420×32(NW–SE)	rr	x	ph, storage pit: 70×110×30	ah, po, seed	stoneware, accessory storage: 140×60×30
9-1	600×445×68(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph, he, shelf, dr,	po, sw	stoneware
9-2	280×160×20(NE–SW)	rr	x		po, sawfly	accessory of No. 9-1
10-1	400×300×70(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph, he	sw, po	stoneware
10-2	380×200×50(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph, drainage	po	
11	480×400×40(N–S)	rr	cl	ph, he, sp	po	stoneware
12	210×175×25(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph	po	storage (?)
13	620×475×50(N–S)	rr	x	ph, hearth	t knife, sw, po	
14	430×390×40(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph,	po	stoneware
15	490×400×40(NE–SW)	rr	x	ph, shelf (entrance?)	po	destroyed by fire

Size: long side×short side×depth or diameter×depth, orientation: a direction of long side, ah: polished stone arrowhead, dr: drainage, fp: floor plan, ft: floor treatment, ha: hardened, he: hearth, ns: net sinker, ph: posthole, po: lattice patterned, mat impressioned, or cord patterned pottery, rr: rectangular with round corners, sp: storage pit, sw: spindle whorl, tk: triangular knife. Measurement in cm.

Facilities affiliated with the pit houses such as drainage ditches, stepped entrances, hearths, independent storage pits, and shelves were identified inside or outside of the houses (Figures 95 and 96). The dominant floor plan of the Naksu houses is rectangular with rounded corners (Figure 94), and Figure 97 is a virtual reconstruction of a Naksu house based on available information.

There was a broad alluvial plain developed in the river valley below the Naksu site, and a number of artifacts were identified at the lowland plain. The plain was also believed to be a large-scale prehistoric or protohistoric village, potentially comparable to the Dolong residential site in terms of scale and temporal range. Unfortunately, field study on the lowland plain was not allowed. The Naksu site has been tentatively regarded to be a village of an unknown polity of 54 small and large polities affiliated with the Mahan along with other 3 residential sites yielding the Iron Age II houses in the Juam Dam submergence area, the Dolong and Hansil sites and the Hajuk site.

Conclusion

This lengthy chapter has been devoted to ordering and synthesizing data from the Juam Dam archaeological project selected for its relevance to analyzing the growth of cultural complexity in southwest Korea. In the final chapter, I offer a quantitative analysis of these data, and an interpretation of sociopolitical development in southwestern Korea based on them.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

The study of sociopolitical complexity and its development over time has become one of the dominant research concerns of Korean archaeology. In my study, the main interest is the trajectory toward sociopolitical complexity that took place in southwestern Korea. In the period of written history, this area of Korea was a part of the Baekje Kingdom, one of Korea's famed Three Kingdoms. In this final chapter, I bring together substantial archaeological evidence to show that prior to its late incorporation into a dominant neighboring kingdom, the Boseong River Valley underwent its own evolutionary development of social complexity, and was already a society of an intermediate level of sociopolitical development before the time of Baekje incursion and domination.

As mentioned in Chapter I, the Juam Dam Project provided an enormous and unprecedented amount of new archaeological information and data on the Boseong River

Valley, a region which had been neglected in Korean archaeology and South Jeolla Province archaeology for a long time. The preliminary site survey for the area to be submerged by the Juam Dam identified and located over 1,500 dolmen burials along with 11 loci of scattered artifacts indicating potential residential sites (see Table 1). In total four field campaigns conducted over a four year period (1986-1989) identified and investigated 4 Paleolithic locations, 381 dolmen burials at 23 locations and over 250 residential features at 5 locations (Table 50). The temporal range of these archaeological features spread from the Mesolithic or Upper Paleolithic to the Three Kingdoms Period.

Table 50. Archaeological Features Investigated in the Juam Dam Project.

	Sites	Periods	Features	References
1	Daejeon	Paleolithic	Deposit	Y. J. Lee et. al 1988b
		MPP	Dolmens	Y. J. Lee et. al 1988b
2	Geumpyeong	Paleolithic	Deposit	Lim and Yi 1988
		MPP	Dolmens	Lim and Choi 1987
3	Gokcheon	Paleolithic	Deposit	Y. J. Lee et. al 1988a, 1988c; 1990
		MPP	Dolmens	Y. J. Lee et. al 1988a, 1988c
		MPP	Pit houses	Y. J. Lee et. al 1988a, 1988c
4	Juksan	Paleolithic	Deposit	S. B. Yi et al. 1990
		MPP	Dolmens	Ji and Park 1988
5	Bokgyo	MPP	Dolmens	Y. H. Jeong 1988
6	Gosuwol	MPP	Dolmens	M. B. Yun 1988

7	Dolong (2)	MPP	Dolmens	Y. H. Jeong 1987
		MPP	Features (1 kiln)	Choi et al. 1989; Seo and Seong 1989
		MPP	Pit houses	Choi et al. 1989; 1990; Seo and Seong 1989
		IAII	Pit houses	Choi et al. 1989; 1990; Seo and Seong 1989
		IAII	1 Group storage pits & 1 kiln	Choi et al. 1989
		TKP	Pit houses	Seo and Seong 1989,
8	Hansil	MPP	Dolmens	Seo and Seong 1989,
		MPP	Pit houses	Lee et al. 1990, Lee et al. 1990
		IAII	Pit houses	Seo and Seong 1989; Lee et al. 1990
		TKP	Pit houses & a Storage pit	Seo and Seong 1989; Lee et al. 1990
9	Singi A	MPP	Dolmens	C. G. Lee 1987
10	Singi B	MPP	Dolmens	D. H. Yun 1988
11	Jangseon	MPP	Dolmens	Kim and Lee 1988
12	Hajuk (4)	Neolithic	LOSA	Y. M. Lee 1988; Song et al. 1990
		MPP	Dolmens	Song and Lee 1988; Song et al. 1990; Hwang 1988; Son and Han 1988
		MPP	Pit houses	J. H. Song et al. 1990
		IAII	Pit houses	Song et al. 1990; Hwang 1988; Son and Han 1988
13	Sinwol (3)	MPP	Dolmens	Yun 1987; Ji and Park 1987; Choi et al. 1987
14	Salchi (2)	MPP	Dolmens	M. J. Choi 1988; S. R. Choi 1988
15	Naeu	MPP	Dolmens	Song and Lee 1988
16	Banwol	MPP	Dolmens	Kim and Lee 1988
17	Sabi	MPP	Dolmens	Son and Lee 1988
18	Yucheon	MPP	Dolmens	C. G. Lee 1988
19	Naksu	IAII	Pit houses	M. L. Choi et al. 1989

Sum	Paleolithic	Deposit	4 Sites
	Neolithic	LOSA	1 Location (Hajuk)
	MPP	Dolmens	18 Sites at 23 locations
	MPP	Pit houses	4 Sites
	MPP	Small Features	1 Site (Dolong) : the functions of these features are not clearly identified: kiln, storage, workshop ?.
	IAII	Pit houses	4 Sites
	IAII	Kiln	1 Site (Dolong)
	IAII	Storage pits	1 Site (Dolong)
	TKP	Pit houses	2 Sites (Dolong and Hansil)
	TKP	Storage pit	1 Site (Hansil)
			19 Sites of 26 Locations

MPP: Mumun Pottery Period (Bronze Age and Iron Age I), IAII: Iron Age II, LOSA: Loci of scattered artifacts, TKP: Three Kingdoms Period, Numbers in parentheses are number of localities in a site.

Chapter IV brought together condensed descriptions of the many archaeological features and sites investigated in the Juam Dam submergence area and published in a series of descriptive reports (Jeonnam University Museum 1987, 1988a, 1988b, 1988c, 1988d, 1989, 1990). As repeatedly mentioned, the main purpose of this study is to explore the developmental processes of sociopolitical complexity in the Boseong River Valley of Korea based on this archaeological evidence. The following pages offer an analysis and interpretation based primarily on artifacts from dolmen burial chambers excavated in the Juam Dam submergence area.

Dolmens in Korea and in the Boseong River Valley

As mentioned, the dolmen was the most dominant archaeological feature found and investigated in the Juam Dam archaeological project. The Juam Dam Archaeological Project provided a significant moment in the understanding of dolmen society not only in South Jeolla Province and but also in the whole Korean Peninsula. Before the excavation of 381 dolmens at 23 locations by the Juam Dam Archaeological Project, there had been only a few actual dolmen excavations even in South Jeolla Province, where dolmens are known from field surveys to be extremely abundant.

Recently, there was a comprehensive research project on the Korean dolmens, and this study systematically compiled an enormous dolmen data from primarily surface observations (Figure 98). As of 1999, a total of 29,510 dolmens had been identified in Korea, and as many as 19,068 dolmens among them, or about 64.6 % of the total, were identified in South Jeolla Province alone (Figure 99). The total quantity of dolmens in North Korea is reported to be 3,160, but this number seems to count only those officially recognized in South Korean academic circles rather than the actual quantity of dolmens distributed in North Korea (Tables 51-53). Based on data and information obtained via other countries such as China and Japan, or unofficial sources, it has been estimated that there are at least 14,000 dolmens in North Korea (M. L. Choi et al. 1999: 1207). Thus, dolmens are a truly major feature of the Korean archaeological record, but the number of recorded dolmens hugely outstrips the number that has actually been studied through excavation.

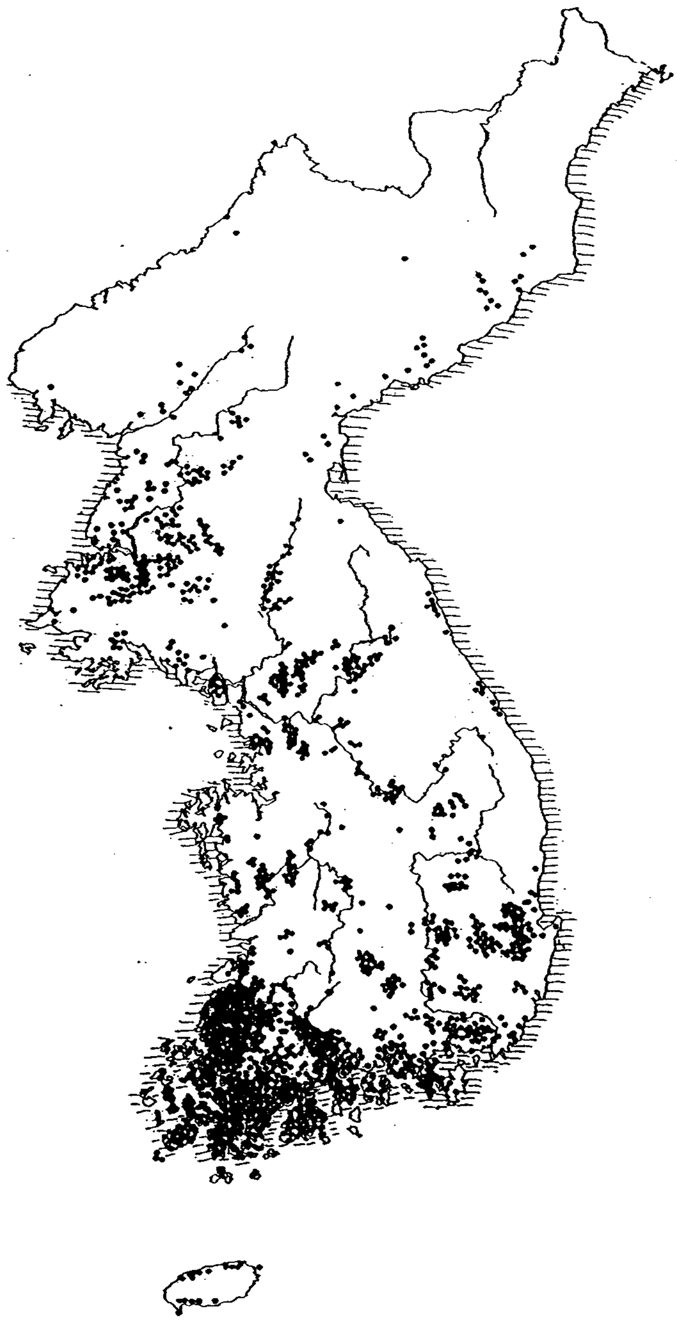


Figure 98. Known Distribution of Dolmens in Korea (M. L. Choi et al. 1999: 1207).

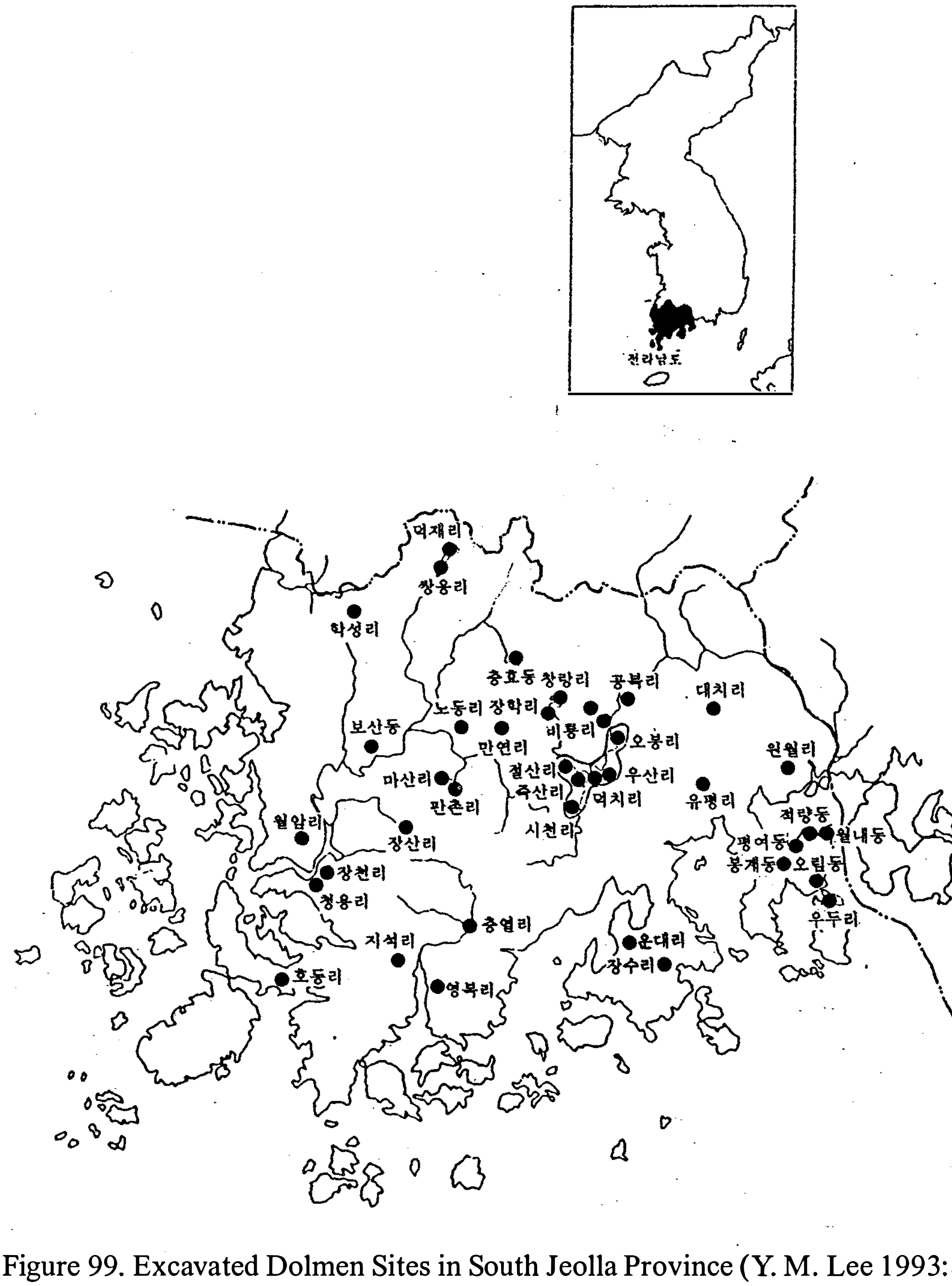


Figure 99. Excavated Dolmen Sites in South Jeolla Province (Y. M. Lee 1993: 27).

The Juam Dam sample of excavated dolmens as of this writing, still affords us the best available set of quantitative information on excavated dolmen contents available from a compact region.

Table 51. Regional Dolmen Distribution in South Korea (after M. L. Choi et al.1999).

	Provinces	QID	Ratio	Land Size	QED	QI/QE(%)
1	South Jeolla	19,068	72.4 %	12.4	3290	579 %
2	North Gyeongsang	2800	10.6 %	20	5307	53 %
3	North Jeolla	1597	6.1 %	8	2123	75 %
4	South Gyeongsang	1238	4.7 %	12.3	3264	38 %
5	Gyeonggi	502	1.9 %	11.7	3105	16 %
6	South Chungcheong	478	1.8 %	8.9	2362	20 %
7	Gangwon	338	1.3 %	16.8	4458	8 %
8	North Chungcheong	189	0.7 %	7.4	1964	10 %
9	Jeju	140	0.5 %	1.8	478	29 %
	Total	26,350	100.0 %	99.3	26350	100 %

Dolmens in the North Korea are excluded. Land Size: actual size of each province (measurement unit is 1,000 km^2). QE(D) : Quantity of Expected Dolmens. QI (D): Quantity of Identified Dolmens.

Korean dolmens are broadly classified into three types: the Northern Type, the Southern Type, and the Capstone Type. Northern Type dolmens are mostly reported only to the north of the Han River (see Figures 2). Their most distinctive feature is that the burial chamber is fully exposed above ground level. The Northern Type dolmens look like a large rectangular stone box, consisting of four upright slab-stones with an oversized top. The oversized top also makes Northern Type dolmens look like a table. Normally, two long side slabs, footed firmly in the ground, directly support the capstone; therefore, they are much thicker and sturdier than the short slabs placed at the front and back sides of the burial chamber. The latter were easily removable and served as entrances to the burial chamber. Today, one or both of the entrance slabs are often missing.

Table 52. Regional Dolmen Distribution in Korea (1) (after M. L. Choi et al.1999).

	Provinces	Dolmens	Ratios	Land Size	QED	QI/QE(%)
1	South Jeolla	19,068	64.6 %	12.4	1665	1145 %
2	North Korea	3,160	10.7 %	120.5	16178	20 %
3	North Gyeongsang	2800	9.5 %	20	2685	104 %
4	North Jeolla	1597	5.4 %	8	1074	149 %
5	South Gyeongsang	1238	4.2 %	12.3	1651	75 %
6	Gyeonggi	502	1.7 %	11.7	1571	32 %
7	South Chungcheong	478	1.6 %	8.9	1195	40 %
8	Gangwon	338	1.1 %	16.8	2256	15 %
9	North Chungcheong	189	0.6 %	7.4	994	19 %
10	Jeju	140	0.5 %	1.8	242	58 %
	Total	29,510	100.0 %	219.8	29510	100 %

The quantity of dolmens in the North Korea: 3,160. Land Size: actual size of each province (measurement unit is 1,000 km^2). QE (D) : Quantity of Expected Dolmens. QI (D): Quantity of Identified Dolmens.

Table 53. Regional Dolmen Distribution in Korea (2) (after M. L. Choi et al.1999).

	Province	QID	Ratio	Land Size	QED	QI/QE
1	South Jeolla	19,068	47.3 %	12.4	2276	838 %
2	North Korea	14,000	34.7 %	120.5	22121	63 %
3	North Gyeongsang	2800	6.9 %	20	3672	76 %
4	North Jeolla	1597	4.0 %	8	1469	109 %
5	South Gyeongsang	1238	3.1 %	12.3	2258	55 %
6	Gyeonggi	502	1.2 %	11.7	2148	23 %
7	South Chungcheong	478	1.2 %	8.9	1634	29 %
8	Gangwon	338	0.8 %	16.8	3084	11 %
9	North Chungcheong	189	0.5 %	7.4	1358	14 %
10	Jeju	140	0.3 %	1.8	330	42 %
	Total	.40,350	100.0 %	219.8	40350	100 %

The quantity of dolmens in the North Korea: 14,000. QED(D): Quantity of Expected Dolmens. QI: Quantity of Identified dolmen. Land Size: actual size of each province (measurement unit is 1,000 km^2).

In a few cases, pebbles or slabs were laid on the floor of a burial chamber, but usually it was a plain dirt floor. Normally, burial chambers of the Northern Type are in the form of a single rectangular box, but in the case of a dolmen at Songshin-dong in Hwangju, the burial chamber was partitioned into four sections by three slab-stones, and a dead body appears to have been placed in each section. The length of Northern Type dolmen capstones is usually two to four meters, but in some cases the capstones are eight meters long or even longer. The usual height of the Northern Type dolmens is one or two meters, but a few have been reported to be more than two meters high.

As just noted, the majority of Northern Type dolmens are found north of the Han River Valley, especially in North Korea's South Pyeongan and Hwanghae Provinces. However, a few have been also found in southern Korea, for example at Ganghwa Island in Gyeonggi Province (National Historical Site No.137), at Dosan-ri in Gochang (North Jeolla Provincial Monument No. 49), and at Manbong-ri and Hoejin in Naju in South Jeolla Province. Initially they were erroneously interpreted as Capstone Type dolmens whose originally underground burial chambers had become exposed in time by wind and rain; but they are now clearly recognized as Northern Type dolmens. The above-named dolmen sites show that while northern Korea was the primary home of the Northern Type dolmens, a few of them were also constructed in the South.

Southern Type dolmens are found mainly in southern Korea, south of the Han River, in particular in Jeolla and Gyeongsang provinces. The fundamental difference between Northern and Southern Type dolmens is the location of the burial chamber. While the Northern Type dolmen is constructed above ground, the Southern Type dolmen is constructed underground. A burial chamber is dug underground, and a varying number of slabs are used as supporting (or propping) stones placed between the burial chamber and a capstone. The capstone is usually a large roundish or elongated boulder, unlike the flat stones used on Northern Type dolmens. The underground burial chamber structure appears in several forms, but almost without exception it was covered with slab-stones.

The burial chambers of Southern Type dolmens are normally about one meter long or even less, while in a few cases they may be longer, up to one and a half meters.

One might assume that dolmens having such a small burial pit were constructed as the graves of children or infants, but it is more likely that they were associated with so-called "secondary burial", which involved the burying of only the bones of the deceased, collected and buried after they lost their flesh. Secondary burial is a practice still in vogue in certain regions of southern Korea.

Capstone Type dolmens, the third main type, are considered by some scholars as a variant form of the Southern Type dolmen, though others strongly insist that the two types have distinctly different features and should be treated as separate types. The distinctive feature of Capstone Type dolmens is that the capstone is directed placed over the underground burial chamber without the use of any propping stones. Another distinctive feature of the Capstone Type is a stone pavement surrounding the burial pit. The stone pavement, built with small flat stones, strengthens the ground surrounding the burial chamber, and thus protects the burial chamber from the crushing weight of the heavy capstone. The stone pavement might also have served as a grave boundary marker.

Capstone Type dolmens have been found throughout the Korean Peninsula. They have been reported in clusters in northern Korea, especially in Hwangju and Bongsan Counties in the Seohong River Valley of Hwanghae Province, at Taeseong-ri in Gangseo, and at Mukpang-ri in Kaecheon of South Pyeongan Province. However, by far the largest number of Capstone Type dolmens is found in southern Korea. Most of the 19,000 dolmens reported in South Jeolla Province, for example, are Capstone Type dolmens. The peninsula-wide distribution of Capstone Type dolmens, in extraordinarily large numbers demonstrates that they were the most typical and prevalent type during the later part of the Korean dolmen period.

The origin of Korean dolmens is the subject of ongoing debate. The traditional view holds that Northern Type dolmens first appeared in the northern part of Korea and later spread to the South, giving birth to the Southern Type dolmens, which in turn gave birth to the Capstone Type. Some scholars, however, considering the Capstone Type to be the earliest of Korean dolmens, hold that the Capstone Type evolved into the Northern Type in northern Korea and into the Southern Type in southern Korea. Although the debate will no doubt continue, the weight of current scholarly opinion and evidence greatly favors the Northern Origin theory.

In South Jeolla Province, Capstone Type dolmens are most prevalent, and as in other parts of the Korean Peninsula, dolmens are often found in groups rather than individually. While up to 50 dolmens form a dolmen group in some locations such as Obong-ri and Usan-ri in Seungju, or Juksan-ri and Munyang-ri in Boseong, the number of dolmens that typically form a dolmen group does not exceed 10 to 20.

Reflections of Commoner and Elite Status among Dolmen Burial Sites in the Boseong River Valley

As mentioned, a total of 381 dolmens at 23 archaeological sites or locations were identified and investigated by the Juam Dam project. Typologically they all belonged to the Southern Type or the Capstone Type, and the Capstone Type dolmens are greatly dominant in number over those of the Southern Type. Burial chambers were not found below 79 dolmen capstones, and these capstones might have been dislocated from the original places for unknown reasons or merely huge rocks misunderstood as dolmen capstones. While five paired burial chambers built under a single capstone were identified (Banwol Dolmens No 6 and No. 7, Hajuk C Dolmens No. 6, Geumpyeong Dolmen No. 7, and Gokcheon Dolmen No. 3-1), 55 burial chambers were found already isolated from their capstones. Aside from 13 burial chambers so seriously damaged as to preclude recognition of their structures, about 80.3 % of the dolmens adopted a stone cist as their burial chambers. Stone circles and pit graves were adopted by 14.0 % and 5.8 % of the dolmens, respectively (see Table 36).

As noted several times above, despite the huge quantity of dolmens known from surface evidence in Korea, the number of excavated dolmen burials has been very small. Thus, the question of what all these graves may have contained in the way of burial furniture that could indicate their occupants' status has never been well-answered. Here is the special importance of the Juam Dam corpus of 381 dolmens. At last there is substantial number of excavated dolmens from a quite compact area, affording a reasonable sample that can be analyzed to asses the range and relative richness of grave furnishings that dolmens as a class contained. Such data are greatly needed to inform archaeological inferences about the levels of social status represented by dolmen burials, and give hope of placing earlier inadequately supported interpretations on a firmer basis.

Within the Boseong River Valley corpus of evidence, few dolmens have yielded exceptionally abundant objects, or rich furnishings such as bronze artifacts. All artifacts found from burial chambers, except Mumun pottery sherds, are listed in Table 54. A few dolmen sites such as the Singi (at Deokchi-ri), Hajuk C and Naeu dolmen sites yielded quite large amounts of artifacts, distinguishing them from other sites or locations. In general, however, the amounts and kinds of artifacts from the dolmens in the Juam Dam area are not much different from those found at other dolmen sites in South Jeolla Province, and even throughout Korea as a whole except for the cases of a few dolmen sites just noted.

Table 54. Artifacts from Dolmen Burial Chambers.

	Sites	BA	BD	AH	JA	RB	SD	Other Artifacts	Sum
1	Bokgyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	Ws 1	1
2	Gosuwol	0	0	3	0	0	0	Sk 1,	4
3	Dolong	0	0	4	0	0	0	Ns 1, Sk 1	6
4	Hansil	0	0	1	0	0	0		1
5	Singi A	0	0	17	0	4	0	Gs 1, Ws 2	24
6	Singi B	1	1	34	0	1	3	Ad 1, Ch 1, Sp 4,	46
7	Juksan	0	0	2	0	0	2		4
8	Jangseon	0	0	1	1	1	0		3
9	Hajuk A	0	0	0	0	0	1		1
10	Hajuk B	0	0	0	0	0	1		1
11	Hajuk C	0	0	24	0	10	10	Ax 3, Ad 1, Gp 2, Gs 2, Ns 8, Pb 2, Sk 2, Sw 2	66
12	Sinwol C	0	0	1	1	0	2	Sk 1	5
13	Sinwol D	0	0	3	0	3	2	Ax 1, Pb 1	10

	Sites	BA	BD	AH	JA	RB	SD	Other Artifacts	Sum
14	Sinwol H	0	0	0	0	0	0		0
15	Daejeon	0	0	1	0	0	1	Gs 1	3
16	Salchi A	0	0	0	0	0	1		1
17	Salchi B	0	0	6	0	4	1	Ns 1	12
18	Geumpyeong	0	0	1	0	0	2	Ch 1, Sw 1, Sk 1	6
19	Gokcheon	0	0	5	0	3	2	Ax 1, Ad 1, Ch 1, Ws 3	16
20	Naeu	0	2	21	10	9	19	Ma 1, Ns 1, Sa 1	64
21	Banwol	0	0	0	1	0	0		1
22	Sabi	0	0	1	0	0	2	Ax 1, Ns 1, Sw 1	6
23	Yucheon	0	0	2		1	2		5
	Sum	1	3	127	13	36	51	Ax 6, Ad 3, Ch 3, Gp 2, Gs 4, Ma 1, Ns 12, Pb 3, Sa 1, Sk 6, Sp 4, Sw 4, Ws 6	286

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri. Singi B: at Deokchi-ri. Ad: grooved adz, Ah: arrowhead, Ba: bronze arrowhead, Bd: bronze dagger, Ja: jade, Ch: chisel, Gp: grinding pestle, Gs: grinding stone, Ma: mace, Ns: net sinker, Pb: plane blade, Sp: spear, Sb: saw blade, Sd: stone dagger, Sa: saw, Sk: stone knife, Sw: spindle whorl, Ws: whetstone.

Table 55. Dolmen Burial Chambers and Artifacts (1).

	Sites	QBC	NA	AA	MP	NM	MPP	KA
1	Bokgyo	3	2	1	0	2	1	0
2	Gosuwol	8	6	2	0	6	2	1
3	Dolong	12	6	6	1	7	5	3
4	Hansil	3	1	2	1	2	1	1
5	Singi A	19	4	15	4	8	11	9
6	Singi B	14	2	12	1	3	11	6
7	Juksan	10	4	6	2	6	4	4

	Sites	QBC	NA	AA	MP	NM	MPP	KA
8	Jangseon	8	3	5	2	5	3	3
9	Hajuk A	5	4	1	0	4	1	1
10	Hajuk B	11	10	1	0	10	1	1
11	Hajuk C	40	7	33	5	12	28	20
12	Sinwol C	6	1	5	1	2	4	4
13	Sinwol D	16	3	13	4	7	9	6
14	Sinwol H	4	4	0	0	4	0	0
15	Daejeon	15	7	8	5	12	3	1
16	Salchi A	13	12	1	0	12	1	1
17	Salchi B	15	1	14	7	8	7	7
18	Geumpyeong	8	2	6	1	3	5	2
19	Gokcheon	17	1	16	7	8	9	7
20	Naeu	50	9	41	7	16	34	33
21	Banwol	9	7	2	1	8	1	1
22	Sabi	12	7	5	0	7	5	3
23	Yucheon	9	4	5	0	4	5	5
	Total	307	107	200	49	156	151	119
*/307	Ratio 1	100 %	34.9 %	65.1 %	16.0 %	50.8 %	49.2 %	38.8 %
*/200	Ratio 2			100%	24.5%	78%	75.5%	59.5%

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri in Seungju. Singi B: at Deokchi-ri in Boseong. QBC: Quantity of burial chamber, AA: Any kinds of artifacts, KA: Key artifact, MP: Mumun Pottery only, MPP: more than Mumun Pottery, NA: No artifact, NM: no artifacts or Mumun Pottery only.
Ratio 1: to the total number of burial chambers (307).
Ratio 2: to the total number of burial chambers yielding any artifacts (200).

Some lithic implements were found in Boseong dolmens as burial furnishings, including axes, grooved adzes, chisels, pestles, grinding stones, maces, plane blades, saws, spears, semi-lunar knives, triangular knives, and whetstones. Also found are earthen specimens such as Mumun Pottery, spindle whorls, and net-sinkers. All of these are recognizable as primarily utilitarian items, apparently reflecting the occupations of farmers, artisans, and householders. In contrast, five kinds of artifacts, consisting of polished stone arrowheads and daggers, jades, red burnished pottery (including eggplant design pottery) and bronze artifacts, were found in fewer than half of the burial chambers investigated. These five kinds of artifacts clearly signify the higher sociopolitical status of the people buried with them. In particular, the number of dolmens furnished with any kinds of bronze implements is extremely limited, which implies their special importance within dolmen society.

As shown in Table 55, 107 burial chambers (34.9%) did not yield any artifacts, and 49 burial chambers (16%) yielded only Mumun Pottery sherds. These represent the first two social categories that may be recognized on the basis of burial associations; people found with no possessions or offerings, and people found with only minimal and utilitarian possessions or offerings. Taken all together, these people of relatively low status comprised slightly more than half of all the interments (50.8 %).

Polished stone daggers and arrowheads, red-burnished pottery, jades, and bronze implements have long been recognized as more significant artifacts, or "key artifacts" in reflecting higher wealth and social status. Items named as "key artifacts" were found in 119 burial chambers (38.8%). This group is quite large, representing more than a third of all burial chambers in the sample, and it shows significant internal variation. Within this group, 85 burial chambers (71.4%) yielded only one kind of key artifact, but a significant percentage (28.6%) of 34 burial chambers yielded multiple kinds of key artifacts (Table 56). Here then are two more recognizable levels of social status, subdivisions within a more elite class.

Table 56. Dolmen Burial Chambers and Artifacts (2).

	Sites	QBC	NA	AA	0 KA	KA	1 KA	2 KA	3 KA
1	Bokgyo	3	2	1	1	0	0	0	0
2	Gosuwol	8	6	2	1	1	1	0	0
3	Dolong	12	6	6	3	3	3	0	0
4	Hansil	3	1	2	1	1	1	0	0
5	Singi A	19	4	15	6	9	6	3	0
6	Singi B	14	2	12	6	6	3	2	1
7	Juksan	10	4	6	2	4	4	0	0
8	Jangseon	8	3	5	2	3	3	0	0
9	Hajuk A	5	4	1	0	1	1	0	0
10	Hajuk B	11	10	1	0	1	1	0	0
11	Hajuk C	40	7	33	13	20	13	5	2
12	Sinwol C	6	1	5	1	4	4	0	0
13	Sinwol D	16	3	13	7	6	4	2	0
14	Sinwol H	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Daejeon	15	7	8	7	1	0	1	0
16	Salchi A	13	12	1	0	1	1	0	0

	Sites	QBC	NA	AA	0 KA	KA	1 KA	2 KA	3 KA
17	Salchi B	15	1	14	7	7	5	2	0
18	Geumpyeong	8	2	6	4	2	1	1	0
19	Gokcheon	17	1	16	9	7	5	2	0
20	Naeu	50	9	41	8	33	20	11	2
21	Banwol	9	7	2	1	1	1	0	0
22	Sabi	12	7	5	2	3	3	0	0
23	Yucheon	9	4	5	0	5	5	0	0
	Sum	307	107	200	81	119	85	29	5
		QBC	NA	AA	0 KA	KA	1 KA	2 KA	3 KA
*/307	Ratio 1	100 %	34.9 %	65.1%	26.4 %	38.8%	27.7 %	9.4 %	1.6 %
*/200	Ratio 2			100%	40.5%	59.5%	42.5%	14.5%	2.5%
*/119	Ratio 3					100%	71.4%	24.4%	4.2%

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri in Seungju. Singi B: at Deokchi-ri in Boseong. QBC: Quantity of burial chamber, AA: Any kinds of artifacts, 0 KA: non Key artifact, 1 KA: 1 kind of key artifacts, 2 KA: 2 kinds of key artifacts, 3 KA: 3 kinds of key artifacts, NA: No artifact.
Ratio 1: to the total burial chambers (307).
Ratio 2: to the Burial chambers yielding any artifacts (200).
Ratio 3: to the burial chambers yielding any key artifacts (119).

Table 57. Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Key Artifacts (1).

	Sites	AH		BA		BD		JA		RB		SD		Sum	
		QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA
1	Bokgyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Gosuwol	1	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
3	Dolong	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
4	Hansil	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

	Sites	AH		BA		BD		JA		RB		SD		Sum	
		QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA	QB	QA
5	Singi A	8	17	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	0	0	9	21
6	Singi B	4	34	1	1	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	3	6	40
7	Juksan	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	4	4
8	Jangseon	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	3	3
9	Hajuk A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
10	Hajuk B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
11	Hajuk C	12	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	10	8	10	20	44
12	Sinwol C	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2	2	4	4
13	Sinwol D	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	2	6	8
14	Sinwol H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Daejeon	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	2
16	Salchi A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1
17	Salchi B	4	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4	1	1	7	11
18	Geumpyeong	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	3
19	Gokcheon	4	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3	2	2	7	10
20	Naeu	16	21	0	0	0	2	3	10	8	9	19	19	33	61
21	Banwol	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1
22	Sabi	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	3	3
23	Yucheon	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2	5	5
	Sum	65	126	1	1	3	3	6	13	34	36	49	51	119	230
/307	Ratio 1 (%)	21.2		0.3		1.0		2.0		11.1		16.0		38.8	
*/119	Ratio 2 (%)	54.6		0.8		2.5		5.0		28.6		41.2		100	
*/230	Ratio 3 (%)		54.8		0.4		1.3		5.7		15.7		22.2		100

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri in Seungju. Singi B: at Deokch-ri in Boseong. AH: polished stone arrowhead, BA: bronze arrowhead, BD: bronze dagger, JA: jade, RB: red burnished pottery, SD: polished stone dagger.. Ratio 1: to the total number of burial chambers (307). Ratio 2: to the total number of burial chambers yielding at least one key artifact (119). Ratio 3: to the total number of key artifacts (230).

Table 58. Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Key Artifacts (2).

	Sites	1	2	3	4	5	6	9	31	BC YMKA	Sum of KA	Sum of BC YKA
1	Bokgyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Gosuwol	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1
3	Dolong	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
4	Hansil	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
5	Singi A	3	2	3	0	1	0	0	0	6	21	9
6	Singi B	3	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	3	40	6
7	Juksan	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
8	Jangseon	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
9	Hajuk A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
10	Hajuk B	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
11	Hajuk C	7	7	4	0	1	1	0	0	13	44	20
12	Sinwol C	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	4
13	Sinwol D	4	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	8	6
14	Sinwol H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
15	Daejeon	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1
16	Salchi A	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
17	Salchi B	5	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	11	7
18	Geumpyeong	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	2
19	Gokcheon	4	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	10	7
20	Naeu	19	9	1	3	0	0	1	0	14	61	33
21	Banwol	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
22	Sabi	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3
23	Yucheon	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	5

		1	2	3	4	5	6	9	31	BC YMKA	Sum of KA	Sum of BC YKA
	Sum	73	26	11	4	2	1	1	1	46	230	119
*/307	Ratio 1 (%)	23.8	8.5	3.6	1.3	0.7	0.3	0.3	0.3	15.0		38.8
*/119	Ratio 2 (%)	61.3	21.8	9.2	3.4	1.7	0.8	0.8	0.8	38.7		100

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri in Seungju. Singi B: at Deokch-ri in Boseong.
BC: burial chamber, KA: key artifact, M: multiple, Y: yielding.
Ratio 1: to the total number of burial chambers (307).
Ratio 2: to the total number of burial chambers yielding at least one key artifact (119).

Table 59. Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Multiple Kinds of Key Artifacts.

	Sites	Ah +Rb	Ah +Sd	Bd +Rb	Bd +Ja	Rh +Sd	Sum	Ah, Ba, & Sd	Ah, Rh, & Sd	Ah, Ja, & Sd	Sum	Total
1	Bokgyo	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	Gosuwol	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	Dolong	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	Hansil	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	Singi A	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	3
6	Singi B	0	1	1	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	3
7	Juksan	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	Jangseon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	Hajuk A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	Hajuk B	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	Hajuk C	3	2	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	2	7
12	Sinwol C	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
13	Sinwol D	1	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
14	Sinwol H	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
		Ah	Ah	Bd	Bd	Rh	Sum	Ah, Ba,	Ah, Rh,	Ah, Ja,	Sum	Total

		+Rb	+Sd	+Rb	+Ja	+Sd		& Sd	& Sd	& Sd		
15	Daejeon	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
16	Salchi A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
17	Salchi B	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	2
18	Geumpyeong	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
19	Gokcheon	1	0	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	2
20	Naeu	1	6	0	1	3	11	0	1	1	2	14
21	Banwol	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
22	Sabi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
23	Yucheon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	Sum	11	12	1	1	4	29	1	3	1	5	34
*/307	Ratio 1 (%)	3.6	3.9	0.3	0.3	1.3	9.4	0.3	1.0	0.3	1.6	11.1
*/29	Ratio 2 (%)	37.9	41.4	3.4	3.4	1.4	100					
*/5	Ratio 3 (%)							20.0	60.0	20.0	100	

Singi A: at Daegwang-ri in Seungju. Singi B: at Deokch-ri in Boseong. AH: polished stone arrowhead, BA: bronze arrowhead, BD: bronze dagger, JA: jade, RB: red burnished pottery, SD: polished stone dagger.
Ratio 1: to the total number of burial chambers (307).
Ratio 2: to the total number of burial chambers yielding two kinds of key artifact (29).
Ratio 3: to the total number of burial chambers yielding three kinds of key artifact (5).

Tables 56-59 provide complete data on all the burial chambers yielding artifacts, and Table 60 condenses this information to compare burials based on the quantities of "key artifacts" they contained. These numbers illustrate a significant degree of social status differentiation among dolmen burials in the Juam Dam area. Although the data must be treated with some caution, they make it reasonable to hypothesize that we can recognize six sub-levels of status differentiation in the area, including a class of people who were unable to participate in dolmen burial at all.

Table 60. Quantity of Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Artifacts.

	No or Only MP	MP plus but No Key	One Key	Two Key	Three Key
Q of BC	156	32	85	29	5
Ratio (*/307)	50.8 %	10.4 %	27.7 %	9.5 %	1.6 %

Q of BC: Quantity of burial chamber. Key: Key artifact. MP: Mumun Pottery.

At the bottom of the social hierarchy of the dolmen period were people who were unable to participate in dolmen burial, which at its simplest nevertheless involved a significant degree of family and community labor. How numerous such people were is not known, of course, since their burials have not been found, but their number was probably not insignificant. Above them were people who were able to participate in dolmen burial, but who were buried with no, or only minimal possessions or offerings. Over half of all the people buried in dolmens fit into this group. These two sets of people might reasonably be hypothesized as representing a "commoner" level of society, a level which contained within itself a perceptible degree of social status variation.

Above the "commoner" level, the burials of a "social elite" may be recognized in the last three columns of Table 60. It is a substantial group overall, totaling almost 40% of the dolmen burial sample. The relative quantities of "key artifact" social status indicators allow, however, a ready subdivision into three subclasses. As among the "commoners," a perceptible degree of social status variation also existed among the "social elite." Most of the burials in this group represent a level of prosperity (and presumably influence) that would place them above the "commoners." But it is the people represented in the "two key" and "three key" columns of Table 60 who can reasonably be judged farthest up the hierarchy of social influence or control. Expectably also, the richest burials, representing the peak of the social hierarchy, are the fewest in number by a significant margin.

Some have opposed the idea of viewing dolmen burial in Korea as an indicator of sociopolitical class distinction, pointing out that there are simply too many dolmens in the Korean peninsula. If only a chief or his close kin were able to adopt the dolmen for their burial, too many elite persons would be implied as existing at the same time period. My analysis, however, suggests a way out of this dilemma.

If only those dolmens yielding at least two key artifacts are considered as burials for a leader or members of a dominant elite group, the idea that dolmens represented a chiefdom society or a society having an equivalent intermediate level of socio-political complexity comes to have a quite reasonable archaeological base. In particular, those dolmens containing three key artifacts may be seen as those of a leader of a superior social stratum who has the political strength to maintain himself as the leader of a community. Along the 307 dolmen burial chambers investigated in the Boseong River area, only five (1.6%) were furnished with three key artifacts. This is a realistically small number of chiefly burials, and obviates the "too many dolmens" argument cited above.

My analysis confirms that we would certainly be mistaken to think that all the dolmens of the Korean peninsula represent chiefly burials. We would be equally mistaken, however, to assert that none of them did. As the invaluable quantitative sample of excavated dolmens from the Boseong Valley shows clearly, dolmen burials are significantly patterned in a way that reflects a graded hierarchy of social statuses, with a very small number of dominant positions at the top.

Table 61. Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Key Artifacts.

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
1	1	Gosuwol No. 9	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
2	1	Dolong No. 2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
3	2	Dolong No. 3-1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
4	3	Dolong No. 8	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Subtotal	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
5	1	Hansil No. 3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
6	1	Singi A No. 1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
7	2	Singi A No. 3	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	2
8	3	Singi A No. 4	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
9	4	Singi A No. 5	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
10	5	Singi A No. 7	5	0	0	0	0	0	5	1
11	6	Singi A No. 9	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
12	7	Singi A No. 10	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
13	8	Singi A No. 12	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
14	9	Singi A No. 13	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Subtotal	17	0	0	0	4	0	21	

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
15	1	Singi B No. 1	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
16	2	Singi B No. 15	29	1	0	0	0	1	31	3
17	3	Singi B No. 18	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
18	4	Singi B No. 20	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
19	5	Singi B No. 21	3	0	0	0	0	1	4	2
20	6	Singi B No. 26	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
		Subtotal	34	1	0	0	1	3	40	4
21	1	Juksan No. 6	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
22	2	Juksan No. A	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
23	3	Juksan No. B	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
24	4	Juksan No. D	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
		Subtotal	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	2
25	1	Jangseon No. 3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
26	2	Jangseon No. 7	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
27	3	Jangseon No. 9	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
		Subtotal	1	0	0	1	1	0	3	3
28	1	Hajuk A No. 1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
29	1	Hajuk B No. 4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
30	1	Hajuk C No. 1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
31	2	Hajuk C No. 1-1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
32	3	Hajuk C No. 1-8	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
33	4	Hajuk C No. 1-9	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
34	5	Hajuk C No. 2	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1
35	6	Hajuk C No. 3	4	0	0	0	0	1	5	2
36	7	Hajuk C No. 5	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
37	8	Hajuk C No. 7	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	2
38	9	Hajuk C No. 8	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
39	10	Hajuk C No. 9	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3
40	11	Hajuk C No. 11	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
41	12	Hajuk C No. 11-1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
42	13	Hajuk C No. 11-2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
43	14	Hajuk C No. 11-3	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	1
44	15	Hajuk C No. 12	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	1
45	16	Hajuk C No. 13	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3
46	17	Hajuk C No. 14	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
47	18	Hajuk C No. 15	4	0	0	0	0	2	6	2
48	19	Hajuk C No. 18	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
48	19	Hajuk C No. 18	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
49	20	Hajuk C No. 20	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
		Subtotal	24	0	0	0	10	10	44	3
50	1	Sinwol C No. 1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
51	2	Sinwol C No. 3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
52	3	Sinwol C No. 10	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
53	4	Sinwol C No. B	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
		Subtotal	1	0	0	1	0	2	4	3

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
54	1	Sinwol D No. 4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
55	2	Sinwol D No. 6	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
56	3	Sinwol D No. 7	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
57	4	Sinwol D No. 8	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
58	5	Sinwol D No. 10	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
59	6	Sinwol D No. 12	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
		Subtotal	3	0	0	0	0	5	8	2
60	1	Daejeon No. 8	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
61	1	Salchi A No. 23	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
62	1	Salchi B No. 2	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
63	2	Salchi B No. 3	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
64	3	Salchi B No. 5	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	2
65	4	Salchi B No. 6	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
66	5	Salchi B No. 7	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
67	6	Salchi B No. 10	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
68	7	Salchi B No. 13	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	2
		Subtotal	6	0	0	0	4	1	11	3
69	1	Geumpyeong No. 1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
70	2	Geumpyeong No. 4	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
		Subtotal	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	2
71	1	Gokcheon No. 1-1	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
72	2	Gokcheon No. 1-2	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
73	3	Gokcheon No. 1-3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
74	4	Gokcheon No. 2-4 A	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
75	5	Gokcheon No. 2-4 B	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	1
76	6	Gokcheon No. 3-1	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
77	7	Gokcheon No. 4-1	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
		Subtotal	5	0	0	0	3	2	10	3
78	1	Naeu No. 3	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
79	2	Naeu No. 4	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
80	3	Naeu No. 4-1	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
81	4	Naeu No. 5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
82	5	Naeu No. 6	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
83	6	Naeu No. 6-2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
84	7	Naeu No. 7	3	0	0	0	0	1	4	2
85	8	Naeu No. 8	0	0	1	8	0	0	9	2
86	9	Naeu No. 9	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	2
87	10	Naeu No. 12	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
88	11	Naeu No. 14	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
89	12	Naeu No. 16	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
90	13	Naeu No. 17	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
91	14	Naeu No. 19	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
92	15	Naeu No. 22	2	0	0	0	1	1	4	3
93	16	Naeu No. 23	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
94	17	Naeu No. 24	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	1
95	18	Naeu No. 25	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
96	19	Naeu No. 26	1	0	0	0	0.	0	1	1
97	20	Naeu No. 27	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
98	21	Naeu No. 31	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
99	22	Naeu No. 33	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
100	23	Naeu No. 34	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
101	24	Naeu No. 38	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
102	25	Naeu No. 41	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
103	26	Naeu No. 42	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	2
104	27	Naeu No. 43	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
105	28	Naeu No. 44	1	0	0	0	1	0	2	2
106	29	Naeu No. 45	1	0	0	0	0	1	2	2
107	30	Naeu No. 46	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
108	31	Naeu No. 47	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
109	32	Naeu No. 48	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
110	33	Naeu No. 53	2	0	0	1	0	1	4	3
		Subtotal	21	0	2	10	9	19	61	5
111	1	Banwol No. 4	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	1
112	1	Sabi No.6	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
113	2	Sabi No. 13	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
114	3	Sabi No. B7	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2
		Subtotal	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	2
115	1	Yucheon No. 1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
116	2	Yucheon No. 3	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1

		Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
117	3	Yucheon No. 4	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	1
118	4	Yucheon No. 5	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	1
119	5	Yucheon No. 6	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
		Subtotal	1	0	0	0	1	1	5	3
		Total Q of Artifact	126	1	3	13	36	51	230	
		Ratio 1 (*/230)	54.8 %	0.4 %	1.3 %	5.7 %	15.7 %	22.2 %	100 %	
		Total Q of Burial chamber	65	1	3	6	34	49	119	
		Ratio 2 (*/119)	54.6 %	0.8 %	2.5 %	5.0 %	28.6 %	41.2 %	100 %	

QA: Quantity of Artifacts. QBC: Quantity of Burial Chamber. KOKA: Kinds of key artifacts.
AH: polished stone arrowhead, BA: bronze arrowhead, BD: bronze dagger, JA: jade, RB: red burnished pottery, SD: polished stone dagger
Ratio 1: to the total number of key artifacts.
Ratio 2: to the total number of burial chambers yielding at least one key artifact.

Summary and Conclusion

The excavations carried out in the Juam Dam submergence area comprised the largest archaeological project in the history of the South Jeolla Province as well as in the Boseong River Valley. Thanks to the Juam Dam archaeological data, we can suggest that there was continuous cultural development from the upper Paleolithic Age to the Iron Age II, or Three Kingdoms Period, in the Boseong River Valley. They also provided important new data on the emergence and development of complex society in the region, the point of main emphasis in this study.

In particular, bronze daggers, polished stone daggers, and jades from a few dolmens, as well as less spectacular evidence from many more, may well be regarded as quite reliable archaeological evidence showing the existence of social differentiation. The appearance of larger pit houses yielding more household equipment than other small and middle size houses also indicates the existence of social stratification, or at least more than one socio-economic social class. Furthermore, differences in the house size and the quantity and quality of household belongings became more evident in the Iron Age II houses, indicating a trend toward more complicated and stratified social organization (see Tables 45-49). Various kinds of pottery that have different specific functions such as the steamer for cooking rice, and iron implements for craft work further suggest at least the beginning of craft specialization exempted from food production.

Table 62. Classification of Dolmen Burial Chambers.

	None Key Artifacts			Key Artifacts			
	NA/ MP		MP+/0KK	1 KK	2 KK	3 KK/BI	
	NA	MP				3KK	BI
QBC	107	49	32	85	29	5	3
	34.9 %	16.0 %				1.6 %	1.0 %
Ratio (*/307)	50.8 %		10.4 %	27.7 %	9.5 %	2.6 %	
Ratio (*/307)		61.2%			11.4 %		
Ratio (*/307)					38.8 %		

QBC: Quantity of burial chamber. KK: Kind of key artifact. MP+/0KK : more than Mumun Pottery but no key artifact. NA: No artifact. MP: Mumun Pottery only. /BI: not 3KK but a Bronze implement 3KK/BI: 3KK or BI

Table 63. Dolmen Burial Chambers Yielding Bronze Artifacts or 3 Kinds of Key Artifacts.

	Burial Chamber	AH	BA	BD	JA	RB	SD	Sum	KOKA
1	Singi B No. 1	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	2
2	Singi B No. 15	29	1	0	0	0	1	31	3
3	Hajuk C No. 9	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3
4	Hajuk C No. 13	1	0	0	0	1	1	3	3
5	Naeu No. 8	0	0	1	8	0	0	9	2
6	Naeu No. 22	2	0	0	0	1	1	4	3
7	Naeu No. 38	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
8	Naeu No. 53	2	0	0	1	0	1	4	3

AH: arrowhead, BA: Bronze arrowhead, BD: bronze dagger, JA: jade, RB: red-burnished pottery, SD: stone dagger, Q: Quantity. KOKA: Kind of key artifacts

Tables 62 and 63 represent another classification of the 307 burial chambers based on the contents of burial furnishings therein, and also illustrate 6 categories of social differentiation of the dolmen society in the Juam Dam submergence area. As shown Tables 62 and 63, combinations of the three kinds of key artifacts were found only in five dolmen burial chambers. If burial chambers containing any bronze implement are treated as equivalent to those with three kinds of key artifacts, the burial chambers affiliated with the highest rank would be 8, or 2.6 % of the total dolmen burial chambers. Eight out of 307 or 2.6 % seems to be a reasonable ratio to represent a privileged class in a society. While an extreme position that all dolmens were built for privileged chiefs and their close kin members is clearly not supportable, there is no doubt that the limited number of dolmens furnished with such precious items were not built for common people.

Under the subsistence economy of the Mumun Pottery Period, the population of the Boseong River Valley seems to have been quite successful in adapting itself to dry land farming sufficient to support the whole society. With intensified production, they could reach a chiefdom level society that could furnish Liaoning style bronze daggers, polished stone daggers, and jades in the dolmens of a chosen few elite persons. However, they were not so successful in changing their production mode to paddy field farming, which would have guaranteed enough production to support a greater population and a more advanced society.

In contrast, the population of the Yeongsan River Valley was quite successful in adapting itself to paddy field farming, which has continued into the present as a main agricultural production mode in modern Korea. The successful shift to paddy field farming is no doubt what made it possible for the Yeongsan River Valley society to advance to an ancient state level society illustrated in the huge tombs at Bannam-myeon, Naju (S. H. Seo and N. J. Song 1988). Basically, the divergence between the two areas grew out of their differing geographical conditions. Whereas relatively large-scale plains adequate for paddy field agriculture were well developed in the Yeongsan River Valley, the Boseong River Valley has by comparison quite limited arable land.

In post-dolmen periods, there was a significant shift in the level of sociopolitical complexity between the two regions, especially during the Three Kingdoms Period around A.D. 300. This is manifested in the emergence of huge mound tombs in the Yeongsan Rive Valley, in particular, in the Bannam-myeon area of Naju County, one of which even contained a gilt-bronze crown. Meanwhile, nothing similar appeared in the

Boseong River Valley. From archaeological data, it is clear that the prehistoric dolmen society of the Yeongsan River Valley continued to increase its sociopolitical complexity and by the end of the 5th century A.D. reached the level of incipient state society. However, the dolmen society of the Boseong River Valley failed to advance beyond the chiefdom level until it was finally incorporated into the expansionist Baekje Kingdom during the middle of the 6th century A.D.

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