Inventing the identity of modern Korean architecture, 1904-1929

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Abstract

This dissertation discusses the identification and classification of Korean building traditions, which lead to the invention of a Korean "modern architecture" in the Western historical sense, when nationalistic Japan was rapidly colonizing Korea in the early 20th century. The research first proves that this identification and classification and the knowledge it produced, especially that of Tadashi Sekino, had a historical context; it grew in relation to the rapidly shifting political conditions of Japan's relationship with the West, beginning in the mid-1910s.

This general contextualization is followed by an examination of Korean *minka* [vernacular housing] and the ways it was regionally understood by the new scholarly approach of Wajiro Kon emerging in contemporary Japanese academia at that time. The research demonstrates that in this process, the new understanding retained the dual perspective of Korean *minka* as not only environmentally formulated, craft-oriented artifacts but also as re-formed objects that should be improved (modernized) through an interplay with Japanese counterparts.

Finally, the dissertation focuses on Kil-Ryong Park, a prominent first generation modern Korean architect. By taking advantage of contemporary Japanese architectural knowledge, Park made his own efforts to develop "[Korean] housing as a vessel for lives" from the early 1920s.

Résumé

Cette thèse traite de l'identification et de la classification des traditions de construction coréennes qui ont conduit à l'invention d'une "architecture moderne" coréenne lors de la colonisation japonaise de la Corée au début du 20e siècle. La recherche prouve d'abord que ces identification et classification, et la connaissance qu'elles produisent, en particulier celle de Tadashi Sekino, avait un contexte historique; elle a émergé en relation aux conditions politiques rapidement changeantes qui ont marqué la relation du Japon avec l'Occident à partir du milieu des années 1910.

Cette contextualisation générale est suivie par un examen de la *minka* coréenne [habitation vernaculaire] et la manière dont elle a été comprise à l'échelle régionale à travers la nouvelle approche scientifique de Wajiro Kon. Cet architecte et théoricien qui a développé une méthodologie émergente dans le milieu universitaire japonais contemporain de l'époque. La recherche démontre, que dans ce processus, la nouvelle compréhension conserve la double perspective de la minka coréenne non seulement comme objets sensibles à l'environnement formulées de manière artisanale, mais aussi comme des objets "réformés" qui ont le potentiel d’être améliorés (modernisés) grâce à une interaction avec leurs homologues japonais.

En dernier lieu, la thèse porte sur Kil-Ryong Park, une figure influente appartenant à la première génération d'architectes coréens modernes. En profitant de la connaissance architecturale japonaise contemporaine, Park a réussi à développer le «logement [coréen] comme un récipient pour la vie» au début des années 1920.

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Introduction: Surviving orientalism and the problem of tradition

The pioneering discussions on the beginnings of architectural modernization in Korea have so far focused on early implementation in Korea of Western building materials, techniques and styles by the Japanese, who came to Korea for commercial and diplomatic purposes around the time of the Japan-Korea treaty of 1876, and by American missionaries, who first arrived in Korea in the mid-1880s[1].

Tracing Western-style architecture in Korea back to 1876, Il-Joo Yoon has claimed that this influence was later absorbed and developed by the first generation of Korean architects in the capitalistic environment of the early 1930s.[2] Chung Dong Kim identified the beginning of modern Korean architecture in the Western architectural technology and materials introduced between 1876 and 1910, which he named the period of enlightenment architecture.[3]

Most subsequent studies adhere to the same idea that only by tracing imported Western architectural influences can one explore the origins and the developments of Korean architectural

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[1] Hyaeweol Choi, *Gender and mission encounters in Korea: new women, old ways* (Berkeley: University of California, 2009), 9.

[2] See Il-Joo Yoon, *Hangug yangsiggeonchug 80nyeonsa: yangsiggeonchug yuibgwa byeoncheone gwanhan yeongu* [The 80 year history of Korean Western-style architecture] (Seoul: Yajeongmunhwasa, 1966).

[3] See Chung Dong Kim, "Hangug geundaegeonchugui saengseong gwajeonge gwanhan yeongu" (A Study on the Formation of Korean Modern Architecture) (Master's Thesis, Hongik University, 1988).

modernity in later periods (including the Greater Korean Empire period from 1897 to 1910[4] and the colonial period from 1910 to 1945).[5]

This perspective implies an orientalist prejudice,[6] which assumes that Japan (or the West), as a "modern" messenger, introduced new and advanced (Western) architectural ideas into underdeveloped, "traditional" Korea. The internalized orientalist perspective has also been applied and even expanded in post-colonial discourses dealing with the autonomously developed Korean architectural modernity of the later colonial periods. On the one hand, researchers have framed the acculturation process of Korean traditional architecture (especially Korean traditional housing) through Western influences, which created hybrid morphological and functional conditions. On the other hand, they have valorized the direct explicit adoption of Western modernism (i.e. International Style) by the first generation of Korean architects.

Seog-Ki Song identified the beginnings of modern Korean architecture in the acceptance and development of Modernism by the first generation of Korean architects during the 1930s.[7] Such approaches fail to explain fully the origins of modern (Western) architecture in Korea, understood not only a set of building styles but as an epistemological construct grounded in

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[4] For example, there is a research on the modern architectural efforts of King Kojong. See Tae-Jin Lee, *Gojongsidaeui jaejomyeong* [Re-illumination of Kojong era] (Seoul: Taehagsa, 2000), 328-356.

[5] Jung-Sin Kim said that, in order to reconsider the colonial origins of Korean architectural modernity, some historians look to the eighteenth-century tradition of the realist school of Confucianism and its architectural manifestation in the construction of the Suwon Castle as well as rapid urbanization. He commented that this approach considers the beginning of Korean architectural modernity as an independent phenomenon. However, Kim argued that it was a temporary change, rather than a continuous development. See Jung-Sin Kim, "Hangug geundaegeonchugsa yeonguui banghyang: gwangbogsu 50nyeongan hanguggeonchugui sigminseong" (The direction for studying Korea modern architectural history), *Geonchugyeogsa yeongu*, no. 4, vol. 2 (1995): 158-163.

[6] I want to say that this is a remnant of Japanese colonialism. Basically, Japan imported Western orientalism and reproduced it in the colonial time and space of Korea.

[7] See Seog-Ki Song, "Hanguggeundaegeonchugeseo natanan modeonijeum geonchugeuloui yangsigbyeonhwa: 1920nyeondae-30nyeondaee sinchugdoen bijugeo geonchugmuleul jungsimeulo" (The characteristics of the beginning stage of modernism in Korean architecture, during 1920-30's) (PhD diss., Yonsei University, 1999).

technological values. Indeed, existing scholarship has not yet explored the issue of architectural modernity in the Korean building traditions identified in the early 1900s. Even if these may have been regarded as inferior entities by the Japanese throughout the entire colonial period, it is important to note that they were also seriously studied and defined historically in the universal context according to the Japanese nationalistic intention to create a Japanese architectural history (one that defined Japanese architecture) on par with the West's. In this sense, the discovered Korean building traditions identified at this time became modern entities: they were understood in the context of a modern notion of historical progress.[8]

It is also important to acknowledge that the Japanese conception of Korean architectural traditions in relation to their Japanese counterparts, especially in the ideas of Tadashi Sekino (1865-1935), started to develop in relation to the fast-shifting political conditions of Japan's relationship with the West at the time of the First World War (1914-1918). The environmentally and regionally formulated Korean housing traditions that were shaped by people's everyday activities, living customs, and dwelling culture, were first acknowledged by the Japanese architect Wajiro Kon (1888-1973) in the early 1920s.

This study analyzes various aspects of Japanese and Korean knowledge and identifications of Korean architectural traditions as well as the speculations upon future Korean architecture produced between 1904 and 1929, when imperial Japan expanded its colonial rule over the Korean peninsula. The focus of my argument is that the essence of Korean housing and architecture was originally a conceptual construct defined by the Japanese…first historically, then environmentally and regionally. Furthermore, this study examines the architectural efforts

[8] For more on the notion of historical progress, see Octavio Paz, *Children of the mire; modern poetry from Romanticism to the avant-garde* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974), 1.

of a member of the first generation of Korean architects, Kil-Ryong Park, who sought to develop Korean housing with his own unique attempt to make "[Korean] housing a vessel for lives" from the early 1920s.

To grasp the full scope of my argument, it is important first to shed some clarity on how Japanese art and architectural traditions were invented, categorized and presented in the global context as part of Japan's nationalistic intentions to outshine the West starting in the late nineteenth century.

Methodological Note

The three historical figures chosen in this dissertation to examine the origins of early modern Korean architecture represent the complex interactions between Japan and the West as well as Japan and Korea in the early 20th century. My wager being that modern Korean architecture emerges from this political constellation; the chosen figures represent the nationalistic and colonial aspirations of Japan through different vehicles and discursive modes, ranging from ethnic studies and archaeology, human geography to architecture proper. Even if Japan used these figures for fostering its nationalistic and colonial projects in different historical time periods, they however came up with nuanced ideas, which have an important bearing on the discussion regarding issues of Korean architectural modernity: all of them produced a substantial body of work on Korean building traditions offering various understanding of them as well as different future scenarios for their development.

* Unless otherwise cited, all translation from Japanese and Koreans are by the author.

Chapter 1: Japan's world exhibitions: historicizing Japanese art and architectural traditions

From the second half of the nineteenth century, a great number of world exhibitions were held in the West to show off the new scientific, technological and cultural innovations of the rapidly industrializing Western nations and to highlight their colonial expansions into Asia and Africa.[1] **[Figure 1]** World exhibitions had included industrial and imperial displays together since a colonial display was first shown in 1870. In this sense, these exhibitions were originally a manifestation of the political aim to show the superiority of the advanced Western nations, and architectural techniques were devised to create drastic visual contrasts between the developed and the underdeveloped conditions in the exhibition grounds. Along with the rise of capitalism in the West at the time, world exhibitions also became markets where newly produced and imported items were introduced, advertised and consumed to entice modern consumers.[2] **[Figure 2]**

[1] For example, the Crystal Palace was built for the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London and the Eiffel Tower was constructed for the Exposition Universelle of 1889 in Paris. Art Nouveau was in vogue in the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris. See Shunya Yoshimi, *Baglamhoe geundaeui siseon, Ilbon geundae spectrum 2* [The politics of exposition: the modern gaze], trans. Tae Mun Lee (Seoul: Nonhyung, 2004), 40.

[2] Yoshimi argued that world exhibitions were places where the general public first met with new products (Ibid., 43.).

[Figure 1] Le Tour du Monde, Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris; from *Le Panorama: Exposition Universelle, 1900.*

[Figure 2] The Irish village and Blarney castle, the Midway Plaisance, World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago; from *Gems of the World's Fair and Midway Plaisance: with accurate and valuable descriptions of each, forming a complete panorama of the most magnificent exhibition of ancient or modern items, the whole comprising the World's Fair in picture and story.*

A group of representatives from Japan first observed the International Exhibition of 1862 in London, and Japan participated in the Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris for the first time.[3] **[Figure 3]** Following the 1867 Paris exhibition, Japan went on to participate in others where it not only scrutinized the scientific and industrial achievements of the advanced Western nations, but also learned visual and spatial display techniques which it employed its inland modern exhibitions beginning in 1877.[4] In 1877, Japan hosted its first inland modern exhibition at Ueno park, modeling it after the 1873 Vienna exhibition.[5] Between 1873 and 1910, Japan participated in a total of 37 world exhibitions.[6]

Through this process, Japan became confident about her commercial success in Western markets owing to the growing interest in Japonism, which fed exotic tastes in the West around the mid-nineteenth century.[7] The Japanese participation in the world exhibitions around this time period was thus highly charged with a capitalistic spirit in the sense that Japan aimed to sell herself to the West. In doing so, Japan also intended to achieve the status of a strong modern nation by ceaselessly juxtaposing herself with the advanced Western countries.[8]

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[3] For more on the International Exhibition of 1862 in London, see Angus Edmund Lockyer, "Japan at the exhibition, 1867-1970" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 2000).

[4] The Japanese Meiji government considered modern exhibitions as an important tool to modernize Japan (Yoshimi, *Baglamhoe,* 136.).

[5] Ibid., 135.

[6] See Ayako Hotta-Lister, *The Japan-British Exhbition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East* (Richmond, Surrey: Japan Library, 1999), 221-222.

[7] Yoshimi said that the European interest in Japan grew a lot at the 1873 Vienna exhibition (Yoshimi, *Baglamhoe,* 130 and 236.).

[8] Ibid., 133.; Yoshimi argued that Japan's intentions in participating in the 1873 Vienna exhibition reflect her political aim of becoming a modern nation by selling herself as a commodity in the highly capitalistic environment (Ibid., 135.).

[Figure 3] Japanese envoys at the International Exhibition of 1862 in London; from Beasley, *Japan encounters the barbarian: Japanese travellers in America and Europe*, 83.

As a matter of fact, Japan never saw itself as an inferior nation or culture from the time it first started to Westernize during the early Meiji period (1868-1912).[9] As seen in the Meiji restoration slogan of "*wakon yousai*" ("Eastern [Japanese] Spirit and Western Technology"), the Japanese government aimed for systematic modernization (Westernization) without internalizing the Western spirit;[10] the better the Japanese came to know Western especially European societies of the time, which were in their eyes riddle with conflict and division-- the more they concluded that Westerners were barbarians.[11] **[Figure 4]**

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[9] Beasley argued that the Japanese envoys never had an interest in Western art or music when they visited America and Europe in 1860 and 1862, respectively (W G Beasley, *Japan encounters the barbarian: Japanese travellers in America and Europe* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 78.).

[10] One can also find the same notion in another motto from the Meiji era: "employs the ethics of the East and the scientific technique of the West thus bringing benefit to the people and serving the nation (Charles W Iglehart, *A Century of Protestant Christianity in Japan* (Tokyo; Rutland, VT: Charles E. Tuttle, 1959), 37.)."; The Meiji restoration slogan was actually derived from the old one saying "Japanese spirit and Chinese scholarship."

[11] See Beasley, *Japan encounters the barbarian,* 65 and 74-75.

[Figure 4] Japanese envoys witnessing Western society; from Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, cover image.

However, Japan also concluded that Western imperialistic power came from modernization. What modernization meant to Japan was not only scientific, technological and military achievement[12] but also the historicizing of the past.[13] It is important to acknowledge that Japan

[12] Ibid., 50, 55, 64-5 and 66.

[13] Here, I talk about the progressive sense of history coined by Arendt. See Hannah Arendt, *Between past and future: eight exercises in political thought* (New York: Penguin Books, 2006), 67.; "Japan's earlier studies of the past had been used largely to affirm the status quo or to 'discover' the errors of the immediate past; the notion of progress, however, transformed Japan's very history and world vision (Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 33.)."; "Intellectuals of the early-Meiji period eagerly adopted the 'world histories' of Europe so as to develop a history in which Japan, too, could be part of the universal order… they sought a scientific methodology that prioritized the study of human activity as a regulated and historical object. Through their reading of the histories of Western civilization, they came to believe that universal laws existed that govern all societies, including Japan, and they attempted to place Japan into that universalistic framework. In this sense the West, a geographical and idealized entity that represented progress and modernity, replaced China as Japan's ideal (Ibid., 36.)."

had made a series of efforts to build its own history (*toyoshi*[14]), with its traditions reflecting Asian origins, since the Meiji twenties.[15] On the one hand, therefore Japan imported Western materials, systems, and ideas while on the other it began restructuring its traditions, including art and architecture. The historical narratives developed around this time period clearly reflect Japan's political intention to achieve a status to rival that of the West.[16]

Notably, Japanese displays in early world exhibitions were mainly planned by European merchants or diplomats who had found Japan economically beneficial to the West. There was thus little evidence of any intention on Japan's part to display its own history in the Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris and the Vienna International Exhibition of 1873. It was not until the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago that Japan displayed its traditional artworks and architecture so as to highlight historical progress. **[Figure 5]** The interior exhibition in the Phoenix Hall was aimed to demonstrate the changes in Japanese traditional art over three

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[14] "The realm for this new past was *toyo*, which was at once contiguous with Western histories and antithetical to them. Geographically, *toyo* expanded the area of the Western universal; it added the 'Far East' to the Western Orient, thereby reinforcing the Western split between the Orient and Occident. But it also reflected an awareness that such territorial categories, especially those defined by Europe, are not neutral or objective. By elevating *toyo* to an equivalent half of the whole, this history offered a competing totality – a new sequence and order – to the universal of the West (Ibid., 34.)."

[15] "By the Meiji twenties (1887-1896), Japanese historians' initial enthusiasm for a philosophy of history that implicitly imposed a uniformity based in European progress had waned, and they began to turn toward a Japanese and Asian past….The shift away from enlightenment history toward Japan's roots was due in large part both to Japan's very acceptance of enlightenment history and to the ultimate failure of that history to accommodate Japan as an equal….However, 'the orient' in the Japanese sense implied not only Japan's need to see itself as the equal of 'the West,' but as Japan's desire to be perceived as the most refined stage of 'the Orient'(Ibid., 45.)."

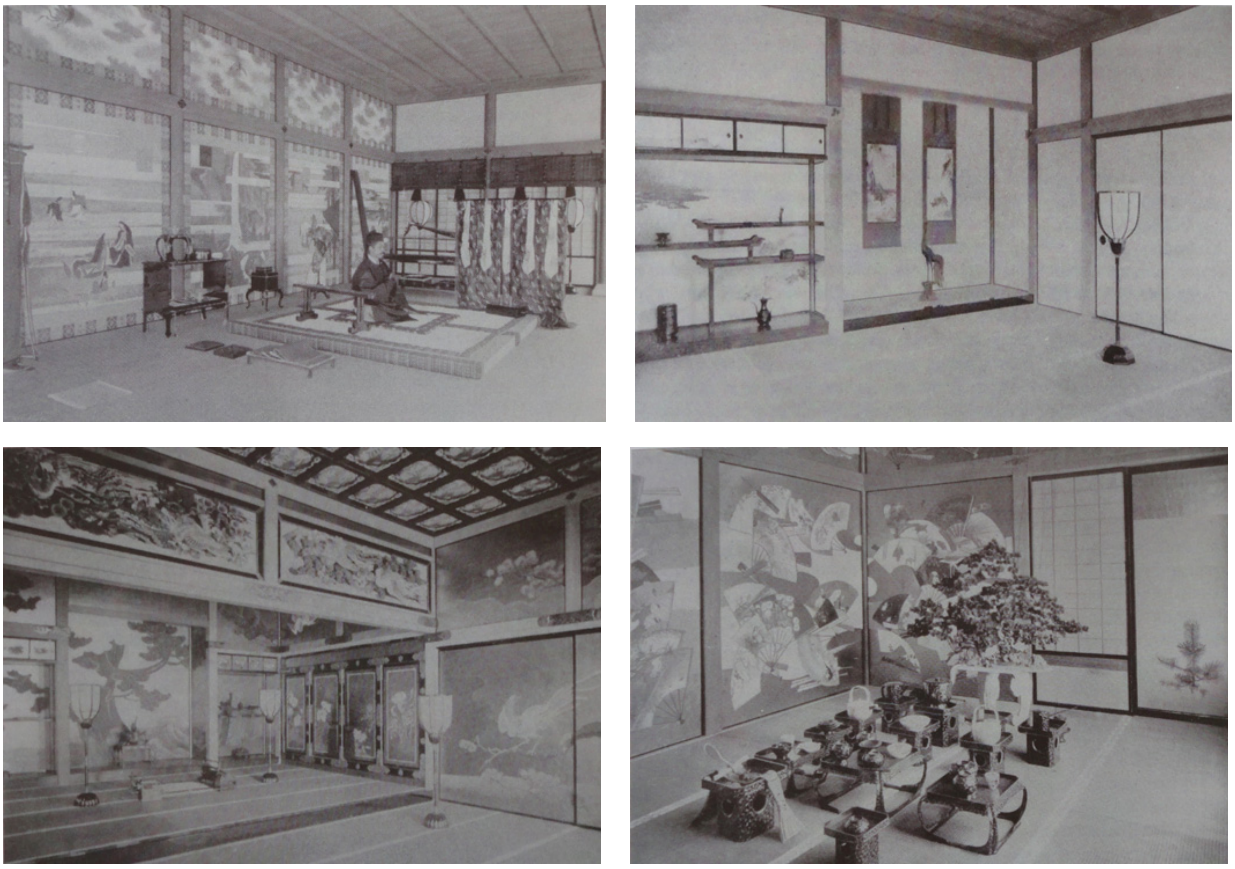
[16] To understand Japan's anthropological efforts to overcome the West, see the first chapter of Eiji Oguma, *A genealogy of 'Japanese' self-images* (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002).; Kyoko Matsuda argued that Tsuboi developed a theory to criticize the Western-centered perspective by supporting the singular origin of human mankind denying biological differences between human races (Kyoko Matsuda, *Teikoku no shisen: Hakurankai to ibunka hyosho* [Imperial perspective: exposition and the representations of alien culture] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2003), 149-150.).; Katsuhiko Yamaji argued that Tsuboi developed the idea of the Japanese as a mixed blood race to compete with the West (Katsuhiko Yamaji, *Kindai nihon no shokuminchi hakurankai* [Modern Japanese colonial expositions] (Tokyo: Fukyosha, 2008), 51.).

different historical periods, the Fujiwara, the Ashikaga and the Tokugawa.[17] Kakuzo Okakura, who was a pupil of Earnest Fenollosa, contributed to this historical exhibition.[18] **[Figure 6]**

[Figure 5] The Phoenix Hall, World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago; from The Canadian Centre for Architecture Collection.

[17] See Victoria Louis Weston, *Japanese painting and national identity: Okakura Tenshin and his circle* (Ann Arbor, MI: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2004), 111.

[18] Earnest Fenollosa went to Japan to teach philosophy and political sciences in 1878. However he became very interested in Japanese traditional arts. Fenollosa served the first director of the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1887 and Kakuzo Okakura succeeded him in 1890. Kojin Karatani argued that "it was Fenollosa who had actually discovered traditional art and introduced a view to categorize in into a historical order (Kojin Karatani, "Japan as Museum: Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa," translated by Sabu Kohso, in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 33-39.)." For more on this historical exhibition, see Weston, *Japanese painting and national identity*, 110-115.



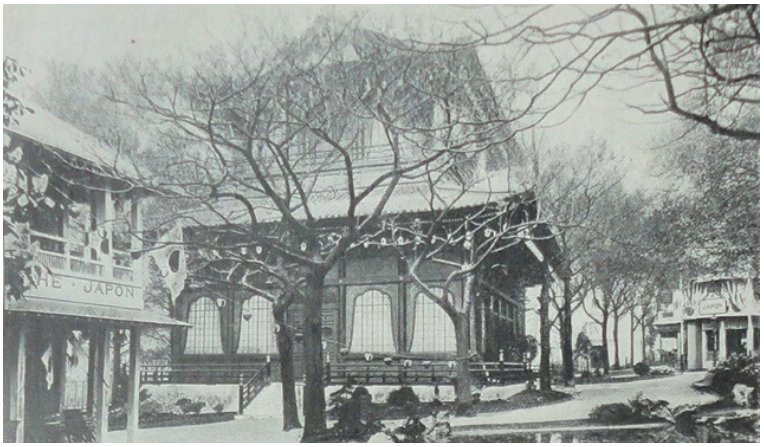
[Figure 6] The interior exhibition of the Phoenix Hall; from Weston, *Japanese painting and national identity: Okakura Tenshin and his circle*, 112-115.

Ascribing to the idea of "Japan as a museum of Asia"[19] Okakura kept working on historicizing Japanese art and architectural traditions with Asian (Buddhist) origins and compiled the first Japanese art and architectural history, *Histoire de l'art du Japon*, for the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris.[20] Japan's historical intentions were also evident in the design of the Japanese

[19] "Thus Japan is a museum of Asiatic civilization; and yet more than a museum, because the singular genius of the race leads it to dwell on all phases of the ideals of the past, in that spirit of living Advaitism which welcomes the new without losing the old (Okakura Kakuzo, *The Ideals of the East* (London: J. Murray, 1903), 3.)."; Okakura's ideas are also shown in the following publications: *The Awakening of Japan* (1904) and *The Book of Tea* (1906).

[20] The publication of *Histoire de l'art du Japon* was commissioned to Imperial Museum by the exhibition preparation office. See Masahiro Mishima, "1900 nen Paris bankokuhaku ni okeru nihonkan no keitaini tsuite" (The motivation and the purpose of the Japanese pavilion's form in the Paris international exposition, 1900), *Journal of Architecture, Planning and Environmental Engineering* 450 (1993): 132., Ji-Hyeon Im and Sung-Si Lee, *Gugsaui*

exhibition pavilion.[21] **[Figure 7]** Fundamentally based on the Kondou of Horyuji, which was claimed to be the oldest example of Japanese architecture by the contemporary architectural historian Chuta Ito, the pavilion was designed with a mixture of architectural ornaments from different Japanese historical periods, and displayed genuine Japanese artworks from the Tendou to the Fujiwara periods.[22] Moreover, it was constructed 20 meters higher than Kondou so that it would be seen above the surrounding Western pavilions in the exhibition grounds.[23]



[Figure 7] The Japanese pavilion at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 in Paris; from *L'Exposition de Paris (1900) publiée avec la collaboration d'écrivains spéciaux et des meilleurs artistes*, 111.

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sinhwaleul neomeoseo [Beyond national history] (Seoul: Humanist, 2004),167-172., and Sung-Si Lee, *Mandeuleojin godae* [An invention of the ancient: east Asian story of modern nation-state] (Seoul: Samin, 2001), 195-208.; The analytical and classificatory methodologies used in *Histoire de l'art du Japon* were later used by Tadashi Sekino in his making of *Chosen bijutsu shi* [The history of Joseon art]. See Im and Lee, *Gugsaui sinhwaleul neomeoseo*, 168.; At the Louisiana Purchase Exposition of 1904 Okakura gave a public lecture on the Japanese art history.

[21] The design of the Japanese pavilion was made by the Japanese exhibition commissioner and art dealer Hayashi Tadamasa (Mishima, "1900 nen Paris bankokuhaku ni okeru nihonkan no keitaini tsuite," 134.).

[22] Ibid., 134 and 139.; Mishima argued that Hayashi Tadamasa considered Buddhist architecture for the design of the exhibition pavilion and was influenced by Ito's work on Horyuji. He also argued that Hayashi wanted to inform the West of the Japanese long art and architectural history developed from its early periods (Ibid., 136-137.).; Mishima said that the use of various ornaments was also aimed to feed the exotic taste of French people (Ibid., 138.). So, it can be seen that Hayashi's architectural intention was quite ambivalent.

[23] Ibid., 135.

In the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, along with the twelve historical tableaux showing Japan's long historical progress from ancient times[24], **[Figure 8-1, 8-2, 8-3 and 8-4]** there was an architectural display featuring architectural models of historically important Japanese buildings, such as Kondou of Horyuji and Hououdou of Byodoin, made to various scales, including 1:1 reproductions.[25] **[Figure 9]**

[Figure 8-1] Historical tableaux, The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; from Japan-British Exhibition, *Official report of the Japan British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London*, 196-206.

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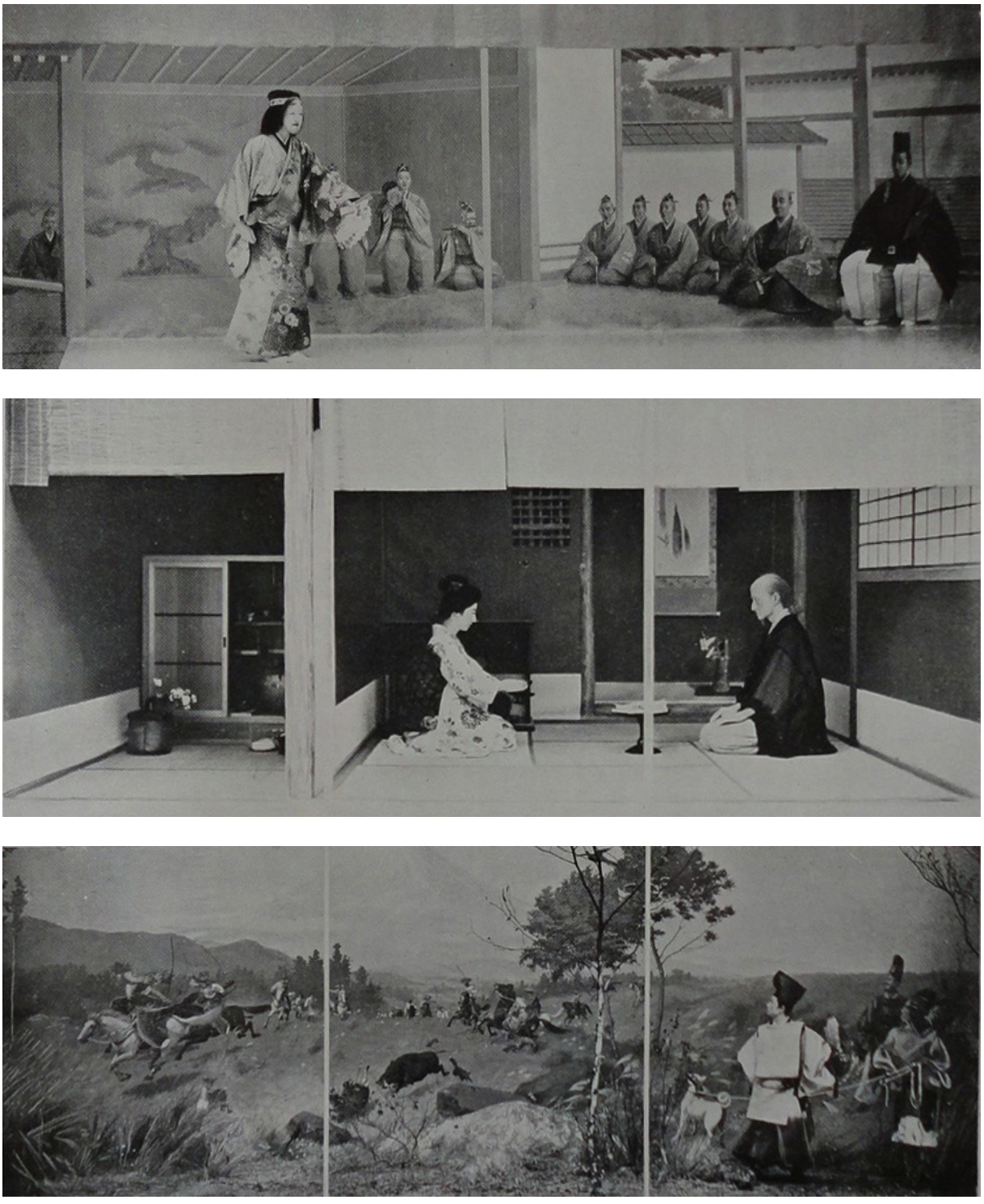
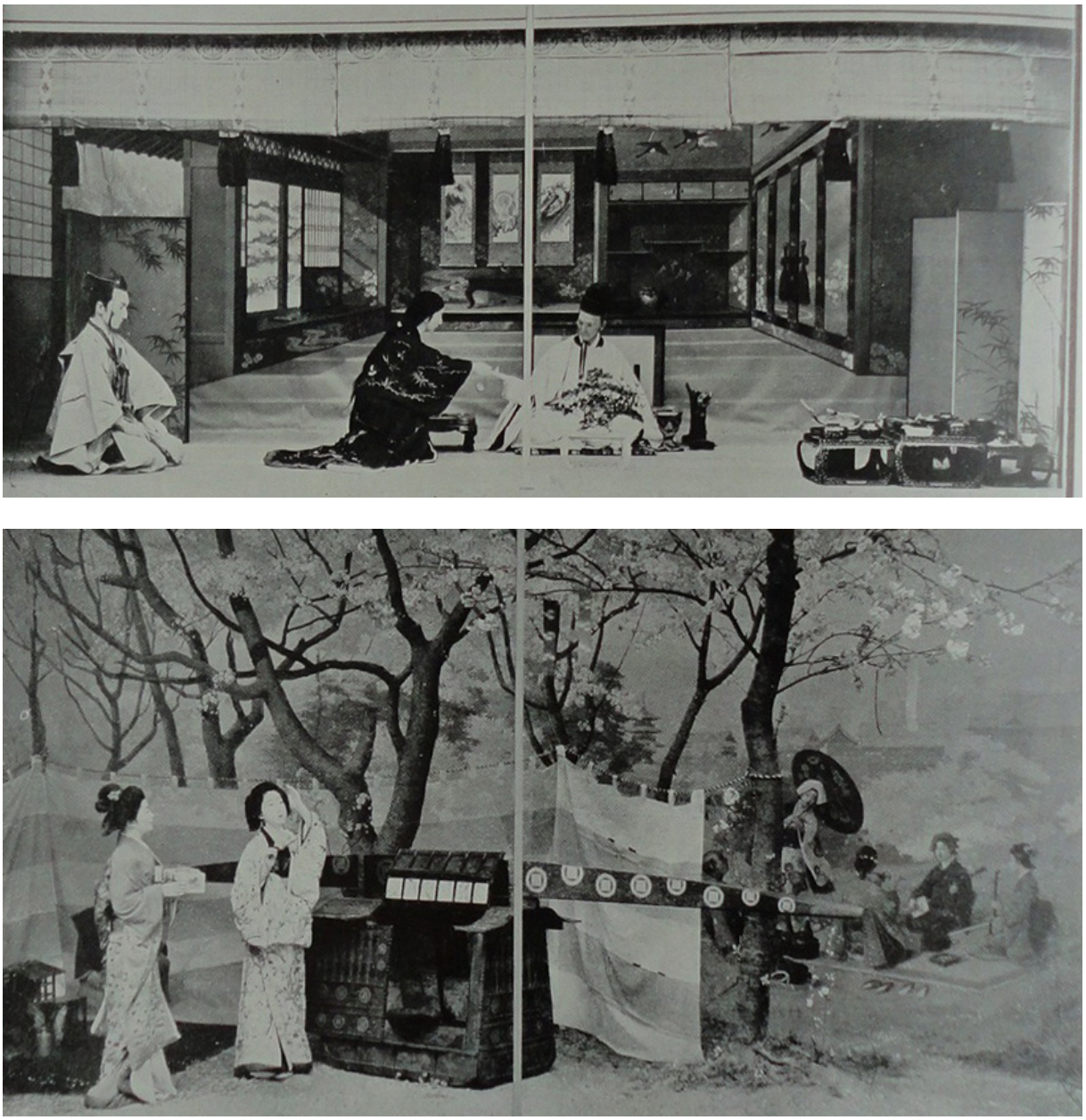
[24] "One of the chief aims of the Japanese government for the 1910 Japan-British exhibition was to show to Japan's Western ally that Japan's civilization had not been of modern acquisition, as was often believed in the West, but that she had had a long and varied history of her progress (Japan-British Exhibition, *Official report of the Japan British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Printed by Unwin Bros., 1911), 199.)."; "Japanese civilization finds its source in remote antiquity. It was in the latter half of the third century of the Christian era that a noted 'father of the civilization of the East and the West,' a native of Kudara [Baekje], one of the three kingdoms of Korea, brought with him Chinese learning and was presented to our Imperial court, thus opening the gates to the inflow of Chinese and Hindoo civilization (Ibid., 256.)."

[25] "For the first time in the exhibitions in which it has taken part the Japanese Government undertook to illustrate all the different styles of Japanese buildings in a complete set of models. This exhibition at the White City in this department was so complete that the whole history of Japanese architecture was made comprehensive by means of elaborate and faithful reproductions of famous buildings of every description (Hirokichi Mutsu, Yonosuke Mutsu, and William Howard Coaldrake, *The British press and the Japan-British exhibition of 1910* (Richmond: Curzon, 2001), xi.)."

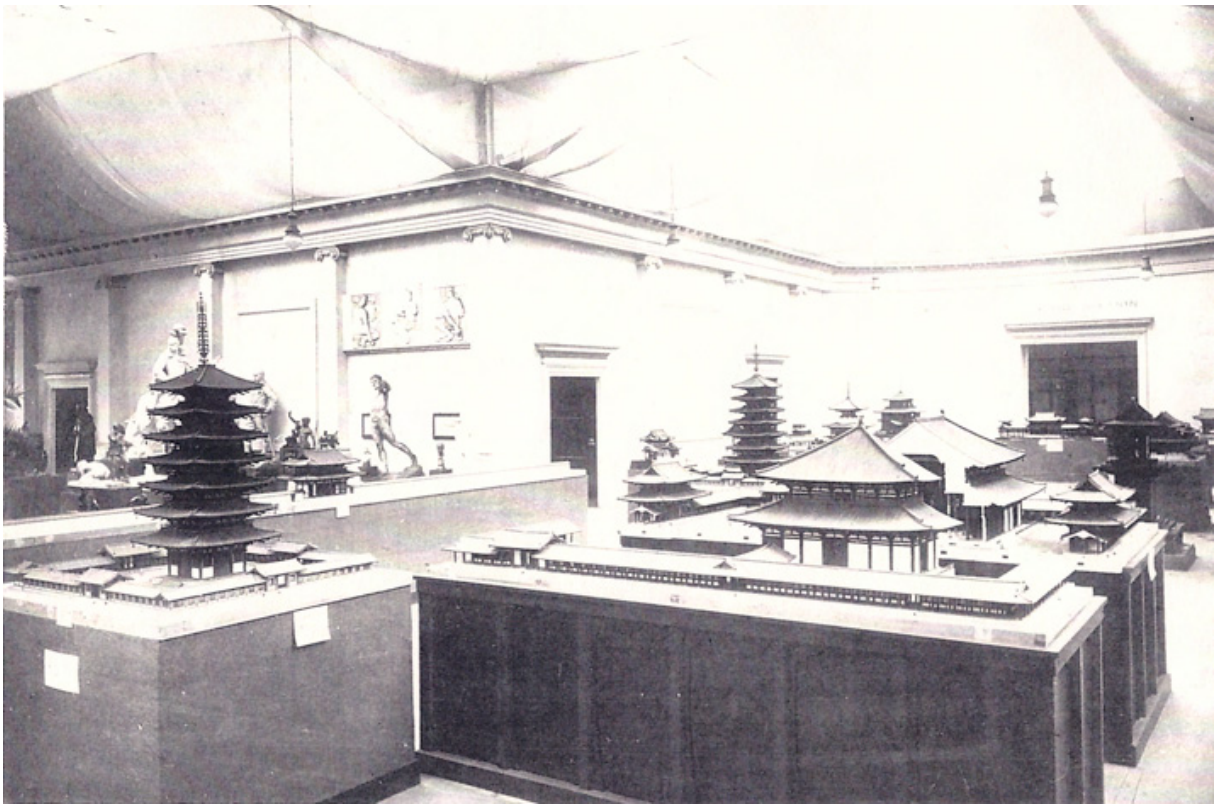


[Figure 8-2] Historical tableaux, The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; from Japan-British Exhibition, *Official report of the Japan British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London*, 196-206.



[Figure 8-3] Historical tableaux, The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; from Japan-British Exhibition, *Official report of the Japan British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London*, 196-206.

[Figure 8-4] Historical tableaux, The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; from Japan-British Exhibition, *Official report of the Japan British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London*, 196-206.



[Figure 9] The architectural display at the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; from Noshomusho, *Nichiei hakurankai jimukyoku jimu hokoku* [The Japan-British exhibition executive office report], 418.

For this special architecture exhibition, the two leading contemporary Japanese architectural historians from Tokyo Imperial University, Chuta Ito and Tadashi Sekino, collaborated. For Ito, Horyuji from the Nara period (710-794) was not only the oldest and the most refined example of Japanese architecture, but also the only remaining architectural archetype preserving cultural influences from Egypt, Assyria, Persia, India, Greece, the Eastern and Western Roman empires through its architectural elements, interior sculptures and paintings.[26] **[Figure 10] [Figure 11]** He also saw Horyuji as encompassing a comprehensive history of the old art and architecture of East Asia. Developing Ito's ideas, however, Sekino went one step further. He argued that the

[26] See Tadashi Sekino, "Horyuji kondou touba oyobi chuumon hisaikenron" [A study on the non-reconstruction of the Horyuji Kondou, pagoda and central gate], *Kenchiku zasshi* 19, no. 218 (1905): 67.

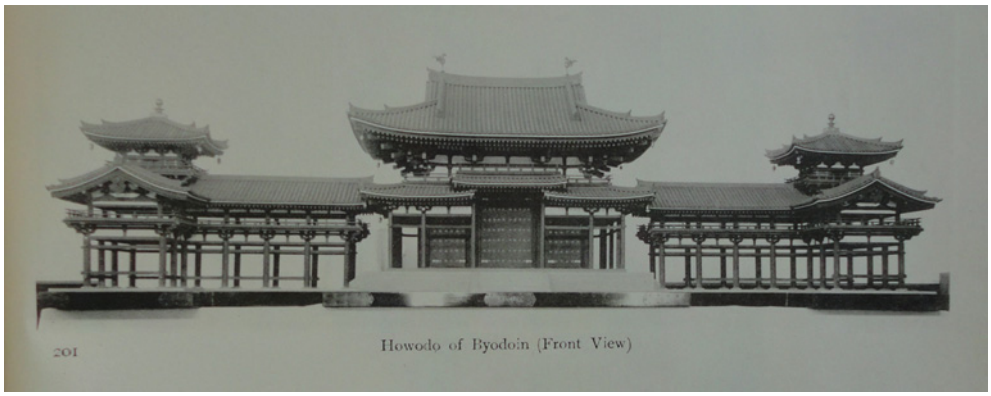
architecture of Byodoin, with its extremely delicate and splendid characteristics independent of the Buddhist influences of the Nara era, reflected the unique Japanese architectural developments of the Fujiwara period[27] (900-1200).[28] **[Figure 12] [Figure 13]** Sekino claimed that Byodoin was proof that (Buddhist) art from China and Korea had been developed in the Japanese *fudo* [climate and soil] for hundreds of years, finally achieving a unique and simple beauty in the Fujiwara period.[29]

[Figure 10] [Figure 11] Kondou and Chuumon of Horyuji; from Japan. Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910, *An illustrated catalogue of Japanese old fine arts displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London, 1910*, 195-196.

[27] For more on the developments of literature and art in the Fujiwara period, see Tadashi Sekino, "Hououdou kenchiku setsu" [On the architecture of the Phoenix Hall], *Kenchiku zasshi* 9, no. 102 (1895): 123.; You can also find more at Toyomune Minamoto, *Nihon bijutsu no nagare* [The flow of Japanese art] (Tokyo: Shisakusha, 1976).

[28] Sekino, "Hououdou kenchiku setsu," 123.

[29] Ibid., 125.



[Figure 12] [Figure 13] Hououdou of Byodoin; from Japan. Imperial Japanese Government Commission to the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910, *An illustrated catalogue of Japanese old fine arts displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London, 1910*, 201-202.

Japanese historical displays continued at subsequent world exhibitions. For example, at the Panama-Pacific International Exhibition of 1915, Koichi Takeda (1872-1938) designed the Japanese pavilion in the style of an aristocrat's villa, representing the historical progress of Japanese art and architectural elements with its interior and exterior decorations from different periods.

Chapter 2: Constructing architectural history in the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915

Historical overview

Japan annexed Joseon (Korea) in 1910 and ruled the entire Korean peninsula through the Japanese Government-General of Korea (Chosen sotokufu), until the end of the Second World War. During the entire colonial period, there were three Government-General sponsored exhibitions in Seoul; the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915, the Joseon Exposition of 1929 and the Joseon Grand Exposition of 1940. The first two exhibitions were held in Gyeongbok Palace, and the last one was held in the outskirts of Seoul.

The architecture of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915

On September 11, 1915, the first Japanese Governor-General of Korea, Masatake Terauchi (1852-1919), announced the opening of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915 at Geunjeongjeon, the throne hall of Gyeongbok Palace[1] **[Figure 1]**. The 1915 Exhibition was the first Japanese official governmental event held in Gyeongseong (now Seoul) and it was realized

[1] As symbolizing the king's central authority, Geunjeongjeon is located on the north-south axis of Gyeongbok Palace. It is generally understood that the use of Geunjeongjeon for the opening ceremony was an intentional gesture on the part of Japan to represent its occupation of Korea.; "Gyeongbok Palace was originally constructed in 1395 with the beginning of the Joseon dynasty (1392-1897). Since 1421, it had been used as the main palace until it was demolished through the first Japanese invasion of Korea in 1592. During the invasion, Gyeongbok Palace was totally destroyed, and it was abandoned for the following 270 years. The reconstruction began in 1867 and Gyeongbok Palace had been re-used as the main palace until 1895 (Sung-Si Lee, *Mandeuleojin godae* (An invention of the ancient: east Asian story of modern nation-state) (Seoul: Samin, 2001), 277-278.)."

after two years of long preparation.[2] The 1915 event was intended to both commemorate and legitimize Japanese colonial rule in Korea, responding to domestic and international criticism of its occupation. In order to fulfill both intentions, the Exhibition focused on displaying the modern (mainly material) achievements accomplished during the first five years. Furthermore, to make this first event more symbolic and accessible to the public, the Exhibition preparation committee chose Gyeongbok Palace, the iconic seat of the last Korean dynasty, for the site of the Exhibition, opening the entire palace to visitors for the first time in Korean history.[3] **[Figure 2]** Indeed, the Exhibition preparation committee initially decided to use only the east side of Gyeongbok Palace. However the plan was changed during the preparation.[4]

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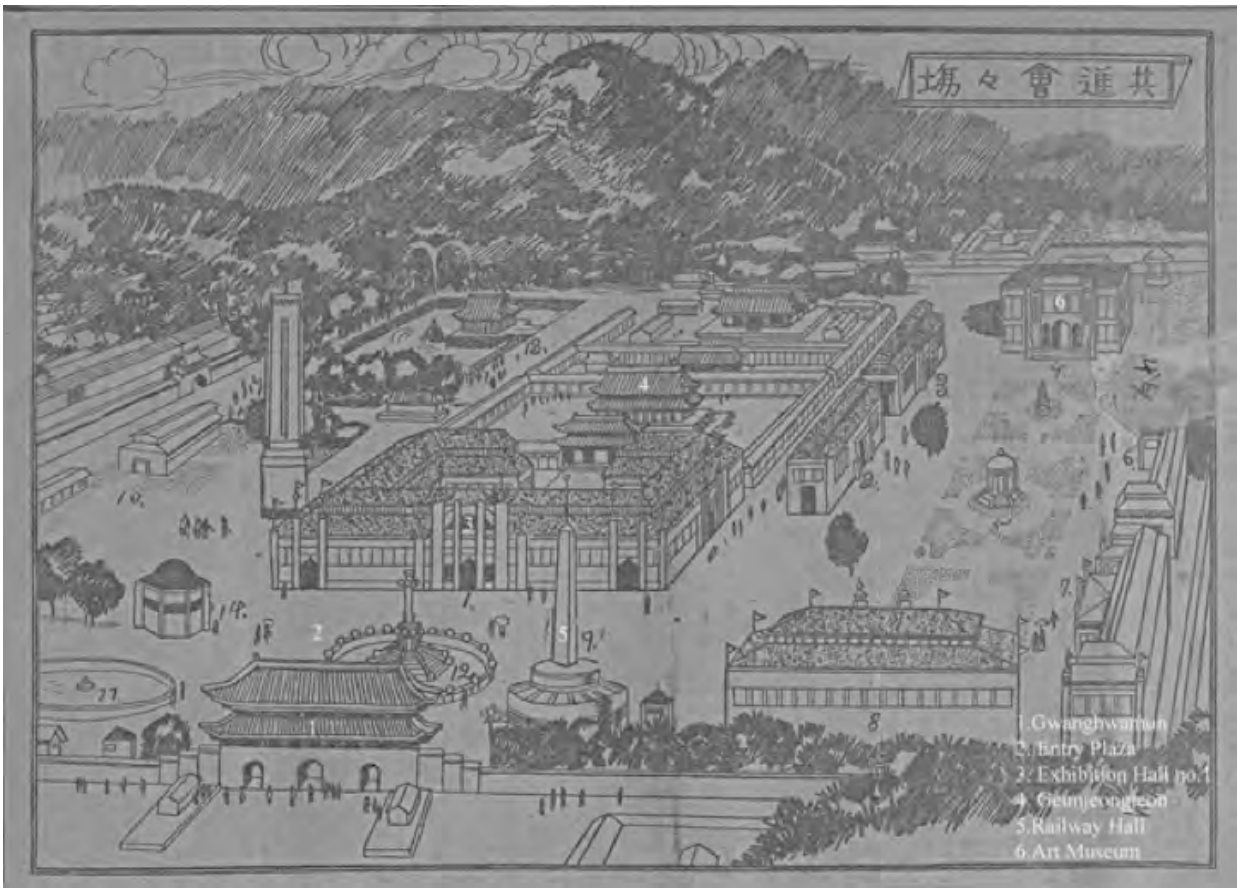
[2] "The Government-General started preparing the 1915 Exhibition in 1913, almost two years prior to the opening of the event (Tae-Woong Kim, "1915 gyeongseongbu mulsangongjinhoewa iljeui jeongchiseonjeon" (Chosun Industrial Exhibition and the Political Propaganda of Japanese Imperialism in 1915). *Seoulhag yeongu* 18 (2002): 145.)."

[3] Ju-Baek Shin argued that, "from the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915, Gyeongbok Palace had become the most popular site for hosting modern exhibitions in Seoul (Ju-Baek Shin, "Baglamhoe: gwasi, seonjeon, gyemong, sobiui cheheomgonggan"(Exposition-Space for Ostentation, Advertisement, Enlightenment and Experiencing Consumption)," *Yeoksabipyong* 67 (2004): 366-367.)."

[4] See *Shiseigonenkinen chosen butsan kyoushinkai houkokusho 1* [The 1915 exhibition official report, vol.1] (Keijo: Chosen sotokufu, 1916), 53.

[Figure 1] The opening ceremony of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915, held at Geunjeongjeon, Gyeongbok Palace; from *Shiseigonenkinen chosen bussan kyoshinkai, Keijo kyosankai hokoku.*



[Figure 2] Buildings in the Joseon Industrial Exhibition, illustrated in the exhibition guide; from *Maeilsinbo*, September 3, 1915.

The Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915 was an important event, not only for the Japanese Government-General of Korea but also for the Empire of Japan, so much so that a member of the Japanese Imperial family was invited to represent the Japanese emperor on the 1st of October, the special event day commemorating the establishment of the Japanese Government-General of Korea.[5] To ensure the success of the empire-wide event, both governments made every effort to

[5] The presence of a member of the Japanese Imperial family for the 1915 Exhibition shows how important the event was for the Japanese empire. A similar case is seen in the fifth Japanese Inland Exposition held at Osaka in 1903. "the Japanese emperor participated in the second opening of the last Japanese inland exposition (Kyoko Matsuda, *Teikoku no shisen: Hakurankai to ibunka hyosho* [Imperial perspective: exposition and the representations of alien culture] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2003), 49.)."; This kind of imperial event was never planned in the Japanese exhibitions held in its other Asian colonies, such as Formosa (now Taiwan).

advertise it; in the end, more than one million people traveled to Gyeongseong to see it.[6] The 1915 Exhibition lasted three months, and the closing ceremony celebrated the Japanese emperor's birthday on November 31.[7]

It is generally understood that the main purpose of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915 was to legitimize Japan's colonization of Korea. Many of the Exhibition's displays, on subjects from agricultural products to social infrastructures and systems, used a variety of graphics, statistics, photos and models to showcase how Korea had developed since the beginning of colonial rule.[8] It has also been argued that Japan also used the 1915 Exhibition to establish political legitimacy by creating spatial and architectural contrasts between the traditional (represented by Korean cultural artefacts) and the modern (artefacts imported or built under Japanese occupation), in Gyeongbok Palace.[9] For example, much of the palace's traditional architecture was demolished; the few remaining buildings created a drastic contrast with the newly built Western-style pavilions (mainly in Neo-Renaissance and International styles) on the grounds.[10] This

[6] 1 November 1915, the Government-General newspaper, *Maeilsinbo,* reported that the exhibition visitors exceeded one million.

[7] Kim, "1915 gyeongseongbu mulsangongjinhoewa iljeui jeongchiseonjeon," 158.

[8] Ibid., 149-151.; Shin, "Baglamhoe: gwasi, seonjeon, gyemong, sobiui cheheomgonggan," 362.

[9] Kal Hong, "Modeling the West, Returning to Asia: Shifting Politics of Representation in Japanese Colonial Expositions in Korea," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no.3 (2005): 522.; Young-Hee Kim, "Joseonbaglamhoewa sigminji geundae" (The Chosun Exhibition and the Colonial Modern), *Dongbanghagji* 140 (2007): 226-228.; Kal Hong, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics, and History* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 18.

[10] According to Hideharu Ota, the exact date for the demolition and disposal of the traditional architecture of Gyeongbok Palace is still not clear. However, he argued that it was even started prior to the plannings of the 1915 Exhibition. "In *Daehanmaeilshinbo*, there was a newpaper article showing the plan for selling out the unused palace buildings in Gyeongbok and Changdeok Palaces on March 30, 1910 (Hideharu Ota, "Geundae hanilyanggugui seonggwaginsiggwa ilbonui joseon sigminjijeongchaeg" (The castle recognition in Japan and Korea in the modern ages and the Japanese colonial policy in Korea), *Seoulmal yeongu* 49 (2003): 212.)."; Dae-Ho Kim also argued that Gungnaebu posted an advertisement showing the disposal of the unsused buildings in Gyeongbok and Changdeok Palaces in the government official gazette on March, 1910 (Dae-Ho Kim, "Iljegangjeomihu gyeongboggungui

dichotomous understanding of the architectural context of the 1915 Exhibition is supported by analysis of the architecture featured in the Exhibition, represented in the official Exhibition poster which uses the stylistic difference between Gyeonghoeru and Exhibition Hall No. 1 (highlighted by the contrast between two seasonal atmospheres) in an attempt to legitimize Japan's occupation of Korea **[Figure 3]**.[11]

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hoecheolgwa hwalyong (1910- hyeonjae)" (Destruction and Conversion of Gyeongbokgung Palace after the Japanese Colonial Period), *Seoulhag yeongu* 29 (2007): 30.).

[11] Yoon-Jung Joo, "Joseonmulsangongjinhoe (1915)e daehan yeongu" (A Study on the 1915 Joseon Industrial Exposition) (Master's Thesis, The Academy of Korean Studies, 2003), 23. and Hong, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics, and History*, 16.

[Figure 3] The official poster for the Joseon Industrial Exhibition; from *Shiseigonenkinen chosen bussan kyoshinkai, keijo kyosankai hokoku*. This image is commonly used to support the proposition that the modern buildings were intended to appear superior to the traditional buildings.

The most popular artefact for explaining the architecture of the 1915 Exhibition is the location of Exhibition Hall No.1 (Ilhogwan) in relation to Geunjeongjeon. Art and architecture historians argue that the Japanese Government-General of Korea intentionally placed Exhibition Hall No.1 (the biggest pavilion built for the Exposition), decorated with Renaissance and Secession styles, right in front of Geunjeongjeon (the most iconic Korean traditional palace architecture) in order to "beautify" the occupation. [12] **[Figure 4]** They believe that the stark visual contrast produced between the old and the new architectural styles enabled the Exhibition visitors to directly grasp the idea that the modern was superior to the traditional, the core idea of Japanese colonial propaganda.

[Figure 4] Postcard showing Exhibition Hall No. 1 (Ilhogwan, centre) and Geunjeongjeon (far right); from Publishing Company Minsokwon.

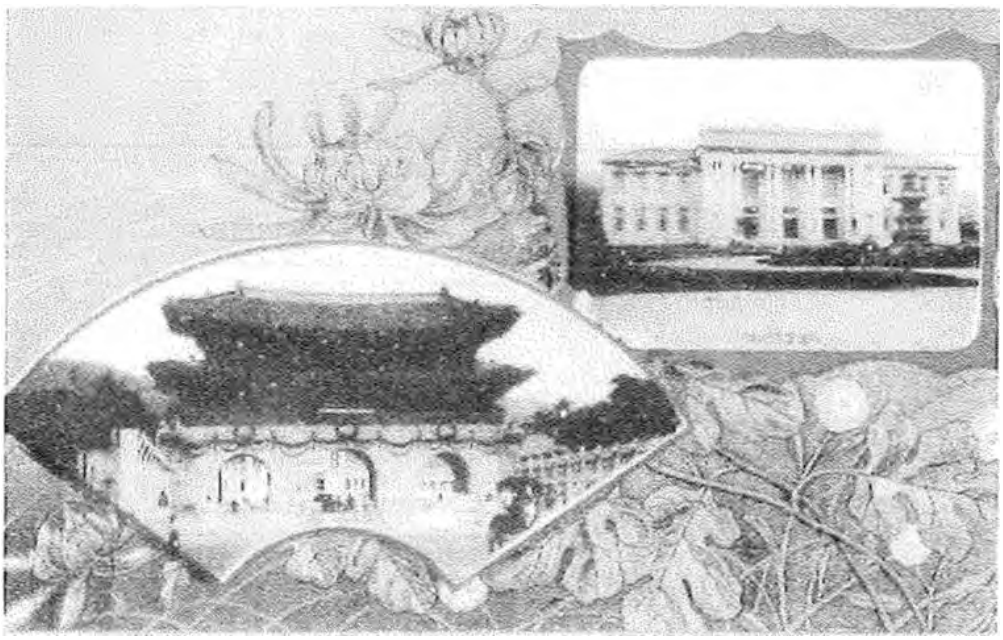
[12] So far, art and architecture historians have made the same argument on the architectural relationship between Exhibition Hall No.1 and Geunjeongjeon.

According to the earlier assessments of the architecture of the 1915 Exhibition, Gwanghwamun, the main south gate of Gyeongbok Place, was situated in such a way as to be visually overwhelmed by the bright, monumental and newly built Railway Hall (Cheoldogwan) **[Figure 5]**. We can therefore easily conclude that the architectural design of Railway Hall was also intended to contrast visually with Gwanghwamun, which was represented as dark and old-fashioned.[13] This speculation is borne out by the following analyses of a famous Exhibition official postcard image **[Figure 6]**; it is generally agreed that the juxtaposition of the two visually contrasting architectural styles of the old Gwanghwamun and the new Art Museum efficiently symbolizes Japan's political intentions at the time.[14]

[Figure 5] Postcard showing Railway Hall (Cheoldogwan, centre) and Gwanghwamun (right); from Publishing Company Minsokwon.

[13] There is no scholarship that specifically talks about the architectural condition of Gwanhwamun in the context of the 1915 Exhibition.

[14] See Hong, "Modeling the West, Returning to Asia: Shifting Politics of Representation in Japanese Colonial Expositions in Korea," 508. and Hong, *Aesthetic Constructions of Korean Nationalism: Spectacle, Politics, and History*, 16.



[Figure 6] Postcard showing Gwanghwamun (palace gate, left) and Art Museum (Misulgwan, right); unverified source. It is generally argued that these comparisons emphasize the stylistic contrast between the traditional and the modern.

The architectural context of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915 has been analyzed only in the way that it visually reflects Japan's attempts to legitimize its colonization of Korea. Most existing scholarship on the subject asserts that the newly-built, Western-style Exposition pavilions were only intended to create visual contrasts with Korean palace architecture, thereby asserting the superiority of the modern over the traditional. As a result, the embedded orientalist perspective unconsciously produces the idea that "traditional" only stands for the old and decayed (i.e. inferior), which keeps us from looking at the other intentions evident in the architectural design of the 1915 Exhibition.

Rather than just being cast aside or devalued, it becomes apparent that the status of the Korean architectural traditions in the 1915 Exhibition deserves a different reading from the current

orientalist perspective if we consider the series of Japanese efforts to build its own history[15] (*toyoshi*, literally Eastern Seas History) by internalizing Asian and Korean traditions with the intention of overcoming the West that began during the early Meiji period.

To a certain point, Japan's concept of history had been conservative rather than progressive. Japan was content to record accomplishments, without interpreting them as signs of progress. But to advance Japanese culture on the world stage, the Meiji government had to construct a progressive Japanese history from its earlier traditions. During the second half of the nineteenth century the Japanese began to look for their ethnic origins in Asia and to construct their own historical narratives, emulating Western history. The efforts of Shogoro Tsuboi (1863-1913), the first Japanese anthropologist, were notable during this period.[16] To discern the origins of Japanese architecture, Japanese historians started exploring Asian (mainly Chinese Buddhist) architectural traditions, not only to construct Japanese architectural history, but also to define Japanese architecture in the late nineteenth century.

The Japanese interest in traditional Asian Buddhist architecture extended to the Korean peninsula even before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910; ancient Korean art and architectural traditions were first discovered, classified and even celebrated by major architectural historians in the early 1900s. Moreover, the traditions were carefully investigated during the colonial period with sincere support from the Japanese Government-General of Korea.

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[15] Here, I use the concept of history in the pragmatic sense of the term defined by Hannah Arendt. "modern concept of history, a subjective factor, is introduced into the objective processes of nature (Hannah Arendt, *Between Past and Future: eight exercises in political thought* (New York: Penguine Books, 2006), 48.)."; "history as process (progress), and for us, history stands and falls on the assumption that the process in its very secularity tells a story of its own and that, strictly speaking, repetition cannot occur (Ibid., 67.)."

[16] On Japanese anthropological efforts to overcome the West, see Eiji Oguma, *A Genealogy of 'Japanese' Self-images*, trans. David Askew (Melbourne: Trans-Pacific Press, 2002), chap. 1.

Consequently, traditional Korean building practices should be understood not only from an Orientalist perspective, as the opposite of "modern," but also as part of a larger Japanese historical narrative in which "the traditional" plays an important role in the development of modernity.[17] As I will show, the modern potential of "the traditional" is evident in the architecture of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition. To understand this, it is important to recognize one of Japan's major architectural historians, Tadashi Sekino, and his research in the Korean peninsula, which began in the early twentieth century.

Tadashi Sekino and Korean architectural traditions

In 1902, Tadashi Sekino (1867–1935) **[Figure 7]**, an assistant professor at the Tokyo Imperial University, went to Korea to investigate ancient Korean building traditions for the first time. To mention his career history briefly: "Tadashi Sekino graduated from Tokyo Imperial University in 1895. In 1896, he started investigating old Buddhist temples in Nara to ascertain their ages; he also made a list of 80 old temples and shrines worthy of being preserved, and categorized them according to five levels of different architectural and artistic values. In 1898 he initiated deconstruction and repair projects on important old Buddhist pagodas and temples. In 1901, Tokyo Imperial University hired him as an assistant professor." [18]

[17] According to Octavio Paz, "modernity is never itself. It is always the other. The modern is characterized not only by novelty but by otherness (Octavio Paz, *Children of the Mire: Modern Poetry from Romanticism to the Avant-Garde*, trans. Rachel Phillips (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974), 1.)." In this sense, architectural modernity may be characterized as ceaseless change, without being fixed in a particular form or style.

[18] See Akira Nakanishi, "Hanguggeonchugjosabogoe boineun sekino tadasiui hanguggeonchuggwan" (On Sekino Tadashi's Viewpoints of Korean Architecture in the "Research Report on the Korean Architecture"), *Geonchugyeogsa yeongu* 13, no. 1 (2004): 22.

[Figure 7] A picture of Tadashi Sekino; from *Kenchiku sekai* (1928).

Prior to his visit to Korea, Sekino worked for many years as a promising government-appointed architectural historian. So his research activities were driven from nationalistic sentiments which are also reflected in the following imperial ordinance outlining the organization and function of the Tokyo Imperial University; "'It shall be the purpose of the [Tokyo] Imperial University to teach the sciences and the arts and to probe their mysteries in accordance with the needs of the state.' This connection was manifested in numerous ways. From 1887, for example, Tokyo Imperial University graduates were exempted from civil services exams. The professors of this school, particularly during the Meiji period, likewise enjoyed considerable prestige within the bureaucratic hierarchy: their salaries were in the top 8 percent of the bureaucratic pay scale, and they also carried considerable weight in the formulation of social policy." [19]

[19] Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, 41.

Beginning in 1901, working closely with his Tokyo Imperial University colleague Chuta Ito (1867–1954), whose Ph.D. dissertation, *Horyuji kenchikuron,* is generally regarded as the first Japanese architectural history book,[20] Sekino carried out a great amount of research on Asian architectural traditions to clarify the historical origins of Japanese architecture.[21] Beginning in the early Meiji period, inventing history was a major part of the Japanese government's efforts to modernize the country. So, in 1887, "the history department of the faculty of letters at the Tokyo Imperial University was organized as a new discipline and a young student of Leopold Von Ranke, Ludwig Riess, was hired to teach "modern" history." [22]

Sekino's collaboration with Ito continued throughout his life; for example, they contributed to architectural exhibitions for the Japanese-British Exhibition of 1910, held in Shepherd's Bush, London, in order to promote the presence and supremacy of Japanese architecture for an English audience. In the official report of the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, the nationalistic characteristics of the Japanese exhibitions are clearly shown; "One of the chief aims of the Japanese government for the exhibition was to show to Japan's Western ally that Japan's

[20] Ito's Ph.D dissertation on Horyuji, *Horyuji kenchikuron*, is generally regarded as the first Japanese architectural history book. See Nakanishi, "Hanguggeonchugjosabogoe boineun sekino tadasiui hanguggeonchuggwan," 22.; Ito regarded Horyuji as the most refined Asian Buddhist architectural form as a result of the stylistic evolution from China to Japan. See Vimalin Rujivacharakul, "The Rise of Chinese Architectural History: Cross-cultural studies and the making of modern knowledge" (PhD diss., University of California at Berkeley, 2006), 250.; Ito suggested the new Japanese term for architecture, 'kenchiku,' by abolishing the old term, 'zouka' ('house building'). See Torben Berns, "The Paradox of a modern (Japanese) architecture" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2002), 62.

[21] "Sekino and Ito were pioneers for establishing Japanese architectural history, and they focused on Asian architectural traditions. Ito kept investigating China. (Later, he even looked at Southeast Asia and Greece.) From 1902, Sekino started investigating Korean ancient remains (Nakanishi, "Hanguggeonchugjosabogoe boineun sekino tadasiui hanguggeonchuggwan," 22.)."

[22] See Tanaka, *Japan's Orient*, 42.

civilization had not been of modern acquisition, as was often believed in the West, but that she had had a long and varied history of her progress." [23]

Sekino also had a close relationship with Kakuzo Okakura (1862–1913). After training as an art historian under Ernest Fenollosa, "who first discovered the Japanese traditional art and introduced a view to categorize it into a historical order for the first time in the Japanese context,"[24] Okakura contributed to the effort to historicize traditional Japanese art and architecture; however, his research was more ambitious, declaring that "Japan is a receptor of all phases of Asiatic civlization."[25] Because of the nationalistic sensation caused by Okakura's historicism, his ideas were used in major Japanese art displays in the West at the end of the nineteenth century, particularly in the art exhibition inside the Phoenix Hall at the Columbian World's Exposition of 1893 and for the publication of the Japanese art history book, *Histoire de l'art du Japon*, *par la Commission Imperiale du Japon à l'Exposition universelle de Paris, 1900*.[26]

Because Okakura had been active and influential in Japanese academic circles, especially in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts (Tokyo bijutsu gakko), until he left for the U.S. in 1904, it is obvious that Sekino (as was Ito) was heavily influenced by Okakura's historical perspective in

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[23] See Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (London: Printed by Unwin, 1911), 199.

[24] Ernest Fenollosa went to Japan in 1878 to teach philosophy (including Descartes and Hegel) and political science; however, he became very interested in traditional Japanese arts. See Kojin Karatani, "Japan as Museum: Okakura Tenshin and Ernest Fenollosa," in *Japanese Art After 1945: Scream Against the Sky*, translated by Sabu Kohso (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994), 33-39.

[25] Okakura Kakuzo, *The Ideals of the East* (London: J. Murray, 1903), 12.

[26] The publication of *Histoire de l'art du Japon* was in charge of both Okakura Kakuzo and Kuki Ryuichi and it was prepared as a gift for European Imperial Museums. See Mamiko Ito, *Meiji Nihon to bankoku hakurankai* [Meiji Japan and world expositions] (Tokyo: Yoshikawa kobunkan, 2008), 80.

researching the origins and the developments of Japanese architecture.[27] His scholarly interests were naturally directed to Chinese Buddhist building traditions, and in the early 1900s he also became interested in the ancient Korean (Buddhist) dynasties.

In June of 1902, Kingo Tatsuno (1854-1919), the architecture department head of the Tokyo Imperial University, and one of the first graduates to have studied under the government-appointed British architect Josiah Condor (1850-1920), charged Tadashi Sekino with a mission to investigate ancient Korean art and its presumed "architectural" traditions. This was the first architectural investigation Sekino led in Korea. Regarding the details of the mission, Tatsuno asked Sekino to cover as much of the region as possible; given the short amount of time available to him, Sekino chose to focus on a limited number of Korean ancient cities with more remains and relics, such as Gyeongju (the seat of the Shilla dynasty), Kaesong (the seat of the Koryo dynasty) and Gyeongseong (the seat of the Joseon dynasty).[28] Sekino completed his mission in 62 days and, in 1904, he published his report, *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku* [*Report on the survey of Joseon architecture*]. Tatsuno stepped down from his position seven months after instructing Sekino to conduct the mission, leaving Sekino to publish the report on his own.[29]

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[27] Yongcheol Kim argued that Sekino's historical perspective shared a lot with that of Okakura. For example, at his history lecture series in the Tokyo School of Fine Arts, Okakura highlighted that the art of the Asuka period was heavily influnced by that of Chinese Six Dynasties. Kim says that Sekino also pointed out the same relationship by comparing the wall paintings of Goguryeo (one of the ancient Korean dynasties) tombs with the art of Chinese Southen and Northern Dynasties. See Yongcheol Kim, "Geundae ilboninui Goguryeo gobunbyeoghwa josamich mosa, geuligo hwalyong" (Scholarly Research, Copying, and Application of Goguryeo Tomb Murals in Modern Japan), *Misulsahag yeongu* 254 (2007): 110.

[28] "At first, Sekino thought of investigating most of the historically important areas in Korea, however he had to focus on the selected areas with relatively more relics and remains. He felt sorry for not covering Pyeongyang and Buyeo (Tadashi Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul* [Koran architecture and art], trans. by Bongjin Kang (Seoul: Wolgangeonchugmunhwa, 1990), 474.)."

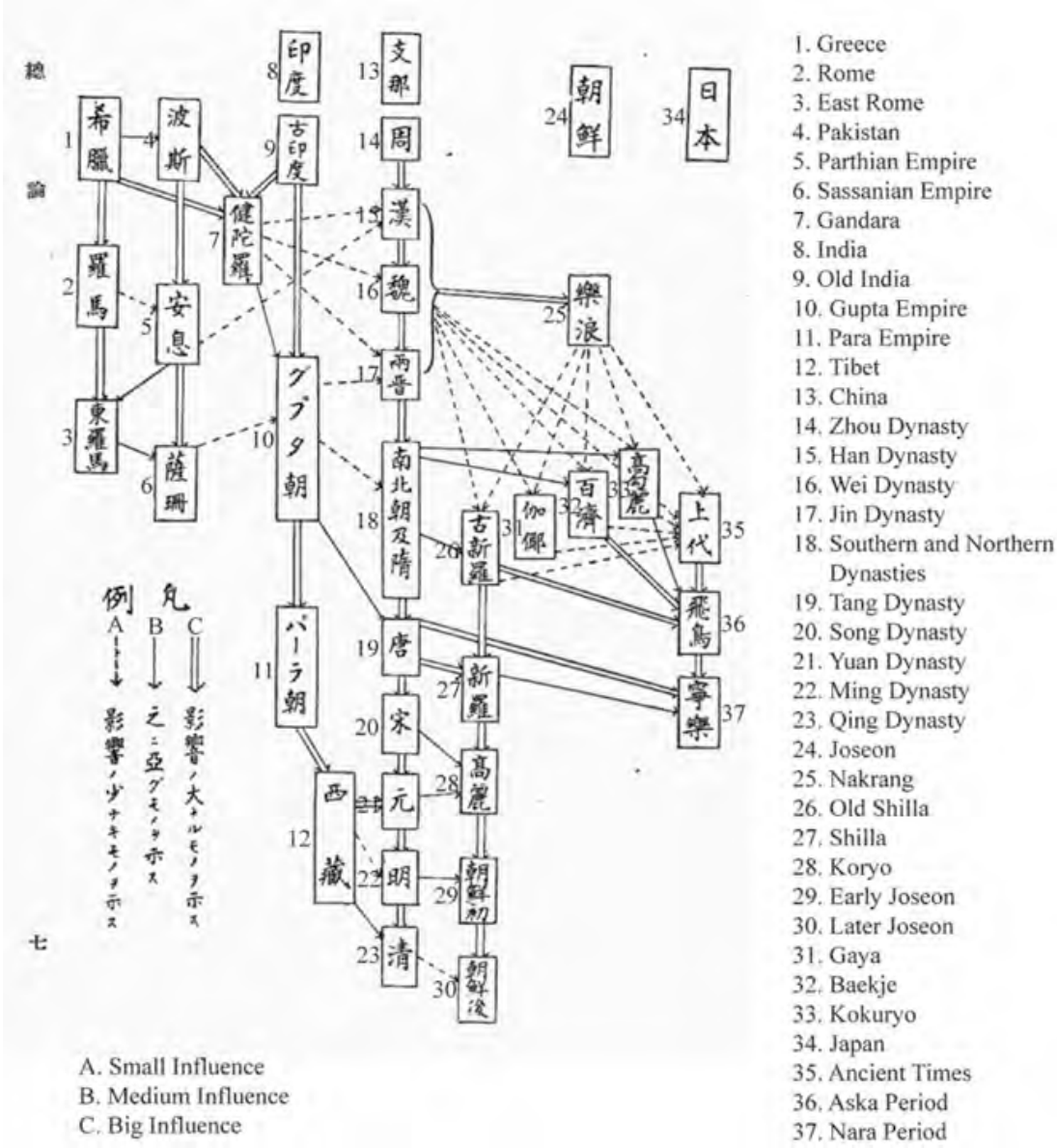
[29] Ibid., 475.

After completing his first on-site research, along with others historians such as Seiitsu Yatsui and Shunichi Kuriyama, Sekino was hired by the Japanese Resident-General of Korea in 1909 to further explore Korean "ancient structures."[30] He published his results in different journals; *Karamomiji* issued in December 1909 and *Study on Korean Art* issued in August 1910.[31] Since the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, Sekino had continuously carried out his investigations there with the full support of the Goverment-General. From 1916, Sekino also served as a member for the preservation of ancient remains and relics, a project commissioned by the Government-General, and worked with a number of professors from the Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities.[32] Sekino's efforts under the Government-General were realized with the 15 volumes of *Chosen koseki zufu* [Illustrations of Joseon antiquities] published between 1914 and 1935.[33] In 1932, Sekino published the first history book on Korean art and architecture, titled *Chosen bijutsu shi* [The history of Joseon art]. This publication is a summary of his entire research career in Korea starting from the early 1900s.

[30] "The Resident-General appointed Mr. Seiitsu Yatsui, Mr. Shunichi Kuriyama and myself in September, 1909, to examine the ancient structures, thus instituting the research on ancient remains and relics in Korea (Tadashi Sekino, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation* (Tokyo: The Japan Council of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1931), 4.)."

[31] "The results of our researches were reported in the Karamomiji, issued in December, 1909, and in a 'Study on Korean Art,' issued in August of the following year (Ibid., 4.)."

[32] Ibid., 8-9.



[Figure 8] Diagram showing directions of artistic influence from Greece to Japan, via Persia, India, China, and Korea (with English legend added); from Sekino, *Chosen bijutsu shi*, 7.

At this point, it is important to note that in his last publication (*Chosen bijutsu shi*), Sekino included a very interesting diagram that clearly demonstrates his intention to investigate Korean ancient remains and relics. The diagram shows Asian art flowing from Greece to Japan via Persia,

India, China, and Korea **[Figure 8]**. What is more interesting is that this diagram is very similar to what Chuta Ito imagined in *Horyuji kenchikuron*, where he came up with a map showing the flow of culture from the West to the East. As shown in their collaborations, Sekino's historical perspective had much in common with Ito's, and in this sense his interest in Korea was also driven by the same intention of locating the Asian origins of Japanese architecture.[34] In addition, by arguing that Greece was the birthplace of Japanese architecture, as Ito claimed with his famous image in *Horyuji kenchikuron* **[Figure 9]**, Sekino also wanted to assert Japan's superiority over the West in his investigations of Korean art and architecture.[35]

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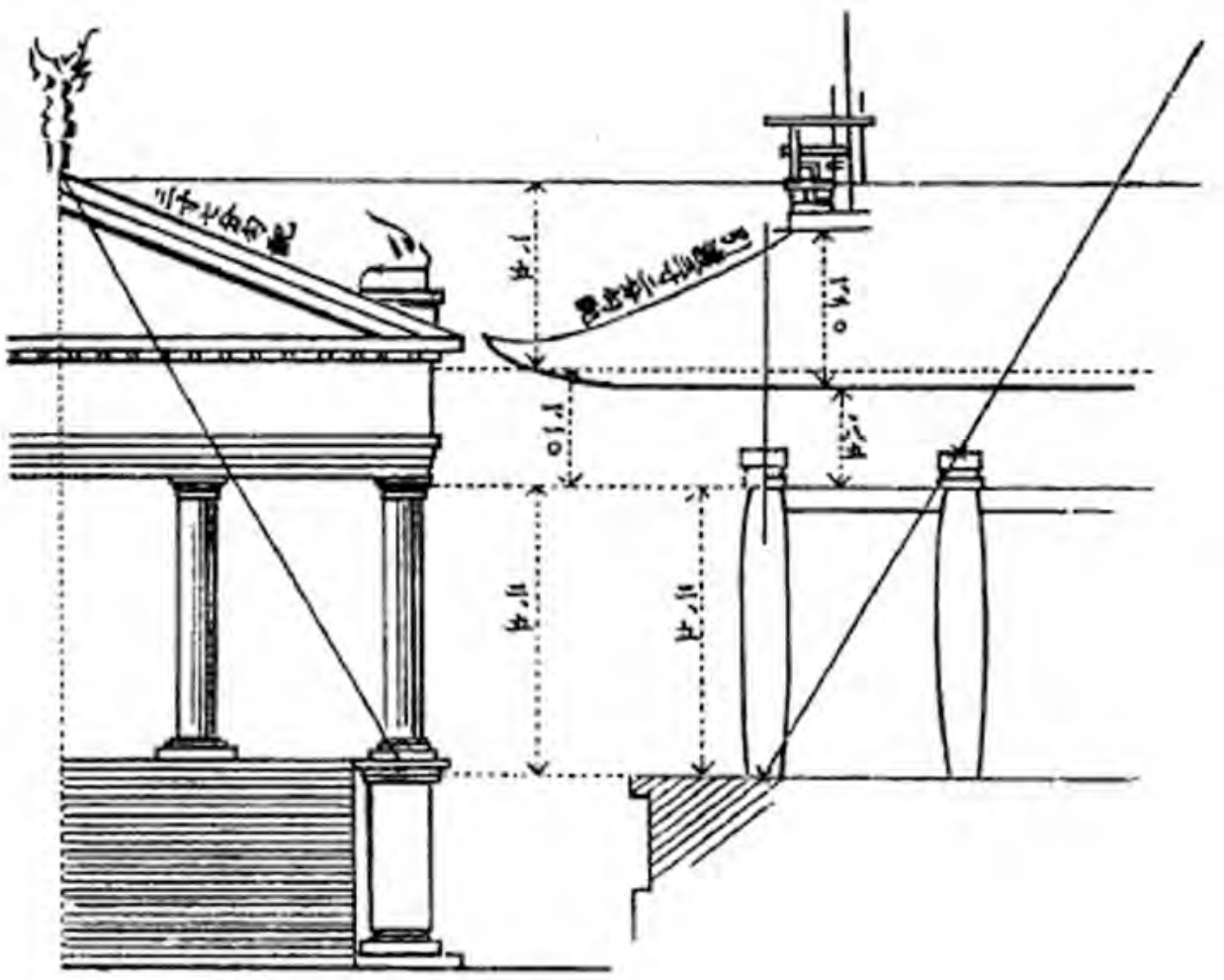
[33] Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul*, 486.

[34] Nakashini talked about a similar point; "Sekino's interests on Korean architecture stemmed from the study of Japanese architecture and, in this sense, he kept focusing on establishing the lineage of Asian architecture converging on Japan (Nakanishi, "Hanguggeonchugjosabogoe boineun sekino tadasiui hanguggeonchuggwan," 26.)."

[35] Hiroshi Takagi argued that Sekino wanted to achieve the establishment of Asian art through its competition with Western art. See Ji-Hyeon Im and Sung-Si Lee, *Gugsaui sinhwaleul neomeoseo* [Beyond national history] (Seoul: Humanist, 2004), 190.



[Figure 9] Chuta Ito's comparison of the Horyuji central gate (Chuumon) and an Etruscan temple; from Ito, "Horyuji kenchikuron," 326.

This intention is originally reflected in the conclusion of his first publication, *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku,* which discusses the architectural relationships among Japan, Korea and China. First of all, Sekino writes;

> to understand the formation of contemporary Joseon [Korean] architecture, the following three possibilities need to be taken into consideration: (1) the inheritance of [architectural] precedents from previous Korean dynasties; (2) the influence of the architecture of the contemporary Chinese [Ming and Qing]

> dynasties; and (3) the development of Korean architecture itself during this period.[36]

Regarding the possible relationship between Korean and Japanese architecture, he writes:

> Over the entire period of the Joseon dynasty, Korea and Japan weren't close, so it can be concluded that they didn't influence each other architecturally…. Even if Korean architecture of the time had nothing to do with its contemporary Japanese counterparts, it did however share some similarities with Japanese precedents from ancient periods.[37]

Finally, on the intimate relationship between Korean and Chinese architecture, he writes:

> upon researching Korean architecture and comparing it to that of the Chinese, I find a very close connection between the two.[38]

Sekino's historical intentions in Korea are also evident in his public presentation on Korean ancient art and architecture, "Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation," given at the Fourth Bi-Annual Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, held at Hangzhou from October 21 to November 4, 1931. In the beginning of his paper he hypothesized a direct cultural relationship between Korea and China by arguing that Korea had been under Chinese influence since the establishment of Nakrang (B.C.108-313):[39]

> Korea was inhabited by mankind as early as the Stone Age, and traces of human habitation still exist. It had a characteristic development of its own, absorbing the culture brought in by a colony of the Han race during the Nakrang period, and

[36] Tadashi Sekino, *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku* [Report on the survey of Joseon architecture] (N.p.: n.p., 1904), 248.

[37] Ibid., 249.

[38] Ibid., 251.

[39] Nakrang was a military base of the Chinese Han Dynasty and it was established to colonize the Korean peninsula.

> importing the culture and institutions of successive periods of China from the time when the colony was divided into three parts to the Koryo and Korea periods.[40]

It is clear that this speculation was intended to serve as a basis for making more important later arguments regarding the "intimate" cultural relationships between Korea and Japan, especially during the Asuka period (538-710).

> The research on the Nakrang period enabled the commission to show accurately the marvelous culture in the Han dynasty and to clarify, through the investigation of unearthed objects of the early Shilla, the Gaya and Baekje periods, how the early ages of Japan were intimately associated with the culture and civilization of those periods in Korea.[41]
>
> At the ancient capital, Buyeo in Baekje, Dr. Kuroita and I excavated several tombs of the Baekje period and for the first time discovered their method of construction. Judging from broken pieces of unearthed objects, we were able to reveal the fact that the culture of that period had an intimate relation with that of the Asuka period of Japan.[42]

In this way, by highlighting the ancient cultural relationship between China and Korea as well as Korea and Japan, Sekino eventually wanted to chart the development of architecture in Asia, starting in China (or the West), transferring to Korea and being completed in Japan, as shown in his diagram. This framework was later used to analyze the individual examples of ancient Korean and early Joseon architecture.

Sekino was very interested in the Buddhist art and architecture of the Shilla and the Unified Shilla periods. In *Chosen bijutsu shi*, his enthusiasm for both periods is clearly reflected in the

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[40] Sekino, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea: Efforts Toward Research and Preservation,* 1.

[41] Ibid., 13-14.

[42] Ibid., 15.

amount of text devoted to them in the book. Sekino argued that the Shilla and the Unified Shilla dynasties developed the most prestigious Buddhist civilization under the influence of the consecutive Han, Northern, Southern and Tang dynasties in China.[43] However, he further argued that there was also a frequent cultural communication between Korea and Japan during the two Shilla periods. Sekino suggested that the best architectural examplar of the cultural connections between China, Korea and Japan is the Bulguksa (Buddhist temple), which, he believed, is the most developed temple architecture from the Unified Shilla period: "The temple formation (arrangements) of Bulguksa imitated that of the Tang dynasty and it is also very similar to the temples of the Nara period."[44]

Sekino continuously looked at the Joseon dynasty and analyzed its historical continuities not only with the previous Korean Buddhist dynasties, but also with the Chinese.[45] Actually, his overall evaluations of the cultural developments that took place during the Joseon period were quite negative. He said that, as compared to previous periods, early Joseon art and architecture were well developed because they had taken advantage of the civilization of the Ming dynasty, but gradually declined as they lost Chinese influence during the progression of the Joseon dynasty.[46] Sekino's analyses were also made in relation to Japan: he argued that the Joseon dynasty had no direct cultural relationship with Japan, however he acknowledged some similarities between them.[47] Of the works of architecture of the early Joseon period, Sekino

[43] Tadashi Sekino, *Joseon misulsa* [The history of Joseon art], translated by Woosung Shim (Seoul: Dongmunsa, 2003), 144.

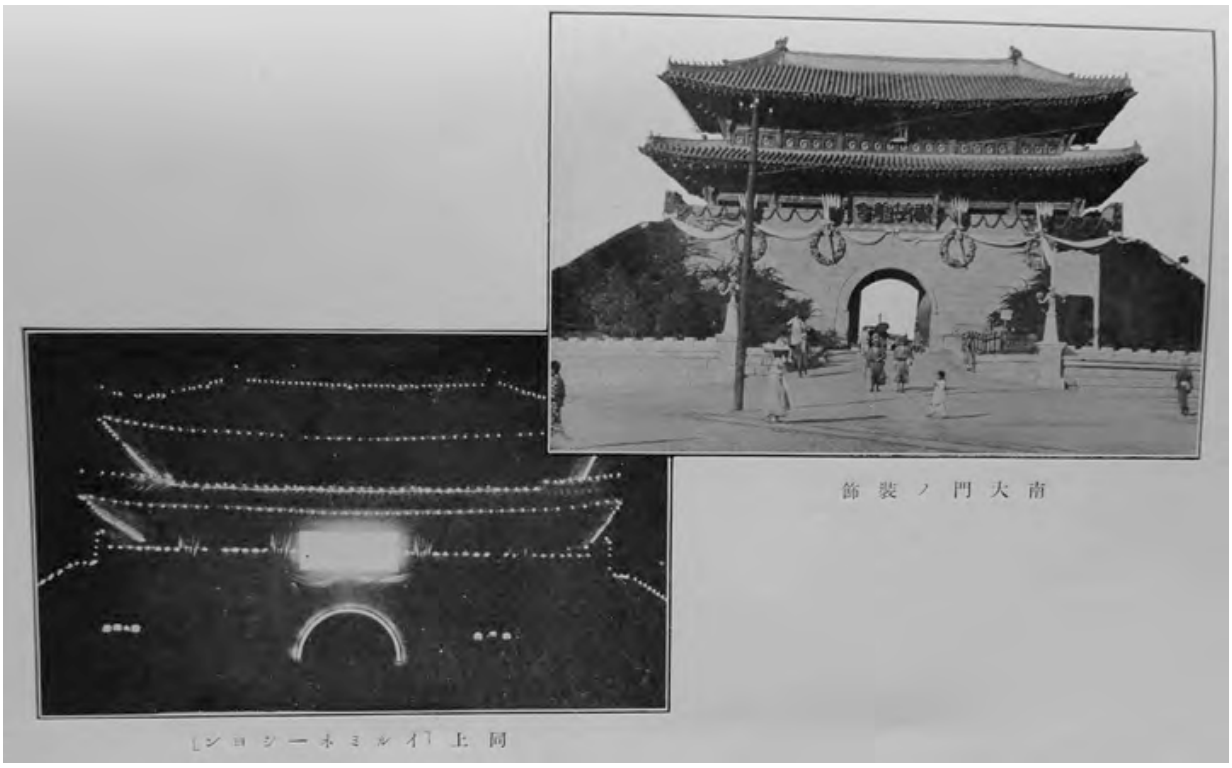
[44] Ibid., 170.

[45] See Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul*, 470.

[46] Sekino, *Joseon misulsa,* 278.

[47] See Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul*, 469.

appreciated Namdaemun (Great Southern Gate) in Gyeongseong and Gaesung the most, feeling that the architecture of the time clearly showed the Joseon period's historical links not only to Koryo, the previous Korean period, but also to the Kamakura and Muromachi eras in Japan and the Song and Yuan periods in China **[Figure 10]**.[48]



[Figure 10] Namdaemun, decorated to become part of the urban procession to the exhibition; from *Shiseigonenkinen chosen butsankyoushinkai houkokusho* **[**The 1915 exhibition official report], vol. 3. Visitors from other cities followed the route from Seoul Railway Station to Namdaemun, then to the main entry boulevard leading to the exhibition.

Sekino also gave high marks to Joseon palace architecture, comparing the mutual developments between the Joseon and Japanese palaces by individually referencing them to the Tang and the

[48] Ibid., 468.

Song archetypes.[49] He evaluated the architecture of Gyeongbok Palace by comparing it to the Koryo Palace in Gaesung, the Forbidden City in Beijing and the Daming Palace in Chang'an (Xi'an).[50] Moreover, Sekino maintained a strong interest in the individual buildings of Gyeongbok Palace, mainly Gwanghwamun and Geunjeongjoen; he celebrated their beauty many times, asserting that "Gwanghwamun is the most outstanding work of architecture among the hundreds buildings in Gyeongbok Palace; it has the highest quality and is very beautiful."[51] However, his assessments of Geunjeongjeon were mixed: on the one hand, he praised its form, color, balance and harmony, while on the other he criticised the building methods and techniques.[52]

Sekino's examination of Namdaemun, Gwanghwamun and Geunjeongjeon in the context of the architectural developments that passed from China to Japan via Korea is also found in *Toyo kenchiku* [Asian architecture], which he published with Chuta Ito in 1925. This publication categorizes various Asian architectural traditions into several family groups according to shared formal similarities. Here, the Joseon architecture represented by Namdaemun, Gwanghwamun and Geunjeongjoen is included in the category of Chinese architecture, which in the end influenced the development of Japanese architecture **[Figure 11]**. Sekino understood early Joseon architecture not just as local Korean architecture but rather as situated in a broader Asian historical context.

[49] Ibid., 469.

[50] Ibid., 316.

[51] Ibid., 293-294.

[52] Ibid., 307.

[Figure 11] Geunjeongjeon (throne hall) in the exhibition grounds; from *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol. 3*.

The historical display of Korean architectural traditions in the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915

Tadashi Sekino's extensive research on Korean art and architectural traditions, which began in the early 1900s and continued under the Government-General as the Investigations of Historical Sites, contributed a great deal to the development of the Japanese Government-General Museum

of Korea.[53] The museum's establishment is an interesting story: it began with the Art Museum planned for the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915.

The Government-General Museum was the brain-child of the first Resident-General, Hirobumi Ito (1841-1909), acting on the advice of Kakuzo Okakura; however, the project was carried out by the first Governor-General, Masatake Terauchi (1852-1919), who planned to realize it through the construction of the Art Museum (Misulgwan) for the 1915 Exhibition **[Figure 12]**. [54] An enthusiastic lover of Korean art and architecture, Terauchi felt the need not only for a permanent exhibition space to house the collected materials, but also for a combined research body to conduct future archeological investigations in Korea. So he pushed the plan through the 1915 Exhibition, and also purchased many ancient Korean artworks to increase the museum's collection.[55]

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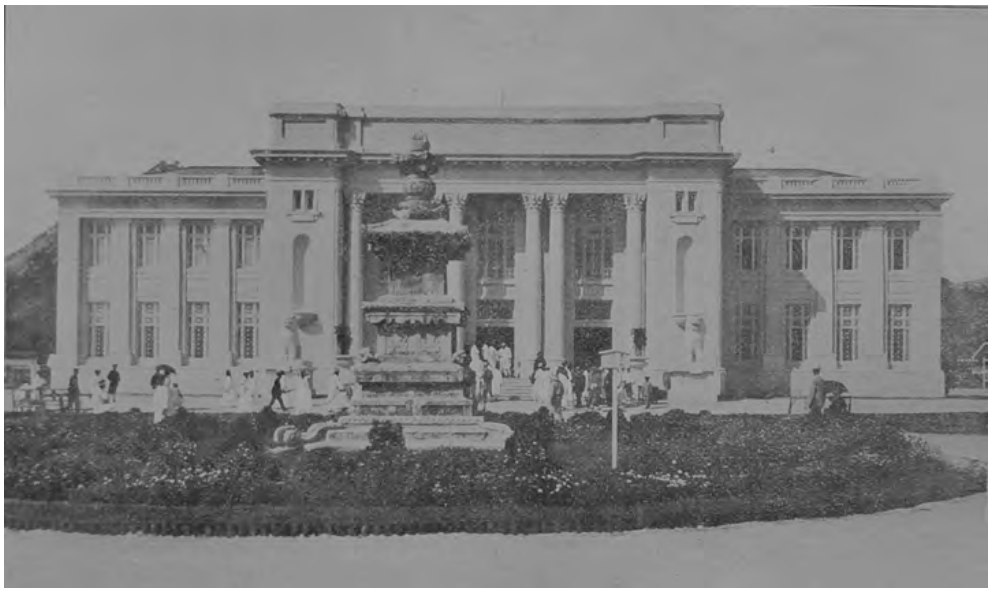
[53] "The establishment of the Government-General Museum was aimed to display the collected and classified materials from the Investigations of Historical Sites, started from the Resident-General period. So, there was a very close relationship between the museum establishment and the Investigations of Historical Sites (Lee, *Mandeuleojin godae*, 278-279.)."

[54] Min-Ki Kang, "Joseonmulsangongjinhoewa ilbonhwaui gongjeogjeonsi" (The Nationwide Exposition of Chosun, Chosun Mulsangongjinhye, and its public exhibition of Japanese paintings (Nihonga)), *Hangugmisulsahag* 16 (2006): 47-50.

[55] Sekino, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea,* 6.



[Figure 12] Postcard showing Art Museum (Misulgwan), built for the Joseon Industrial Exhibition; from *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol. 3.*

The Art Museum built for the 1915 Exhibition was the first step in establishing the Government-General Museum.[56] By the time the Art Museum opened on December 1 (the same day commemorating Japan's rule over Korea), a great number of historical Korean artifacts from different periods had been transported to and were exhibited inside and outside the museum.[57] The entire 1915 Exhibition grounds were used as exhibition space for the Art Museum.[58] In this context, it is obvious that Sekino's historical perspective, as a key contributor to the Investigations of Historical Sites, was applied to the indoor exhibitions of the Art Museum as

[56] "Many temporary pavilions were constructed for the 1915 Exhibition, however only the Art Museum was built as a permanent structure …. In December, it was re-opened as the Government-General Museum with the collections gathered for the Exhibition (Lee, *Mandeuleojin godae*, 278-279.)."

[57] Sekino, *Ancient Remains and Relics in Korea,* 7.

[58] "The Art Museum used many palace buildings for its exhibition spaces. So the entire palace site became a huge museum for the 1915 Exhibition (Lee, *Mandeuleojin godae*, 278-279.)."

well as to the outdoor displays across the Exhibition grounds, where historically important Joseon palace architecture remained intact.

The Exhibition was particularly focused on highlighting Japan and Korea's shared ancient origins, because of the political implications of the Exhibition's intended symbolic legitimization of Japanese rule in Korea.[59] Buddhist artifacts (mainly from the Shilla and the Unified Shilla dynasties) were displayed in chronological order inside the museum, while Buddhist statues and pagodas were moved from their original sites and shown in the front garden. It is easy to see here that Sekino's historical perspective (his tracing of historical developments from China to Japan via Korea) had been slightly altered in consideration of the limited development of Korean (Buddhist) art and architectural traditions (with their cultural decline during the Joseon period) and the culture they shared with Japan in ancient times.

It is also interesting that the outdoor exhibits of Buddhist artifacts were even possible in the grounds of the 1915 Exhibition. The oversized Buddhist pagoda models were placed along the boulevard leading to the main gate of the Exhibition, Gwanghwamun. **[Figures 13, 14]** The exhibited pagodas were directly associated with Gwanghwamun, one of the most important examples of Joseon palace architecture, which Sekino celebrated for its historical connections with palaces associated with previous Korean dynasties as well as Chinese and Japanese periods. It is thus clear that Gwanhwamun was also regarded as exhibition material for the 1915 Exhibition.

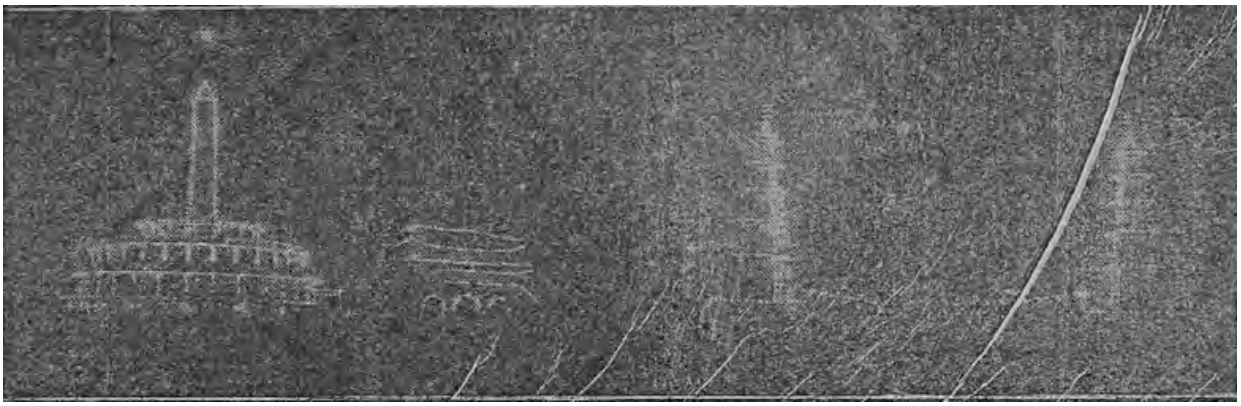
[59] During the early colonial period, the idea of the shared historical origins between Korea and Japan was widely used as a political tool for Japan to legitimize its occupation of Korea. I want to underline that the origin of this idea is found in the Japanese anthropological theory, *Nissen dosoron* [The Japanese and Koreans share a same ancestor], developed around the end of the 19th century.

[Figure 13] Postcard showing the Buddhist pagoda models along the main boulevard leading to the Exhibition; from Publishing Company Minsokwon.

[Figure 14] Postcard showing the Buddhist pagoda models and Gwanghwamun (palace gate) at night; from Publishing Company Minsokwon.

The main boulevard didn't stop at Gwanghwamun, but continued to the main entry plaza of the Exhibition grounds. The plaza was architecturally realized through a modern-style square decorated with a splendid garden fountain in the middle and Western-style pavilions, mainly in neo-Renaissance and Secession styles Exhibition Hall No. 1 and Railway Hall stood nearby, the latter featuring an observation deck and an obelisk on the top **[Figure 15]**. Each building along the entryway, beginning with the Buddhist pagodas and proceeding with Gwanghwamun and the examples of modern-styled architecture, was thus intended to represent the shared architectural developments of Korea and Japan in the past, as well as the present ones under the Japanese rule of Korea **[Figure 16]**.

[Figure 15] Postcard showing the entry plaza, with a fountain in the middle, Railway Hall on the left, and Gwanghwamun (palace gate) on the right; from Publishing Company Minsokwon.



[Figure 16] Photograph of artificial lights illuminating buildings along the main route of the exhibition; from *Maeilsinbo*, September 13, 1915.

The spatial qualities of the historical exhibitions, from the main entry boulevard to the plaza, are also reflected in the cover image of *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol 1*, published immediately after it closed. **[Figure 17]** The image creates a three-dimensional perspective by arranging objects in chronological order but at different scales: the traditional Korean window frame is in front, the flying *Bicheon* [Buddhist angels] in the middle, and Exhibition Hall No.1 in the back. Furthermore, framed by the Western-style columns, which seem to recall the ones displayed at Art Museum, the cover image emphasizes how the constructed historical display (in the image as well as in the main entryway) goes hand-in-hand with the historical exhibitions in Art Museum. They hypothesize a shared past, present and even a future in architectural developments between Japan and Korea. In this case, future developments were paradoxically portrayed by showing the gradual cultural decline of the Joseon period which could only be revived through Japan's guidance.

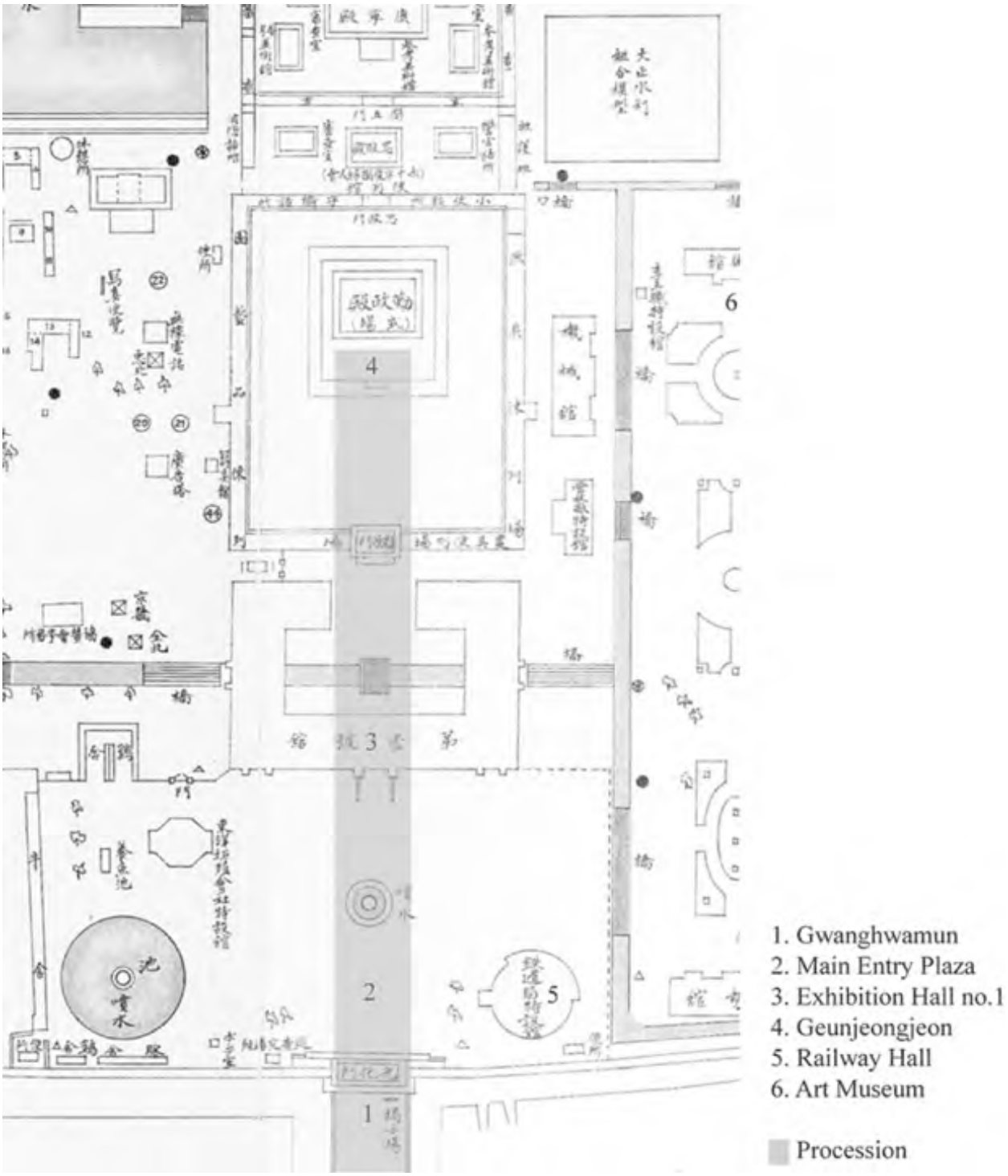
[Figure 17] Cover image; from *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol. 1*.

Conclusion

In view of this evidence, it is insufficient and even potentially fallacious to claim that the architecture of the Joseon Industrial Exhibition of 1915 was solely intended to produce a dramatic visual contrast between Western-style architecture and Korean palace architecture, as has been suggested by current scholarship. On the contrary, the ancient Korean artifacts and the newly built exhibition pavilions were carefully placed to fit into the structure of Gyeongbok Palace so that they created a historical display together with Joseon palace architecture. Japan's political intentions were thus realized by internalizing Korean art and architectural traditions in its visualization of Korea's colonial history.

Finally, recognizing Japan's intentions with respect to the architecture of the 1915 Exhibition creates a new understanding of the architectural relationship between Exhibition Hall No. 1 and Geunjeongjeon. Rather than simply creating a visual contrast between the new and the old, the juxtaposition of the two was fundamentally intended to create a spatial connection through the outdoor path between the courtyard of Exhibition Hall No. 1 and the foreground of Geungeongjeon. The idea of spatial continuity between Gwanghwamun and Geunjeongjeon was included in the architectural planning stage of the 1915 Exhibition, and it was realized in the design of Exhibition Hall No. 1. **[Figure 18, 19]** In *1915 exhibition official report, vol.1*, these intentions are clearly laid out, as it is stated that: "traverse circulation was recommended from Gwanghwamun to Geunjeongjeon through…Exhibition Hall No. 1 and the architectural form of… Exposition Hall No. 1 was designed to accommodate it."[60]

[60] Chosen sotokufu, *Shiseigonenkinen chosen butsankyoushinkai houkokusho 1* [The 1915 exhibition official report, vol.1] (Keijo: Chosen sotokufu, 1916), 54.

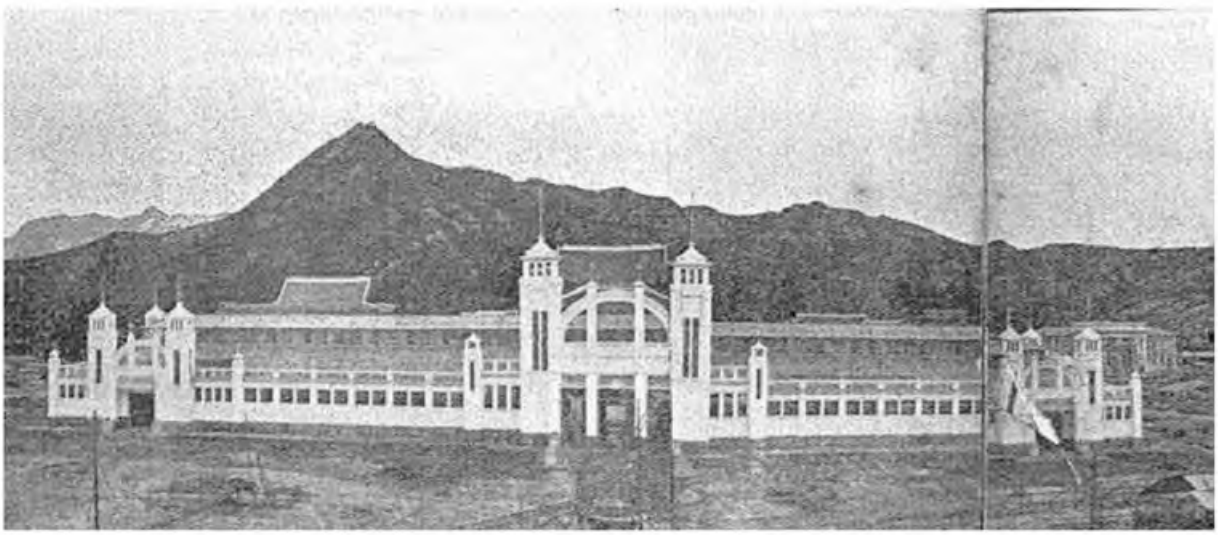


[Figure 18] Plan showing the urban procession from Gwanghwamun (palace gate) across the entry plaza, and through Exhibition Hall No. 1 to Geunjeongjeon (throne hall), with graphics added; from *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol. 1*.

[Figure 19] The urban procession from the entry boulevard (far right) through Gwanghwamun (palace gate, right) to Exhibition Hall No. 1 (middle) and the forecourt of Geunjeongjeon (throne hall, left); from *The 1915 exhibition official report, vol. 3*.

Given the fact that Exhibition Hall No. 1 and Geunjeongjeon were spatially connected to each other and that Exhibition Hall No. 1 was the first building that visitors encountered upon entering the Exhibition grounds, it can be argued that the architectural juxtaposition of Exhibition Hall No. 1 with Geunjeongjeon can be seen as a new element of the historical exhibition carried through from the main entry boulevard to the plaza. Moreover, by virtue of its location in the most symbolic part of the 1915 exhibition grounds, it represents the shared future development of Korea and Japan.

The architectural juxtaposition of Exhibition Hall No. 1 with Geunjeongjeon further creates a blend of the old and the new **[Figure 20]**. Coincidentally, this image was visible from the observation deck of Gwanghwamun, where visitors could survey all the historical exhibitions along the main entryway. Considering Japan's political intentions, it can be argued that the final image created by this assemblage of buildings represented the assimilated architectural condition the Japanese ultimately wanted to create through its construction of Korean history with Korean architectural traditions.



[Figure 20] Exhibition Hall No. 1, with Geunjeongjeon (throne hall) behind, showing how the two building forms are related; from *Chosen Ihou,* October, 1915.

Chapter 3: Tadashi Sekino's investigations into Korean *jutaku*[1] [housing] and architecture, 1904–1924

"Housing" in the "Report on the survey of Joseon architecture," 1904

It is widely known in related fields that Tadashi Sekino's archaeological investigations in Korea focused mainly on historicizing Korean (primarily Buddhist) art, relics and building remains. In his research, Sekino tried to identify not only the stylistic similarities between ancient Korean and Japanese architectural traditions, but also the gradual decline of the former, especially during the latter part of the Joseon dynasty. Naturally, his analyses came in handy for the Japanese Government-General of Korea to use in legitimizing its colonial rule of Korea.[2]

However, there is another facet of his work that needs to be taken into consideration to fully understand Sekino's perspective on Korean architectural traditions. It is particularly important to acknowledge that a series of changes occurred in Sekino's analyses and historical understanding of Korean *jutaku* and architecture. To date, Sekino's interest in these has not been studied. Basically, his narratives changed over time, introducing many inconsistencies in his work.

Together with Korean ancient art and architectural traditions, Sekino also investigated Korean *jutaku* architecture in his earliest Korean field research of 1902,[3] commissioned by Kingo

[1] In contrast to Wajiro Kon, Sekino normally used the Japanese term *jutaku* to refer to the architectural typology of (human) dwellings. However, in some cases, he also used the term *minka* [vernacular housing], as Kon did.

[2] It is important to note that the Japanese archaeological investigations into Korean art and architectural traditions were used not only to overcome the West but also to colonize Korea. The invented Japanese historicity inherently deemed Korea to be under-developed and in need of Japanese leadership.

[3] Prior to 1920, there were only two Japanese studies on Korean housing, except for the ones by Sekino: Tadakichi Murakami, *Chosen no i syoku jyu* [Food, clothing and shelter in Joseon] (Keijo: Chosen sotokufu, 1916). and Kinya

Tatsuno.[4] However, the actual scope of his *jutaku* research was very limited, covering only existing aristocrats' and commoners' housing from the Joseon period.

Sekino's analyses of Korean *jutaku* in this time period had a bearing on his overall assessments of Korean (Buddhist) art and the architectural traditions of the Joseon period; he mainly highlighted their underdeveloped conditions, even comparing a commoner's *jutaku* to a pigsty and saying that he could not call it a housing.[5] He blamed the despotic rulers of the Korean upper class for causing these poor architectural conditions.[6] He continued:

> They [commoners] are poor because they are suffering from poverty, have primitive hobbies, fall into despair, and have no time to decorate either their *jutaku* or themselves.[7]

For his architectural assessments of Korean *jutaku*, Sekino adopted a positivistic research methodology, which had become very popular in architecture as well as in other fields of study since its introduction to Japan in the late nineteenth century.[8] This approach to research analyzes

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Funakoshi, "Chosen kaoku no hanashi" [Stories on Joseon houses], *Kenchiku zasshi* 12 (1898): 267-288. See Shiro Sasaki, "Dainijisekaitaisen mae no houbun bunken ni miru chirigakuteki kenkyu no kiseki-Iwatsuki Yoshiyuki(1924)ni senko suru syokenkyu wo cyushin toshite-" (Research Trends of the Geographical Studies on Korean Folk Housing shown in the Japanese Literature before World War II (I)-Mainly on Some Preceding Works to Iwatsuki Yoshiyuki (1924)-), *Utsunomiya daigaku kokusai gakubu kenkyuronsyu* 5 (1998): 135-154.

[4] Sekino had a very close personal relationship with Tatsuno. Architectural historian Keisuke Fujii said that Sekino worked on many of Tatsuno's architectural projects, including the headquarters of the Bank of Japan. See Keisuke Fujii, "[Mono]kenkyuu gotohajime—kenchiku shi ka, Sekino Tadashi no kaihatsu shita houhou" [[Thing] research—architecture historian, Tadashi Sekino's methodology], *Tosho* 676 (2005): 18.

[5] Tadashi Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul* [Koran architecture and art], translated by Bongjin Kang (Seoul: Wolgangeonchugmunhwa, 1990), 412.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Ibid., 417.

[8] When the German historian Ludwig Riess (a student of Leopold Von Ranke) first taught modern history at the Tokyo Imperial University in 1887, he also introduced positivism. For more on the process of establishing the history department at the Tokyo Imperial University, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 42.

social phenomena through scientific and mathematical data, taken as evidence of truths that may appear transparently to human reason. A presumption of this approach to research was that it can be used to measure the degrees of human progress in the past and the present as well as predicting future progress.[9]

Along with other forms of Korean art and architectural traditions, Sekino regarded Korean *jutaku* as a singular style of building (or a *mono* [thing]) and he made a series of very detailed analyses of it through visual inspections (recording colors and materials) as well as physical measurements (recording sizes, shapes, heights and widths).[10] **[Figure 1] [Figure 2]** Moreover, he also came up with structural and functional criteria to define and identify underdeveloped Korean housing conditions. In *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku*, he wrote:

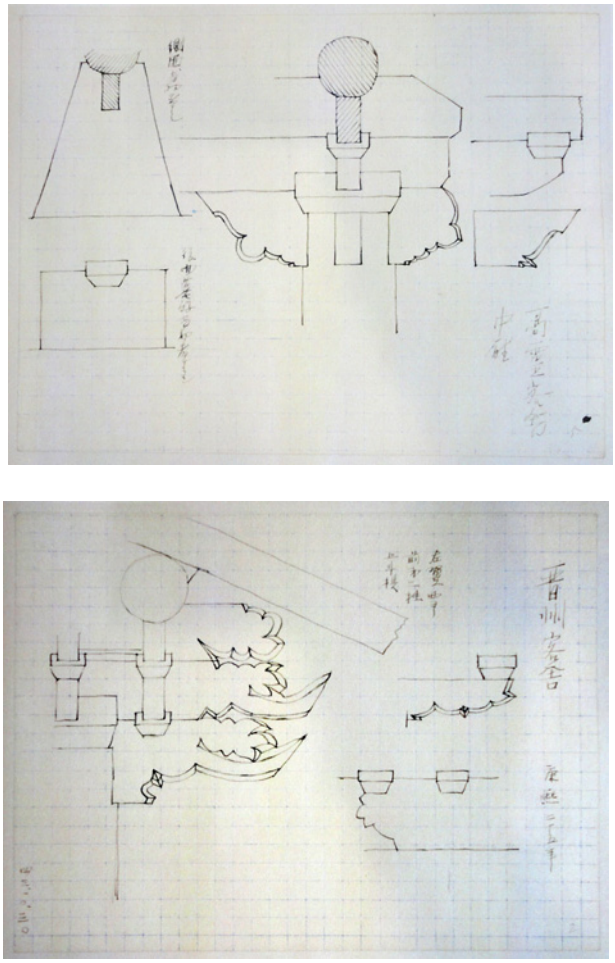
> Korean *jutaku* are only built to protect their residents from the cold, so their builders don't consider any other factors, such as ventilation or lighting.[11]
>
> They [Korean *jutaku*] are structurally primitive…poor and irregular, and it is no exaggeration to say that they barely withstand rain, dew, coldness and heat.
>
> *Chogajib* [Korean traditional thatched-roof *jutaku*] are not ugly and dirty…however, because of the lack of wood in Korea, roundwood logs are used

[9] "This development of ideas which we can observe enables us to predict their future movement. Since 'the cause which acts strongest on society is a change, a perfectioning of the ideas, the general beliefs.' we can do even more, we can develop a theory of history, a general history of mankind, which will deal not merely with the past and present but also with the future (Friedrich A Von Hayek, *The counter-revolution of science: studies on the abuse of reason* (Indianapolis: Library Press, 1979), 124-125.)."

[10] Fujii said that Sekino's methodology was designed to carefully study the physical forms and shapes of old art and architectural artifacts. He also compared them to each other to figure out when they had been produced. See Fujii, "[Mono] Kenkyuu gotohajime," 19-20.

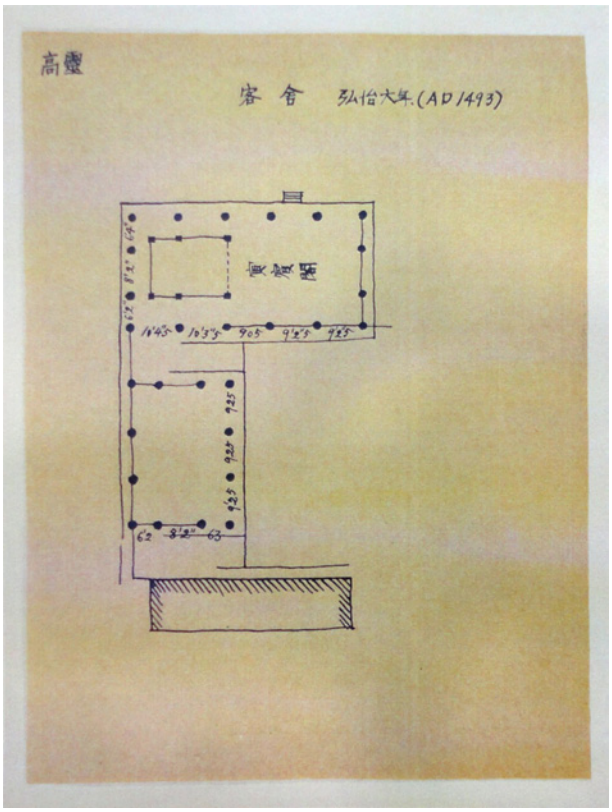
[11] Sekino, *Hangugui geonchuggwa yesul*, 412.

for everything from columns to rafters in constructing *jutaku*, and these are mainly pine logs of irregular sizes and shapes.[12]



[Figure 1] Sekino's detailed drawings of parts of architectural elements; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, The University Museum, The University of Tokyo, (above) material no.: 12017 120103230, (below) material no.: 12045 120408014.

[12] Ibid., 417.



[Figure 2] Sekino's measured plan drawing of column spaces in a guest house; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 29056 290005756.

Given Sekino's original intention presuming the possibility of identifying the origins of Japanese architecture in his research in Korea, it is unsurprising to see him compare and contrast Korean *jutaku* to their Japanese counterparts. His use of material evidence to place Korean housing in a context of historical improvement and decline relative to Japan is also a reflection of his positivistic sentiments. Particularly by explaining how architectural materials were used in each case, he highlighted the poor appearance of Korean dwellings. In the same report, Sekino compared Korean roofing materials with those used in Japan:

> In Korea, straw is used for covering *chogajib*, and one never sees reeds, cedar bark, arborvitae bark, or double-layered boards, which are commonly used in Japan.[13]

As shown above, in his discussion of Korean *jutaku*, Sekino also referenced Korean regional characteristics, such as social conditions and climatic and geological features. Another instance is his mention of *ondol* [Korean traditional floor heating system], in relation to the major Korean seasons of winter and summer: "*Ondol* are appropriate for winter, but not for summer."[14]

It should be stressed that Sekino's conclusions are very rudimentary and do not stand up to any detailed analyses of how regional characteristics influence Korean *jutaku*. Rather, it is fair to say that he was more interested in locating Korean *jutaku* on a certain historical level in relation to the stylistic developments of Japanese *jutaku*, so that he could hypothesize that the former had the potential to improve in the future. In this way, Sekino developed his colonialist perspective in his earliest on-site Korean *jutaku* research.

"Joseon housing architecture" in *Housing architecture*, 1916

In his 1916 article titled "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" [Joseon housing architecture],[15] Sekino put forward a slightly different perspective on Korean *jutaku* from the view developed in *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku*. On the one hand, based on his claims of stylistic similarities between Korean and Japanese *jutaku*, he persisted in his argument that the architectural conditions of the

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid., 411.

[15] Tadashi Sekino, "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" [Joseon housing architecture], in *Jutaku kenchiku* [Housing architecture] (Tokyo: Kenchiku sekaisha, 1916), 156-163. This book is consists of a collection of writings on *Jutaku* written by many Japanese architects and historians.

former were underdeveloped when compared to the latter; on the other hand, however, he put forward new ideas in assessing Korean *jutaku* by taking into consideration climatic, material and social factors, as well as habits and customs. Continuing his positivistic research stance, Sekino attempted to use calculable factors (e.g. the amount of rainfall in a given year) in determining the forms and styles of Korean *jutaku* architecture. In the end, Sekino introduced a set of narratives on the architectural differences between Korean and Japanese dwellings. This contrasts with the position of Wajiro Kon, that human creativity interacts with environmental influences in making architecture, an understanding I discuss in chapter 4 and 5.

Stylistic similarities between Korean and Japanese *jutaku*

In "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku," Sekino's commentaries on the stylistic similarities between Korean and Japanese *jutaku* are seen through many specific examples. He wrote:

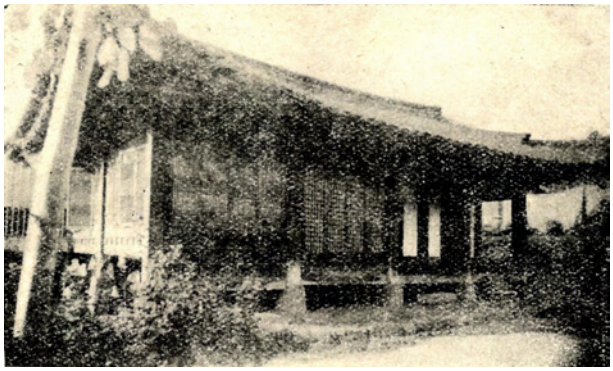
> behind the [main] building, there is a *naebang* where housewives live. The *naebang* is very similar to the [Japanese] *kitanotainoya* of *shindenzukuri*.[16] **[Figure 3]**
>
> In summer, a raised bed called a *nu* is used in Korea and it is very similar to the summer beds of *shindenzukuri*.[17]
>
> The *cheoma* [eaves] of [Korean] aristocrats' *jutaku* is the same as [Japanese] *irimoyazukuri*. The former is made of roof tiles and it has a gentle slope with a

[16] Ibid., 161.

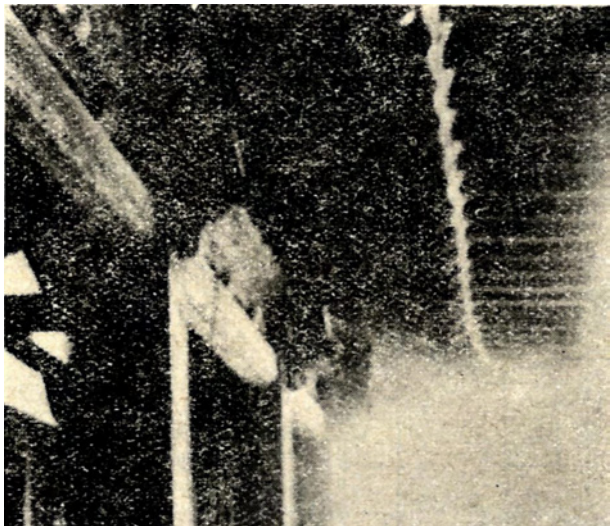
[17] Ibid., 160.

heavy look. Its style is very similar to that of the Nara period [710–794].[18]
[Figure 4]

[Korean] high-class *jutaku* are similar to *shindenzukuri* from the Fujiwara [900–1200] and Kamakura [1185–1333] periods. Interestingly, large and medium-sized gates, corridors, *shinden* and *dainoya* are commonly found [in both Korea and Japan].[19]



[Figure 3] A picture showing the *naebang* in an aristocrat's *jutaku*; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 158.



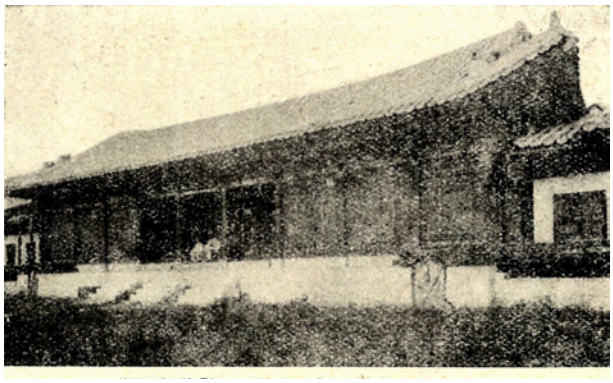
[Figure 4] A picture showing the *cheoma* of an aristocrat's *jutaku*; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 158.

[18] Ibid., 161-162.

[19] Ibid., 162.

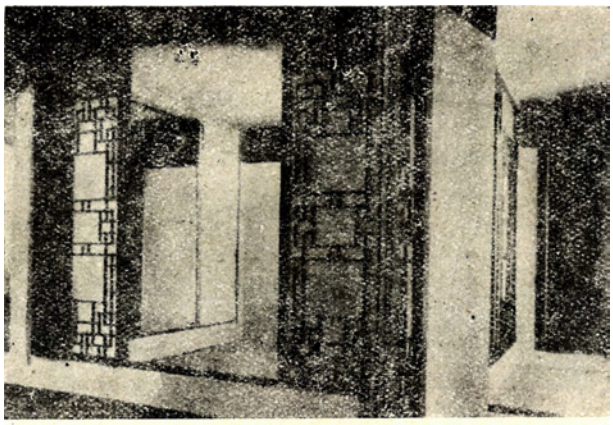
Even when Sekino described the poor architectural conditions of Korean *jutaku*, his assessments were fundamentally based on the premise that Korean housing was experiencing a decline at the time he was writing, from its height of concurrent development with Japanese styles in previous periods. This is reflected in the following passage, where he talks about the advancement of Korean *jutaku* architecture in the ancient (Buddhist) periods, which saw a vast expansion of social and cultural exchange between Korea and Japan, Sekino wrote:

> Korean *Jutaku kenchiku* [housing architecture] was more developed in the previous periods [i.e. the periods of the Three States (B.C.57–668), Shilla (B.C.57–935) and Koryo (918–1392)] than the Joseon period [1392–1910]….There was no progress in *Jutaku Kenchiku* during the Joseon period, even though it lasted more than 500 years…palaces and houses of *yangban* [noblemen] as well as *pyongmin* [commoners] show some decline instead of development.[20] **[Figure 5] [Figure 6] [Figure 7]**



[Figure 5] The Gyotaejeon [Queen's living *jutaku*], Gyeongbok Palace; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 159.

[20] Ibid., 156.



[Figure 6] A view of the Queen's room in the Gyotaejeon, Gyeongbok Palace; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 160.

[Figure 7] The Gangnyeongjeon [King's living *jutaku*], Gyeongbok Palace; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 159.

The rhetoric of emphasizing the stylistic parallels of Korean and Japanese *jutaku* is also present in Sekino's use of Japanese architectural terms to indicate the detailed components of Korean *jutaku*. In this way, Korean *jutaku* are automatically incorporated into the historical realm of Japanese *jutaku* architecture. Sekino wrote:

> Noblemen's *jutaku* are surrounded by brick walls and *nagayamon* [long roof gate] stand before them.[21]

[21] Ibid., 158.

The *naebang* [Korean term: the housewife's chambers] normally has a *kehushitsu* [small room]…there is a *shujinnokan* [master bedroom] and a *naesarang* [Korean term: inner reception room] on the left side of the *hiroma* [living room]. At one end of the building, there is a *chuubou* [cooking room] and a *daidokoro* [kitchen].[22]

The *sijeon* [Korean term: street shop] facing the big streets in Seoul are made of *kawarabuki* [roof tiles], big wooden *hashira* [columns] and *taruki* [rafters]. The doors are thick and several *yokosan* [bars] are attached on the rear side. Seen from outside, decorative *marukasirabiyou* [rivets] are mounted in line on them. The floor of the store is generally made of *itabari* [wooden flooring] and the *tenjau* [ceiling] is exposed to show the inside roof structure.[23] **[Figure 8]**

[Figure 8] A photograph showing a Seoul *sijeon* [street shop]; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 162.

Stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese *jutaku*

Along with the similarities mentioned above, Sekino also commented on the stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese *jutaku* in "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku." He first highlighted that

[22] Ibid., 161.

[23] Ibid., 162.

research on Korea's climatic, material and social conditions is very important in understanding the development of its *jutaku* styles.[24] To support his argument, Sekino elaborated:

> The Korean climate is variable and it clearly differs from north to south. Korea's summers are very hot and its winters are extremely cold.[25]
>
> Because of the extremely cold winters in Korea, there were many experiments in devising heating. The most successful of these was the *ondol* [Korean traditional floor-heating system].[26] **[Figure 9]**
>
> Korean *jutaku* are mainly made of wood….Because of the climatic and natural restrictions, good-quality wood, such as Japanese cedar and Japanese cypress, is not produced in Korea….Normally, pine, fir, larch and zelkova can survive…but only low-quality trees are now found because of the severe damage that Korean forests have sustained….So it is impossible for commoners to make columns and rafters with [good quality] wood in Korea.[27] **[Figure 10] [Figure 11]**
>
> Korean society is divided into two strata, the noble class and the commoner class….On the one hand, noblemen hold all the political and social privileges and enjoy their lives, while on the other hand commoners resign themselves to suffering and sometimes give up on their lives. So, the *jutaku* of noblemen have a grand and imposing appearance, whereas the *jutaku* of commoners resemble pigsties.[28] **[Figure 12]**

[24] Ibid., 156.

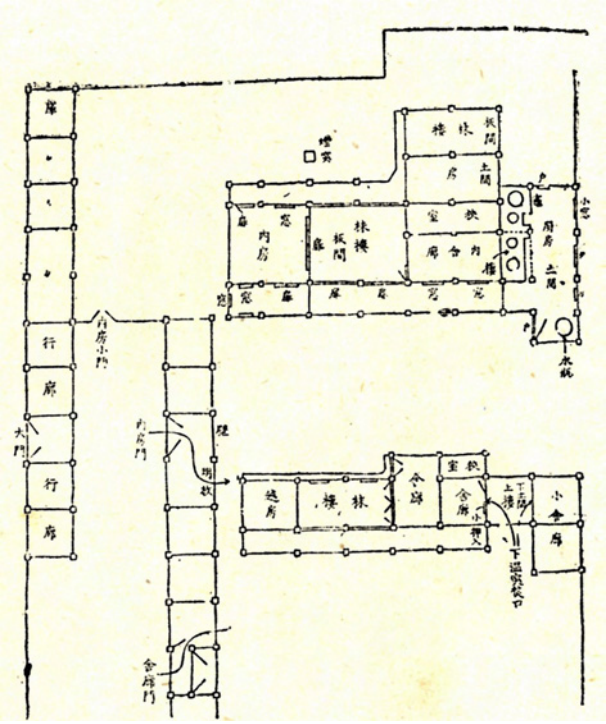
[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid., 159.

[27] Ibid., 157.

[28] Ibid., 158.

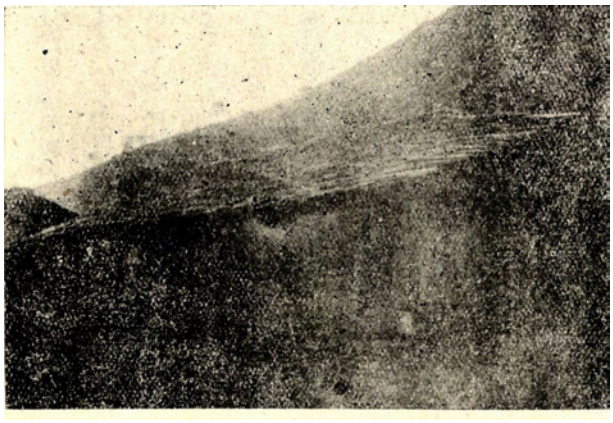
The sizes of *naebang* vary in relation not only to the social status of the master and the family, but also according to the number of servants in the house.[29]



[Figure 9] A plan of a typical Korean linear-shaped *jutaku* (such as used by middle- and high-class Koreans) incorporating *ondol*; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 157.

[Figure 10] A commoner's storage-style *minka* built with low-quality square timber in Jangjingun, Hamgyeongnamdo; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 157.

[29] Ibid., 161.



[Figure 11] A Korean commoner's *minka* built with low-quality wood, clay and stone (stacked stones support the roofing) in Pyeonganbukdo; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 163.

[Figure 12] A Korean commoner's *minka*, in poor condition, built with stacked straw; from Sekino, *Jutaku kenchiku*, 162.

Regarding the development of stylistic differences between Korean and Japanese *jutaku*, Sekino went on to write:

> the Japanese *jutaku* is built for summer, but the Korean one is built for winter….Korea has less snow and rainfall than Japan.(…) Compared to Japan, Korea has little rain or snow. Normally, there is heavy rainfall in Korea during

> July and August, but no rain in other months…so the slope of the roofs of Korean *jutaku* is very gentle, compared that of the Japanese residences.[30]

In some cases, Sekino analyzed more detailed qualities of Korean customs and related them to spatial and functional innovations in Korean *jutaku*. Here, he also portrayed architectural differences as well as similarities between Korean and Japanese *jutaku*. Sekino wrote:

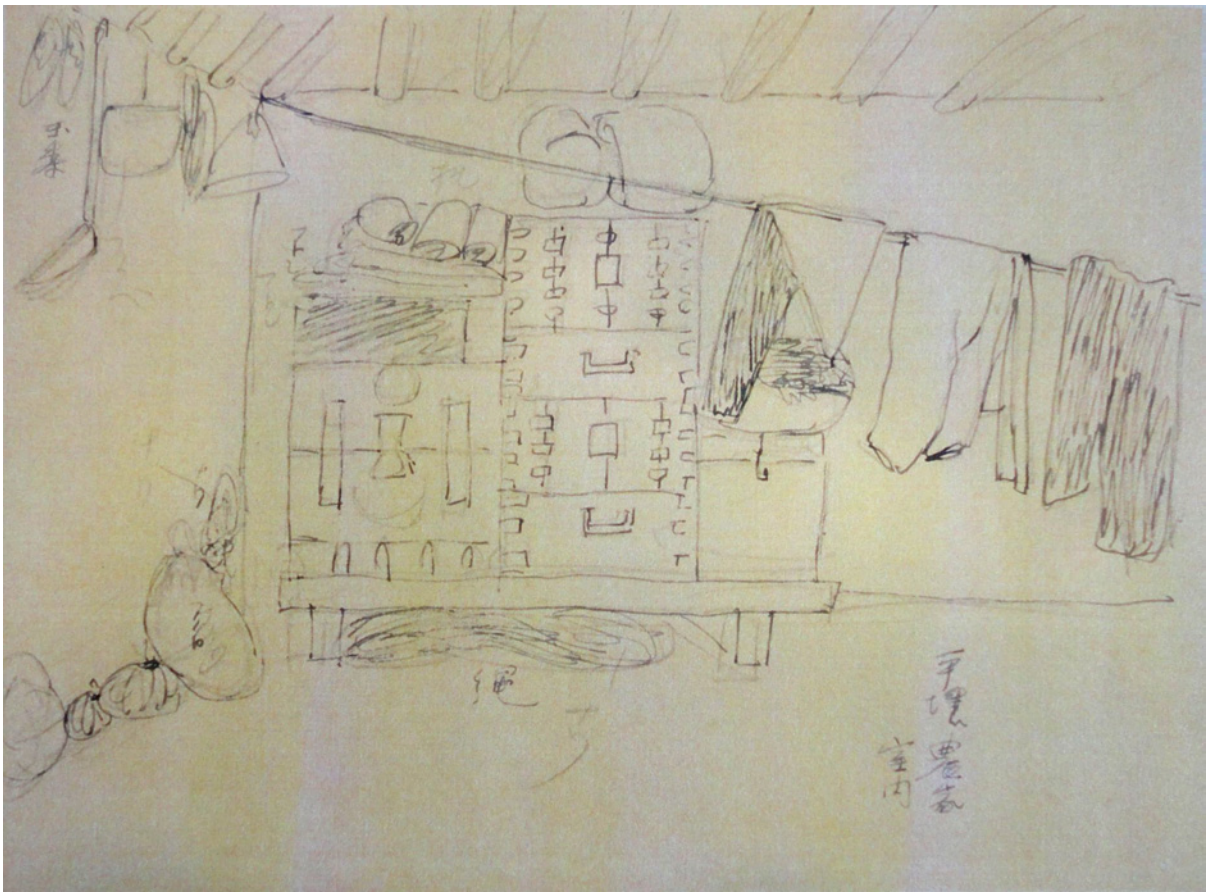
> In Korea, there is a custom of separating boys and girls from the age of seven, and the separation is very strict….Korean housewives stay in a place called a *naebang* and they normally do cooking, laundry and sewing there. Normally, they never have a chance to see men other than their husbands….In any case, it is impossible for other men to approach a *naebang*, a kind of impregnable chamber for women….Even policemen cannot freely enter into a *naebang*, since this space is sacrosanct. So the [spatial] separation between the inside and the outside in Korean housing is very strict.[31]

> From ancient times, the Koreans and the Japanese have had the same custom of sitting on the floor, so they don't need functional rooms for specific purposes, such as kitchen, guest rooms and bedrooms; the living room can directly become a guestroom, a kitchen if food is served, or a bedroom by installing futons - all of these transformations are very easy. The floor is either *ondol* or simple wood flooring, and Korean people sit with their legs crossed, or with one or both legs bent inside. They never rest on their knees like the Japanese.[32] **[Figure 13]**

[30] Ibid., 156.

[31] Ibid., 158.

[32] Ibid., 157.



[Figure 13] Sekino's drawing showing several uses of an ordinary room in a Korean *jutaku*; Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 07108 070013700.

"Japanese-Joseon architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features" in *Joseon and Architecture*, 1924 [33]

In October 1923, Sekino had an opportunity to investigate ancient Korean relics and remained in Pyongyang with the support of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. Taking advantage of this opportunity, he also traveled to the northern Korean provinces that he had been unable to

[33] This 1924 article is a summary of Sekino's public lecture given on October 29 1923, when he came back to Gyeongseong from Pyongyang upon finishing his research commission for the Japanese Government-General of Korea.

include in his previous research travels.[34] By examining native *jutaku* and architectural conditions in these areas, Sekino was able to develop more comprehensive ideas on the direct relationship between regional characteristics and architectural developments. In the end, he produced a series of observations on the use of different architectural styles and materials in Japan and Korea, as well as predictions for future developments.

In a public lecture organized by the Japanese Government-General of Korea upon finishing the investigation, Sekino started by introducing detailed ideas related to his understanding of regional specificities, categorizing them into two different groups: those with natural (e.g. climatic and geological) factors and those with artificial (e.g. social customs, historical and religious backgrounds) factors.[35] He also placed a particularly strong emphasis on earthquakes in making his architectural arguments. It is likely that this intention was partly driven by witnessing the devastating architectural damage caused by the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923. This experience spurred Sekino and many other contemporary Japanese architects to quickly begin work on devising architectural techniques that would allow buildings to withstand future earthquakes.

In "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" [Japanese-Joseon architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features], Sekino's ideas are far more systematically organized than they were in his previous work, "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku," in which he simply considered rudimentary climatic, material and social factors. It can be also seen

[34] Tadashi Sekino, "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" [Japanese-Joseon architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features], *Chosen to kenchiku* 4, no. 1 (1924): 7. For example, in his first research expedition to Korea in 1902, he mainly focused on the regions near Seoul and Kaesong and a small number of southern cities.

[35] It is obvious that Sekino was influenced by Wajiro Kon's earlier categorizations of "geographical" and "historical-cultural" groups.

that Sekino's narratives fed the Japanese colonial propaganda of the 1920s (the cultural rule period) well on many levels; the Japanese Government-General of Korea deliberately started to pay attention to native Korean natural environments, social customs and culture after the shock of the March 1 Independence Movement.[36] Moreover, in contrast to the forced assimilation policies of the 1910s (during the military rule period), based on the contemporary popular theory of ethnic and cultural commonalities between Japan and Korea, the Japanese Government-General of Korea initiated new colonial policies acknowledging the fundamental differences between them and propagated a new assimilation model posited on the notion of a spiritual coalition of the two countries, and instance of Pan-Asianism.

Intimate relationships between regional characteristics and architecture

At the beginning of the lecture, Sekino's perspective of environmental determinism is evident in his understanding of the close relationship between regional characteristics and architectural developments:

> Architects, whatever types of buildings they work on, make them fit into their own regions….Architecture developed in specific places [nations], even if it is not interesting at all, certainly features some characteristics adapted to its location.(…) the features that are not well-suited to the environment are eliminated, and only enduring things survive.[37] **[Figure 14] [Figure 15]**

[36] The March 1 Independence Movement (1919) was the first nationwide Korean resistance towards the Japanese colonial occupation.

[37] Sekino, "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku," 7-8.

[Figure 14] Sekino's sketch of a Korean *jutaku* in a mountainous landscape; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 07123 070615706.

[Figure 15] A photograph showing a Korean *jutaku* on a rural field; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 14025 140002700.

Throughout the lecture, Sekino enumerated many detailed factors whose distinctive natures are decided by regional characteristics. He wrote:

> There are many important [regional] factors that determine the architectural developments in our settlements. Above all, these are categorized into the following two groups: the first is composed of natural factors such as climatic and geological conditions, and the second represents artificial factors including social customs, historical and religious backgrounds, and even specific relationships with foreign nations.(…) The artificial factors change over time, whereas it is very difficult to change natural factors, which are determined by geographical conditions. Wherever a nation is situated, its natural conditions govern and its residents must find ways to survive them. Opposing them can only end in failure.[38]

Climatic differences between Japan and Korea

Before Sekino talked about the different architectural developments found in Japan and Korea, he first analyzed each country's climatic conditions through empirical data and compared them. He wrote:

> Japan is a country that has not benefited from nature but rather has been abused by it. However, Korea is in the opposite situation, where the climate is very beneficial for people's lives.(…) The Japanese climate and the Korean one are very different from each other. The latter is very continental, whereas the former is very oceanic. Japan has a lot of rainfall because the air is especially humid. On the other hand, Korea has very little rainfall and the air is very dry.(…) The summer temperature in Japan is a bit lower than that in Korea, and the latter is very difficult to endure….So, you can easily see that the Japanese summer is

[38] Ibid., 8.

more comfortable than the Korean summer.(…) Compared to the Korean summer, the Japanese one is very difficult to endure in the sense that the humidity is very high, which creates an almost saturated condition. When the temperature goes up above 82–3°F, the air doesn't absorb the steam radiated from human skin any more. Instead, it condenses on the skin surface and becomes sweat, which is very uncomfortable.(…) As you can experience in Korea, the summer is very hot and sometimes it is like entering an oven. However, you don't sweat. In other words, when sweat comes out from the skin, the dry air absorbs it right away. So, it is relatively easy to endure the Korean summer because little sweat remains on the skin.(…) The winter in Japan is not much colder than that of Korea. The temperature normally goes down to -2 to -3°C degrees; sometimes it becomes -5 to -6°C degrees. So it is never very cold.(…) Gyeongseong [Seoul] is in the opposite. In winter, the Han River freezes… so that people can walk on the frozen river.(…) Compared to the winter in Japan, Korea's winter is very harsh and very difficult to endure. Although the Japanese winter is cold, compared to…enduring the summer heat, it is slightly easier to manage.[39]

Differences in Japanese and Korean clothing with regards to the climatic perspective

Based the above-mentioned (and sometimes contradictory) climatic arguments, Sekino proposed some ideas to account for the different clothing styles that developed in Japan and Korea. Sekino wrote:

> Japanese clothes are better suited to the summer heat than the winter coldness because the former is harder to endure than the latter. So, for ventilation purposes, a Japanese *kimono* has completely loose sleeves from top to bottom. Whenever sweat comes out from the skin, either natural or artificial wind (made by a fan) completely cools it down; the wind takes heat from the sweat, which finally

[39] Ibid., 8-9.

evaporates into the air. So, in Japan, a special type of clothing has been developed that allows the wind to freely touch the skin.(…) On the other hand, since winter is very difficult to endure in Korea, specific winter clothing has been developed; the top features tight sleeves and the pants are tightly bound at the bottom. So the wind never blows inside the clothes. In the Korean summer, people don't sweat as much, so it is not difficult to live with this kind of clothing.[40] **[Figure 16]**

[Figure 16] Sekino's sketch of an ordinary Korean man (middle-class) in full outdoor costume; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 13031 130204705.

[40] Ibid., 9-10.; Sekino also talks about Indian clothes in relation to its hot climate. He explains that people sweat in India, but the sweat evaporates right away because of the dry air. See Ibid., 11.

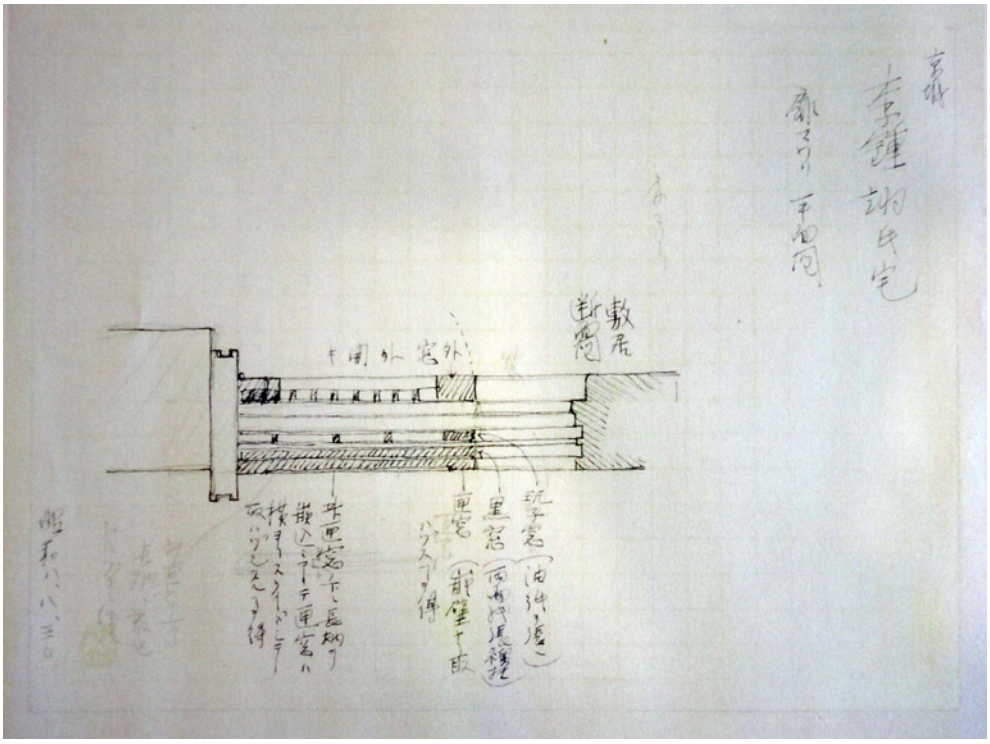
Architectural differences between Japan and Korea from the climatic perspective

In the first summary of his lecture, Sekino talked about the architectural differences between Japanese and Korean *jutaku* by referencing his earlier climatic analyses. In observing each type of *jutaku*, he visually inspected every single part of it. Sekino also introduced a more scientific analysis on the benefits of Korean *ondol* than he had previously in *Chosen kenchiku chosa hokoku*. Sekino wrote:

> From the climatic perspective, there are some characteristics that highlight the fundamental differences between Japanese and Korean *jutaku*. So it is a big mistake to build a Japanese-style *jutaku* in Korea.[41]
>
> Japanese clothing is totally open and fit for hot summers. [However,] Korean clothes are made for enduring winters, and both the wrist-length sleeves and the skirts are all closed to protect against the harsh cold. By the same token, Japanese and Korean *jutaku* are built to suit the same climatic conditions that influenced the clothing of each country. As for Japan, the summer wind is essential, so the entire *jutaku* is open to the outside; all the doors are entirely removed in summer. When the wind blows inside the *jutaku*, it is possible to stand the summer heat. However, in Korea, the architectural situations are quite the reverse: every part of the *jutaku* is closed to endure the cold winter—the windows are as small as possible, the ceilings are as low as possible, the rooms are as small as possible. In winter, since the temperature is very low everywhere, the *jutaku* windows are very small (if there are windows at all) and they have two or three screen layers. **[Figure 17]** (…) [In order to bear the severe winter cold], a convenient heating system called *ondol* was devised, and it is possible to warm up an entire *jutaku* with it. This heating system is not problematic in the Korean summer; it seems that it is difficult to use *ondol* in the summer because the outside temperature is

[41] Ibid., 11.

very high. However, the Korean air is dry, so it is easy to endure the heat without having the wind blow in from outside.[42]



[Figure 17] Sekino's detailed drawing of a series of layered screens in a Gyeongseong *jutaku* window; from Sekino Tadashi Collection, Material no.: 31030 310103038.

Geological differences between Japan and Korea (Discussions on earthquakes)

Sekino proceeded with his lecture by commenting on the geological differences between the two countries. He focused particularly on earthquakes, which had become a major scholarly interest at the time in Japan because of the Great Kanto earthquake of 1923. Sekino wrote:

> From a geological perspective, Japan is the most unfortunate country in the world. This is because Japan is a volcanic region as well as a seismically active one….So every 20, 30, 50 and 100 years, at least one destructive earthquake occurs in Japan….Korea is in the opposite condition; it is located in an area with few

[42] Ibid., 10.

> earthquakes, subject neither to volcanoes nor earthquakes. In this sense, Korea is very lucky.[43]

Regarding earthquakes in Korea, Sekino based his analysis on documentary records and historical evidence. In relating these details, he continuously compared Korean cases to Japanese ones:

> Throughout the past 198 years of the Joseon [dynasty] period, neither a big earthquake nor a small one has occurred even once.(…) So, I have researched what kinds of earthquakes have occurred in Korea. Seen from the Japanese perspective, there seem to have been no damaging earthquakes in Korea, not even one, unlike the ones occurred in Japan….There have been no injured people….Compared to the Japanese cases, the earthquakes in Korea are very minor. Also, it is important to note that the earthquakes in Korea are recorded in *Kanji* [Chinese characters], so they are described in a very hyperbolic way.[44]…The earthquakes in Korea are not severe….The intensity of the biggest one came nowhere near the severity of the Meiji 26 [1894 Meiji Tokyo earthquake] Tokyo earthquake. I think that the low intensity of these earthquakes is related to the geological conditions of Korea.(…) My knowledge of geology and earthquakes is very limited; however, if we look at the history of Korea, there are no records of earthquakes like the Japanese ones which severely injured people and animals.[45]

Sekino also referenced the relatively well-preserved Korean architecture from the previous dynasty periods in his argument that there had not been any damaging earthquakes in Korea:

> The same research conclusion can be drawn if you look at the old architecture in Korea….In Korea, there haven't been any earthquakes to destroy the many stone

[43] Ibid., 11.

[44] The use of Chinese characters underlines the extraordinariness of an earthquake in Korea.

[45] Sekino, "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku," 15-16.

> pagodas from the Three Kingdoms and the Shilla and other later periods. They have been in a very unstable structural condition since ancient times. (Among these, some have been damaged not by earthquakes, but by grave robbers intent on stealing the treasures kept inside them.)[46]

On the use of architectural materials for Japanese architecture

Sekino identified the primary reason for using wood in Japanese traditional architecture as its natural and climatic conditions. As his discussion progressed, he placed more emphasis on the frequent earthquakes in Japan:

> Wood is the traditional material of Japanese architecture. The first reason is that wood is very common in Japan. The second reason is the climate—the hot summer temperatures in Japan need a sort of open architecture. In this case, wood is the most appropriate material. For these two reasons, architecture using wood has been developed in Japan.(…) One more reason is the need to build earthquake-proof architecture. Now, there are some newly developed earthquake-proof materials such as steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete that were not available some 20–30 years ago. Without access to these newly developed earthquake-proof materials, in the past, when constructing buildings, only wood, stone and brick were used and no other materials existed. Of these, wood was the most appropriate material for earthquake resistance.[47]

Sekino also criticized Western building materials, especially brick and stone, since they are too inflexible to withstand earthquakes. He said that they should be avoided in building architecture in Japan:

[46] Ibid., 16.

[47] Ibid., 11.

> After brick structures had been gradually growing in popularity during the Meiji era for 25–6 years, the 1894 earthquake occurred in [Tokyo]. Most of them either collapsed or were damaged.[48] In the earthquake that happened last year [1923], the brick structures were totally destroyed.(…) Brick is not fit for earthquake-resistance. And, stone is less suited than brick to resisting earthquakes. There is no pure stone architecture in Tokyo…. So, of the widely known architectural materials, brick and stone are not appropriate; only wood endures earthquakes relatively well.[49]

Here, Sekino also suggested materials for future Japanese architecture. He pointed out that wood is still weak when it comes to withstanding fire, so he concluded that, to survive both earthquakes and fires, the new materials developed through modern technology, such as steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete, were the most appropriate for Japanese urban architecture for the present and the future. He wrote:

> Since wood structures are generally built with a huge amount of effort and take many factors into consideration, they easily withstand earthquakes. However, they are very weak when it comes to fires. In the earthquake that occurred last year [1923], because of the accompanying fires affecting the collapsed buildings, we witnessed extremely devastating conditions. The susceptibility of wood to fire is a huge flaw when it comes to using it as a material in urban architecture, which must be able to withstand both earthquakes and fires.(…) So, for these reasons, I have come to believe that steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete are the most suitable building materials for Japanese architecture. I think that future urban architecture in Japan should make use of both of these materials,

[48] Ibid., 13.

[49] Ibid., 12.

> and when they are used, their ability to withstand earthquakes and fires should be calculated.[50]

On the use of architectural materials and styles for Korean architecture

In contrast to the importance of taking earthquake-resistant architecture into consideration in Japan, Sekino argued that it was unnecessary in Korea, given the country's geological conditions. Moreover, he expressed his ideas concerning economic standards in constructing architecture here. Sekino wrote:

> Compared to Japan, there are no severely damaging earthquakes in Korea. So, architects don't need to take earthquake resistance into consideration. After last year's big earthquake [1923] in Tokyo, there are a group of people who not only have become anxious about the possibility of a future disastrous earthquake in Korea, but who also think that earthquake-resistant architecture is needed in Korea. However, I think this is a huge mistake.(…) It is a big mistake to imitate the structures built in New York in Tokyo, and it is also a mistake to construct earthquake-resistant buildings in New York, which is uneconomical. By the same token, it is unnecessary to consider earthquake resistance in Korea, where only very minor earthquakes occur. In Korea, it is better to construct buildings as economically as possible.[51]

Regarding the materials for future Korean architecture, Sekino argued that wood is not appropriate. Rather, he suggested the use of brick, stone, steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete because they are economical, fire-resistant and heat-retaining. Sekino wrote:

[50] Ibid., 12.

[51] Ibid., 16-17.

> Given the cold [winter] climate in Korea, Korean architecture should be heat-insulating.(…) So, traditional Japanese wood architecture is not appropriate for Korea in the sense that it is only good for keeping cool. In Korean architecture, there is a need to thicken the walls. For future Korean architecture, Japanese-style wood architecture shouldn't be used; instead, brick, stone, steel-framed reinforced concrete and reinforced concrete structures should be used. For large-scale structures, I think that steel is the most appropriate architectural material in Korea. However, it should be cheap, accessible to the general public, fire-resistant and heat-retaining.[52]

Sekino suggested that in the future Korean architecture should incorporate Western and traditional Korean styles instead of Japanese characteristics. (Climate-wise, he categorizes Korea with China, Peking, Manchuria, Northern Chinese regions, America and even Europe.) By the same token, he also advocated the use of Korean and Western-style clothes in Korea. He wrote:

> From the climatic perspective, it is impossible to place Japanese and Korean *jutaku* in the same category. So, it is a big mistake to build Japanese-style *jutaku* in Korea. I have found that Japanese-style *jutaku* are built by Japanese immigrants living in Korea, and they also wear Japanese-style clothes all the time. I think that this is a huge mistake.[53] Seoul has the same summer climate as China, Peking, Manchuria and northern Chinese regions. America and Europe also have almost the same climate conditions.[54] It is acceptable to build Western-style architecture in Korea and there is no need to be concerned about it.[55] When it comes to a place where Korean climatic conditions dominate, Korean-style clothes (the ones that Korean people put on) and Western clothes are the most appropriate. In other words, it is necessary to wear something that suits the Korean climate, and for the

[52] Ibid., 17-18.

[53] Ibid., 11.

[54] Ibid., 9.

[55] Ibid., 17.

same reason, *jutaku* built in Korea should take the region's climate and soil into consideration.[56]

Intrinsic differences between Japanese and Korean architecture

Through the analyses detailed above, Sekino first came to the conclusion that Japanese and Korean architecture never blend in together. He wrote:

> If we compare Japanese and Korean architecture to one another, we can see both differences and similarities in them. However, what is most apparent is that they can never harmonize with one another.[57]

The uniqueness of Japanese architecture as compared to Western and Korean styles

Secondly, Sekino claimed that Japanese architecture is unique, especially in its use of wood. Originally, the Japanese intention of identifying its "uniqueness" at this time period was spurred by the effort to establish the (historical) superiority of Japan over the West and its Asian neighbors.[58] By the same token, Sekino said that wood is a more suitable building material than stone and brick in Japan, challenging Western concepts of general architectural materials when they are applied to the Japanese context. Sekino wrote:

> Among the civilized countries in the world, Japan is rare, being so affected by earthquakes. So in the business of architecture, earthquakes should be taken into

[56] Ibid., 11.

[57] Ibid., 8.

[58] Keiichi Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography: an intellectual history* (Tokyo: Kokon shoin, 2000), 74-75.

> consideration in every aspect of building. Before we started using steel structures and steel-framed reinforced concrete, there were enough reasons to use wood, a relatively earthquake-resistant material. I have heard from Westerners that wood structures are temporary, whereas brick and stone ones are permanent. However, in Japan, brick and stone are temporary, whereas wood has permanence. When it comes to fires, even wooden structures built 1,200 and 1,300 years ago, such as Yakushiji, Todaiji, Toshodaiji and Horyuji, and those ones built in each Japanese historical period, have been relatively well maintained. However, brick and stone structures [in Japan] have a life-span of only 20 to 30 years these days.[59]

Sekino continued to argue for the superiority of Japanese architecture over Western and Korean styles not only by indicating their weakness in withstanding earthquakes, but also analyzing their poor construction methods. He wrote:

> It was a big mistake to use structural calculations made in countries not subject to earthquakes in countries where a lot of earthquakes occur, such as Japan. In the earthquake that occurred last year [1923], most of the buildings constructed by Americans collapsed, except for the Imperial Hotel. However, the buildings by Japanese architects, who paid a lot of attention to earthquakes, survived with no damage.[60] I had a chance to look at the completely destroyed streets of Lens battlefield in France. After the war, all the buildings and walls were fixed with tuff and limestone mortar, which cannot be used in Japan because of their weakness. What was even worse was that the buildings with those materials were built up to five or six stories. In Japan, this kind of architecture totally collapsed two years ago because of the earthquake in Tokyo. Moreover, most of the relatively well-constructed brick and stone architecture, constructed 20 to 30 years ago, was also destroyed. If an earthquake with similar intensity occurred in London, Paris, Berlin or New York, the cities and the streets would be all

[59] Ibid., 14.

[60] Ibid.

> destroyed.(…) As everyone knows, traditional Korean architecture is very cheap and coarse. Generally, the walls are constructed by accumulating and binding rocks together. Moreover, constructing a two- or three-story brick structure with a single wall is a common method which the Japanese don't have the patience to imitate. However, there are no earthquakes in Korea, so these structures don't collapse.[61]

Towards a pan-Asiatic architecture: A future stylistic blend of Japanese and Korean architecture

Finally, the nationalistic intentions underlying Sekino's discussion of the architectural differences between Japanese and Korean building styles, as well as the uniqueness of Japanese architecture, are clearly reflected in his suggestion of creating a unique, harmonized pan-Asiatic architectural style (with oriental taste) along with a spiritual coalition of these two countries. At the end of his lecture, Sekino wrote:

> To summarize, from the naturalistic perspective, there are two fundamentally irreconcilable differences between Japan and Korea: one is a climatic issue and the other is a geological one. Because of these two issues, architectural plans and structures in the two countries have developed in different ways, adapted to each country's specific natural conditions. In imagining a future architectural style, it is important to consider the historical backgrounds of Japan and Korea as well as to research the surviving art and architecture of the two countries. In other words, it is necessary to understand *Toyo shumi* [Oriental taste] enough and to create unique and creative architectural styles that integrate the traditions of Japan and Korea, not to just copy the West. This is the hope of Korean architects. Structurally speaking, there are some physical limitations which prevent the harmony of Japan and Korea. However, psychologically, the situation is the reverse—it is possible to harmonize the two countries in the sense that they

[61] Ibid., 17.

confront the West together as brothers of Asia. By studying Japanese and Korean physical and psychological conditions, I suggest that we do our best to improve and develop the future of architecture.[62]

[62] Ibid., 18.

Conclusion

From the mid-1910s, Sekino started to focus on the fundamental differences between native Korean and Japanese *jutaku*, rather than continuously maintaining his previous position on the underdeveloped conditions of the former as he did in his 1904 writings on the subject. The change in Sekino's perspective becomes increasingly apparent in the two works "Chosen no jutaku kenchiku" [Joseon housing architecture] in *Jutaku kenchiku* [Housing architecture] and "Kikou oyobi chishitu yori mi taru nissen no kenchiku" [Japanese-Joseon architecture seen from the perspective of climate and geological features] in *Chosen to kenchiku* [Joseon and architecture], wherein the regionally developed Korean and Japanese *jutaku* and architectural styles are described.

In this context, Sekino's newly introduced ideas influenced by environmental determinism still reflect the complexity of Japan's interactions with the West starting from the mid-nineteenth century. Particularly around the 1910s, after achieving material and industrial modernization internally, winning several consecutive wars challenging the West (the First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895, and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905), and determined to be recognized as a strong modern nation by the West, Japan started to invent historical narratives that highlighted its "uniqueness" as compared to its Asian neighbors, based on its peculiar geographical and cultural conditions.[63] While prompting Sekino to identify the differences between Japanese and Korean *jutaku* and architecture, and suggest a different, more accommodating relationship between the

[63] Keiichi Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography: an intellectual history* (Tokyo: Kokon shoin, 2000), 74-75.; In the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 held in London, historical tableaux showing the uniqueness of Japan (the Japanese) were displayed. Tadashi Sekino (along with Chuta Ito) worked for the architectural display of the exhibition.

Korean traditions and Western modern architecture, these narratives became a theoretical foundation for the Japanese colonialist pan-Asiatic propaganda of the 1920s.[64]

[64] Eiji Oguma argued that, around the 1920s, Japan's interests had shifted from "blood" to "climate" and the propagation of the theory of multi-ethnicity (of the Japanese) superseded that of mixed ethnicity (of the Japanese). See Eiji Oguma, "From 'Blood' to 'Climate'" in *A genealogy of 'Japanese' self-images*, translated by David Askew (Melbourne: Trans Pacific Press, 2002), 260-284.

Chapter 4: Wajiro Kon's research on Korean *minka* [vernacular housing]

Wajiro Kon in Korea

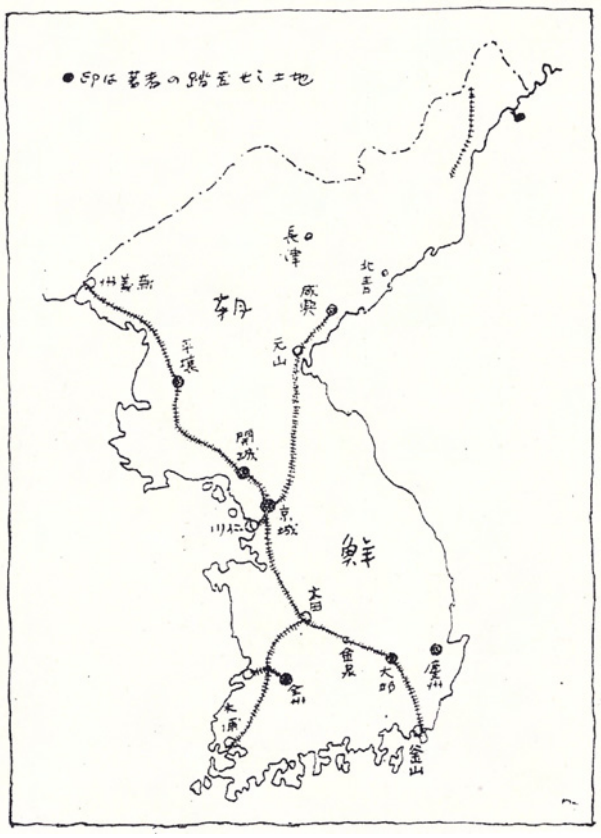
One fine day in September 1922, Wajiro Kon (1888-1973), **[Figure 1]** a professor at Waseda University, arrived in Busan and traveled to Gyeongseong (Seoul) by a fast train. From there, he started a research expedition to several major Korean cities to investigate Korean vernacular housing conditions: Pyongyang, Kaesong, Hamhung, Jeonju, Gimcheon, Daegu and Gyeongju and their surrounding villages.[1] **[Figure 2]** It is generally claimed that this was the first systematic government-sponsored architectural investigation focused solely on Korean *minka* by a Japanese architectural scholar. As I have suggested, this pioneering case was the result of a recommendation made by Michitoshi Odauchi (1875-?), Kon's close colleague from the department of human geography at Waseda University.[2] (Kon himself wrote that he became very interested in researching Korean *minka* by assisting Odauchi in his office.[3])

[1] Wajiro Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)" [Joseon vernacular housing (I)], *Kenchiku zasshi* 37, no. 445 (1923), 277.; Before the beginning of the Second World War, Kon had visited Korea four times in 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1944.

[2] Wajiro Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan" [Regarding the study related to Joseon vernacular housing], *Chosen to kenchiku* 1, no. 5 (1922): 2.

[3] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 277.

[Figure 1] Wajiro Kon in his Waseda university office; from Kogakuin daigaku, *Kon Wajiro saishu kogi*, 104.



[Figure 2] A map showing Kon's itinerary in Korea; from Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 280.

Because of the governmental backing of Kon's research mission, Kon was provided with significant resources and support, not only by the Japanese Government-General of Korea[4], but also by its regional offices spread over the entire peninsula. For example, when he visited Korean villages, he was always accompanied by Korean guides who served not only as Japanese-Korean translators but as personal secretaries, helping him make many kinds of preliminary arrangements, such as getting permission to visit individual houses and taking pictures of them on his behalf. Moreover, Kon's group used various means of transportation freely, such as cars, trains and even ships, depending on the geographical conditions of the regions visited.

The Japanese Government-General of Korea did not provide Kon with specific instructions, including research methodology, nor did it specify prospective outcomes,[5] which allowed him to carry out the mission freely based on his own personal interest in Korean *minka*. During his exploration of vernacular housing in many Korean cities and rural villages, Kon came into direct contact with ordinary Korean people from all social classes, including even slash-and-burn farmers and poor people. **[Figure 3]** In the process, Kon discovered the beauties and advantages of Korean vernacular housing and ways of living, which contrasted sharply with the preconceptions and imaginings that he had formed of them through his earlier research experiences with Japanese *minka*.[6]

[4] The Japanese Government-General of Korea is the Japanese occupation government established in the colonized Korea. Japan annexed Korea in 1910 and the colonial period ended in 1945.

[5] Seok-Young Choi, "Ilje ha Kon Wajiro ui joseonminga josabangbeobgwa insig" (A Study on Konwajiro's researching method into Chousen commoners houses and recognition of them under Japanese occupation of Chousen), *Salim* 35 (2010): 204.

[6] Originally, Kon was reluctant to research Korean *minka* because he had previously encountered many uncomfortable experiences while investigating Japanese *minka*. Finally, he had found himself enjoying Korean *minka* investigations. See Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 275.

[Figure 3] A picture showing an ordinary Korean man standing on the main entrance way of a middle-class *minka* in Pyongyang; from Wajiro Kon Collection (Kogakuin University Library, Tokyo, Japan).

Taking advantage of his natural talent for drawing, Kon recorded his personal impressions and findings by making very detailed free-hand sketches (he also took photographs) and writing down simple descriptive notes. In analyzing them, his early design education from Tokyo bijutsu gakko[7] (Tokyo School of Fine Arts, which he attended from 1907 to 1912) became very useful; that school had provided him with a comprehensive knowledge of and skills in architecture as well as in other fields of study, such as arts and crafts, art history, aesthetics, and even anthropology. As time passed, Kon gradually became fascinated by native Korean customs and culture.[8] On one occasion, specifically referring to traditional Korean costumes, he even

[7] Tokyo bijutsu gakko was established in 1887. Ernest Fenollosa and Kakuzo Okakura contributed to its foundation.

[8] For more on Kon's personal impressions, see Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 276.

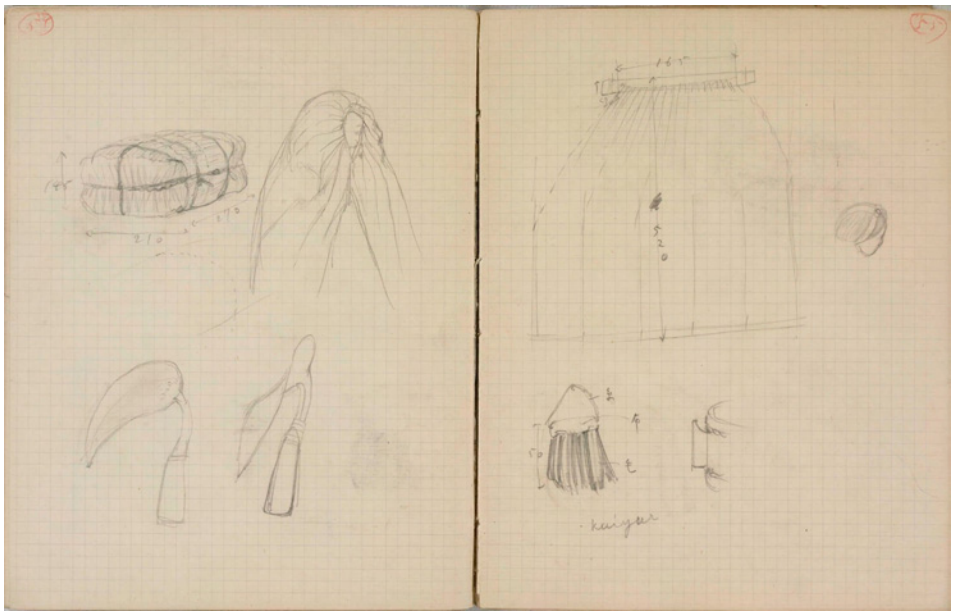
marveled that "Korea shows an ideal condition in contrast to what is found in Japan now."[9] **[Figure 4]** On the other hand, he also felt sorry for the Westernization that Korean society was experiencing in the unthinking importation of material culture from Japan; Kon continuously argued that Korea should protect its traditions by reducing its direct contact with Japan.[10] In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan" [Regarding the study related to Joseon vernacular housing], Kon wrote:

> In the early periods of Korean economic development, the gap between the rich and the poor was very small….Korea was still not materialistic and the life of the proletariat was easy and sound. Ordinary Korean people, along with the middle- and upper-class people, were content….However, through the growing contact with Japanese material culture, living and housing conditions are increasingly miserable, which is a growing problem in Korean society nowadays, especially in the [industrialized] slum districts.[11]

[9] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 3-4.

[10] See Ibid., 4-5.

[11] Ibid.



[Figure 4] Kon's analytical sketches on Korean traditional costume; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

After his tight one-month schedule, Kon went back to Japan and reported on the results of his research in various venues. He wrote two journal papers, gave one public lecture and compiled one governmental report: "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan" for *Chosen to kenchiku* in 1922; "Chosen no minka (I)" [Joseon vernacular housing (I)] for *Kenchiku zasshi* in 1923; "Minka to seikatsu" [Vernacular housing and living] for *Chosen to kenchiku* in 1924 (which is a summary of Kon's public lecture); and *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)* [Special report on the investigation of the settlements of Joseon: vol. 1 (vernacular housing)] for the Japanese Government-General of Korea in 1924.

The tradition of human geography in Japan

To understand the details of Kon's unique approach, it is first necessary to examine the development of the tradition of Japanese human geography. Originally, deterministic

environmental ideas were not included in the geographical writings produced in the early years of the Meiji period (1868–1912), except for some naive assertions such as Japan's potential of becoming a civilized nation because of its mild climatic conditions like those of Western countries.[12] For example, one of the most important Meiji idealists, Yukichi Fukuzawa (1835–1901), who participated in many *shogunate* missions to the West, wrote a number of books on geography, including school textbooks on economics, politics and history, published around the late nineteenth century.[13] He is also regarded as "a pioneer of modern Japanese geography".[14] However, he never expressed an environmentally deterministic position in his writings; instead, he simply described some of the geographical features of the Western countries he had visited.[15] Fukuzawa's primary intention was to arouse a nationalistic sentiment to mobilize the Japanese to catch up with the West by following what was imagined to be the uni-linear historical path of progress that the advanced Western countries had taken.[16]

Meanwhile, as rapid government-led materialistic modernization brought great changes to every corner of Japanese society, the Meiji intellectuals charged with fostering a nationalistic spirit started to idealize the peculiar geographical location of Japan.[17] In particular they thought that Japan, endowed with the similar environmental (i.e. oceanic) conditions as Great Britain, had likewise a great potential to become one of the most powerful nations in the world. This

[12] Keiichi Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography: an intellectual history* (Tokyo: Kokon shoin, 2000), 21.

[13] Ibid., 7.

[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid., 21.

[17] Ibid., 9.; Andre Schmid made a similar argument on the irony of the universalized claim for particularity to nationhood. See Andre Schmid, *Korea between empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 5.

nationalist sentiment led to the political alliance between Japan and Great Britain in 1902 (the Anglo-Japanese Treaty of Alliance) and to the hosting of the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. In this regard, Japan developed a rhetoric around the customs and culture of the Japanese people as being unique and homogeneous, superior to their Asian neighbors.[18] By the same token, it also took advantage of this newly invented Japanese identity to support Japanese imperial intentions in Asia. Political and historical theories were created to support (or to oppose) Japan's imperial expansions into Asia in this time period. Conversely, Japan felt severely threatened as it witnessed the West's growing power in Asia. Embracing environmental determinism in Japanese geographical studies was therefore fundamentally intended to evoke the "sentiments of national self-identification" and "patriotism" in the late Meiji period.[19]

The use of geographical characteristics to define human living conditions was born out of nineteenth-century Western academia and imported into Japan, modified to take into account specific Japanese geographical characteristics.[20] Around the end of the nineteenth century, this methodology of human geography became very popular in social and humanistic studies in Japan.[21] However, geographical studies were still part of other disciplines at that time: "In the Higher Normal schools, geography was strictly tied in with history and taught generally as a complementary subject of history."[22] Eventually, geography professorships in Japan were

[18] Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography*, 74-75.

[19] Ibid., 22.

[20] Ibid., 123.

[21] Ibid., 10.

[22] Ibid., 17.

established in public institutions; first at Kyoto Imperial University's faculty of literature in 1907, and second at Tokyo Imperial University's faculty of science in 1919.[23]

As a matter of fact, the tradition of Japanese human geography as an independent field of study actually started to unfold outside public institutions when localist consciousness emerged in Japan around the end of the nineteenth century.[24] The drastic social and economic imbalances developing between "the city and the village" (i.e. "advanced western Japan and backward eastern Japan") were most apparent in the unprecedented capitalistic and industrial achievements in Japanese cities, which actually aggravated the problems faced by impoverished rural communities, such as unemployment and the "parasitic landownership system."[25] Given these pressures, many scholars specialized in agricultural economics and folklore, staying outside of the mainstream of geographical studies, which focused on the structural problems of modern Japanese society.[26]

Criticizing the extreme Westernization of Japan, such scholars were regarded as not only nativists but also social reformists with their special efforts to rejuvenate devastated rural areas. In particular, they tried to identify distinctive Japanese local characteristics by seriously studying "folklore, rural sociology and local history".[27] In doing so, they developed a unique perspective of looking closely at the inter-related connections between the territory and the humans living on

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 22.

[25] Ibid., 13-14.

[26] Ibid., 13.; The Tokyo Geographical Society, modeled after the Royal Geographical Society in London, was established in 1879 and contributed to the circulation of Western geographical knowledge in Japan (Ibid., 55.).

[27] Ibid., 14.

it, which was entirely different from that of orthodox scholars who simply carried out positivistic regional surveys.[28]

There were two leaders of this new research trend: the agronomist Inazo Nitobe (1862–1933) and the ethnologist Kunio Yanagita (1875–1962). At the beginning of the twentieth century, they separately formed a number of local study groups and hosted seminars and workshops to understand peasant lives and rural customs.[29] They carried out a great number of field studies on rural districts in Japan. In 1910, they united to form a research group called Jikata-kenkyu and held regular meetings at Nitobe's home.[30] Many independent scholars with various academic backgrounds were involved in the group's activities, and they were all interested in identifying "Japan's distinctive national character."[31] Among the participants, Odauchi and Kon focused more on architectural issues than the others, and together they seriously studied Japanese village settlements and Japanese *minka*, which had never been studied by mainstream Japanese geographers. [32]

The meetings of the Jikata-kenkyu group lasted until Nitobe left for a long visit to Europe in 1918.[33] After the dissolution of the group, each member developed his own career path with a specialized individual focus. Yanagita played a key role in the development of later Japanese folklore movements. Odauchi and Kon were hired consecutively by the Japanese Government-

[28] Ibid., 16-7. and Tae-Woong Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa" (Odauchi Michitoshi's Perception of Choson Rule and 'Choson Buraku Chyousa' under the Japanese Imperial Rule), *Hangugsayeongu* 151 (2010): 314.

[29] Especially, Yanagita initiated the research groups called Kyodokai and Hakubokai.

[30] Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography*, 15 and 27.; Jikata-kenkyu literally means research of local things.

[31] Ibid., 28.

[32] Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa," 316.

[33] Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography*, 15.

General of Korea to investigate rural Korean village settlements and Korean *minka* in the early 1920s and, from the 1930s, they were continuously involved in colonial cultural movements.

The historical background of Korean *buraku* [village] and *minka* investigations and the development of the tradition of Japanese human geography in Korea

With the outbreak of the March 1 Korean Independence Movement in 1919, the Japanese Government realized the failure of its coercive colonial assimilation policies based on military power, so-called military rule (1910–1919)[34], and it started to revise them by giving more consideration to the microscopic realities of Korean native social conventions and systems.[35] In this instance, the Japanese Government-General of Korea first hired a Japanese sociologist, Jijun Murayama (1891–1968), to review its perfunctory research plan to investigate old Korean customs and conventions and to come up with a more practical five-year research plan.[36] The new plan initially included fifteen categories, but after ten internal amendments this had become twenty-five by July 1921.[37]

Given the growing importance of village control to prevent future Korean anti-colonial movements from occurring, in August 1920, the Japanese Government-General of Korea hired

[34] There had been three different periods in Japan's colonization of the Korean peninsula since the annexation. The first period, in the 1910s, fostered military rule, the second, in the 1920s, cultural rule, and the third, in the 1930s and 1940s, total mobilization.

[35] See Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa," 320-321. and Hyon Su Bak, "Ilje ui sigminji josa giguwa josaja" (Japanese Colonialism and the Organization for Socio-cultural survey), *Jeongsinmunhwa yeongu* 72 (1998): 18-19.

[36] Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa," 322.

[37] Bak, "Ilje ui sigminji josa giguwa josaja," 18-19.; Among the 25 research categories, the major ones include clothing, food, housing, occupation, ceremony, education, religion, medicine, art, play, farming and fishing (Ibid.,19-20.).

Odauchi as a temporary researcher to investigate Korean village settlements in order to understand the economic and social conditions of Korean residents, to take advantage of them for purposes of governance. [38] To ensure the success of this special pilot mission, they provided him with full support for a one-month research expedition.[39]

During his investigations, Odauchi specifically examined issues like family structure, economic and social factors, degrees of economic and social reformation, levels of autonomy and folklore in Korean villages, and he even covered the living conditions of Japanese and foreign people resident in Korea.[40] Even if he hadn't received any research directions from the Japanese Government-General of Korea, as was normal with other such projects during this time period,[41] Odauchi had a clear idea of analyzing these unique characteristics by taking geographical concepts, such as topography and climate, into consideration. His research stance on Korea is clearly described in the first page of his final governmental report, *Chosen buraku chosa yosatsu hokoku. dai 1-satsu* [Preliminary report on the investigation of the settlements of Joseon. vol. 1], published by the Japanese Government-General of Korea in 1923. Odauchi wrote:

> In every country, when a group of people reside in a specific region, the natural conditions of the land, such as topography and climate, influence not only the survival of villages, but the lives and works of the residents. The sphere of their living activities is limited to the surrounding areas.[42]

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[38] Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa," 323.

[39] Ibid., 328.

[40] Michitoshi Odauchi, *Chosen buraku chosa yosatsu hokoku. dai 1-satsu* [Preliminary report on the investigation of the settlements of Joseon. vol. 1] (Keijo: Chosen sotokufu, 1923), 82.

[41] Kim, "Iljegangjeomgi Odauchi Michitoshi ui joseontongchi insiggwa joseonbulagjosa," 310-311.

[42] Odauchi, *Chosen buraku chosa yosatsu hokoku*, 1.

However, to investigate Korean *minka*, Odauchi suggested that the Japanese Government-General of Korea employ Kon, with whom he had maintained a close relationship for many years. They had carried out collaborative field research on Japanese *minka* multiple times since 1917 as part of the activities of Hakubokai,[43] so it is very likely that they shared a common environmentally deterministic perspective in understanding the origins and the developments of Japanese *minka*. Eventually, Kon took advantage of his past experiences to explore how Korean *minka* developed in response to various geographical and cultural factors. In his first publication on Korean *minka*, "Minka to seikatsu" [Vernacular housing and living] in *Chosen to kenchiku*, Kon wrote:

> When seeing and researching Korean *minka* by walking around many areas, the [first] idea that always comes to my mind is that the way of devising plans and building structures has something to do with the geographical characteristics of the regions. In this sense, the *minka* built in mountain areas are different from the ones on the plains. One more thing is that the lands have received multiple cultural influences since old times. So, the cultural history of an area can be understood by looking at the *minka* built in it.[44]

Kon also considered Korean *minka* as a direct reflection of the real lives of Korean people. **[Figure 5]** In other words, Kon had inferred the realities of Korean people's lives from the features of Korean *minka*. In the same article, he said: "When investigating Korean *minka*, there is a chance to look at people's daily lives inside of their homes…a *minka* is a sort of frame containing people's real lives within it."[45]

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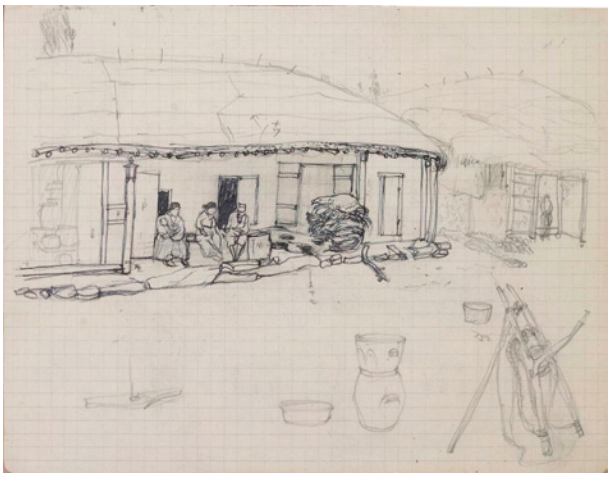
[43] Izumi Kuroishi said Kon joined Hakubokai as a research assistant. See Izumi Kuroishi, "Kon Wajiro: a quest for the architecture as a container of everyday life" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 92.

[44] Wajiro Kon, "Minka to seikatsu" [Vernacular housing and living], *Chosen to kenchiku* 3, no. 10 (1924): 2.

[45] Ibid., 2.



[Figure 5] A sketch of Korean *minka* portraying ordinary people's daily life; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

The ethnographical origins of Japanese *minka* and the criticism of contemporary architectural research trends

In his first publication on Korean *minka*, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," Kon clearly expresses his personal motivation for investigating Korea, which is to understand the origins of Japanese *minka* and temples.[46] He said: "the *minka* styles of the Japanese east-north area, Hokuriku area, Kansai area, Nara-Osaka area are different from each other. So by looking at Korean *minka*, I believe, I can understand the differences."[47]

Regardless of the political aims of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, it can be concluded that Korean *minka* were fundamentally discovered, analyzed and categorized (i.e. historicized) in relation to their Japanese counterparts. Actually, Kon documented many architectural similarities and differences between them throughout his research. Nevertheless, in

[46] Ibid., 3.

[47] Ibid.

pursuing this original aim, Kon also identified the distinctive architectural characteristics of Korean *minka*.

Kon's personal interest in finding the "origins" of Japanese *minka* was inspired by his exposure to folklore studies through the activities of the Jikata-kenkyu (through the influence of scholars like Yanagita). Meanwhile, the idea of looking for the historical origins of Japanese architecture as a way of historicizing old building practices through forms and styles, was still very popular in mainstream Japanese architectural circles at this time.

As opposed to the positivistic trend in archaeological research current at the time, which regarded only old architectural remains and relics as the artifacts of certain historical time periods, folklore studies gave Kon a new perspective, allowing him to see how these old artifacts were still part of people's daily activities and customs within specific geographical boundaries.[48] He thus readily came up with some questions on the ethnographical origins of Japanese *minka*, which, he thought, could possibly be answered by exploring Korea. Kon's unique understanding of historicity is seen in the introduction of his article "Chosen no minka (I)" in *Kenchiku zasshi* (1923), in which he compares the ethnographical approach to studying architectural history to the archaeological one:

> There are still many research fields which entice me to explore [architecture] from diverse directions. However, among them, folklore has appeared and become clear in my mind….According to Dr. Hamada, archaeology is about researching the artifacts of human beings from the past, and Takahashi Kenji says that archaeology is about studying remains, relics and ancient materials. Folklore (ethnography) can be defined as reflecting many characteristics of human geography. So, it is very useful in considering the origins and the evolutionary

[48] Kon wanted to see how the actual lives of Korean people had been developed from the past. See Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 277.

history of human beings (e.g. the common ancestor theory and the multiple ancestor theory), investigating the origins of mankind, and studying the causes and results of human migrations. Folklore is also the study of distinctive human living conditions and conventions driven by regional characteristics from the perspective of the present (see Standard Dictionary). So it is not only the study of the origins of contemporary human customs and conventions found in different regions, but also the imagining of the unexplained past time periods….Both archaeology and folklore are included in the field of anthropology in the broadest sense. [So far] architectural [historical] research hasn't taken folklore and ethnography into consideration. The current situation is that it cannot be separated from archaeology. [In this sense] architectural history [in the present time] is just about understanding ancient buildings by only looking at old relics and materials through the lens of a general historical research methodology….My ethnologist position is heretical to that of contemporary researchers, even if it includes some weak points and unconfirmed suppositions. The data and analyses compiled by archaeologists are very clear and well-organized, and they don't leave room for more questions. However, I believe a great number of unresolved issues still remain. Without merely being confined to the past, many ancient traditions are still practiced by people today. There must also be a [historical] cause for certain ethical and customary qualities [properties] found in the present time. Why does the *minka* in a specific region have a certain quality? There must be a geographical inevitability in the housing structure to which coincidental and radical changes are later made. [On the other hand] it is also possible that there has been a continuous influence coming from old *minka* traditions. By acknowledging the indivisible connection between the present and the past, ethnologist carry out serious analytical investigations possible in the present time. Meanwhile, they understand the fact that old traditions are very difficult to decipher, so, when confronting them, they trust the interpretations of archaeologists. However, folklorists also appreciate old research materials containing certain geographical properties preserved in the present time….In this sense, ethnology is not so much archaeology as anthropology, and it requires vast

> human imagination and creativity. There is a danger in folklore studies, however, as they are expected to produce certain discoveries impossible to achieve in archeology.[49]

In addition, Kon's ethnologist stance allowed him to examine small-scale architectural elements--architectural ornaments and living tools--displaying human emotions and imagination.

The position of Japanese and Korean *minka* in the world context[50]

To meet his original intentions, Kon came up with a set of categories of *minka* from all over the world, and used them to explain the architectural qualities of both Korean and Japanese *minka*. Above all, he argued that existing *minka* from all over the world are made up from various environmental influences determined by topographical, climatic, moral and material differences between the East and the West.[51] Given this premise, Kon classifies world *minka* into two main categories: cultural-historical and geographical. In his analysis, the former consists of two different area groups: the old culture area, located around western Russia (western Europe) and including India, China, Korea, and Japan in the east, and the new culture area, which extends from northern Europe to America and includes the recently imported housing style in Japan.[52] Kon analyzed the architectural differences between the old culture area and new culture area in

[49] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 273-274.

[50] I want to highlight that Kon was interested in putting Japan and Korea in the geographical context of *toyo* [the East] that Kakuzo Okakura previously imagined. From 1907 to 1912, Kon attended Tokyo bijutsu gakko (Tokyo School of Fine Arts) which Okakura helped establish. For more on the concept of *toyo*, see Stefan Tanaka, *Japan's Orient* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), 34.

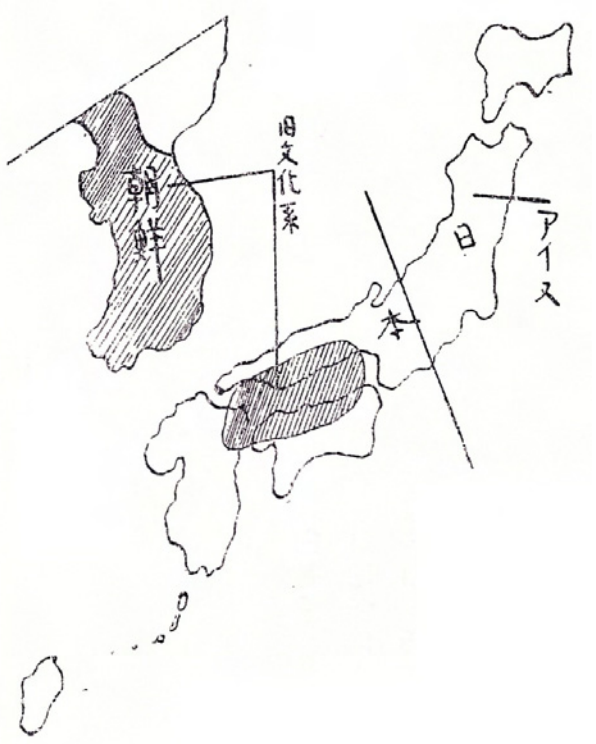
[51] Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 3.

[52] Ibid., 6.

detail, focusing specifically on each dwelling quality in its own right. In "Minka to seikatsu," he wrote:

> the *minka* in the general villages of old culture areas are built in dense clusters, so each *minka* is planned to catch natural sunlight in a central courtyard, which distributes it to the surrounding rooms [spaces]. They also have a strong outer surrounding wall [like a castle wall] with a small number of windows that allow [minimal] views of the outside. This type of *minka* was also built in ancient Egypt, Rome, and Greece, and is still found today in southern Europe. The *minka* characteristics of the new culture area were developed by nomadic people and they came up a *minka* suited to an isolated lifestyle. By being scattered sporadically [rather than collectively] on an open field without clear site boundaries, it has room-like characteristics and rarely features spatial extensions. Influenced by the history of the *minka* developments of Germanic peoples, the countries in northern Europe often constructed this type of *minka*, which spread geographically from Germany to France via England. The old culture area type of *minka* features an unblocked view from the surrounding rooms to the central courtyard. On the other hand, there is no courtyard in the case of the new culture area, so the windows open onto the exterior. The site boundaries and the *minka* limits intimately influence each other in an old culture area *minka*, whereas a new culture area *minka* is located in the middle of an open site so that the surrounding fence simply marks the boundaries of the site.[53]

[53] Ibid., 6-7.



[Figure 6] A map showing Korea and Japan included in old culture area; from Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 7.

According to Kon, Korean *minka* (except for those developed in the far-north regions[54]) and Japanese *minka* are generally included in old culture area together. This is particularly evident in the placement of rooms and windows around a courtyard, common to the two cultures.[55] **[Figure 6]** In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," he specifically wrote:

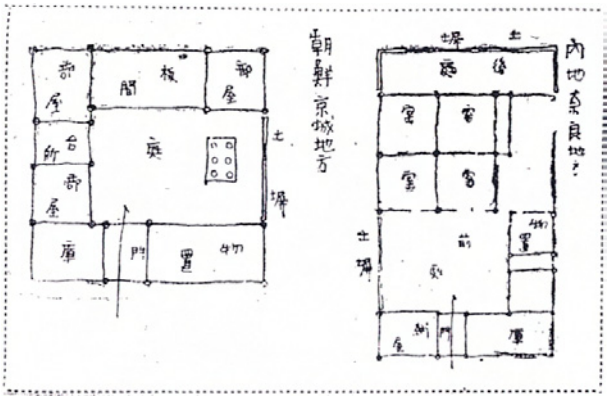
> Together with the way that windows are made, the site plans of the *minka* in the Nara, Osaka, Shikoku, Chugoku and Setonaikai regions are very similar to those found in Gyeongseong.[56] **[Figure 7]**

[54] Kon argued that Korean *minka* has characteristics of being included in the old culture area. However, the ones developed by nomadic people in the far north regions are included in the new culture area. See Ibid., 7.

[55] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 299.

[56] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 7.

Together with people from Chosen sotokufu [Japanese Government-General of Korea], I investigated [Korean *minka*] in Kaesong. Specifically I selected traditional *minka* owned by people with diverse occupations and scrutinized the windows and the structure of the *minka*. I had a feeling that Japanese *machiya* from the Nara, Heian and Asuka periods were developed from them. (I was very delighted to find this.) (…) the central courtyard present in Kaesong *minka* is very similar to those in Japanese *machiya* and it is also found in the *minka* of Greece, Rome and Egypt. I don't have enough knowledge about China, but I think the Chinese also have the same way of placing a courtyard in the center of a *minka*, with the rooms arranged around it.[57]



[Figure 7] A comparison of a Korean *minka* in Gyeongseong (left) with a Japanese one in Nara (right); from Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 5.

On the other hand, given the more specific topographic and climatic influences, Kon argues that Korean *minka* also developed differently from the Japanese. To support this theory, he suggests another set of categories for world *minka* (the second geographical category) consisting of four different terrains: "mountainous," "oceanic," "desert" and "cold." Kon elaborated on this theme in both "Chosen no minka (I)" and "Minka to seikatsu":

[57] Ibid., 8.

> [the] desert area starts in north-east Africa and continues to Mongolia and even to the end of Manchuria. These regions lie in one [straight] continuous line going to the East. The *minka* on this line have entirely the same architectural qualities.(…) heading south from Japan, beyond the islands in the South Sea, there is an area subject to heavy rainfall and many rows of houses have the same architectural shape here. I call this region the oceanic area.(…) in the north, the areas between Siberia and Alaska and across the north tip of America beyond Greenland, there is a set of common architectural characteristics. I call these regions cold areas.(…) here and there, high mountain areas exist in every part of the world, and a common type of *minka* is often found in these regions.[58]

Kon concludes that Korean *minka*, especially those found in the far northern regions, have characteristics belonging to both the cold area and the desert area,[59] whereas Japanese *minka* are adapted to oceanic areas. On another occasion, Kon wrote that, given Korea's climate and the lifestyle of its people, Korean *minka* are very continental.[60] He also identified architectural differences among Korean *minka*, which developed from the efficient traditional floor heating system common in the northern provinces of Korea. **[Figure 8]** In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," Kon wrote:

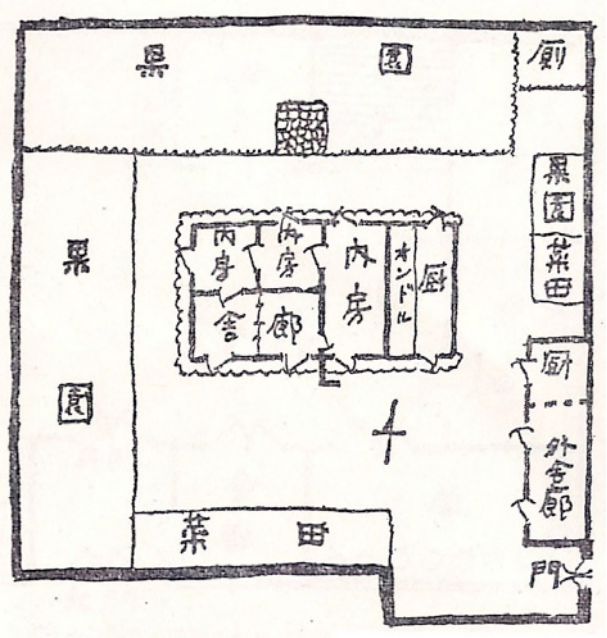
> The methods of *minka* construction in Korea's northern regions are different from the ones found in the southern provinces. (Although I haven't visited the southern areas, yet.) There is little difference in *minka* floor plans in Gyeongseong as compared to those of the [adjacent] northern areas. However, the way of planning

[58] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 298-299. and Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 6.

[59] Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 6.

[60] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 301.

rooms in the areas near Hamhung [which is in the far north] is very different from that found in Gyeongseong.[61]



[Figure 8] A typical Korean *minka* in the northern provinces (Hamhung); from Kon, *Jukyoron*, 490.

Discovery of Korean traditional cities and *minka*

Traditional Korean cities

Kon pays careful attention to typical Korean topographical characteristics to explain the formation of the major Korean traditional major cities, such as Gyeongseong and Kaesong (capitals of former Korean dynasties), and Gimcheon (a provincial center). **[Figure 9]** Specifically, he analyzes how mountains, hills, rivers and creeks create distinctive conditions in urban Korean settlements, where a central district (with palaces) and the outskirts are woven through with a web of streets, along which the residential areas occupied by different social

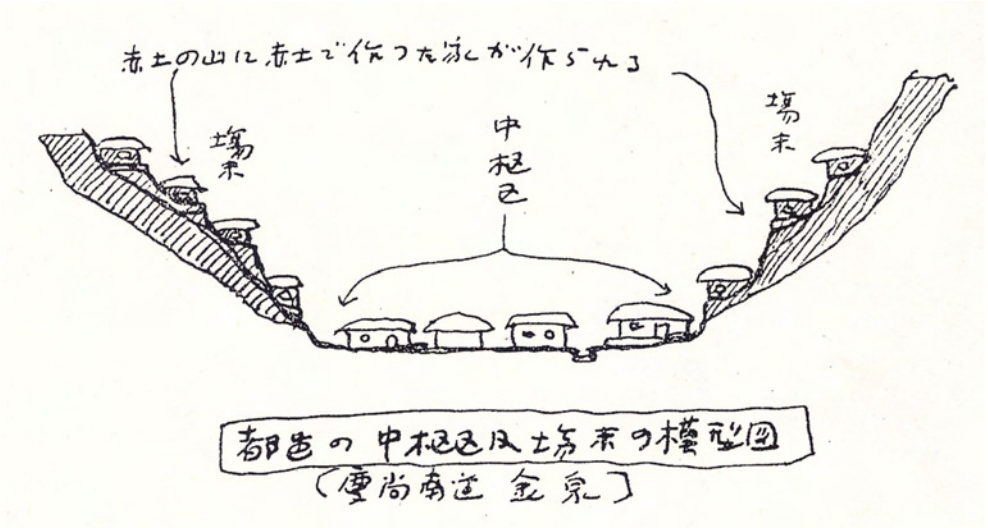
[61] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 6.

classes ranging from the lowest to the highest ground. **[Figure 10]** In "Chosen no minka (I)," Kon wrote:

> Since ancient times, major Korean cities and regional capitals have been constructed in sites surrounded by mountains. They have been also planned with surrounding outer walls, in the naturally superb areas chosen by divination. I think that U-shaped regions surrounded by high mountains are the most appropriate sites for building Korean cities.(…) Gyeongseong is located between Bukhansan and the Han River….Kaesong is surrounded by Songaksan [Mountain] and its foothills. The site of Kaesong was chosen by divination, and the [U-shaped] city is bordered by a gently flowing river called Ungyecheon. I think that the [natural] conditions of one of Korea's regional capitals, Gimcheon, are the same as those of the above-mentioned cities….And Gimcheon has many characteristics very different from the peculiarities of modern cities. So, regarding traditional Korean cities, the following explanations are possible. The U-shaped downtown district with its crisscrossing streets is placed at the center of the entire civic area, where old palaces and major buildings were built among the foothills; not only do they have high mountains at their back, but they also look down over the lower districts of the area. The planned street-divisions also start from the palaces and gradually extend over the mountainsides, even to the mountain peaks. The city outskirts are located between the mountainsides and the peaks, and are home to stragglers and poor people.(…) It is possible to think that these facts are not common characteristics for general modern cities, but they are seen in many traditional Korean cities.[62]

[62] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 278-279.

[Figure 9] A sketch showing Korean typical landscape; from Wajiro Kon Collection.



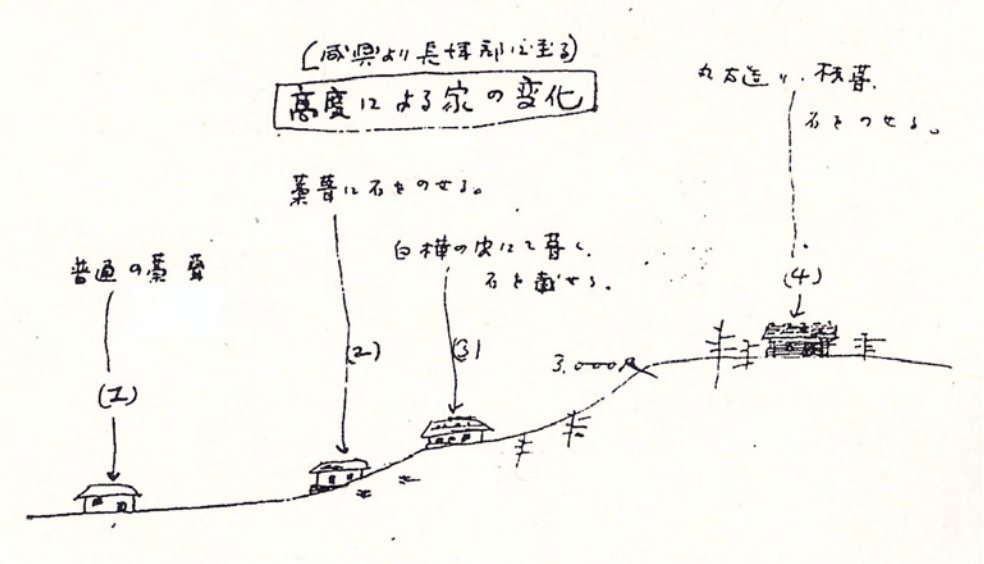
[Figure 10] A sketch showing a civic section of Gimcheon covering from the center to the peripheries; from Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 308.

Lower-class Korean *minka*

Writing about lower-class Korean *minka* located on the peripheries of cities, Kon observed the use of specific architectural materials in relation to altitudinal locations. He determined that the material changed from clay to rock to wood as altitude increases. Kon conjectured that wood was rarely used in Korean *minka* not only because of its natural scarcity in the region but because of

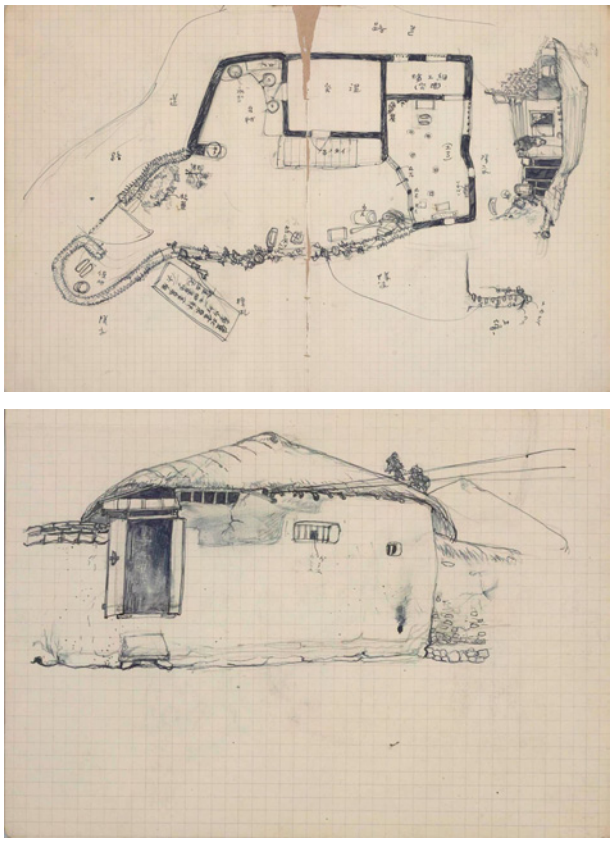
the reckless over consumption of it as fuel. **[Figure 11] [Figure 12] [Figure 13] [Figure 14]** In the same article, he wrote:

> Trees don't grow well in Korea. But the most important reason [for not seeing trees in Korea] is that people cut trees recklessly. I have seen many people cutting down little pine trees…so trees don't have a chance to grow big in Korea. Most of Korean mountains are bald so there is no place to grow wood in Korea. There are no trees in the plains, either….Because of the difficulty of finding wood in Korea, poor people use clay to make their *minka*.[63]

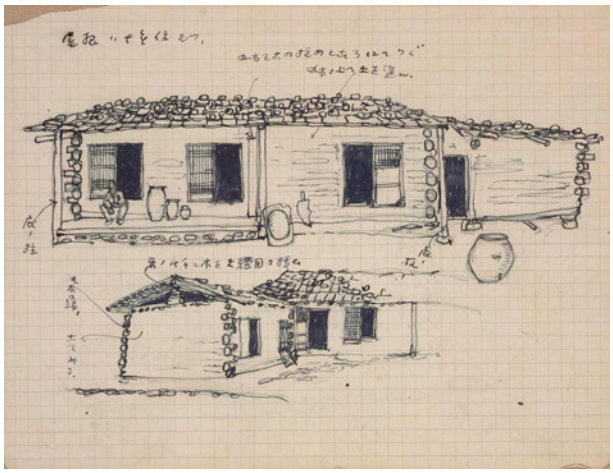


[Figure 11] A sketch showing use of a specific architectural material (clay, rock and wood) for Korean low-class *minka* in relation to its altitudinal location; from Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 306.

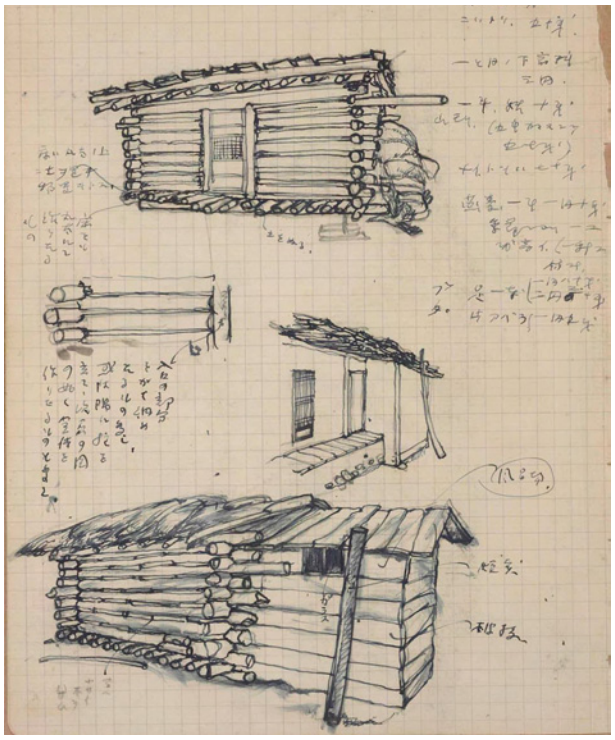
[63] Ibid., 301.



[Figure 12] Sketches of Korean low-class *minka* built with clay and straw in Gimcheon; from Wajiro Kon Collection.



[Figure 13] Sketches of Korean low-class *minka* with the roof compressed with rocks; from Wajiro Kon Collection.



[Figure 14] Sketches showing Korean low-class *minka* built with logs; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

It is important to point out that in contrast to the contemporary Japanese criticism of the architectural conditions of lower-class Korean *minka*, Kon recognized their superb dwelling qualities, especially given their location on higher ground. He appreciated qualities such as cleanliness, good views, pleasure of living and even the residents' kind manners in such lower-class Korean *minka,* and contrasts them with the poor living conditions evident in typical lower-class dwelling in low-lying industrial areas (slums). **[Figure 15] [Figure 16]** In "Chosen no minka (I)," he wrote:

> outsiders and travelers express their impressions of lower-class Korean *minka* by calling them "pig houses." As though the lives and manners of people who live in these small dwellings show stupid spirit.[64]
>
> normally, slums sit on swampy, low-lying ground near factories and industrial areas…so they are situated in the middle of dirty environments, witnessing the world's material culture through the collected garbage of urban dwellers. Generally, slums have dirty and unhealthy dwelling conditions. However, Korean slums sit on higher ground, so their sewage flows into central districts where middle- and upper-class people reside. Every lower-class Korean *minka* is like a villa and it has very good views. They also have a real healthy beauty and a view of scenery that provides enjoyment and feeds the imagination. As written previously, Korean slums don't inspire uncomfortable feelings.[65]

On another occasion, he wrote:

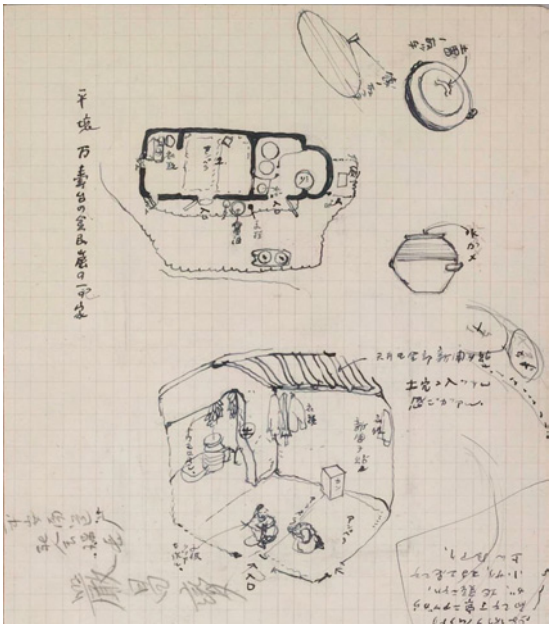
> The people living in Korean slums don't use any defiant gestures, as the Japanese people do. Even if Korean slums appear to be sites of anxiety and discomfort, they still maintain a very bright [interior] atmosphere.[66]

[64] Ibid., 278.

[65] Ibid., 289.

[66] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 4.

[Figure 15] A picture showing a well-arranged Korean low-class *minka* district in Kaesong; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

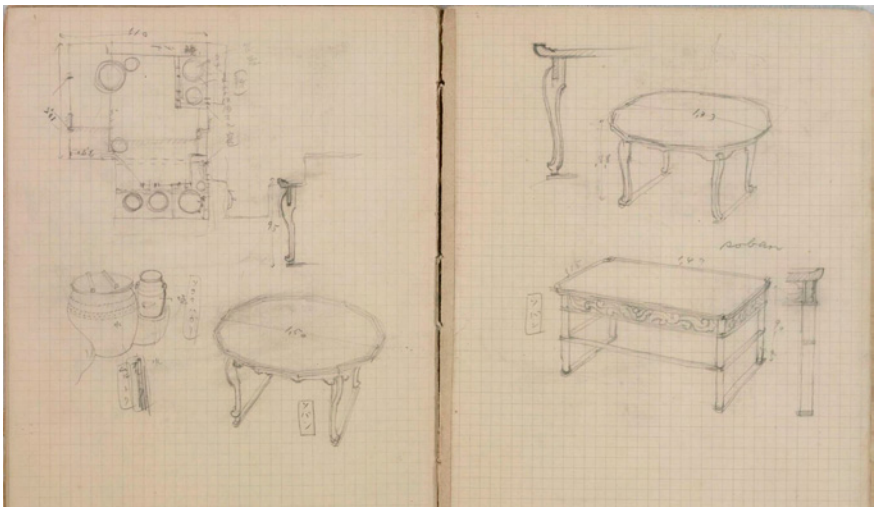


[Figure 16] Sketches showing clean and neat interior conditions of Korean low-class *minka*; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

Middle- and upper-class Korean *minka*

To understand the distinctive architectural qualities of middle- and upper-class Korean *minka*, Kon considered not only traditional Korean social conventions, such as the strict separation of men from women and of outsiders from insiders,[67] but also observed the everyday activities and lifestyles of Korean people, such as work and even methods of storing and displaying daily supplies, decorative ornaments and artwork. In this context, Kon expanded the contemporary understandings of the realm of architecture by including small interior (household) items and artifacts that reflect human imagination and creativity. **[Figure 17] [Figure 18] [Figure 19]** In "Chosen no minka (I)," Kon wrote:

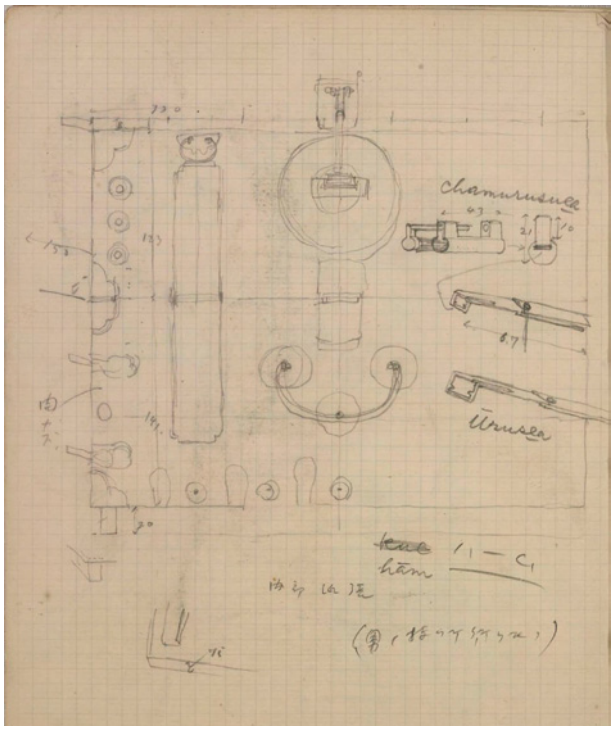
> there are many decorative objects inside and outside the *minka*, and they [the artifacts and the house] become one art piece together. In the middle of the room, it is possible for guests to see and enjoy the artworks appreciated by the *minka*'s owner. They sit and enjoy them together. Korean art reflects a solitary and delicate beauty.[68]



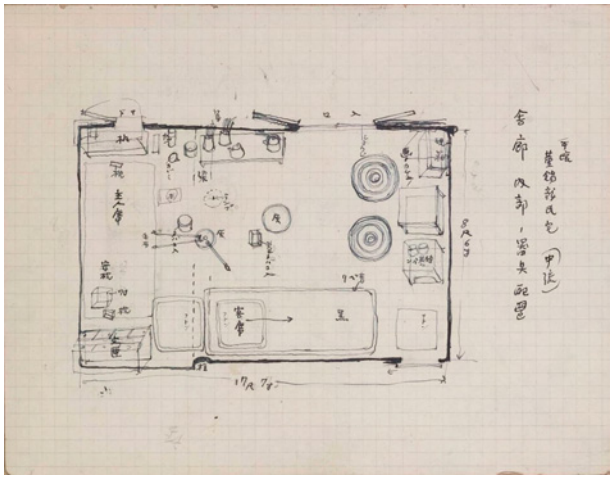
[Figure 17] Sketches of house-hold items; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

[67] See Ibid., 11.

[68] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 278.



[Figure 18] A sketch of a Korean traditional cabinet lock; from Wajiro Kon Collection.



[Figure 19] Sketches of interior household items in Korean middle-class *minka*; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

It is also interesting to note here that Kon's descriptive analyses are very experiential in quality. They express his personal impressions of the everyday lives of Korean people and their dwelling environments.[69] In the same article, he wrote:

> the most important responsibility for [middle-class] Korean housewives is to cook meals and wash clothes. The time spent on laundry in particular is very long. Everyone who travels to Korea thinks that Korean clothes [for both women and men] are very white, like cranes and herons. Also, being visibly dirty is very dishonorable, and is often criticized in Korea. In the daytime, the women gather by sandy streams and with almost martial discipline they carry out their daily ritual of cleaning their family's clothes. At night, they work at home by folding cloth. The sound of it creates a beautiful atmosphere in the surrounding area. Korean housewives appear to live in silence, hiding themselves from the outside world and spending their days living in the small rooms of pig houses hung with beautiful oil-paper and equipped with warm stone floors [*ondol*].[70]

In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," Kon also talked about middle-class Korean housewives' rooms:

> So the housewife's room in a [middle-class] Korean *minka* doesn't face the south; instead it is attached to the kitchen planned in the north. The housewife's room is totally invisible to the eyes of guests and outsiders.[71] **[Figure 20]**

Kon reveals his constant fascination with Korean middle-class *minka* in "Chosen no minka (I)":

> I saw many [middle-class] Korean *minka* by walking around [the selected Korean villages]. When I saw inside one for the first time, I realized that it was very

[69] Izumi Kuroishi noted this with reference to the influence of the philosophies of Dewey and Husserl on Kon. See Kuroishi, "Kon Wajiro: a quest for the architecture as a container of everyday life," 144-145.

[70] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 278.

[71] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 6-7.

> charming and neatly organized. And it also had very beautiful [architectural] characteristics. My first impressions of Korean *minka* lasted till the end…the clean interior conditions were achieved by the use of *ondol*…the custom of keeping clean was also seen in people's [clean] clothes. It was really surprising.[72]

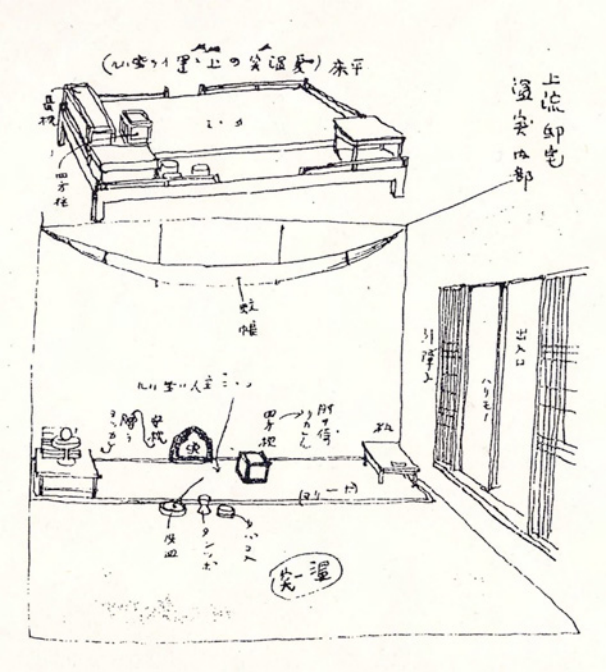
Regarding upper-class Korean *minka*, Kon said the following in the same article:

> The lives of upper-class Korean people, as seen in traditional Korean arts, have a sort of solitary and sensitive beauty. They are also a source of pride. Upper-class Koreans try to serve their guests without making any mistakes, and this is found in every aspect of their daily activities. One might say that decorative beauty gives elegance to their lives. And their *minka* have the same quality.[73]**[Figure 21]**

[Figure 20] A picture showing a housewife in the courtyard of a Korean middle-class *minka*; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

[72] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 278.

[73] Ibid., 277.



[Figure 21] A sketch of an interior of Korean upper-class *minka*; from Kon "Chosen no minka(I)," 284.

Finally, to highlight the unique *minka* that upper-class Korean people developed in relation to their peculiar living customs, Kon compared these *minka* to Japanese villas from various historical periods, such as the Japanese *bakufu* [feudal] and dynastic eras. Additionally, his original intention to understand Japanese *minka* through their Korean counterparts is still reflected in this instance. In "Chosen no minka (I)" Kon wrote:

> Compared to Japanese villas, upper-class Korean villas have no storage space. All of a family's possessions, such as paintings, flowers and even household items, are visibly displayed in the rooms, or hung on the walls. More surprising is that paintings drawn by famous people are also displayed on the walls. Using them to satisfy the extravagant appetites of upper-class people is very strange. These characteristics are not found in upper-class Japanese villas from the *bakufu* periods [the Japanese feudal eras], when people criticized the indulgence of Korean style as very feminine. So, it can be concluded that the lives of upper-

class Korean people are in some ways similar to those of the Japanese during the dynasty periods. Upper-class Korean villas are not antique and they are made solely for enjoying pure decoration. They also have an [unique] atmosphere like the one found in an interesting dream world. Upper-class Korean villas have undergone a series of bad situations, such as being plundered by thoughtless collectors. [However], without being tied to the custom of abstinence, they still keep many pleasant things inside. [In other words] they show the real lives of upper-class Korean people who dwell in beautiful *minka* standing in their own self-contained spaces.[74]

[74] Ibid., 277-278.

Conclusion

Around the beginning of the 1920s, there emerged a new interest in Korean *minka*, influenced by the academic discipline of Japanese human geography. This interest was first actualized by the Japanese architect Wajiro Kon. As opposed to the contemporary positivistic research methodology in mainstream Japanese architectural circles, which focused on analyzing physical and stylistic architectural characteristics from a purely scientific viewpoint, Kon had a different set of interests and looked at the intimate relationship between the distinctive daily activities of Korean people, their uniqueness and specificity (i.e. Korean people's lifestyles), and their housing conditions, fully taking the environmental (i.e. geographical and cultural-historical) characteristics of Korean provinces into consideration.

Given the few Japanese studies on Korean *minka* published before the 1920s, the interest of Kon in them was unique among Japanese architects of the time. Even the Japanese architects hired by the Japanese Government-General of Korea never paid due attention to them in the early colonial years. Most of them were hired by the Japanese Government-General of Korea as architectural technicians and were mainly involved in various architectural projects to facilitate effective Japanese rule over Korea, such as constructing central and provincial government buildings as well as social infrastructure. Although the Japanese Government-General of Korea hired many Japanese architectural historians on a temporary basis, these historians mostly carried out archaeological investigations into (Buddhist) art and architectural traditions from various ancient Korean periods, which were useful in devising colonial assimilation propaganda.

Kon first visited the Korean peninsula to carry out a special colonial mission launched by the Japanese Government-General of Korea around the beginning of the so-called cultural rule

period (1919-1931). His research intentions were developed in parallel with the contemporary Japanese nationalistic obsession of searching for its historical origins. Particularly around 1900, after achieving material and industrial modernization internally, winning several consecutive wars challenging the West (the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) and the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)), and determined to be recognized as a strong modern nation by the West, Japan started to invent historical narratives that highlighted its uniqueness as compared to its Asian neighbors, based on its peculiar geographical and cultural conditions.[75] In this social climate, Kon not only investigated the origins of Japanese *minka* through Korean counterparts but identified similarities as well as differences between them.

However, Kon's nationalistic interest in Korean *minka* gradually changed as time progressed. Unlike other contemporary Japanese architectural researchers temporarily hired by the Japanese Government-General of Korea, he was sincerely fascinated by the native Korean living customs and dwelling conditions he discovered in the course of his research. Notwithstanding his own colonialist perspective, Kon learned to appreciate the genuine beauty of Korean *minka*, even going so far as to assert that Korean *minka* are superior to Japanese *minka*. I am led to argue that he studied the architectural conditions of Korean *minka* from a point of view independent of Japanese conventional wisdom at the time. By carefully understanding the fitness of the houses to their purpose, as revealed in his texts, drawings and photographs; both functionally, by acknowledging the richness implicit in traditional habitual ways of living, and symbolically, reflecting the status of different social strata, he ended up foregrounding the moving affective nature of the living environments. Thus Kon implicitly revealed the Korean *minka* as profoundly modern in a Western sense, going even beyond later reductions of "International" architecture to

[75] Takeuchi, *Modern Japanese Geography,* 74-75.

stylistic formulas. Indeed, by fully taking advantage of his research experiences in Korea, Kon pioneered a significant new way of understanding in architectural meaning.

Chapter 5: Kon's ideas on the development of Korean *minka*

Phenomenology[1] and craft-oriented architectural developments in Korean *minka*

Throughout his investigations of Korean *minka*, Kon observed craft-based works of architecture and architectural features that remained intact into the modern era.[2] He praised their beauty and criticized the proliferation of contemporary engineering-driven architectural practices (i.e. the separation between theory and practice), along with the stylistic architectural debates in mainstream Japanese architectural circles.[3] Kon's understanding of craft-oriented architectural developments in Korean *minka* was grounded in his conviction that the creativity inherent in human activity was manifested in the daily lives of Korean people.[4] The following quote reflects Kon's impression of the beauty of Korean *minka* in rural areas which, he asserted, was the result of people's creative ways of making and using their homes in their everyday lives. In "Chosen no minka (I)," Kon wrote:

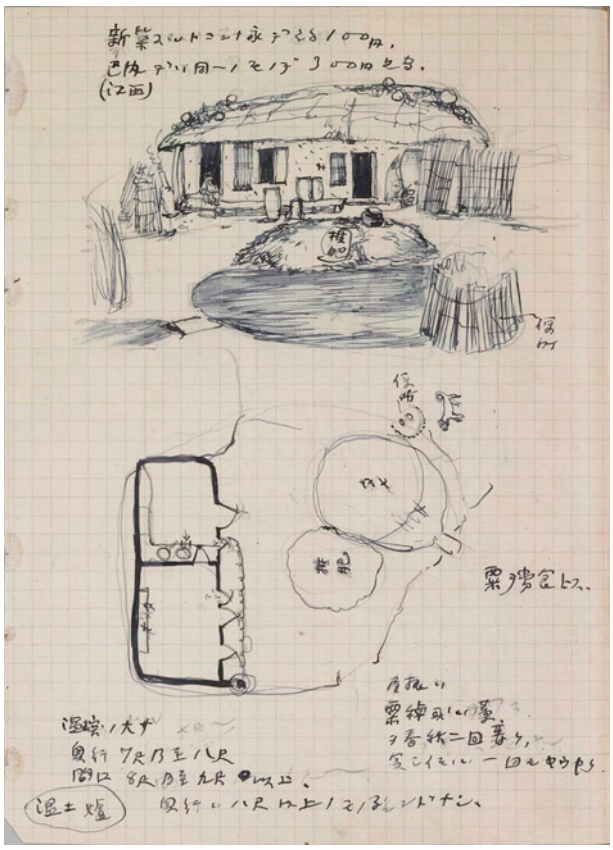
[1] Izumi Kuroishi argued that Kon was influenced by the philosophies of Dewey and Husserl. See Izumi Kuroishi, "Kon Wajiro: a quest for the architecture as a container of everyday life" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1998), 144-145.; She further argued that Kon's phenomenological perspective is found in his earlier studies on Japanese peasant houses.

[2] Kuroishi argued that "Kon's ideal is connected to that of the Italian masters from the 15th century where theory and praxis were intimately united (Ibid., 31.)."

[3] Kuroishi said that Kon criticized contemporary Japanese (Western-oriented) architectural practices that emphasized construction technology and formalism, even the new architectural ideas developed by the newly formed 1920s Japanese young architects' group *Bunriha* (a Japanese secessionist group), and stayed outside the mainstream Japanese architectural circles. See Ibid., 18, 77 and 89.

[4] Kuroishi argued that Kon was influenced by Ruskin, who proposed reinstating the totality and subjectivity of man in art created in that cultural background (Ibid., 33.).; "Kon believed that direct experience and the sensation of reality are the foundation of art, and he studied the varied mechanisms in the relationship between men and objects to understand how art could emerge from everyday life (Ibid., 130.)."

For the purpose of binding the roof tight and using [it to grow plants and crops], Korean people plant creepers on it. The roof is also used as an area for drying pepper, which Korean people cannot make food without. Each season, every roof is colored with red, which provides a pleasant look (…) along with this scenery, a great number of soy sauce crocks [in Korean *minka*] create an evocative atmosphere.[5] **[Figure 1] [Figure 2]**



[Figure 1] Kon's sketch of a Korean *minka* in rural areas; from Wajiro Kon Collection (Kogakuin University Library, Tokyo, Japan).

[5] Wajiro Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)" [Joseon vernacular housing], *Kenchiku zasshi* 37, no. 445 (1923): 287.

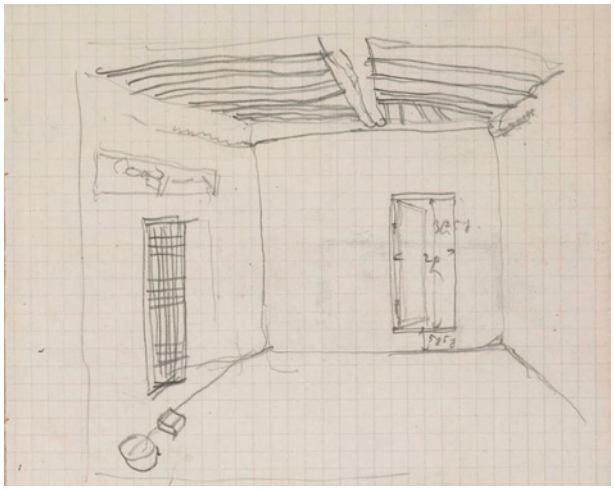
[Figure 2] A picture showing soy sauce and pickling crocks placed in the inner courtyard; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

It is very important to acknowledge that Kon's approach may have originated from a phenomenological understanding of reality, to which he may have been exposed during his early education in design, which underlined the importance of meticulous visual observations and detailed hand sketches.[6] During his on-site investigations of Korean *minka*, Kon made detailed drawings to record his personal impressions, perceptions, and imaginings while experiencing them. In this process, a productive inter-relationship between the subject (in this case, Kon's body) and the objects (various architectural conditions in Korean *minka*) was developed and this contributed to his deep understanding of the lives and everyday experiences of Korean people

[6] For more on Kon's early education, see Kuroishi, "Kon Wajiro," 45.; For more on Kon's appreciation of hand-drawing, see Ibid., 58.

who occupied these dwellings.[7] Moreover, his distinctive talent for theatrical imaginations allowed him to create vivid scenes of these conditions.[8] The following quotes are some of Kon's phenomenological reflections on Korean *minka*:

> The ceiling form [of Korean *minka*] is very similar to a human ribcage. Upon seeing it, people will have a sense of wonder. I think that it is very beautiful. **[Figure 3]**(…) Like a water-proof cabin, the room is made to be sealed from the outside. So, being inside the room imparts a sense of mystery. It is like staying in an imaginary world.[9]



[Figure 3] Kon's sketch of the ceiling of one Korean *minka*; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

[7] "Therefore, the objects which appeared in his drawings were not from nature but the objects and people of everyday life (Ibid., 46.)."

[8] For more on Kon's early interests on theater work and modern reality plays, see Ibid., 151.; Kon also compared people's various everyday activities to acting, with the city as a stage. See Wajiro Kon, "Toshikaizo no keunponi" [The basics of urban reformations], *Kenchiku zasshi* 31, no. 367 (1917): 548.

[9] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 311.

In describing the urban landscape of Kaesong, he also wrote:

> as an urban scene, many courtyards resembling holes surrounded by the roofs can be seen, and the residents actively moving in these holes [court-yards] can be imagined.[10]

On *ondol*

In his on-site research on the architectural conditions of Korean *minka*,[11] Kon devoted a great deal of effort to analyzing the natively developed traditional Korean floor-heating system, *ondol*. His particular interest in *ondol* is clearly reflected in his 1923 article "Chosen no minka (I)" [Joseon vernacular housing] and his 1924 report *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)* [Special report on the investigation of the settlements of Joseon: vol. 1 (vernacular housing)]. Identifying *ondol* as analogous to *tatami*, Kon asserts that it is impossible to talk about Korean *minka* without mentioning *ondol*.[12] It must be pointed out that in this regard Kon was not alone in his observations. Because of the distinctive architectural characteristics of *ondol*, many contemporary Japanese architects residing in Korea had begun to pay a great amount of attention to it.

Kon seriously studied *ondol* by analyzing its structure and how it was made. **[Figure 4]** An *ondol* works by funneling heated air and smoke generated from cooking to the space between the

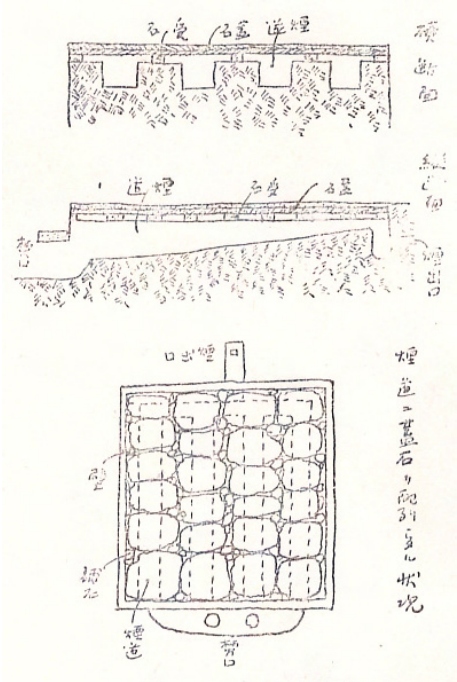
[10] Wajiro Kon, *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)* [Special report on the investigation of the settlements of Joseon: vol. 1 (vernacular housing)] (Keijo: Chosen sotokufu, 1924), 54.

[11] Before the end of the Second World War, Wajiro Kon had visited Korea a total of four times, in 1922, 1923, 1924 and 1944. See Masanori Tomii, "Kon Wajiro chosen hanto no tabi" [Kon Wajiro Korean peninsula travel], *Sinica* 12, no. 5 (2001): 96-103.

[12] See Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 311.

earth and the *minka* floors, heating up several rooms simultaneously. In some cases, the rooms have individual outside furnaces that exhaust gases to the inner courtyard.[13] **[Figure 5]** Above all, Kon understood the characteristics of *ondol* in relation to a peculiar custom of Korean life: sitting on the floor. In "Chosen no minka (I)" he wrote:

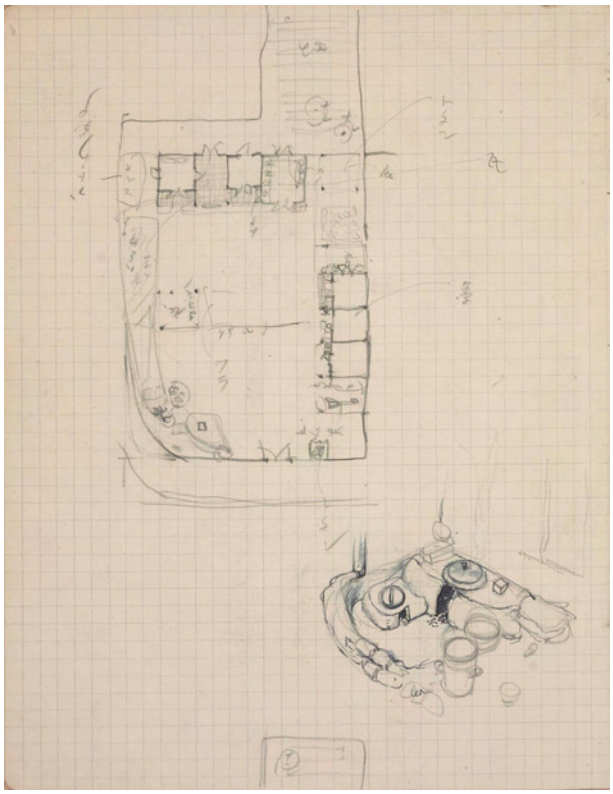
> the development of *ondol* in Korea is best understood in relation to the traditional custom of sitting on the floor, which is different from the Chinese custom of using chairs. How the heating method of using air-flow was imported into Korea is a different problem.[14]



[Figure 4] Analytical sketches showing *ondol* structure; from Kon, *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)*, 27.

[13] Ibid., 311-312.

[14] Ibid., 316.



[Figure 5] Kon's sketch showing an outside furnace that exhausts gases to the courtyard; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

Kon analyzed the development of *ondol* by comparing it to similar heating methods used in neighboring regions, including Japan, China, Manchuria, Russia and Europe. In this way he placed *ondol* in the context of the "old-culture areas" that he had already considered in theorizing the origins of Korean *minka* in the world context. Kon argued:

> It can be said that the heating method of using air-flow was invented by Roman people residing in the northern regions of Europe. [Before the Romans] the heating method developed by Germanic peoples was similar to that of primitive people: they built a *ro* [brazier] in the middle of the room. In the case found of the northern European regions, *ro* were moved into the wall and became a wall heating system. This kind of primitive heating method [also gave rise to the] *pechika* [Russian brick stove]. Among the lower social classes in Russia, there is

> a custom of sleeping on top of *pechika*….In Manchuria, it was developed to cover only some parts of the room…[However] in Korea, it was developed to cover the entire room. After crossing the ocean [between Korea and Japan], it remained the most under-developed heating method [the Japanese *ro*]. [It was under-developed in the sense that there was no need for a complete under-floor heating system, so in Japan it remained merely a brazier in the middle of the room.][15]

Kon argued that the countries in "old-culture areas" developed their own heating systems by intimately influencing one another.[16] He thought that, in the midst of the many social and cultural exchanges between those countries, the air-flow heating method had also had been imported into Korea by lower-class people migrating between Manchuria and northern Korean provinces. In the same article, Kon wrote:

> The Korean lower-class people had a great deal of mobility, so they had to build their houses as simply as possible. [For this reason] they devised *ondol*, which is frequently found in the northern Korean provinces. Many nomadic people emigrated from Manchuria [to Korea] and [from Korea] to Manchuria. Their household items were very simple and it was common to travel in the evening. Through them, I think, *ondol* had been transplanted to…Korea.[17]

At the same time, by challenging the official theory of the development of *ondol*, he identified the origins of contemporary *ondol* in the primitive floor-heating apparatus found in the *minka* of Korean slash-and-burn farmers who simply made fires underneath their floors, and concluded that *ondol* had been originally developed by Korean lower-class people before being adopted by the middle and upper classes. Kon wrote:

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[15] Ibid., 315.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

> Tadayoshi Murakami says that *ondol* were first developed by Ik-jeom Kim during the reign of King Sejong [the fourth king of the Joseon dynasty, 1397-1450]. [However] this was [only] the case for using *ondol* in big villas and palace buildings. The general [Korean] public had started to use it well before this period….Korean *ondol* were developed by the lower classes and spread to the middle and upper classes. Japanese *tatami*, on the other hand, was developed by the upper class and spread to the middle and lower classes. For this reason, primitive Korean *minka* are all equipped with *ondol*, whereas Japanese ones don't have *tatami*.[18]

Kon argued that the *ondol* is the most advanced heating method, emphasizing that *pechika* [Russian brick stove] and *ro* [brasier] are primitive forms of *ondol*.[19] In assessing them, he also took the issue of human health into consideration:

> in the case of maintaining the same temperature inside the room, charcoal is bad for air-conditioning. The CO^2 produced when burning charcoal is many times greater than that made by the human body [human respiration]. So it is very harmful to the human body. In the case of *ondol*, it never produces CO^2 and is not harmful to the human body at all.[20]

Appreciation of the superiority of *ondol* was shared not only by the contemporary Japanese architects working in Korea,[21] but also by the American missionaries who had begun traveling to the Korean peninsula at the end of the nineteenth century. In *Things Korean*, a travelogue published in 1908, Horace Newton Allen, an American missionary, wrote:

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[18] Ibid., 314.

[19] Ibid., 315.

[20] Ibid., 313.

[21] Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki also praised *ondol* in his articles.

> However humble the hut of the peasant or coolie it always has its tight little sleeping room, the stone and cement floor of which with its rich brown oil paper covering, is kept nicely warmed by the little fire necessary for cooking the rice twice daily. In this respect these people fare better than do their neighbors, for the Japanese houses are notoriously cold, and a fire pot for warming the fingers is the only native system of heating, while the Chinese never are warm in the raw cold of winter. They have no means of heating their houses other than by a warmed stone bed which is used in the north, but in the raw cold of the central portion the houses are absolutely unheated and the people simply add more clothing in order to warm up.[22]

Kon thought that the planning of *ondol* in Korean *minka* had been developed in response to diverse regional characteristics, especially in the north and other Korean provinces.[23] He found that the northern type was more developed than the general style.[24] **[Figure 6]** In his final report, Kon wrote:

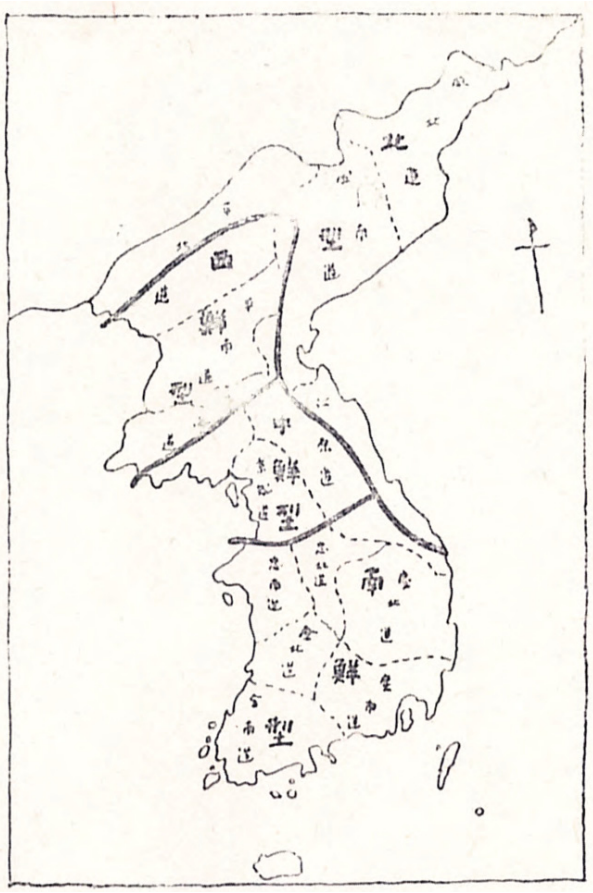
> Now, I [have studied] Korean *minka* in the northern regions under the assumption that they were inevitably and rationally developed [together with] *ondol*. If the *ondol* used in the general type of Korean *minka* is compared to that of the northern style, the former is unconnected and fragmentary, which is uneconomical and uncomfortable. On the other hand, the *ondol* of the northern type of Korean *minka* is designed to heat entire rooms and the kitchen using one furnace, and [all the rooms] are heated up together. Northern [Korean] people say that the *ondol* is perfectly developed in their province and criticize southern people [for not

[22] Horace Newton Allen, *Things Korean: A Collection of Sketches and Anecdotes, Missionary and Diplomatic* (New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1908), 67.

[23] For Kon's idea on the comparison between Gyeongseong and Hamgyeong *ondol* in terms of cooling down and warming, see Wajiro Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan" [Regarding the study related to Joseon vernacular housing], *Chosen to kenchiku* 1, no. 5 (1922): 11.

[24] Kon classified Korean *minka* into northern and general types. One contemporary Japanese architect, Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki (along with Kil-Ryong Park), classified them into five different groups. See Kon, *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku*, 48.

knowing] how to cook rice. In the southern *ondol* design, each *ondol* room has an individual furnace which directly faces the middle courtyard. The furnace in the kitchen is also exposed to the open air, as kitchens normally don't have doors. [However, in the case of the northern *ondol* design] the furnace is open to the closed earth-floored room so that the cold outside air never reaches the burning furnace.[25]



[Figure 6] Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki and Kil-Ryong Park's regional classification of Korean *minka*; from Kon. *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)*, 48.

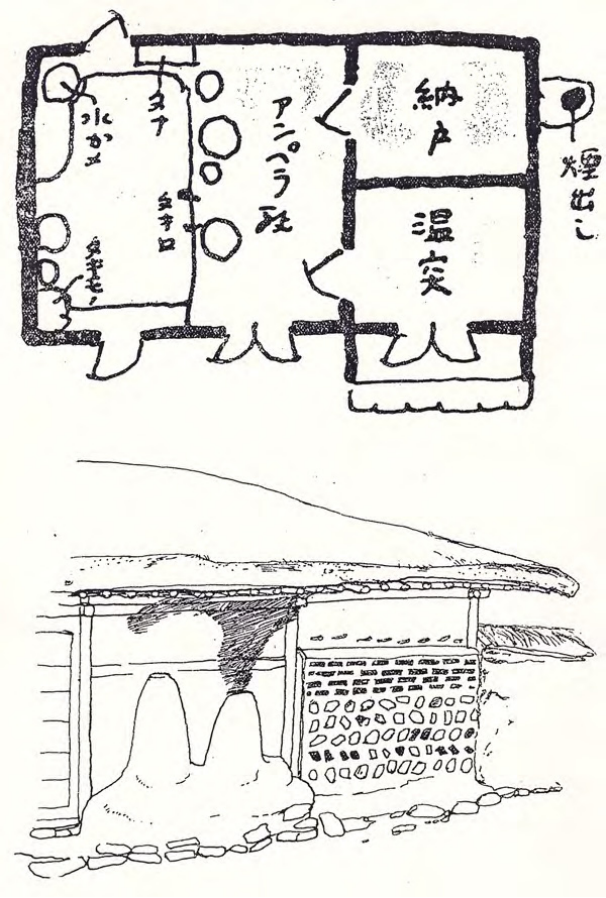
[25] Ibid., 57-58.

Regarding the northern style of Korean *minka*, Kon continued:

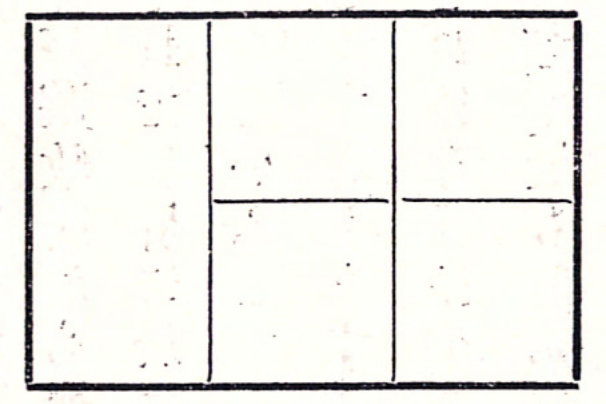
> In the case of extremely simple Korean *minka* in rural areas, they have only one kitchen and one *ondol* room. There are also some *minka* built with two and three ondol rooms which are [arranged] in a row.[26] **[Figure 7]**
>
> Korean *minka* are generally composed of four *ondol* rooms which are arranged in the *yotsume* style, **[Figure 8]** and the guest room and the earth-floored room are placed next to them. In response to small and big changes in the family, necessary developments are followed as shown: (a) is the most basic type, consisting of one [closed] *ondol* guest room, one [general] *ondol* guest room, and one earth-floored room; (b) is a developed type where *ondol* rooms are arranged in the front and the back [in two rows]; (c) is the most general type, where four *ondol* guest rooms are arranged in the *yotsume* style, and one *ondol* guest room and one earth-floored room are attached to them; (d) is a type for bigger extensions. **[Figure 9]** In some cases, the partition wall between two *ondol* rooms is removed and they are used as one extended *ondol* room. It is [also] necessary to mention the [special] *ondol* type made of an un-walled earth-floor. On one side of the floor where a wall is supposed to be, a furnace is instead built in the middle and it is used as a cooking brazier. This area is used like the kitchens in Japanese *minka*, for cooking, eating, and even sleeping. It is a very unusual space, which is not found in the general type of Korean *minka*.[27] **[Figure 10]**

[26] Ibid., 41.

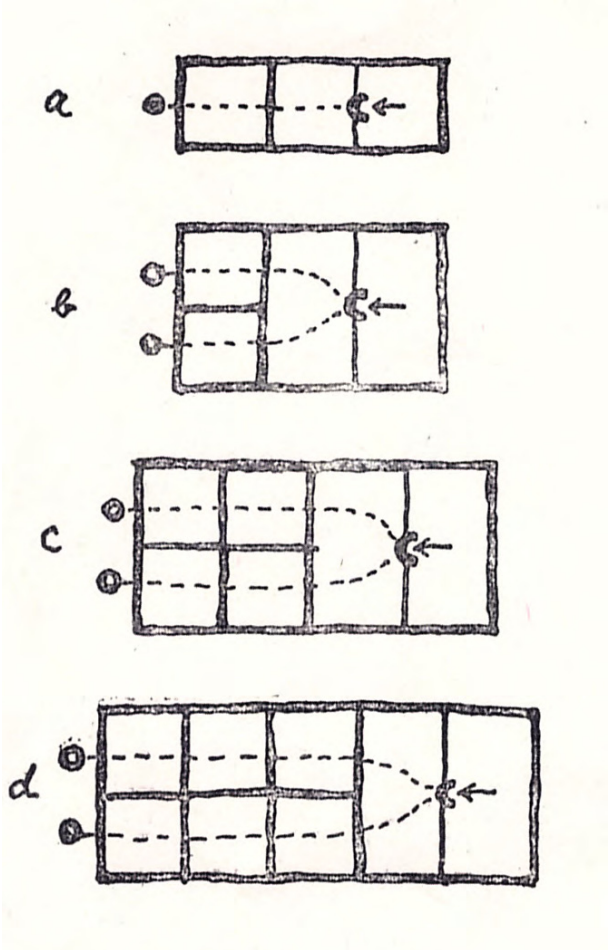
[27] Ibid., 46.



[Figure 7] Kon's sketches of simple northern type Korean *minka*; from Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 317.



[Figure 8] (Japanese) *Yotsume* style found in northern type Korean *minka;* from Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 8.

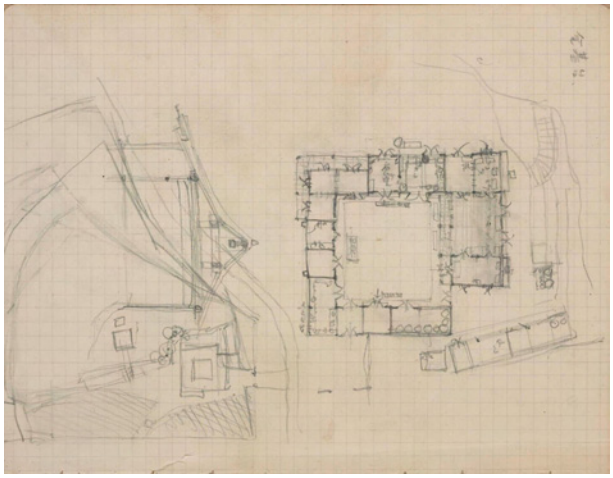


[Figure 9] Developments of northern type Korean *minka* and its *ondol* structure; from Kon, *Chosen buraku chosa tokubetsu hokoku: dai 1-satsu (minka)*, 45.

[Figure 10] Kon's sketch of an un-walled earth-floor found in northern type Korean *minka* (from Hamhung province); from Wajiro Kon Collection.

Kon also acknowledged the architectural developments made by enlightened Korean women to enhance people's lives by improving the usefulness and comfort of Korean *minka*.[28] He asserted that

> Korean *minka* are designed for enduring cold winters. When an *ondol* is in use, [hot] air doesn't circulate in the room. For the sake of efficient heating, the ceiling is designed to be very low and the room is closed. The summer heat in Korea is very different from that in Japan. And the air [in *ondol* rooms] never diffuses, so it is impossible to sleep [in the summer]. So, in a big Korean *minka*, there is a [special] room where people spend time in the summer. This room has a full opening underneath the floor and it is similar to an enclosed Japanese *engawa* [narrow wooden porch].[29] **[Figure 11]**
>
> For the purpose of using the *ondol* room as a summer living room, a second layer of flooring is built in with *tatami*, which is a Japanese-style room.[30] **[Figure 12]**

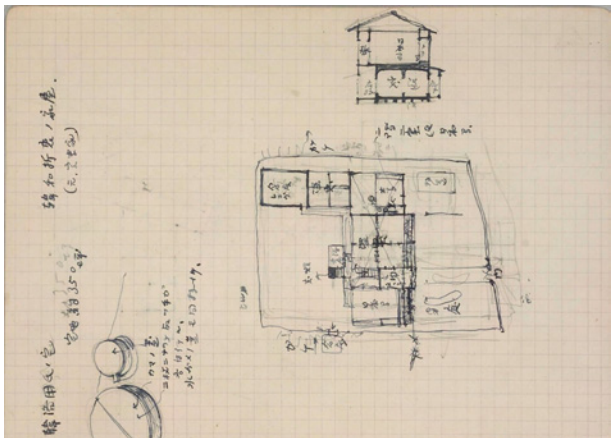


[Figure 11] Kon's sketch of a reformed Korean *minka* in Kaesong; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

[28] See Ibid., 69.

[29] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 312.

[30] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 11.



[Figure 12] Kon's sketch showing a Japanese *tatami* room (as a summer living room) built in above the *ondol* room; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

The emergence of enlightened Korean women in the domestic and public domains

With the beginning of the cultural rule period (1919-1931) of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, the social movement to reform old-fashioned Korean living customs and dwelling culture started to emerge in the colonial space and were carried out in two main ways. On the one hand, in parallel with research into old Korean customs and conventions, the Japanese Government-General of Korea propagated the need for "cultural" reforms to achieve a certain degree of control over Korean village communities. On the other hand, Korean nationalistic intellectuals also advocated such reforms, feeling that it would give the Korean people the means to liberate their country from Japanese control. Although the two groups were politically antagonists, they both pursued essentially the same form of modernization.[31]

Consequently, the idea of achieving "cultural" reform became a social norm and the Korean term *munhwa* [culture] was often used as a prefix to indicate the newly introduced Japanese and

[31] Andre Schmid argued that Japanese colonialists and Korean nationalists shared the same vocabularies not only in identifying Korean traditional culture, but also in imagining ways to civilize it around the 1900s. See Schmid, *Korea between empires, 1895-1919*, 13-14.

Western styles and materials that the general public should consult. Accordingly, cultural ways of living and dwelling were highly appreciated in every corner of colonial Korea, and a standardized Western-style housing referred to as *bunka jutaku* [culture house] started to emerge in urban areas. Since its first appearance at Ueno Park as part of the Tokyo Peace Exhibition of 1922, *bunka jutaku*, a new type of housing, proliferated in Korea under Japanese rule.[32] **[Figure 13]**

[Figure 13] *Bunka mura* [culture village], The Tokyo Peace Exhibition of 1922; from Koyosha, *Bunkamura no kani jutaku*, 2.

[32] See Kyung-Ah Lee, "1920nyeondae ilbonui munhwajutaege daehan gochal: 1922nyeon pyeonghwaginyeom donggyeongbaglamhoe munhwachongwa munhwajutaegui salyeleul jungsimeulo" (A Study on Culture Village (Bunka Mura) and Culture Houses (Bunka Jutaku) at the 1922 Peace Memorial Exposition in Tokyo), *Journal of the Architectural Institute of Korea* 21, no. 8 (2005): 97-106.

The reformation efforts were also driven from the bottom; in this case, the enlightened Korean women educated by U.S. missionaries[33] became the new modern revolutionary agents in promoting the development of traditional (Korean) ways of living and dwelling. Moreover, with the advent of a capitalistic, consumer-driven culture in the early 1920s, their roles had become more important not only inside but also outside their homes.

During the Joseon dynasty women were regarded as invisible and nameless entities. The seclusion shocked the first U.S. missionaries who came to the Korean peninsula. Consequently, Protestantism in the Korean peninsula freed women from the suppression they were subject to in feudal Joseon society.[34] In the aforementioned American missionary's travelogue *Things Korean*, the seclusion of Korean women is also described:

> On our left we passed a hamlet of poor but comfortable straw thatched houses, each with its surrounding wall of earth or brush for the seclusion of the women.[35]
>
> the quarters of women with their pretty flower gardens, where these secluded creatures get the only exercise vouchsafed them, since they are too exalted to go upon the streets even at night except in a closed chair.[36]
>
> As illustrating this faith and the close seclusion in which the women are kept, a Korean lady actually died rather than see me, though I had been called to the house and she seemed to think that if I simply looked at her she would recover. She could not bring herself to permit a strange man to look upon her and actually

[33] U.S. missionaries had a bad relationship with the Japanese Government-General of Korea, and most of them were expelled from Korea by the end of the 1920s. The majority of the Korean people who participated in the 1919 Independence Movement were Protestants.

[34] Hyaeweol Choi, "Missionary Rhetoric of Gender Equality," in *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2009), 22-25.

[35] Allen, *Things Korean*, 57.

[36] Ibid., 66.

> died rather than violate the inbred custom of her country. Her tenacity to old custom was fortunate for me since her case was beyond relief.[37]

Under the strong neo-Confucian doctrine of the Joseon dynasty, Korean women were only allowed to participate in shamanistic rituals, and were banned from appearing publicly. They were kept strictly isolated in an *anbang*, which is an inner room or women's apartment, located away from the front of the house with windows composed of two layers of screen.[38] There was a strict distinction between men and women in the traditional Korean society, giving rise to two different living domains: public outer spaces were for men, while private inner spaces were for women. This resulted in the daily practice of the "inside-outside rule" that limited women's contact with men outside of the family and forcing women to stay secluded in domestic spaces.[39]

From the late nineteenth century, female American Protestant missionaries started providing formal education for secluded Korean women with the practical intent of transforming them into professional home managers.[40] In this process, the missionaries adopted the Confucian morality of the "inside-outside rule" to provide them with proper roles and spaces. Formal education for Korean women was conducted most often in the classrooms of newly built mission schools; however, the female missionaries sometimes invited their students into their homes, giving Korean women an opportunity to look at and emulate ideal (Christian) homes.[41] Providing Christian education allowed female missionaries to underline the importance of overcoming the secluded status of Korean women in feudal society and instructed them in the Christian faith as

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[37] Ibid., 206.

[38] Choi, *Gender and Mission Encounters in Korea*, 47.

[39] Ibid., 48.

[40] Ibid., 8.

[41] Ibid., 82.

well as in scientific (e.g. hygiene and nutrition) and utilitarian knowledge, which they eventually put to use in creating their own ideal homes.

Under changing Japanese colonial policies, from "military rule" (1910-1919) to "cultural rule" (1919-1931), so-called New Women started to emerge in the Korean colonial space. Korean New Women pushed back against traditional social limitations imposed on them by men and sought to engage freely in various social, cultural and political activities, as the New Women in the West did.[42] In the relatively liberal and capitalistic atmosphere of the 1920s, they became involved with various organizations and communicated with each other by taking advantage of printed media such as newspapers and magazines.[43]

Even if Korean New Women were mainly educated in the Christian mission schools, they challenged the Christian ideal that limited women's roles to the domestic sphere.[44] Instead they acquired various worldviews by experiencing Christian culture, which also allowed them to voluntarily participate in sports, music and group activities. In this manner, they enjoyed something other than Confucian and Christian domestic routines and shaped their own personalities as well as their domestic and public lives.[45]

While acknowledging the contemporary developments appearing in Korean *minka*, Kon recognized the burgeoning new spirit that now infused Korean people's daily lives. In particular he recognized the changes in the position of Korean women in the private and public domains, as compared to their invisibility in earlier periods. **[Figure 14]** For example, when he visited a

[42] Ibid., 145.

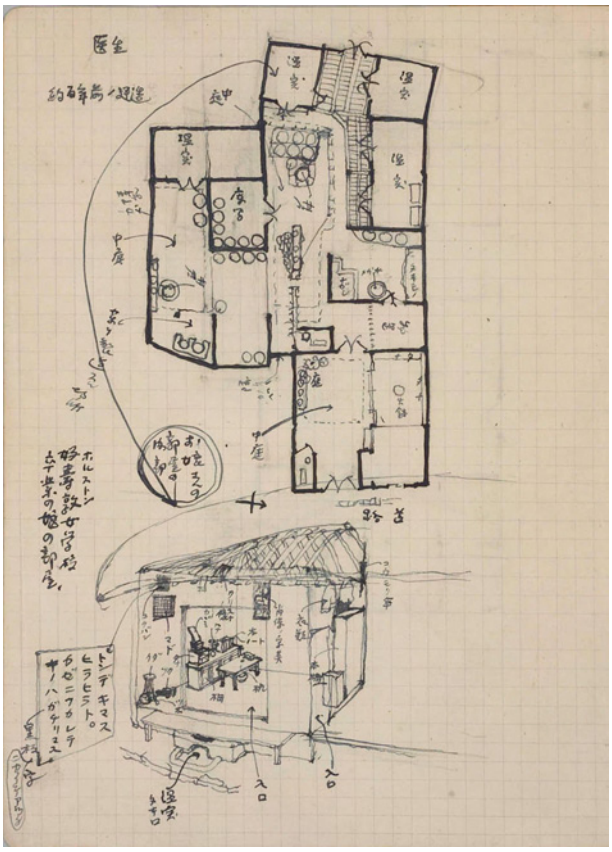
[43] Ibid., 146.

[44] Ibid., 145.

[45] Ibid., 147.

Korean *minka* (in the drawing, he noted that it is a doctor's dwelling built around 100 years before) in an urban district of Kaesong, he came across the refurnished *ondol* room of the daughter of the household, who was in her final year at Holston Girls' High School, a Methodist mission school started in Kaesong. In Kon's sketch of the room, along with a portrait of Jesus Christ hung on one wall and a self portrait on the opposite, the furnishings of the room reflected her education and her other interests: a blackboard, a desk, a lamp, a bookshelf, books, and notebooks, as well as a table mirror, a flower-vase, an umbrella, and outdoor clothes were neatly arranged inside the room. **[Figure 15]** From this, Kon understood that enlightened Korean women had become new revolutionary agents carrying out the improvements of their domestic realms. Other sketches Kon drew during this period illustrate the altered spaces for women and children.

[Figure 14] A photograph catching a Korean woman revealing herself to outsiders; from Wajiro Kon Collection.



[Figure 15] Kon's sketch of a refurnished room of an educated Kaesong woman; from Wajiro Kon Collection.

Criticism of housing standardization and suggestions for improving Korean living and dwelling conditions

Upon seeing the results of Government-General-led stylistic housing reforms, Kon believed that the thoughtless importation of Japanese and Western material culture into Korea would destroy the beauty of traditional Korean homes. He fundamentally opposed the contemporary

proliferation of *bunka jutaku* and housing standardization,[46] commenting that it lowered the living standards for many Korean people.[47] He argued that:

> The current designs of *bunka jutaku* are problematic, even though they look perfect. I believe that before we create new forms and designs we must closely study the basic techniques of expression, as painters must study drawings before they draw pictures. Thus, I am visiting the real scenes of people's lives to observe how people build their houses in each case.[48]

Kon argued that the issue of Korean housing standardization emerged when efforts to improve living and dwelling arrangements were carried out in conjunction with social reform movements.[49] Instead, he stressed the importance of looking at real Korean people's lives to enhance contemporary housing conditions.[50] Kon came up with some architectural solutions for improving Korean living and dwelling conditions, although in the end these could not be separated from the contemporary Japanese colonialist perspective, leading to some paradoxical conclusions seemingly at odds with his remarkable appreciation of Korean cultural habits.[51]

First, Kon diagnosed traditional architectural conditions as having a deleterious effect on Korean people's everyday lives. He specifically mentioned the influence of *ondol* on the primitive sleeping habits found in rural Korean households. In "Chosen no minka (I)," Kon wrote:

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[46] See Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 3.

[47] Ibid., 4.

[48] Kuroishi, *Kon Wajiro*, 27. The original text is from Wajiro Kon, "Kanto kashi no yadobune," in *Jukyoron* [On housing] (Tokyo: Domesushuppan, 1971), 379.

[49] Kon, "Minka to seikatsu," 3.

[50] Ibid., 4.

[51] In her article "Kon Wajiro no minka kenkyu to chosen chosa," Kuroishi perceived political intentions in Kon's efforts to reform Korean living and dwelling, in the sense that he looked at them as an object of change. However, she only covers the period of the 1930s and 1940s. See Kuroishi, "Kon Wajiro no minka kenkyu to chosen chosa," 94.; I find that Kon already had a colonialist perspective when he first investigated Korean *minka* in the early 1920s.

> the fewer rooms there are [in Korean *minka*], the hotter they are, so [the people] developed a custom of sleeping outside the house, which is very common in rural areas. In the early morning, you can see many people deeply asleep under the trees in every town.[52]

Kon argued that *ondol* caused bad habits among the Korean people: laziness and vapidity. In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," he wrote:

> The most important disadvantage of using *ondol* is that people become lazy. It is not a hygienic or physiological problem. Rather it is an ethnic vitality problem. In deciding whether *ondol* is good or bad, ethnic vitality is the most fundamental problem. It is impossible [for me] to talk about it because it is not my specialty. I want to hear…from the audience.[53]

and in "Chosen no minka (I)" he commented that

> Koreans are mean and they are not lively enough. They are lazy and don't like working. It is said that these characteristics are caused by the use of *ondol*, which continually influences [Korean people] spiritually and physiologically.[54]

Kon repeatedly suggested replacing *ondol* with Japanese futons [beds] to reform the underdeveloped Korean living and dwelling conditions. He also pointed out the fact that *ondol* was not an efficient way to heat homes, and it caused a wood shortage in Korea.[55] In the same articles as the two quotes presented above, Kon wrote:

> A Korean futon [bed] is almost nothing [very simple] because of the use of *ondol*. [As a matter of fact] lower-class Korean people [usually] don't have a futon of

[52] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 312.

[53] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 6.

[54] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 312.

[55] The contradictions reflect an inherent divide in himself, both admiring and disdainful of local culture.

any kind. If [they do have one], it [is just] one roll of white fabric. The higher classes use only one thin layer of fabric.[56]

In Korea, I have heard that, as lower-class people don't have any kind of [bed], they sleep in the center of an *ondol* room with either a very flimsy piece of fabric, or naked….By suggesting the possibility of replacing *ondol* with Japanese futons, I am also encouraging [the Koreans] to save fire wood.[57]

In Japan it is possible to save firewood by [sleeping on] futons. So, by using Japanese futons [in Korea], [we will] save wood.[58]

In the past, it was difficult for poor Korean people to have futons made of cotton. I have heard that they sleep around braziers at night.(…) However, cotton can be obtained easily now. So futons can be obtained cheaply [too]. I have heard that futons have become popular, so saving firewood is possible.[59]

If there is a place in an *ondol* room where the heat generated from cooking doesn't reach, it is necessary to use a futon to cover that space.[60]

To make fire [to heat the *ondol*] in winter, Korean people also use grass and grass roots because of the shortage of fire material [wood]…the notion of preserving trees doesn't exist [in Korea].[61]

If we keep using *ondol*, all the Korean mountains will become bare. There is a direct relationship between the use of *ondol* and the deforestation of Korean mountains.[62]

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[56] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 314.

[57] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 9.

[58] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 314.

[59] The low cotton (textile) price was caused by over-production of cloth in Japan from the 1890s. See Yong-Dok Kim, *Ilbon geundaesaleul boneun nun* [A Perspective on Modern Japanese History] (Seoul: Jisigsaneobsa, 1991), 43.

[60] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 9.

[61] Kon, "Chosen no minka (I)," 301.

Kon supported the idea of the future assimilation of Korean housing into the Japanese style, which actually went hand in hand with the contemporary colonial assimilative policies imposed on Koreans by the Japanese Government-General of Korea. Kon's proposal is based on the idea that Japan and Korea had the same cultural and historical lineage (i.e. "old culture areas"). In "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," Kon wrote:

> in other areas, there is no difference between Japanese and Korean housing and their respective housing sites. By developing and reforming Korean housing in accordance with the developments of the Japanese style, and by making the former culturally similar to the latter, they will more closely resemble each other [they will become a single style].[63]

[62] Kon, "Chosen no minka ni kansuru kenkyu ippan," 9.

[63] Ibid., 10.

Conclusion

While carrying out on-site investigations on Korean *minka*, Kon became interested in the Korean traditional floor-heating system, *ondol*, found across the entire peninsula. He argued that *ondol*, which used heated air pumped underneath floors to warm rooms, was the most advanced heating method available at the time, surpassing the Japanese *ro* and the Russian *pechika* still used in other traditional styles of building; furthermore, he surmised that *ondol* had been developed through social and cultural exchanges with regions neighboring the Korean peninsula. Kon also understood the development of *ondol* in Korea in relation to the Korean people's particular habit of sitting on the floor, and surmised that it must have been first used by the lower classes.

Kon's unique phenomenological approach, so different from the positivistic analyses of his contemporaries, evident in his meticulous sketches and vivid descriptions, helped him theorize how the craft-oriented architectural development of Korean *minka* were shaped by people's everyday lives. In particular, he found that *ondol* had developed in various and complex ways, creating differences between the northern and the southern Korean regions. Moreover, Kon identified the practical improvements in Korean *minka* made by inventive, creative people.

Kon witnessed the contemporary, top-down efforts to reform the style and material used in building Korean housing and the proliferation of *bunka jutaku* [culture houses] in the Korean colonial space. However, he was more concerned with the spread of education among Korean women and their changing positions in the private and public domains in the rather capitalistic and liberal social atmosphere of the 1920s. Kon looked at their roles

as modern revolutionary agents in improving the domestic realm in Korea in the course of their daily lives.

Kon himself also suggested some architectural solutions for the future developments of Korean living and dwelling conditions. As I have suggested, his insights about the essence of architectural meaning in a healthy harmonious environment attuned to a way of life rooted in culture were remarkable. Nevertheless, his observations were inevitably grounded in a colonialist perspective. He supported the future assimilation of Korean and Japanese housing styles, which conformed to the Japanese Government-General's assimilative colonial policies of the 1920s, leading to some paradoxical conclusions.

Chapter 6: Housing is a vessel for lives

Environmental determinism in Chosen kenchiku-kai [Joseon architectural association]

In the first years of the 1920s, social campaigns encouraging "cultural" ways of living and dwelling had appeared in earnest in Korea. They rapidly spread across the entire Korean colonial space via newly introduced public media such as the newspapers and magazines that started to circulate in the more or less liberal and capitalistic social atmosphere.[1] At the same time, serious architectural efforts to improve Korean housing conditions in scientific (e.g. hygienic and healthy) and utilitarian (e.g. functional and economical) ways were instigated not only by the Japanese Government-General of Korea, but also by private agencies.

The first architectural association in Korea, Chosen kenchiku-kai, which had been established by Japanese architects residing in Korea with the support of the Japanese Government-General of Korea and the Nihon kenchiku-kai [Association of Japanese architects] in January 1922,[2] also took part in this collective endeavor to reform Korean housing.[3] **[Figure 1]**

[1] Being severely affected by the world depression of 1920-21 after the First World War (1914-1918), Japan went through a serious economic crisis. The Great Kanto earthquake of 1923 made matters worse. See Keizaburo Kato, "Sekai keizai to chosen (1)" [World economy and Joseon (1)], *Chosen* 173 (1929): 122. To halt its post-war economic downturn, Japan looked for a larger consumer market where it could sell its surplus goods, the result of the gigantic industrial developments of the war period. The pre-existing laws limiting the establishment of private companies by the Japanese and the tariffs regulating the importation of Japanese items into Korea were abolished in the early 1920s. The result of all of these measures was that Korea gradually became an important market for Japanese goods.

[2] For this reason, major positions in the Chosen kenchiku-kai [Joseon architectural association] were filled by Japanese government officials. Chuta Ito and Tadashi Sekino also served as advisory committee members from the beginning of the association.

[3] The official magazine of Chosen kenchiku-kai, *Chosen to kenchiku*, was first published in June 25th 1922 and it continued circulating till August 1945.

[Figure 1] A commemorative photograph showing the founding of Chosen kenchiku-kai; from *Chosen to kenchiku* 16, no.11 (1922).

Originally, Chosen kenchiku-kai was established with the specific purpose of serving the growing number of Japanese residents in Korea in the early 1920s by satisfying their increasing demand for Japanese-style housing. However, seeing how ill-suited Japanese housing was to the Korean natural environment and the emerging practical problems,[4] the Japanese architects of Chosen Kenchiku-kai undertook comprehensive research on Korean *minka* to find architectural

[4] Among them, heating was one of the major problems.

solutions. In this process, they became interested in reforming what they termed "underdeveloped" Korean housing to serve contemporary Japanese ways of living and dwelling.[5]

However, it is important to acknowledge that the architects of Chosen kenchiku-kai also developed proposals for the future development of Korean housing based on the principle of perfecting its harmony with Korean climatic and natural characteristics. This is clearly shown in an editorial published in the first volume of *Chosen to kenchiku*, published on June 25, 1922. It said:

> Given the current trends of civilized urban developments, it is necessary to encourage housing adapted to Korean climatic and natural characteristics as well as contemporary cultural ways of living, and this will guarantee the healthy development of Korean architecture. For the purpose of promoting a social atmosphere to achieve this goal, Chosen kenchiku-kai [Joseon architectural association] was established by uniting the architectural technicians residing in Korea last spring.[6]

These sentiments are similar to those expressed by Shozaburo Iwai,[7] chief architect of the Japanese Government-General of Korea. **[Figure 2]** In 1924, as the vice-president of Chosen kenchiku-kai, Iwai contributed an article to *Chosen to kenchiku* entitled "Zaisen naichijin no

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[5] The vice-president of Chosen kenchiku-kai, Shozaburo Iwai, talked about why Korean housing did not suit the Japanese. He repeatedly said that it was too small and narrow, structurally clumsy, and under-developed; he thought that it was inconvenient for the Japanese to live in. He also argued that Korean housing had been in a stagnant condition due to many decades of long economic impoverishment and that it was inferior to Japanese housing. For more, see Shozaburo Iwai, "Zaisen naichijin no kenchikuyoushiki ha amarini kikou fuudo ni mukanshin da" [The architecture built for the Japanese residents in Joseon has nothing to do with Joseon climatic and natural characteristics], *Chosen to kenchiku* 3, no.1 (1924): 2.

[6] Chosen kenchiku-kai, "Hakkan no ji" [Editorial], *Chosen to kenchiku* 1 (1922): 1.

[7] As a chief architect for the Japanese Government-General of Korea, Iwai had been involved in many major governmental architecture projects, such as the Keijo-fu building (completed in 1926, now home to the Seoul Metropolitan Library), the Government-General building (completed in 1926), and the Joseon Exhibition of 1929 held in Gyeongbok Palace.

kenchiku youshiki ha amarini kikou fuudo ni mukanshin da" [The architecture built for the Japanese residents in Joseon has nothing to do with Joseon climatic and natural characteristics]. In the article, he wrote:

> We always think of it, however we cannot reach a decisive idea for it. As the new year begins, I feel more pressure than before. I am eager to come up with architectural solutions that best fit the Korean climatic and natural conditions as well as the economic power of the Korean people as early as possible. Everyone talks about and studies the matter, but we have't reached a conclusive idea. This task must be done anyway and we who are involved in the field of architecture should put more effort into it.…We wish to contribute to Korean architecture by achieving a meaningful result as soon as possible.[8]

[Figure 2] A portrait picture of Shozaburo Iwai; *from Chosen to kenchiku* 16, no.11 (1922).

[8] Shozaburo Iwai, "Zaisen naichijin no kenchiku youshiki ha amari ni kikou fuudo ni mukanshin da" [The architecture built for the Japanese residents in Joseon has nothing to do with Joseon climatic and natural characteristics], *Chosen to kenchiku* 3, no.1 (1924): 2.

Judging from the above, it is fair to say that the environmental determinist approach to housing was widely subscribed to by contemporary Japanese architects resident in Korea. They also understood how architectural developments were spurred by changes in people's lives and social customs over time. Chuta Ito (1867-1954), who had served as an advisory committee member along with Tadashi Sekino (1868-1935) from the early years of Chosen kenchiku-kai, talked about the intimate relationship between architecture and people's lives by combining it with his famous theory on architectural evolution.[9] In a 1926 article titled "Jinja kenchiku ni taisuru kosatsu" [Considerations on shinto shrine architecture] published in *Chosen to kenchiku*, he wrote:

> As I mentioned earlier, housing and public architecture always change over time. They have to change because people live in them. So, on the one hand, there is a story of people's changing lives; on the other hand, there is another of the architecture influenced by them. Any architecture without changes dies. We don't know if they [people's lives and architecture] improve or degenerate, but they change.[10]

While expressing his nationalistic ideas regarding the uniqueness of Japanese architecture, Ito also advocated tailoring architecture to the geography and history of the land it is rooted in. In a 1927 article titled "Nanzansou yobanashi" published in *Chosen to kenchiku*, he said:

> Normally, architecture, and more inclusively food, clothing and shelter, reflect national characteristics which are shaped by geography and history. Architecture is infused with national characteristics. For this reason, foreign national characteristics and Japanese ones are fundamentally different from each other

[9] For more on architectural evolution, see Shoichiro Fujii and Hiroshi Yamaguchi, *Nihon kenchiku sengen bunshu* [Japan architectural declaration] (Tokyo: Shokokusha, 1973), 21-31.

[10] Chuta Ito, "Jinja kenchiku ni taisuru kosatsu" [Considerations on shinto shrine architecture], *Chosen to kenchiku* 5, no. 1 (1926): 18.

> because of their different geography and history, and there is no way to make them compatible. It is a waste of time to imitate foreign architecture.(…) If architecture is a form of art, there is no global and international architecture. Recently, some people have argued that it is necessary to produce international architecture common to every country, but I think that this is like building a castle in the air. There is no architecture common to Eskimos, Africans, Japanese and Westerners. Architecture can never be internationalized.[11]

Kil-Ryong Park's ideas on the development of Korean *minka*

Being one of the first few Korean graduates from the Gyeongseong Higher Technical School,[12] Kil-Ryong Park[13] (1898-1943) started working as an architectural technician for the Japanese Government-General of Korea in 1919. **[Figure 3]** In its discriminatory working environment, where only a small number of Koreans could serve in minor positions such as architectural assistants or draftmen without the opportunity for promotion,[14] Park stayed with them; During his 15 years of service, he was involved in major architectural projects such as the Government-General building (completed in 1926), and even had a chance to design the Korean-style pavilions built for the Joseon Exhibition of 1929. **[Figure 4] [Figure 5]**

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[11] Chuta Ito, "Nanzansou yobanashi," *Chosen to kenchiku* 6, no. 11 (1927): 8-9.

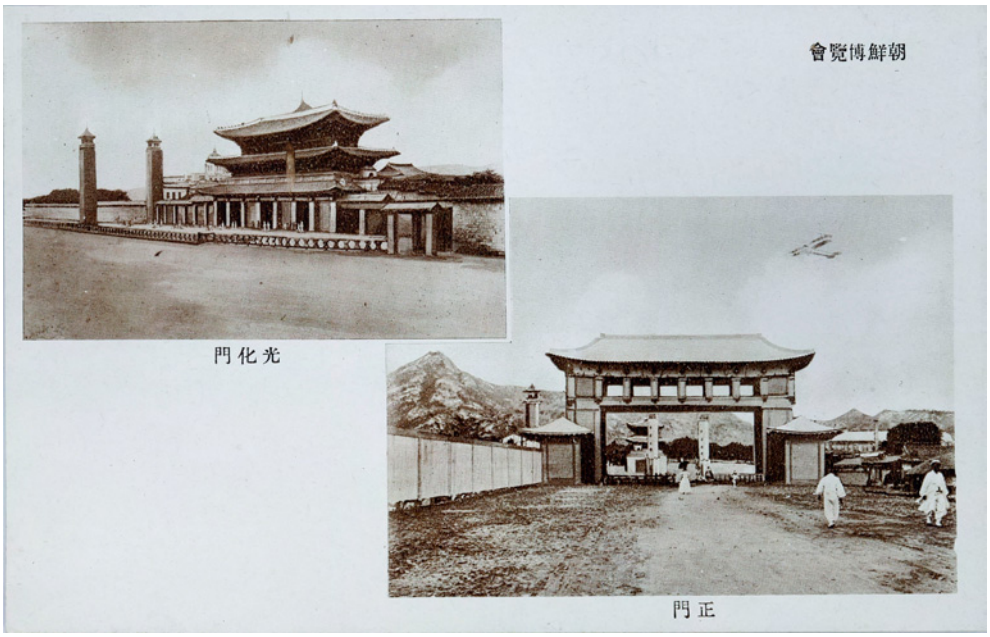
[12] The school was established by the Japanese Government-General of Korea in April 1916. For more on the education of the school, see Changmo Ahn, "Iljeha gyeongseong godeung gongeobhaggyowa geonchuggyoyug" (A Study on Kyungsung Institute of Engineering and Architectural Education), *Journal of the Architectual Institute of Korea*, no. 116 (1998): 35-46.

[13] Kil-Ryong Park was the most successful Korean architect of the colonial period. Previous studies on him focused only on how he reformed Korean traditional housing by improving the inefficient and irrational aspects of it with newly introduced scientific and utilitarian knowledge. See Soon-Ae Choi, "Park Kil-Ryong ui saengaewa geonchuge gwanhan yeongu" (A study on Park Kil-Ryong's Life and Architecture) (Master's Thesis, Hongik University, 1987). and Seog-Ki Song, "Park Kil-Ryong ui geonchugjagpum teugseonge gwanhan yeongu" (The Characteristics of Park Kil-Ryong's Architectural Works) (Master's Thesis, Yonsei University, 1993).

[14] Korean employees were at a disadvantage when it came to promotions, most left the Japanese Government-General of Korea after only a few years.

[Figure 3] A portrait picture of Kil-Ryong Park; from *Dong-a Ilbo*, January 1, 1931.

[Figure 4] New Government-General building; from *Chosen sotokufu shin cyousya syashin zu shuu mokuroku*, 1.



[Figure 5] The Korean-style architecture designed by Kil-Ryong Park for the Joseon Exposition of 1929; from Publishing Company Minsokwon.

In 1934, Park opened his own office in Gyeongseong and started to work vigorously not only on many kinds of privately commissioned architectural projects, but also on Korean housing research that he had put a great amount of effort into since his early years at the Japanese Government-General of Korea. From the early 1920s, he began studying Korean *minka* seriously and looked for ways to develop it, while also privately working on small housing projects on the side.

Park's research on Korean *minka* was first actualized through a collaborative study with Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki, an architectural engineer from the Japanese Government-General of Korea, in 1923. Although there is no written record left of the details of their collaboration, it is clear that Park played a major role in the partnership and produced all the analytical sketches of Korean *minka* after traveling to different Korean provinces in person.

Park's ideas on the developments of Korean *minka* can be glimpsed in the 1924 article "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite" [On Joseon vernacular housing structure] published in *Chosen to kenchiku*. Athough the paper was published under Iwatsuki's name, he acknowledged Park's contributions to the research at the beginning of the article. It is obvious that they shared common interests and ideas in their work together.

> Since the beginnings of human history, the traces of the development of man-made culture have been left continuously on housing surviving in every corner of the land, from fertile fields to mountains and remote areas. Housing has a specific lifespan and it resembles people's lives. Normal *minka*, which are small and weak, are always destroyed and rebuilt in the fight against the power of recurring natural vehemence, and they express natural human instincts. In the middle of this process, along with the influences of human culture and civilization, *minka* have gradually developed.(…) Surely, like other kinds of human culture and civilization, housing is influnced not only by geography, climate, materials - in other words, natural conditions of the land - but also by ethnicity, social situations, customs, religion, and even politics. Shaped by these factors, it ultimately achieves unique regional characteristics like a tree rooted in the ground. In reality, Korean *minka* are well suited to their natural conditions by creating harmony with them. From gentle foothills to the ends of vast fields as well as in between white willows, harmonious groupings of *minka* resembling thick-growing mushrooms can be found. The curves of the thatched roofs and the slopes of the hills mirror one another.(…) Korean *minka* from different provinces look stylistically and structurally similar to each other [at a glance]. However, even if one region of Korea resembles another, there exist temperature differences among them because of their distinct latitudinal locations. These climatic differences have generated various different styles of Korean *minka.*(…) Since housing is a vessel containing people's lives, we can easily picture the latter by looking at the former. In other words, it is not difficult to imagine people's living conditions by looking at their

> housing. Moreover, housing clearly reflects the degrees of people's wealth as well as their interests.[15]

Iwatsuki and Park categorized Korean *minka* into five different regional types: central, western, southern, northern and Gyeongseong. (He later focused on the central[16] and Gyeongseong regions.) **[Figure 6]** More detailed descriptions of the development of Korean *minka* in relation to climatic and regional factors are found in the same article:

> As I wrote previously, housing is heavily influenced by the natural characteristics of the region it is built in…[primarily] the climate. Unlike the openness of Japanese housing, which suits hot summer weather, the closeness of Korean housing is designed to be comfortable in cold winters. The most conspicuous feature of Korean housing is that it is intended to prevent cold air from entering. To achieve this, a surrounding clay wall, small windows and doors, and low ceilings that barely accommodate people are applied in house designs. And, for the sake of efficient heating, small room size is used to maximum advantage: instead of having several big rooms, Korean housing is composed of small rooms lined up in rows.(…) Compared to those found in the south, the structure of Korean *minka* seen in the cold northern areas is very compact. In the case of the Korean *minka* existing in the warm southern regions, the rooms are arranged in rows and outdoor corridors are attached to them…it is also very interesting to see the space called *daecheong* used as a summer living room.[17]

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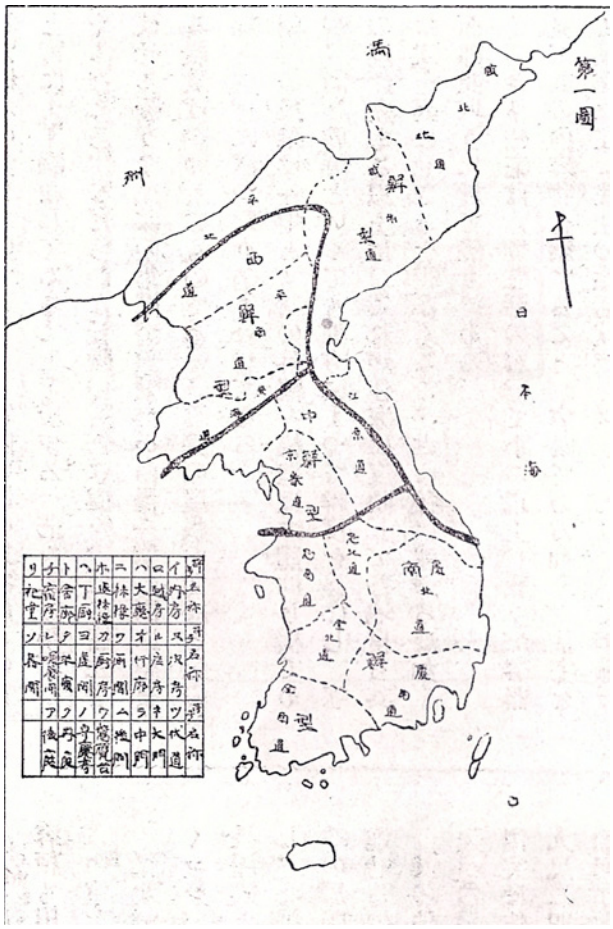
[15] Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki, "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite" [On Joseon vernacular housing structure], *Chosen to kenchiku* 3, no.11 (1924): 2-3.

[16] According to Park, the central region includes the provinces of Gyeonggi, west Gangwon, south Hwanghae, and north Chungcheong. He said that these areas show a homogeneous housing style. See P Saeng [Kil-Ryong Park], "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (1)" [A study on the Joseon housing from the central region (1)], *Chosen* 127 (1928): 58.; Myung-Sun Kim and Jung-Woo Lee argued that P Saeng is Kil-Ryong Park.

[17] Iwatsuki, "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite," 3.



[Figure 6] Iwatsuki and Park's categorization of Korean *minka*; from Iwatsuki, "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite," 4.

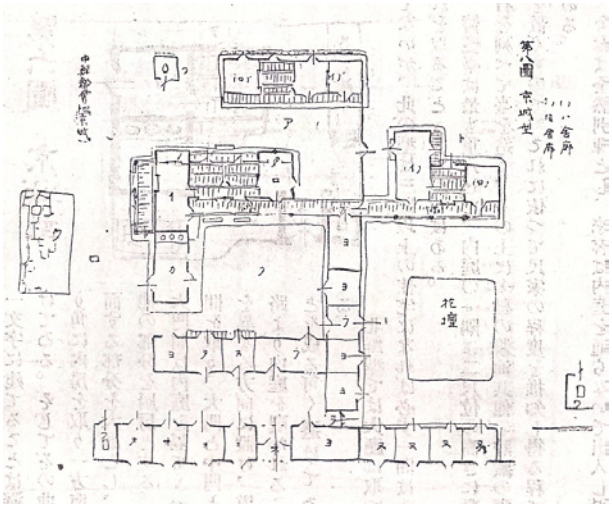
Along with geographical characteristics, Korean traditional social customs were also taken into consideration in analyzing the architectural conditions of Korean *minka*. Regarding the *naebang* [housewife's chamber] found in Korean *minka*, Iwatsuki and Park wrote:

> to name the Korean traditional housing conditions developed from habits and social conventions and systems, *naebang* must be addressed first. This *ondol* room is used as a living room for housewives and it is always found as a separate room in every Korean *minka*, even if, in some cases, it is small and poor. Each minka has only one *naebang*. Different from the idea of privacy in Japanese

minka, that in Korean *minka* is maintained strictly through the *naebang* and no men except for the head of the household can enter it.[18]

In analyzing the structure of Gyeongseong *minka*, Iwatsuki and Park also remarked:

> by plannning the inner court between the main gate and the *sarang* as well as orienting the main gate and the middle gate in different directions, the house structure prevents outsiders from looking into the inner court from the streets.(…) The *sarang* is an independent structure and it is totally detached from the main house. Guests can enter the *sarang* and leave it without passing through the inner court. Even very close friends and acquaintances rarely have a chance to see the inside of the house. In the case of middle- and lower-class Korean *minka*, *sarang* are not separately made and are placed next to the main gate or built close to it, and incorporate *ondol*. Female guests are not allowed to enter through the main gate and male guests cannot enter the inner court.[19] **[Figure 7]**



[Figure 7] Upper-class *minka* from Gyeongseong; from Iwatsuki, "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite," 8.

[18] Ibid., 3.

[19] Ibid., 7.

In the course of his first study of Korean *minka* with Iwatsuki, Park came up with a number of ideas on how they developed, which had a bearing on the contemporary understanding of environmental determinism prevalent among the Japanese architects residing in Korea.[20] Moreover, he embraced the idea that "housing is a vessel for lives" and made it his professional motto for reforming and designing architecture. After his research collaboration with Iwatsuki concluded, Park continued to delve into Korean traditional housing conditions, especially those found in the central and Gyeongseong regions. In his 1928 article (written in Korean) entitled "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (1)" [A study of the Joseon housing from the central region (1)], he reiterated his ideas on the development of Korean *minka*:

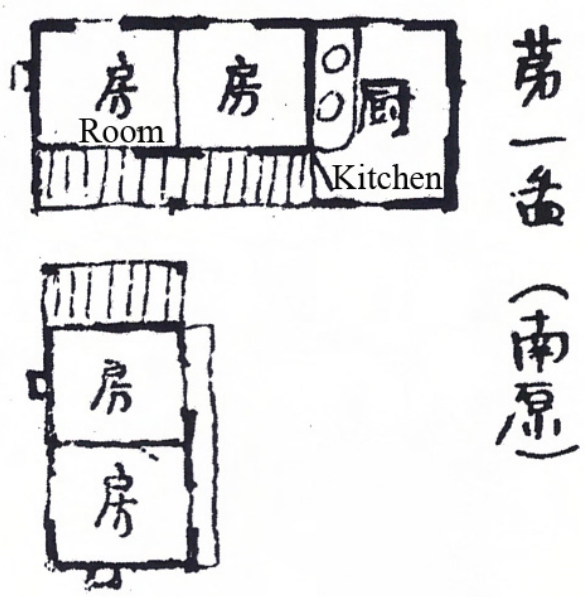
> The styles and contents of housing have been developed in relation to its regional characteristics, such as natural environments, and they have acquired certain qualities. On the one hand, they [the styles and the contents of housing] have been influenced by cold and warm climates, material productions, transportational relations with other areas, and geographical conditions, such as mountainous or plain areas; on the other hand, historically they have also been developed by adapting to inherent regional customs and lifestyles. So it can be seen that Korean housing reflects various stylistic characteristics which have been shaped by different geographical and artificial environments between regions.[21]

In the same year, he published another Korean article entitled "Bugjoseonjibang jugaui ondol" [Northern Joseon housing *ondol*] in *Chosen*. Here, Park took advantage of his previous experience in researching Korean *minka* to explain the differences in *ondol* structures developed in the southern and northern Korean regions. He explains:

[20] Given the fact that Wajiro Kon's first publication on Korean *minka* came out in 1922, it is probable that Iwatsuki and Park already knew about Kon's analyses on it. Park mentioned Kon in one of his writings published in 1924.

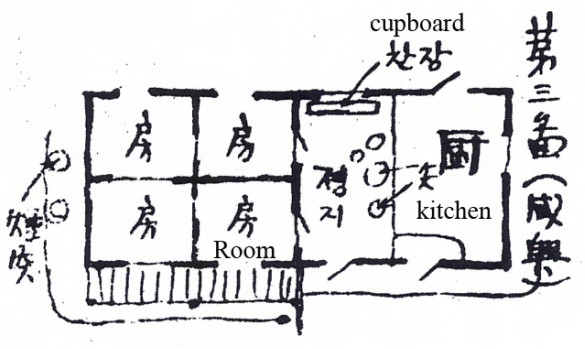
[21] P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (1)," 57.

The structural differences between the southern and northern *ondol* are the result of the different geographical and climatic influences imposed on them. In contrast to the climate of northern Korean regions, that of southern Korean areas is relatively warm and the amount of firewood produced in them is not plentiful, so they have developed an *ondol* system to temporarily heat only the rooms in use to reduce fuel consumption. Whereas the winter coldness of the northern Korean provinces is very severe and they have plentiful firewood, so they have developed a method to heat the rooms collectively by producing a great amout of smoke which heats the entire house all the time.[22] **[Figure 8] [Figure 9]**



[Figure 8] Lower-class *minka* from Namwon; from P Saeng, "Bugjoseonjibang jugaui ondol," 48.

[22] P Saeng, "Bugjoseonjibang jugaui ondol" [Northern Joseon housing *ondol*], *Chosen* 129 (1928): 49.



[Figure 9] Lower-class *minka* from Hamhung; from P Saeng, "Bugjoseonjibang jugaui ondol," 48.

Park's assessment of Korean *minka* and his ideas for its architectural reformation

Fundamentally influenced by the contemporary Japanese understanding of housing as an historical entity[23] (in the sense of its progressiveness), Park also thought that Korean *minka* was in the process of evolving from a primitive to a developed state.[24] From his first assessment of Korean *minka*, he shared Iwatsuki's idea that they were underdeveloped, based on Korean people's old-fashioned, irrational ways of living, including their poor habits and even their personalities, and needed to be reformed, first by enlightening the Korean people with scientific knowledge. The following comments were published in a 1924 article under Iwatsuki's name:

> Housing should be developed with the aim of improving [on existing models] while keeping [each building] compatible with its contents and avoiding the creation of contradictions between the interior and the exterior. In this way, new housing styles emerge. However, lifestyle is not immutable; it changes according to the time as well as the social positions and occupations that it belongs to. The

[23] Iwatsuki's ideas on housing (architecture) evolutionism are found in the following articles: Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki, "Jutaku to jinrui no seikatsu ni tsuite" [On housing, human race and living], *Chosen to kenchiku* 4, no. 5 (1925): 1-4. and Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki, "Jutaku to jinrui no seikatsu ni tsuite (1)" [On housing, human race and living (1)], *Chosen to kenchiku* 4, no. 3 (1925): 1-5.

[24] See P Saeng, "Byeongjeoggihyeongui saenghwalhyeongsig" [Abnormal living style], *Chosen* 125 (1928): 71-73.

> lifestyles of the rich are different from those of the poor. The current occupations of parents won't always be passed on to their children, and there is no reason that the Japanese and Koreans should live with *tatami* and *ondol* forever.(…) However, it is very difficult to change fixed housing styles. This is not because of people's obsession with traditions; rather, it is owing to their old habits, which aren't recognized as irrational. Therefore the recently suggested ways to reform old housing styles go hand in hand with the effort to enlighten the general public so that they [first] embrace new ways of living.(…) While thinking this through, I have looked at the architectural conditions of Korean *minka*, and it is not an exaggeration to say that most of them preserve housing styles from ancient times. Since human living standards are developing day by day in the present, the most urgent task is to enlighten the general public. We also have to teach them the use of contemporary scientific knowledge, which has the power to reform the irrational. This mission should be the responsibility of architects.(…) What is most disappointing is that many architects don't have sufficient knowledge of Korean *minka*. To fully understand it, they shouldn't merely look at its plans and structures, which are not important at all; what is most needed is to understand the fundamentals of Korean people's living conditions. So it is necessary to study their mental states and personalities - in other words, Koreans themselves. I believe that this goal cannot be achieved solely by inspecting and investigating their appearance. Rather, we need to have a deep love for our compatriots[25], a sympathy for the current phenomena and a strong wish for future development.[26]

In another Korean article published under his own name, Park also said that the Korean *minka* found in Gyeongseong were an abnormal dwelling form and could not serve people's contemporary lives. In his 1928 article "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (2)" [A study of Joseon housing from the central region (2)], he referenced biological knowledge:

[25] Here, Iwatsuki considers that Japanese and Koreans are compariots in the context of both nationalities being subjects of the Japanese empire.

[26] Iwatsuki, "Chosen minka no ie gamae ni tsuite," 10-11.

> If compared to the human body, Korean *minka* [in Gyeongseong] are abnormal and handicapped, lacking any digestive organs. If a respiratory system or other organs replace them, more serious problems occur. In the case of the underdeveloped lower animals, they don't have various functional inner organs in their bodies like higher animals do, so one organ serves multiple functions. When I analyze Gyeongseong housing with the same logic, I come to the conclusion that it is an underdeveloped dwelling form. With its outmoded housing form, it cannot serve contemporary people's complex lives, let alone urban dwellers.[27]

However, what is unique in Park's assessment of Korean *minka* is that he found another problem: the recently developed incongruity between Korean living and dwelling conditions caused by the careless importation of foreign elements was a problem. Actually, Park criticized the contemporary proliferation of *bunka jutaku* in Korea.[28] So, in recommending its reformation, Park suggested that Korean housing traditions "environmentally" developed from the past be reclaimed in order to create harmony with people's living customs, such as clothing and dietary habits. In his 1928 article entitled "Byeongjeoggihyeongui saenghwalhyeongsig" [Abnormal[29] living style], he wrote:

> by being heavily influenced by the stimulative foreign [outside] styles, the contemporary lives of Korean people have lost and deformed the harmony and unity developed from the past. They are more abnormal than simply deformed. For example, wearing *dulumagi* [a traditional Korean overcoat] and *jipsin* [traditional Korean straw shoes] with a silk hat or Western style suits on is, needless to say, abnormal. So, along with solving individual incongruities in

[27] P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (2)"[A study on the Joseon housing from the central region (2)], *Chosen* 128 (1928): 55.

[28] See Kil-Ryong Park, "Jalsallyeomyeon jibbuteo gochibsida (1)" [Let's fix our housing to live well (1)], *Joseon Ilbo*, May 16, 1929, 3.

[29] This is my translation of the original Korean word which literally means unhealthy.

clothing or housing, it is important to achieve harmony between eating, clothing and housing, as they are the three main components of our contemporary lives. In this sense, kneeling on the *ondol* floor and eating Western food with chopsticks is an incongruous lifestyle (…) clothing and housing conventionally have a very close relationship. In a certain sense, housing can be seen as an extension of clothing…housing is an aesthetic object in itself and, needless to say, both housing and clothing must be useful. At the same time, they must share a unified and harmonized style. Korean people tend not to recognize that housing is an extension of clothing, and there is an inseparable relationship between the two. (…) Everyone recognizes that it is wrong for someone to wear Western-style suits with *jipsin* on. However, even those who recognize this imbalance never pay attention to housing, which is not only an extention of clothing but also a mirror of human consciousness.(…) Rather than changing our [traditional] housing into Western and other foreign styles and harmonizing it with Western-style clothing, it is better to throw away the useless and expensive foreign-style clothing that doesn't suit our housing traditions. Housing and clothing should suit each other.(...) A scene of a person calmly entering into a dilapidated thatched-roof house wearing the newest extravagant Western-style suit is like seeing a civilized person inspecting a barbarian house. If the solemn foreign-style clothing and the collapsing thatched roof house are from the same form of lifestyle, it is an impropriety rather than a simple abnormality; it is impossible to see harmony in it.[30]

Housing is a vessel for (contemporary) lives

The gist of Park's ideas on Korean housing reformation can be understood as a reviving of historically developed Korean housing traditions, with the aim of harmonizing Korean living and

[30] P Saeng, "Byeongjeoggihyeongui saenghwalhyeongsig," 72-73.

dwelling conditions. However, he also thought that (Korean) housing should serve people's specifically comtemporary lives; and again he referred to it as a vessel for lives:

> If housing doesn't serve contemporary human lives, it is a vessel that is wasted. In other words, it is a useless vessel. It is not an exaggeration to say that [Korean] traditional housing is not housing in the complete sense. [31]

Park came up with a set of several architectural solutions satisfying the dual purpose of Korean housing. While respecting Korean traditional living and dwelling customs, he suggested the implementation of necessary scientific and utilitarian changes. For example, in considering hygienic and healthy ways of living, Park thought that natural lighting and ventilation were desperately needed in contemporary housing. To this end, Park also referenced Korean *minka* developed in other provinces. However, in some cases, he insisted on the abolition of certain traditional housing conditions that were tailored to contemporary ways of living. The above solutions were actualized with the Korean *minka* existing in Gyeongseong and Kaesong.

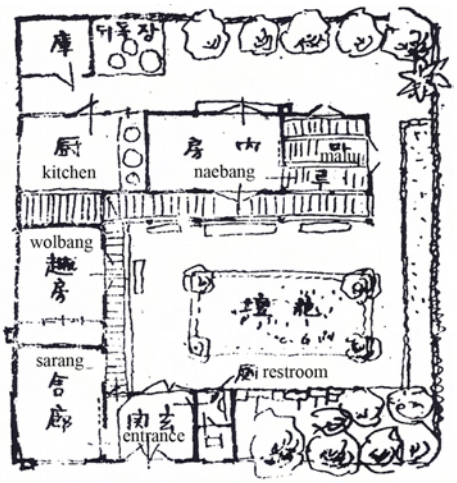
<u>On Korean *minka* in Gyeongseong</u>

Park suggested that *haenglangbang* [rooms on both sides of the main gate where servants live] should be converted into *sarang* in Gyeongseong *minka*:

> in the case of a big house where servants are definitely needed, it is better to plan a female servant room in a proper place by abolishing the traditional *haenglangbang*. In Gyeongseong *minka*, even if *haenglangbang* are commonly found, *sarang* rarely exist. *Sarang* are found only in big houses and are exclusive to a certain social class. So, it is important to incorporate them into ordinary

[31] P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (2)," 56.

people's houses in the Gyeongseong area because there is no space for accommodating guests in them. In America, guest rooms are also seen only in big houses. However, the American lifestyle is very different from ours and they invite their guests to their living room, a space for family members. In this way, the living room is also used as a guest room. So, there is no need to have a separate space for inviting guests in America. In Korea, the traditional custom of not allowing outsiders into the family domain still exists and, even if this gradually disappears, I believe that it will still be some time before we see insiders and outsiders pleasantly talking in the *naebang* and the *daecheong* [summer living room]. So, with this surviving traditional lifestyle, Korean housing cannot avoid being regarded as abnormal if it is not equipped with guest rooms. Korean people normally don't visit other people's houses unless they have urgent business to take care of, and whenever visitors come with urgent matters, the place under the eaves of the main gates is the only spot to meet them. For this reason, rather than simply saying that it is necessary to abolish *haenglangbang*, I think that it is better to convert them into *sarang*.[32] **[Figure 10]**



[Figure 10] Reformed middle-class Gyeongseong *minka*; from P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (2)," 56.

[32] Ibid., 57.

Park often discussed the possibility of repurposing and renovating *naebang* to accommodate sunlight and natural ventilation. Here, he referred to traditional housing structures from northwest Korea:

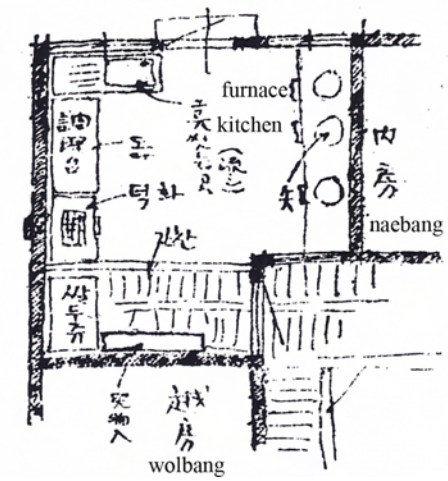
> I think that the reason for making *daecheong*, which are favorable to sunlight and natural ventilation, in traditional Gyeongseong housing is to compensate for the poor conditions of *naebang*, which are impossible to use in the summer. So, by placing *naebang* in the location of *daecheong* and refurbishing their windows and other features properly, *naebang* can be kept in a good and clean condition and can be used in the summer as *daecheong*. *Daecheong* are not found in the northwest Korean provinces. Because of the proper location of *naebang* in these regions, people don't feel the need to have *daecheong* in their houses.[33]

For the sake of its usefulness and efficiency, Park also suggested repurposing the traditional kitchen of Gyeongseong *minka*:

> to improve the structure of the traditional kitchen [which is now] unsuitable for cooking, first of all, its size should be enlarged to make sufficient space for storing cooking utensils as well as accommodating people's actitivies. As for making *ondol*, it is good to have each room's furnace face the kitchen, to make heating control easy. In northern Korean provinces, heating three to four rooms' *ondol* from one kitchen is very common. So, for the sake of efficiency, it is rational to plan an *ondol* structure to serve as many rooms as possible from one kitchen. Upon finishing investigating all Korean regions, Professor Kon from Waseda University said that the people living in the northern regions know how to build *ondol* structures, and I agree with his insight.[34] **[Figure 11]**

[33] Ibid., 58.

[34] Ibid., 58-59.



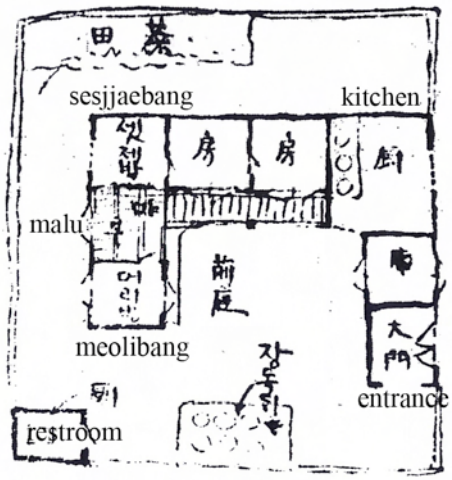
[Figure 11] A kitchen of a reformed middle-class Gyeongseong *minka*; from P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (2)," 59.

On Korean *minka* in Kaesong

Here, Park first talked about adapting Kaesong *meolibang* into a room that family members could use more actively in their everday lives:

> Througout its long history, numerous unique regional living and dwelling customs imbued with traditional overtones have been generated in Kaesong. Conservative Kaesong people have developed ways to sincerely respect their ancestors in their daily lives. This custom of ancestor worship is clearly evident in one unit of Kaesong *minka*, *sesjjaebang*. *Sesjjaebang* is a room for commemorating ancestors.…Next to the *maru* [wooden porch], there is an *ondol* room called a *wolbang* in Gyeongseong. [In Kaesong] This room is named *meolibang*.(…) The *ondol* furnace of a *meolibang* is located two rooms away from it, so with the insufficient sunlight in the winter, it is impossible for people to stay in this room. And, even if it is an *ondol* room, heating never works here. Originally, *meolibang* is not planned for people's use because it is a space where gods' spirits are supposed to stay. So it is not required to keep it warm for human use. [I think that] *meolibang* are not necessary for our family lives in the present time. Seen from

the perspective of housing planning, it is a useless space. I want to suggest that *meolibang* should be abolished. With this, however I don't mean to abolish the traditional custom of repecting ancestors. Rather, I imagine alternative ways of continuing the custom by making *meolibang* as simple as possible.[35] **[Figure 12]**



[Figure 12] Typical middle-class Kaesong *minka*; from P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (3)," 45.

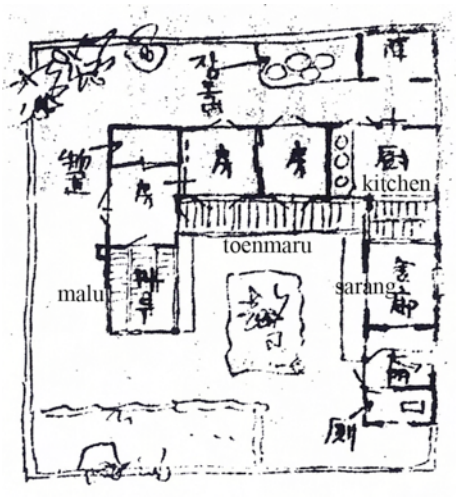
Secondly, while criticizing the insanitary structure of Kaesong *minka*, which reflects a conservative, old-fashioned lifestyle, Park suggested adapting traditional family rooms to take full advantage of natural light and ventilation:

> Reflecting the conservative, traditional lifestyle common in Kaesong, housing there doesn't have any windows facing north. This housing structure interferes with the influx of sunlight and dry air into the rooms. With regards to health, Kaesong housing is not sanitary enough to be used as contemporary urban housing since it still preserves feudal customs.[36]

[35] P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (3)" [A study on the Joseon housing from the central region (3)], *Chosen* 130 (1928): 45-47.

[36] Ibid., 47.

All the family rooms [in Kaesong *minka*] face south and a *toenmaru* [narrow wooden porch running along the outside of a room] is attached to each of them. Compared to the planning of *naebang* in Gyeongseong, it can be said that the family rooms in Kaesong *minka* are more advanced in the sense that each room has its own developed version of *daecheong*. I think that it is rational to plan important rooms to face the direction that allows the most sunlight and natural ventilation.[37] **[Figure 13]**



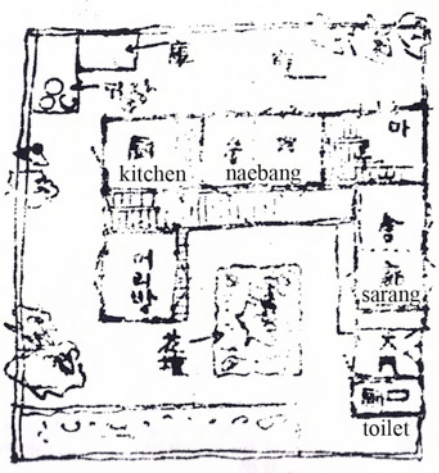
[Figure 13] Reformed middle-class Kaesong *minka*; from P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (3)," 46.

Finally, Park wrote more about reforming Kaesong *minka* in utilitarian ways:

> So, let me suggest some ways to reform Kaesong *minka*.…It would be useful not only to put *maru* in some parts of the kitchen to use it as a place for cooking, but also to convert *gwanggan* [storage] into *sarang*. The furnace heating the *sarang* should be accessed from the space underneath the kitchen floor. In this way, *sarang* and *naebang* can be used as spaces for eating and sleeping, with the toilet next to the main gates.[38] **[Figure 14]**

[37] Ibid., 46.

[38] Ibid., 47.



[Figure 14] Reformed middle-class Kaesong *minka*; from P Saeng, "Jungbu joseonjibang jugaedaehan ilgochal (3)," 46.

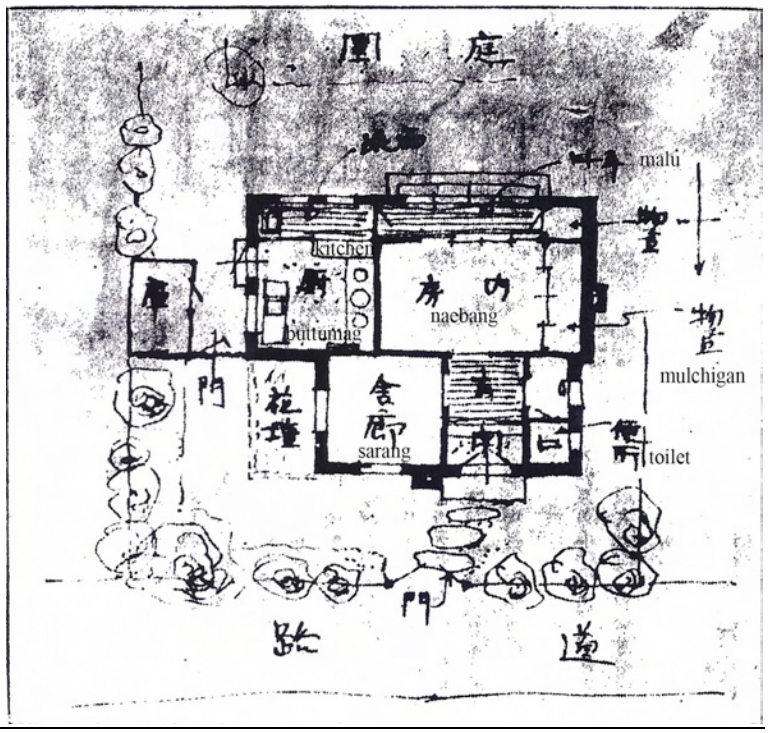
Park's housing proposals

The passage below shows Park's early housing proposals, which reflect his ideas for developing Korean housing.

<u>One example of small redesigned housing</u>

> the furnaces of the two *ondol* rooms, *sarang* and *naebang*, are accessed from one kitchen. For many reasons, it is convenient to control the heating of the rooms from one kitchen. For the purpose of planning a *naebang* as a pleasant and permanent living room to support healthy family lives, great consideration was given to creating a hygienic place by making it face the courtyard in the south direction....*Sarang* are placed next to the main gates to accommodate guests conveniently. In this way the *naebang* is also kept private. The toilet is placed next to the main entrance so that it is easily accessible from any room of the house. *Mulchigan* [storage], which is *golbang* in Korean traditional housing, is not an *ondol* room and things like furniture are stored here. It is more efficient to make a closet accessible from the *naebang* using the clay structure of *buttumag* [wood-burning stove] in the kitchen. The small *mulchigan* next to the *maru* is used for

storing cleaning equipment, and there is a space underneath for storing shoes. The basement is situated under the washing room and is also used as a food storage area, accessible from the kitchen. The *buttumag* in the kitchen is made with roof tiles. The concrete floor and the tiled walls of the kitchen allow the area to be kept hygienic. This house is designed to achieve maximum efficiency in a minimal space with its small but family-centered plan. Even a small house is enough for a small family to live a happy family-centered life, materially and spiritually, without feeling any sense of deprivation or discomfort.[39] **[Figure 15] [Figure 16]**



[Figure 15] Ground floor plan, One example of small redesigned housing; from Park, "Gaelyang sojutaegui ilan," 45.

[39] Kil-Ryong Park, "Gaelyang sojutaegui ilan" [One example of small redesigned housing], *Chosen* 132 (1928): 46.

[Figure 16] A sketch of one example of small redesigned housing; from Park, "Gaelyang sojutaegui ilan," 46.

On the planning of L's housing

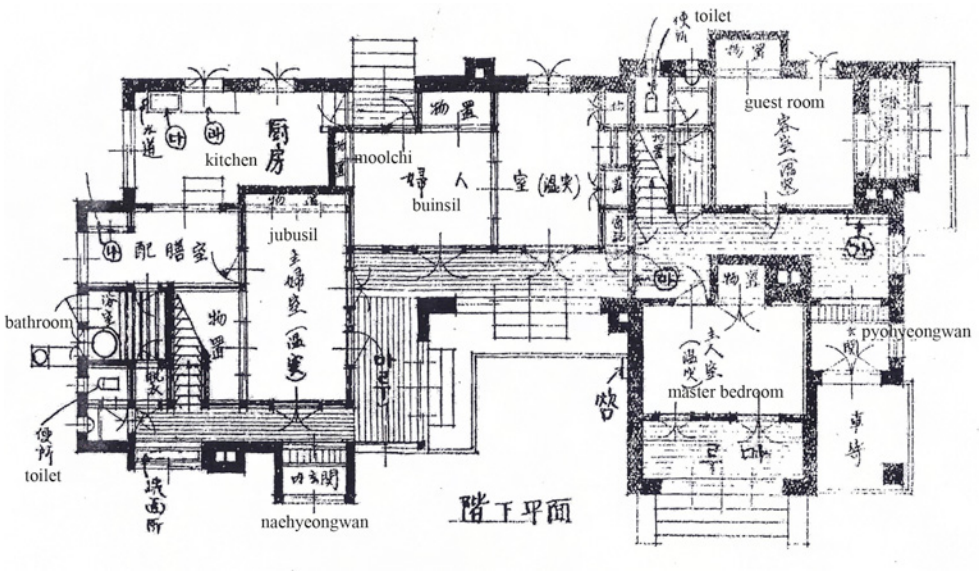
> This house was completed last fall and it was planned with the intention of regenerating a traditional Korean lifestyle. The interior of the house was entirely decorated in the Korean style except for the upper level, where Western and Japanese tastes were added. The biggest challenge in designing this house was to realize a combination of Western and Japanese architectural features while maintaining traditional Korean features inside.[40] **[Figure 17]**

[40] Kil-Ryong Park, "Aelssi jeoui gyehoeggaeyo" [On the planning of L's housing], *Chosen* 136 (129): 82.

[Figure 17] A photograph showing the exterior of L's housing; Park, "Aelssi jeoui gyehoeggaeyo," 88.

When I turn left, the guest room is on the right side and the master bedroom is on the left side. Both rooms are *ondol* rooms and are connected by a *maru*. At the end of the *maru* there is a terrace leading to the courtyard. The *ondol* furnace for the guest room is planned with its storage space below, and the storage for the master bedroom has two different levels. The family domain of the house, reflecting the traditional Korean lifestyle, is separated from the *sarang*.(…) The *moolchi* [shelf] of the *buinsil* [women's room] and the *jubusil* [housewife's room] is raised 1 *cheog* and 3 *chon* [39.39 cm] from the floor, and the two rooms can be used as one space when the *nejjogjangjimadaji* [traditional screen door] that creates the boundary between them is open. A small *maru* is placed between the *buinsil* and the kitchen, connecting them together. The backyard can be accessed from this *maru.*…Like the kitchen, the bathroom has a concrete floor, and it has tiled walls and a metal bathtub. It is also equipped with a changing room, which has two facing doors. There is another bathroom [on the other side of the house] and a toilet is placed next to it. Above the toilet, a staircase leads to the upper

floor. The *naehyeongwan* [inner entrance] is an entrance for the family members and the housewife, and a place to store shoes is concealed under the entrance floor. (…) On the upper level, there are two Western-style rooms, two Japanese-style rooms, and one traditional Korean room called a *sadangbang*, used for ancestor worship.[41] **[Figure 18]**

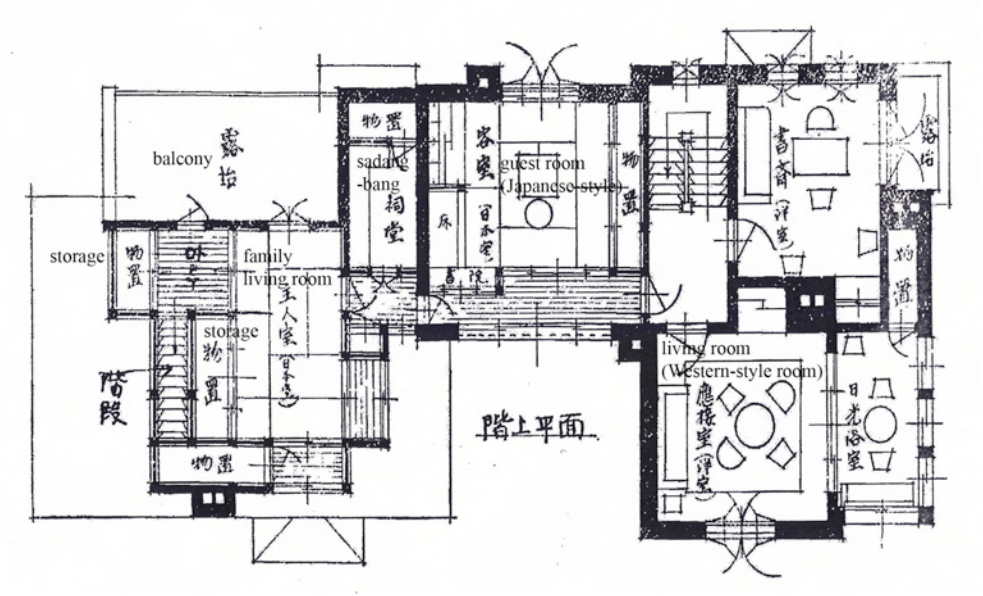


[Figure 18] Ground floor plan, L's housing; from Park, "Aelssi jeoui gyehoeggaeyo," 84.

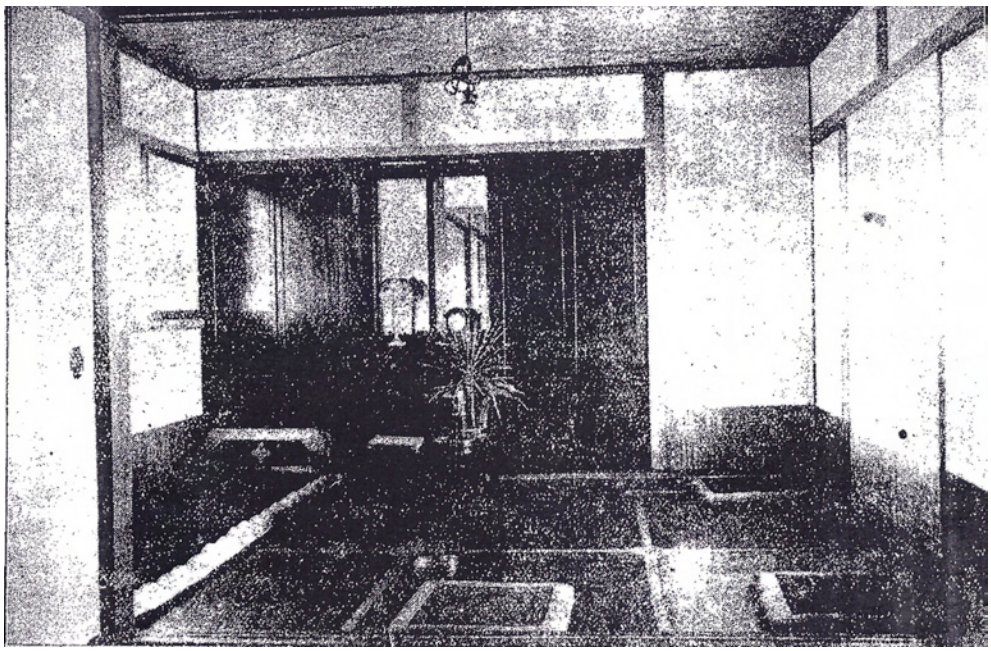
The *tatami* room is used as a family living room in the summer, and it is separated from the *apmalu* of the guest room by doors that divide the two areas. A storage space and a connected balcony are accessed from the *maru* placed on the north side of the house. The balcony is used as a terrace garden and is located above the kitchen. Because it faces northeast, it is a very cool place in the summer.…Along with following the traditional Korean housing structure of keeping the family domain and the guest room separated, the lower level is equipped with *ondol* and its ceilings and walls are also covered with traditional Korean paper.…There is one staircase and one bathroom for the family and another of each for guests. The entire house is spatially divided by the doors leading off the corridor connecting the *naesil* [inner rooms] and the *sarang*. [Finally] there are two different main

[41] Ibid., 83.

entrances, the *pyohyeongwan* [outer entrance] and the *naehyeongwan* [inner entrance].[42] **[Figure 19] [Figure 20]**



[Figure 19] Second floor plan, L's housing; from Park, "Aelssi jeoui gyehoeggaeyo," 85.



[Figure 20] The *tatami* room, L's housing; from Park, "Aelssi jeoui gyehoeggaeyo," 87.

[42] Ibid., 86.

Conclusion

In the early 1920s, the first generation of Korean architects educated under the Japanese Government-General of Korea emerged in the Korean colonial space and undertook to develop Korean architecture, especially Korean housing, by adapting Korean architectual traditions. In this context, it is important to acknowledge that Korean housing and architectural traditions were not indigenous in the original sense; they are conceptual constructs. On the other hand, they had already been discovered and defined as modern (in the sense of their progressiveness) by the Japanese, beginning with Sekino's efforts to compile the first history of Korean architecture in the early 1900s.

One of these architects, Kil-Ryong Park, being influenced by the theory of architectural evolutionism prevalent among contemporary Japanese architects residing in Korea as well as by the environmental-determinist Japanese understanding of the development of Korean *minka*, focused his attention on traditional Korean housing from the early 1920s. He came up with his own perspective, which was strongly influenced by his experiential knowledge of Korean living customs and their regional characteristics (such as the effects of climate and natural environments).

Also taking advantage of newly introduced scientific and utilitarian knowledge, Park suggested architectural solutions to reform Korean traditional housing conditions. These went hand in hand with contemporary social movements to "culturalize" old Korean ways of living and dwelling. However, what is significant about Park's ideas is that he found the careless importation of Western material culture problematic. He proposed instead reclaiming Korean housing traditions, which he saw as having developed in a specifically Korean environment, to create harmony with

other aspects of the Korean way of life, for example clothing and dietary habits. In this way, Park tried to create Korean housing that would serve as a vessel to contain not only the people's contemporary needs, but also their traditional lifestyles.

Park's architectural ideas highlight some of the unique characteristics of Korean architectural modernity formulated during the colonial period. Although he initially embraced Japanese attitudes toward Korean housing and its development that drew on contemporary Japanese thought on the subject, he ceaselessly sought out new and original ways to develop Korean housing in relation to the lives of contemporary Korean people, shaped as they were by regional and cultural factors. I believe that Park's architectural legacy provides a new ground for alternative discussions on the nature of Korean architectural modernity during the colonial period, and that it may helps us overcome the present futile stylistic debates on the subject.

Conclusion

This dissertation has analyzed aspects of Japanese and Korean characterizations of Korean building traditions, as well as the speculations on future Korean architecture that evolved between 1904 and 1929. The crux of my argument is that modern Korean architecture emerged from the political interactions between Japan and the West as well as Japan and Korea in the early 20th century, and that the definition of Korean architecture was a conceptual construct which changed over the course of time. Taking advantage of contemporary Japanese knowledge, ranging from ethnic studies, archaeology, human geography to architecture, Tadashi Sekino, Wajiro Kon and Kil-ryong Park produced a substantial body of work articulating the characteristics of modern Korean architecture and housing, as well as imagining different scenarios for their future development.

The first of these was Tadashi Sekino, who in June of 1902 was charged with a mission to investigate ancient Korean art and its presumed building traditions. His research continued beyond the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910 with the full support of the Japanese Government-General of Korea, and from 1916 he also served as a member for the preservation of ancient remains and relics, working with a number of professors from Tokyo and Kyoto Imperial Universities.

In his architectural assessments of Korean building traditions Sekino adopted a positivistic research methodology, which had become very popular in architecture as well as in other fields of study since its introduction to Japan in the late nineteenth century. An assumption of this approach to research was that it can be used to measure the degree of human progress in the past

and the present, as well as predicting future progress. In 1932, Sekino published the first history book on Korean art and architecture, entitled *Chosen bijutsu shi* [The history of Joseon art], in which he clearly demonstrated his intention to investigate ancient Korean remains and relics in the context of this notion of progress. By highlighting the ancient cultural relationship between China and Korea as well as between Korea and Japan, he eventually intended to chart the development of architecture in Asia (i.e. the Asian origins of Japanese architecture), starting in China (or the West), transferring to Korea, and achieving completion in Japan. In addition, by arguing that Greece was the birthplace of Japanese architecture, he also intended to assert Japan's superiority over the West, and his investigations of Korean art and architecture contributed to this argument.

There is another facet of his work that needs to be taken into consideration to fully understand Sekino's perspective on Korean building traditions. A series of changes occurred over the course of his work, evident in his analyses and historical understanding of Korean housing and architecture. Simply put, his narratives changed over time, introducing many inconsistencies in his work. This can be seen in his investigation of Korean housing, beginning with his earliest Korean field research of 1902.

Given Sekino's original intention to identify the origins of Japanese architecture in his research in Korea, it is unsurprising to see him compare and contrast Korean housing to its Japanese counterparts. In other words, he was interested in locating Korean housing on a certain historical level in relation to the stylistic developments of Japanese housing, so that he could hypothesize that the former had the potential to improve in the future. However, from the mid-1910s, he put forward new ideas in assessing Korean housing, taking into consideration climatic, material and social factors, as well as habits and customs. In the end, he produced a series of observations on

the use of different architectural styles and materials in Japan and Korea, as well as predictions for future developments.

Sekino's newly introduced ideas influenced by environmental determinism reflect the complexity of Japan's interactions with the West starting from the mid-nineteenth century. Particularly around the 1910s, after achieving material and industrial modernization internally, winning several consecutive wars challenging the West (the First Sino-Japanese War, 1894-1895, and the Russo-Japanese War, 1904-1905), and determined to be recognized by the West as a strong modern nation, Japan started to invent historical narratives highlighting its "uniqueness" as compared to its Asian neighbors, based on its peculiar geographical and cultural conditions.

Sekino's narrative fed Japanese colonial propaganda of the 1920s on many levels. The Japanese Government-General of Korea deliberately started to pay attention to native Korean natural environments, social customs and culture after the shock of the March 1 Independence Movement. Moreover, in contrast to the forced assimilation policies of the 1910s, based on the contemporary popular theory of ethnic and cultural commonalities between Japan and Korea, the Japanese Government-General of Korea initiated new colonial policies acknowledging the fundamental differences between them. The Government-General propagated a new assimilation model posited on the notion of a spiritual coalition of the two countries, an instance of Pan-Asianism.

The second researcher discussed here has been Wajiro Kon. His work articulated a new interest in Korean *minka* that emerged in the early 1920s, influenced by the academic discipline of Japanese human geography. As opposed to the contemporary positivistic research methodology in mainstream Japanese architectural circles, Kon had a different set of interests. He looked at

the intimate relationship between the distinctive daily activities of Korean people and their housing conditions, fully taking the environmental characteristics of Korean provinces into consideration.

Kon first visited the Korean peninsula to carry out a special colonial mission launched by the Japanese Government-General of Korea around the beginning of the so-called cultural rule period (1919-1931). His research intentions were developed in parallel with the contemporary Japanese nationalistic obsession of searching for Japan's historical origins. However, the nationalist agenda behind Kon's interest in Korean *minka* gradually changed as time progressed. Unlike other contemporary Japanese architectural researchers contracted by the Japanese Government-General, he was sincerely fascinated by the native Korean customs and dwelling conditions he discovered in the course of his research.

Notwithstanding his own colonialist perspective, Kon learned to appreciate the genuine beauty of Korean *minka*, even going so far as to assert that Korean *minka* are superior to Japanese *minka*. I am led to argue that he studied the architectural conditions of Korean *minka* from a point of view independent of Japanese conventional wisdom. His texts, drawings and photographs reveal a thoughtful understanding of the fitness of the houses to their purpose, both functionally – acknowledging the richness implicit in traditional habitual ways of living – and symbolically, reflecting the status of different social strata. Kon ultimately ended up foregrounding the moving, affective nature of the living environments.

Kon's unique approach, so different from the positivistic analyses of his contemporaries, and evident in his meticulous sketches and vivid descriptions, helped him theorize how the craft-oriented architectural development of Korean *minka* were shaped by people's everyday lives. In

particular, he found that *ondol* [Korean traditional floor-heating system] had developed in various and complex ways, creating differences between northern and southern regions of Korea.

Kon argued that *ondol*, which used heated air pumped underneath floors to warm rooms, was the most advanced heating method available at the time, surpassing the Japanese *ro* and the Russian *pechika* still used in other traditional styles of building. Furthermore, he surmised that *ondol* had been developed through social and cultural exchanges with regions neighboring the Korean peninsula. He also understood the development of *ondol* in Korea in relation to the Korean people's particular habit of sitting on the floor, and surmised that it must have been first used by the lower classes.

Kon witnessed the contemporary, top-down efforts to reform the style and material used in building Korean housing and the proliferation of *bunka jutaku* in the Korean colonial space. However, he was more concerned with the spread of education among Korean women and their changing position in private and public domains in the rather capitalistic and liberal social atmosphere of the 1920s. He looked at women as modern revolutionary agents improving the domestic realm in Korea in the course of their daily lives.

Kon himself also suggested some architectural solutions for the future improvement of Korean living and dwelling conditions. His insights about the essence of architectural meaning in a healthy harmonious environment attuned to a way of life rooted in culture were remarkable. Nevertheless, his observations were inevitably grounded in a colonial perspective. He ended up supporting the future assimilation of Korean and Japanese housing styles, which conformed to the Japanese Government-General's assimilative colonial policies of the 1920s.

The final researcher studied here is Korean. He was a member of the first generation of architects to be educated under the Japanese Government-General, a generation which emerged in the early 1920s. Kil-Ryong Park was influenced by the theory of architectural evolutionism prevalent among contemporary Japanese architects residing in Korea, as well as by the environmental-determinist Japanese understanding of the development of Korean *minka*. He focused his attention on traditional Korean housing, and like others in his generation, undertook to develop Korean architecture by adapting Korean building traditions.

Being one of the first few Korean graduates from the Gyeongseong Higher Technical School, Park started working as an architectural technician for the Japanese Government-General of Korea in 1919. From the early 1920s, he began studying Korean *minka* seriously and looked for ways to develop it. Park's research on Korean *minka* was first actualized through collaborative study with Yoshiyuki Iwatsuki, an architectural engineer from the Government-General, in 1923. Although no written record remains of the details of their collaboration, it is clear that Park played a major role in the partnership and produced all the analytical sketches of Korean *minka* after traveling to different Korean provinces in person.

In the course of his first study of Korean *minka* with Iwatsuki, Park developed a number of ideas on their development which had a bearing on the contemporary understanding of environmental determinism prevalent among the Japanese architects residing in Korea. He embraced the idea that "housing (or architecture) is a vessel for lives" and made it his professional motto for reforming and designing architecture. After his research collaboration with Iwatsuki concluded, Park continued to delve into Korean traditional housing conditions, especially those found in the central and Gyeongseong regions.

Taking advantage of newly introduced scientific and utilitarian knowledge, Park suggested architectural solutions to reform traditional Korean housing conditions. These went hand in hand with the contemporary social movement to "culturalize" old Korean ways of living and dwelling. However, what is significant about Park's ideas is that he found the careless importation of Western material culture problematic. He proposed instead reviving Korean housing traditions, which he saw as having developed in a specifically Korean environment, to create harmony with other aspects of the Korean way of life. In this way, Park tried to create Korean housing that would serve as a vessel to contain not only the people's contemporary needs, but also their traditional lifestyles.

The work of these three researchers charts a path across differing modes of seeing early Korean architecture. This path moves, if with some wandering and retracing of steps, from under the influence of positivism toward a recognition of architecture's profoundly cultural dimension. It takes us from an early characterization of Korean architecture as inferior to Japanese, to the proposal of Korean architecture's integral role in the evolution of an Asian and Japanese architecture, and a corresponding assertion that it was in fact the most fitting architecture for its cultural and geographic setting.

To conclude, I would like to emphasize that the discussions on the origins and the developments of Korean architectural modernity have so far focused on tracing the imported Western architectural influences. However, these perspectives imply an orientalist prejudice, which assumes that Japan (or the West) introduced new and advanced (Western) architectural ideas into the under-developed, "traditional" Korea. Such approaches fail to explain fully the nature of Korean architectural modernity.

Indeed, existing scholarship has not yet explored the issue of "architectural modernity" by looking into the Korean building traditions identified in the early 1900s. With my work, I have shown that, even if these Korean building traditions may have been regarded as inferior entities by the Japanese throughout the entire colonial period, they were seriously studied and defined historically, environmentally and regionally. These studies actually influenced the first generation of modern Korean architects and greatly enrich our understanding of the identity of modern Korean architecture invented in the early 1900s.

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